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How Should Chicago

—BE—

Governed?

Barton A. Ulrich





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HOW SHOULD CHICAGO BE GOVERNED?

Given a population of 1,350,000, composed of large communities of Bohemians, Swedes, Norwegians, Italians, etc., together with a large element of Germans, Irish, and French, interspersed with about 600,000 Americans, inhabiting an area of 180 square miles, on the banks of a magnificent lake, floating a large share of the commerce of the world; with railroads entering it from every direction and connecting it by air lines with all the great centers of trade; containing many millions of property, real and personal, and the largest manufactories in America: The question is—How shall this vast metropolis be governed? Will it not require a strong, stable municipal organization to hold in check and direct this great heterogeneous collection of people, annually increasing, decade after decade, and demanding healthy surroundings, pure air and water, light, transportation, comfortable homes, instruction and proper amusements. How are these objects to be attained?

The only practical way of lifting Chicago out of the abyss of bad city government into which she has fallen is by

1st. Obtaining legislative action in reference to calling on the people to vote for a

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

2nd. When the people have voted for such a convention, an election must be called to choose its members.

3rd. The convention will meet and draft a new constitution. It should modify the present clause which prevents

special legislation relative to city charters, as Chicago needs a charter which will not suit the smaller cities in the state.

4th. By incorporating into the city limits all that portion of Cook County which Chicago needs, turning the remaining territory over to the adjoining counties. Fifty of the best men should then be chosen, including the first legal talent in the city, to draft a model modern city charter suitable for a great metropolis, covering the City and County of Chicago, under one government. The succeeding Legislature should then be asked to grant the charter.

To accomplish all this by popular vote an act of the Legislature must be passed at the present session, authorizing the secretary of state to issue ballots with the clause, "For a constitutional convention" incorporated therein, at the next general election, stating that those who do not wish to vote for the provision must strike out the clause, otherwise it will be lost sight of in the general shuffle, as it was at the last election.

WHAT THE NEW COUNCIL SHOULD DO FOR CHICAGO.

Birmingham, known as the best governed city in the world, under the able administration of the Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, gained possession of the gas works and the water works by purchase, and has since operated them at great saving to the consumers and profit to the city. The price of gas was reduced to two shillings and five pence (about 60 cents) per thousand feet.

An improvement scheme was also inaugurated by Mr. Chamberlain and the Town Council of 1875. It is stated by Julian Ralph to be one of the most stupendous, courageous and wise acts ever performed by a municipality.

"The Council purchased a large district covered with slums, where vice, crime, poverty and drunkenness flourished and converted it into the handsomest portion of the city. This property was leased for a number of years and it will eventually add enormously to the wealth of the city."

The market rights are controlled by the city and a profit of from £8,000 to £10,000 is realized annually.

“The drainage and sewer system has also been brought to a high state of perfection. The Drainage Board manages a farm of 1,200 acres in the Tame Valley. The sewerage is conveyed thither through an eight-foot conduit and is passed through the land by an extensive system of filtration by gravity, after which the effluent reaches the Tame river nearly in the condition of perfectly clear water.” The land is rendered very productive and the system will pay sufficient to meet all expenses.

The city builds the street railways in order to keep control of the streets. It rents them to chartered companies at a profit to the city of many thousands annually.

Public swimming baths in buildings and open swimming baths are built for the benefit of all classes, both male and female. Turkish baths cost 24 cents, first-class swimming bath with private dressing room and bathing suit ten cents. In the second-class department, four cents is charged. All baths are set apart for women at certain hours. Special rates are made for schools and clubs, and professional bathing masters are furnished when required.

The Art School, Art Gallery, Museum and numerous public libraries, are all open to the use of the people with necessary regulations.

The people in Birmingham have all these advantages, with clean streets, parks, fountains, schools, etc., and it costs the city one-fourth less to run the entire corporation than is annually paid by one hundred cities of the United States, estimating the expense per capita.

Glasgow will show a record of good and economical government equaling that of Birmingham. The city owns the gas works and the price to consumers is 60 cents per 1,000 cubic feet. The street railways are all owned by the corporation and leased to private companies, giving the city a fine revenue.

Paris:—Although the gas works of Paris are owned by private corporations, \$40,000,000 has been paid into the City Treasury from this source of revenue alone during the last ten years. The company must pay the city 200,000 francs a year for the privilege of piping the streets, 2-10 of a franc on each cubic meter supplied, and half the net profit, after paying 13½ per cent on the capital stock of 84,000,000 francs, which stock cannot be watered.

All transportation companies pay heavy taxes to the city. In the last ten years Paris has received 60,000,000 francs from companies and individuals using streets for transportation purposes.

As against New York City's annual expenses, amounting to \$40,000,000 or 200,000,000 francs, Paris annually collects from these and other sources and pays out an average of 250,000,000 francs;

- 140,000,000 francs are collected from octroi dues;
- 40,000,000 francs from markets and use of streets;
- 35,000,000 francs from direct taxation;
- 35,000,000 francs from national treasury.

But the latter is the best lighted city in the world, its streets are cleaned, it has a superior and well organized police and detective force, it maintains numerous hospitals, a public market, a magnificent opera house, and elementary, industrial and high schools for both sexes. Is it necessary for me to tell intelligent citizens why Chicago does not have a similar income from gas companies, markets, street railways, etc., as Paris has? Do they make less money here? Recently the capital stock of the West Side railroad street car line was doubled, and the north side increased its capital stock \$1,000,000, and the south side \$2,000,000. The stockholders pocket what in Paris goes to the City, and the people in Chicago, thanks to its Aldermen who work for patriotic motives and \$150 per annum, get but a small portion.

The gross earnings of the Chicago Gas Trust for 1892 amount to about \$4,000,000, leaving about \$2,500,000 to distribute among stockholders controlling the \$44,000,000 watered stock, after paying all expenses. The trust is getting 6 per cent. on \$35,000,000, which originally cost nothing, allowing \$9,000,000 for cost of plant, etc. This surplus profit should be divided with Chicago, or else she should manufacture her own gas.

The gross earnings of the Chicago City railway for 1892, amount to \$4,400,944; net earnings, \$1,501,500. The net per cent. on capital invested is 19.01 per cent. on \$1,331,137, of which Chicago gets practically nothing, but pays policemen to watch the crossings, etc. All these companies pay about \$50,000 for license on running cars. \$880,000 is asked for to clean the streets. This should be collected of the street car and gas companies who use the streets. In any well regulated city they would be compelled to contribute largely to city revenue.

The assessors tax private individuals on their realty 1-5 its actual value, while they only tax corporations 1-35 of the value of their holdings. All these gentlemen, like Boss Tweed, look wise and say, "What are you going to do about it?"

WHAT MAYOR WASHBURNE SAYS ABOUT TAXES IN CHICAGO.—
A LIMIT TO INCOME BY TAX.

"It is prohibited from further increasing its indebtedness by legislative enactments, as the limit of its bonded indebtedness has been reached. One reason for this shortage of funds is that those who own and control the wealth of this community do not pay their just proportion of the debts of the commonwealth. The total valuations of the real estate owned by the great railroad corporations centering here is conservatively valued at not less than \$350,000,000. The official valuation places it for the year 1892 in the sum of \$12,440,479. The total valuation of real estate in the city, outside of railroads, is conservatively estimated at \$1,906,146,360. The assessed valuation of this same real estate for the year 1892 is \$190,614,636. It is impossible to approximate the value of personal

property owned in this city, but its estimated value for the year 1892 was \$36,395,680. Our supreme court has decided that all property shall be assessed at $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of its actual value, but an inspection of official books shows the figures I have given you, and they show that real estate of private holders is assessed at one-fifth to one-fourth its actual value, and corporation holdings are assessed as low as one-thirty-ninth the actual value. It can readily be seen that if the assessed valuation of large corporations, such as all railroad companies, gas companies, etc., was increased in proportion to its growing and actual value there would be fewer complaints on the part of the public by reason of unkept streets and alleys. Add to this, millions of dollars' worth of improved real estate owned by church corporations, from which said corporations derive large revenues and which properties are now exempt from taxation, and you will see that a more equitable adjustment of these assessments would relieve us immediately from present financial straits. Our system of tax assessment and collection is entirely wrong."

The Hon. Seth Low, states in the September Century, that "at the present time in the two cities (New York and Brooklyn) there is a board of estimate, consisting of three or four of the principal officers of the city. This board annually prepares a budget for the ensuing year. The meetings of the board of estimate are public, and they have authority to summon before them for explanation of any estimate, all city officers. This budget, when prepared, cannot be increased by the common council. The board of estimate in Brooklyn consists of the mayor, the comptroller, and the city auditor, with two others representing the county, all of whom are elected officials."

POLITICAL INFLUENCE COUNTS TOO MUCH.

The tenure of office for assessor depends upon his popularity with the individuals and corporations of the district to which he has been elected and that popularity is gained

through a low assessment and accommodations which should never be permitted. The total value of real estate in this city to-day from the assessor's books is less than it was twenty years ago. The growing interests of this city and the million and a half of its inhabitants is based upon a tax levy which was originally intended for a city containing, as this did in 1873, less than a half a million of people.

Americans may be expected to have more than ordinary forbearance, but forbearance ceases to be a virtue, (unless one holds the stock) under these circumstances. If citizens of Chicago are blind and servile enough to endure such outrages when they are independent men, with the ballot in their hands, they need blame no one but themselves. Those who will not help themselves cannot expect either God or man to help them.

CITY FRANCHISES.

Since the inauguration of the present city government in April, 1891, the following valuable franchises have been granted to corporations. The amount of pecuniary advantage to the city is noted. The list does not include ordinances for the extension of city railway lines and changes of motive power, nor for railway platforms and stations, nor for bridges over alleys, nor road ways and tunnels connecting buildings. There is omitted all permits for private switch tracks and for additional tracks for railways; also, all grants or concessions to the World's Fair Corporation.

Economic Fuel Gas Company: Conceding rights to construct works for gas, right-of-way along, upon and under all the avenues, streets, alleys and public places. Limits charges. Gas company to pay city 3 per cent of gross receipts from illuminating and 5 per cent from natural gas. Company to furnish gas to city at \$17.50 per lamp. Passed over mayor's veto.

Waukesha Hygeia Mineral Spring Company: To convey mineral or spring water along and under certain streets, avenues and alleys. Pays Chicago nothing and decreases revenue from water works of city.

Chicago Power, Supply and Smoke Abating Company: Manufacturers of compressed air motors and fittings and pneumatic appliances; right-of-way upon and under all the avenues, streets, alleys and public places for pipes, tubing, etc., necessary for distribution, and for heating and sanitary ventilation. pays to city 5 per cent. of gross receipts. This franchise is worth many millions to originators and stockholders.

Calumet Electric Street Railway: Construct and operate street railway along certain streets. \$50 per car license fee.

Chicago & Evanston Electric Railway: Similar privileges and compensation.

Chicago & Jefferson Urban Transit: Similar privileges; \$7,143 per mile and \$50 license fee.

Chicago Elevated Terminal: A very important and comprehensive franchise. No pecuniary benefit to the City.

Blue Island Railroad: Construct railroad on 121st Street from Michigan avenue west.

South West Chicago Rapid Transit: Along Sixty-third between Ashland and Central Park avenue; \$50 license fee.

South Chicago City Railway: Along certain specified streets. \$50 license fee.

West & South Town Horse Railway: Similar privileges; \$500 per mile and \$50 per mile license per annum.

Grand Crossing & Windsor Park Railway: Similar privileges; \$50 license fee.

Metropolitan West Side Elevated: Certain specified streets; \$50 license fee; very important franchise.

We can do no better than give

QUOTATIONS FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE'S

article on this subject, of April 4, 1892.

HOW PUBLIC PROPERTY IS USED FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

HOW ORDINANCES ARE SECURED.

What proportion of the profit made by individuals from privileges granted or taken, on, under, or above the streets of Chicago does the public get?

It is a broad question and cannot be definitely answered. No one knows how much profit is made from the privileges, but every one does know that the city does not begin to get the proportion that it should; that it does not get what an individual or a private corporation would if either stood in the place of the city. In many instances the city does not get one cent for the privileges that it has granted; the Aldermen may have received something at the time they gave the rights, but not the city.

The streets being the property of the city should of course be utilized for the greatest good to the greatest number, instead of which they seem to be utilized for the greatest good to the favored few. They are torn up, built over, tunneled under, and in many instances wholly appropriated. If the rights given to a few, proportionately free, were given to all free, there would be no room left on or under them, and nine-tenths of the population would be crowded out before they had a chance to make use of the rights granted.

This can be asserted on the strength of the investigations made by the Tribune, although it was impossible to learn exactly how many streets are occupied for private purposes. The city does not and cannot know without first making a long and searching investigation. It would take months for it to find out what it has given away, and still longer to find whether the gifts were in perpetuity or only for a term of years.

No complete record is kept in the City Hall, outside of the Council Records, of the privileges given.

In view of these circumstances it is as impossible for the city to know what the proportionate return is as it is for an individual citizen. Even an Alderman would have to search the Council records for a week or two to find out if one of his constituents was using a street without authority. Perhaps that is the reason so many have been able to go ahead without being "touched" or disturbed after their ordinances have expired.

ANNUAL RETURN TO THE CITY.

The maps and plats at the City Hall are more nearly complete for the business district than any other, and a study of them is calculated to surprise one.

Something like 25 per cent. of the streets between Division street, Twenty-second street, Halsted street, and the lake, are occupied wholly or in part by railroad companies.

This is admitted at the Department of Public Works, but it is difficult to discover just what the return is. In estimating it, franchises that extend to the city limits have to be taken into consideration.

As near as could be learned at the City Hall the annual income to the city from all these privileges combined does not exceed \$250,000, and of this the gas companies pay, or did pay last year, more than half. Most of the privileges given have been given free or for a consideration, at the time of the grant, that ended the whole matter as far as any return to the city is concerned. So the income can hardly be increased without the granting of further privileges, and the diagrams accompanying this would seem to indicate that there were not many left to grant.

Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year for one-fourth of the street space in the heart of the city!

Following is a list of some of the roads that have been granted privileges more or less valuable, for which they pay or have paid sums more or less inadequate to the advantage

they have gained. Some are trunk lines, some are branches or offshoots of trunk lines, and some have been merged into other lines, but all have been granted valuable privileges. While the privileges granted have been greater than those given to firms in the way of switch tracks, and the consequent inconvenience to the public is greater, the railroads have done more for the city and have made some return, although proportionately small, if one considers what they would have given for the streets if they had been forced to make reasonable terms

RAILROADS GIVEN RIGHTS.

Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe.	Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.
Baltimore & Ohio.	Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific.
Chicago & Alton.	Chicago, St. Charles & Mississippi
Chicago & Eastern Illinois.	Air-Line.
Chicago & Evanston.	Chicago, St. Louis & Pacific.
Chicago & Great Eastern.	Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac.
Chicago & Great Western.	Chicago, Columbus & Indiana Central.
Chicago & Indiana State Line.	
Chicago & Lake Superior.	Galena & Chicago Union.
Chicago & Milwaukee.	Illinois & Wisconsin.
Chicago & Mississippi.	Illinois Central.
Chicago & Northwestern.	Joliet & Chicago.
Chicago & Pacific.	Lake Shore & Michigan Southern.
Chicago & Southern.	Michigan Southern & Northern
Chicago & Western Indiana.	Indiana.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.	Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago
Chicago, Madison & Northern.	Northern Pacific.
Chicago, Millington & Western.	

Following is a list of some of the companies that have been given privileges in the streets of Chicago:

Chicago & Englewood Horse and Dummy Company.	Lake Street "L" Road Company.
Chicago & South Side Rapid Transit Company.	Metropolitan City Railway Company.
Chicago City Railroad Company.	West Chicago Street Railway Company.
Chicago Passenger Railway Company.	West Chicago Rapid Transit Company.
Chicago West Division Railway Company.	North Chicago City Railway company.

Following is a list of some of the big corporations that have been granted rights under the streets:

Chicago Gaslight & Coke Company.	Sun Electric Light Company.
Consumers' Gas Company.	Western Edison Light Company.
Co-operative Electric Light Company.	Chicago Sectional Electric Underground Company.
Equitable Gaslight & Fuel Company.	Consumer's Electric Light Company.
People's Gaslight & Coke Company.	Chicago Power Supply & Smoke Abating Company.

Other corporations that have been granted rights under the streets, and more above in most cases, are the telegraph and telephone companies. Following is a list of some of them. They have been granted rights to occupy a good deal of space belonging to the city, and the return no greater than in most of the other cases:

Atlantic & Pacific Telegraph Company.	Pacific & Atlantic Telegraph Company.
Baltimore & Ohio Telegraph Company.	Chicago & Western Indiana Company.
Bell Telephone Company.	Chicago City Telephone Company.
Cushman Telephone Company.	Chicago Telephone Company.
Mutual Union Telegraph Company.	United States Telegraph Company.

From a real estate point of view that is almost like giving it away. But it is not \$250,000 for that alone; it is \$250,000 a year for practically all the privileges on, under, and above all the streets within the city limits.

A rough estimate of the rights that have been granted on and under the streets of Chicago shows the following:

Private firms-(switch track).....	60
Railroads.....	35
Street and "L" roads.....	10
Electric light and gas companies.....	8
Telephone and telegraph companies.....	12
Miscellaneous.....	50
Total.....	175

This does not mean 175 streets; it means more occupied wholly or in part by individuals or corporations, and the return to the city is comparatively nothing. Some pay, or

have paid, something for the privileges they enjoy, but more have paid nothing. Some have perpetual rights (strange as it may seem), and some only for a term of years. Some only cross the streets, some occupy them to the exclusion of all others, and some occupy wholly or in part a dozen or more streets.

PAY NOTHING TO THE CITY.

The first item on the list represents no return to the city. In other words, something like sixty individuals, firms, or corporations have, by ordinance, been granted the right to lay tracks on or across one or more streets in Chicago without paying a cent for the privilege. The strongest stipulation made when any of the ordinances was passed was that the city should pay nothing for the repair of or damages on the street or that portion of it occupied for private purposes.

If the streets are worth something to the companies are they not to the city?

Would not the companies expect to pay something for the same privileges on land that did not belong to the city, and would they not be willing to do so?

"They certainly would," said a real estate man who was asked about the matter. "The strongest plea that is made for the occupation of the streets is where the company owns the property on both sides for some distance, but if a company owned the property on both sides and in the rear of a lot owned by you, you wouldn't give it privileges on or under that lot without some compensation, even if it would be a good thing for the neighborhood. If you did you would suffer for some one else's gain. When the city suffers the public suffers."

The following shows some of the concerns that have been granted privileges in the way of switch-tracks on public property. In a few cases the names of the streets to be crossed (there being several) were not given in the ordinance, in others the date of the grant is not given, and in still other there is no limit of time. Most of the latter are subject to repeal, however, although some appear to be grants in perpetuity:

	<i>Street</i>	<i>Date of grant.</i>	<i>Time</i>
Barzynsky & Sledzianowski.....	Alley.....	July 9, '88	10
Brand & Co.....	Snow.....		20
Ferdinand E. Canda.....	Stewart.....		10
Beigler, Eberthouser & Findesien.....	Cherry.....	April 7, '88	10
South Branch Canal Co.....	South.....	Jan. 5.....	
Consolidated Ice Machine Co.....	{ Stewart } { Lumber }	July 2 '88	20
Daniel Corkery.....	Stewart.....		10
Cooper & Nocken.....	Alley.....	Oct. 8, '88	10
Dowdle & McWhirter.....		May 13, '89	
J. G. Dwen.....	Twentieth.....	Feb. 1, '86	20
J. S. Ford, Johnson & Co.....	Indiana av.....	June 17, '89	10
Zall, Burmiller & Unzieker.....	Hawthorne av.....	May 20, '89	10
James B. Galloway.....	Fleetwood.....		10
Garden City Sand Co.....	{ Rockwell } { Lexington }	May 18, '85	10
M. Gottfried.....	Alexander.....	Nov. 20, '76	
P. C. Hanford Oil Co.....	Sixteenth.....		10
Harpold & Sayers.....	Alley.....	Feb. 20, '88	10
Edwin S. Hartwell.....	Chester.....	May 28, '88	10
Ernest Heldheimer.....	Lumber.....	Mar. 10, '80	10
G. W. Hinckley.....	Twenty-second.....	Feb. 4, '87	
Knickerbocker Ice Co.....	Stewart.....	Oct. 17, '87	10
McCormick Harvester Machine Co.....	{ Western av } { Tw'ty-sixth }	April 30, 88	10
Mahla & Chappell.....	Stewart.....	Dec. 16, '87	10
Morier & Kindley.....	16th and 17th.....	April 5, '86	10
L. Newberry & Co.....	North Market.....	Feb. 10, '62	
O'Connor & Leeson.....	Rockwell.....	Mar. 18, '89	10
H. Paepeke & Co.....	George.....	Oct. 8, '88	10
Paige Iron Works.....	Ontario.....	Sept. 24, '88	10
Elijah Peacock.....	Stewart av.....	Jan. 14, '89	10
People's Gas Light & Coke Co.....	Elston av.....	Mar. 12, '86	
R. Rassmussen.....	Bloomingtondale.....	Oct. 24, '87	10
D. Reed.....	Grove.....	July 15, '86	10
Rend & Healy.....	Hoyne av.....	Nov 19, '88	10
Steele Taylor.....		Sept. 7, '63	
William F. Tucker.....	Egan av.....	Sept. 23, '72	
Tudor Buggy Co.....	Stewart av.....		10
Union Iron & Steel Co.....	{ Ashland av. } { 33d..... } { Iron..... }	Jan. 21, '84	20
Union Stock Yards & Transit Co.....	Ogden av.....	Mar. 19, '77	
Albert H. Veeder.....	Hawthorne av.....	Jan. 14, 89	20
Ward & Gaennslen.....	{ Archer av..... } { Waver st..... } { Ullman..... } { Fox..... }	Jan. 26, '85	
John A. Yale.....	{ Waterville.. } { 32d..... } { Benson..... }	April 2, '80	

NEITHER MAPS NOR PLATS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CITY.

There is not in any department of the City Hall any sets of maps or plats to show whether railroad tracks and switches have been authorized by ordinance, and when any dispute or question arises the only method of determining if the track in question was put down after due authority is to look up the city ordinances on the particular track in question.

This but goes to show the truth of the statement often made that any mercantile or other business-house run with as little system as the municipal government of Chicago would be bankrupt in three months.



IT WAS PRACTICALLY A GIFT

TERMS ON WHICH THE CITY GAVE UP THE WASHINGTON STREET

TUNNEL—OTHER FRANCHISES.

The Washington tunnel is wholly occupied by the West Chicago Street railway to the exclusion of the citizens whose money, in the way of taxes, went to pay for its construction. True, if a man cares to take his life in his hands, he may drive through, or walk through for that matter, but any one who would do so would be taking more foolhardy risks than the man who attempts to walk to the crib on blocks of ice. When Carter Harrison was Mayor the use of the tunnel was given the Chicago Passenger railway, which in turn disposed of it to Mr. Yerkes' company. Under the provisions of the ordinance, the street car company was to remove the Madison street bridge to Washington street, which it did, and now enjoys the tunnel usufruct without the payment of one cent of revenue. The same company is now constructing a tunnel on Van Buren street at a cost running well up towards a million

dollars, a sum that would have had to be expended in a tunnel for the West Madison street and Milwaukee avenue lines had it not been for an obliging City Council.

The North Chicago Street railway company has the use of the LaSalle Street tunnel under authority of an ordinance passed July 19, 1886, and amended Oct. 5, 1888. This gives the railway company the use of the tunnel for twenty years from the time of the passage of the ordinance, at a yearly rental of \$25,000. There were two or three strings to the \$25,000 annual tax however, and as has been customary with this corporation when any strings were in sight, they have been pulled, and the result is the city receives no revenue from the tunnel. The ordinance contained the stipulation that if the North Chicago Street railway company should put up a bridge similar to the Rush street bridge, at Clark street, the rent for the tunnel should be reduced to \$10,000 a year. Then by constructing a bridge at Wells street, payment for the use of the tunnel was to cease entirely. Both bridges were built and the street car company now pays nothing for the tunnel.

Under the terms of the contract with the city, the company must keep the tunnel in thorough repair, both the roadway and the footway well lighted and the walls painted. Every person who lives on the North Side and who has occasion to go through it knows how well this part of the agreement is maintained.

The various street car companies are taxed on the number of cars used in the carrying of passengers, but again the city gets the bag to hold. The Chicago City railway company, the North Chicago Street railway company and the West Chicago Street railway company are requested by ordinance to pay a tax of \$50 a year on the cars in service. Thirteen round trips constitute a day's service, and those cars put on for the morning and evening rush must run six and one-half days to constitute a day, or six years and-a-half before they bring in a revenue of \$50 to the city. A car purchased now and put in service on the lines in question, for the rush hours, would bring into the

City Treasury the full \$50 in the neighborhood of Oct. 4, 1898. Of course summer cars don't pay tax in winter or winter cars in summer, so the time when the payment of the \$50 is completed might be extended to April, 1905, this counting on honest and truthful returns from car officials whose memories have been known to fail in times gone by. During the year 1891 there was paid into the city treasury by the three companies the modest sum of \$45,848.55.

There is a more advantageous clause in the Alley "L" and the Lake Street "L" roads regarding the payment of tax on cars in service. Instead of a clause providing for thirteen round trips constituting a day's run the ordinances in each case provide for a payment of \$50 a year for every car in service.

"When the recent omnibus ordinances for the West and South Sides were introduced," said Controller May, in discussing this feature of municipal revenue, "I tried to have the tax made so much for each car in service, as is the case with the two elevated roads, but my efforts were without success. The thirteen-trip-a-day clause is of great benefit to the street car companies." There are certain other minor obligations imposed upon the street car lines. The North Chicago street railway company pays \$250 a year towards the maintenance of the North avenue bridge and the same amount towards the Division street bridge.

The Chicago Passenger railway company pays \$1,000 towards maintaining the Adams street bridge.

The West Chicago street railway company pays \$1,000 a year for repairs on the Lake street bridge for its use of the same.

The Chicago Telephone company was given permission by the City Council to put electrical conduits under the streets and alleys of the city. For this and the right to string up wires on poles the company paid into the City Treasury during 1891 the sum of \$26,255, it being 3 per cent. on the gross receipts.

The gas companies comprising the gas trust pay into the treasury of the city a small part of their vast earnings for the right to tear up each and every street and alley in the City of Chicago and to lay as many and big gas mains, pipes, and feeders as the companies may deem necessary. The companies are required by ordinance to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of gross income from the sale of illuminating and fuel gas. The returns for the year 1891 are interesting in two ways, first, that the gross income of the several companies, as figured out by the officers, is given with the amount paid by each company into the City Treasury. The table is as follows:

	<i>Gross receipts.</i>	<i>$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid to city.</i>
Chicago Gas Light & Coke Co.	\$1,834,534.13	\$64,208.69
Consumers' Gas Co.	572,283.81	20,029.93
Equitable Gas Co.	148,370.81	5,192.98
People's Gaslight & Coke Co.	1,335,823.77	46,753.83
Lake Gas Co.	159,111.27	5,568.89
Hyde Park Gas Co.	181,739.33	6,360.88
Suburban Gas Co.	135,105.65	4,728.70
Total	\$4,366,968.77	\$152,843.90

Of the \$152,843.90 due the city under this contract, \$131,300 has been paid, leaving a balance yet due of \$21,543.90. The gas trust will no doubt make good its reputation and pay this sum the first bright, sunshiny day that Mr. Billings has nothing else to do.

The above statements would have been difficult to obtain had not the *Tribune* given them to the people. It is good authority for their correctness. Chicago papers, are, as a rule, on the side of reform. They are willing to do what they deem best. It is not expected all editors will agree on the method to be pursued

CORPORATIONS MUST PAY FOR CLEANING STREETS.

In consideration of the enormous gifts the city has lavished upon her favorite sons controlling these great corporations, now owning nearly all the streets and alleys within the corporate limits, the people, the forgotten million, should now elect a Board of Aldermen and a Mayor who would immediately take measures to impose a tax upon these rich beneficiaries of the Council and compel them hereafter to maintain, free of all expense to the citizens, the streets and alleys, constructing, repairing and cleaning them as long as outstanding franchises last. If these clever gentlemen had originally paid what they should, Chicago could now do all this from the revenue obtained. Eventually these corporations should be forced to excavate the streets and alleys in center of city, and bridge them with iron girders from curb to curb, and cover them so heavy teams can pass over them, leaving a free passage underneath so that the surface need not be disturbed. In the crowded portions of the city, the street cars and railroads should be forced to use these underground passages as is done in London. The street cleaning committee appointed by the chairman of the Citizens' Meeting held in Central Music Hall, Dec. 22, 1892, numbering one hundred prominent residents of Chicago, will find ample scope for their energy and talent in accomplishing for their fellow citizens this needed and effective remedial act of justice.

It is evident to all who investigate the manner in which American cities are run, and compare our methods with those governing such cities as Birmingham, Glasgow and even the gay and worldly Paris, that there is a marked difference in favor of the latter.

The practical distinction between the large cities of Germany and Great Britain and those of the United States, is:

the former are governed in fact by public authority, feared and respected by the people, while the latter are not so governed or respected. They are really controlled by outside business corporations, such as street car and gas companies, and by rings, schemers and political parties. The legally elected governing power, in office from time to time, is used by these to subserve their plans, while the greater interests of the commonwealth are ignored.

COMPARISON OF EXPENSES OF RUNNING ENGLISH AND
AMERICAN CITIES.

In his article on municipal institutions in America and England, in the November Forum, the Honorable Joseph Chamberlain points out the differences in expense of running an English city and an American city. As an illustration he compares Boston with Birmingham. "Anyone who knows the two cities," he says, "which have about the same population (Boston being credited with 448,000 in 1890 and Birmingham with 430,000 in 1891) will admit that Birmingham enjoys every result of municipal enterprise, and to at least as great an extent as Boston. Many persons would be inclined to state the case much more strongly in favor of Birmingham, which also possesses many developments of local activity not yet approached by the sister city." He places the total municipal expenses of Birmingham at £333,000, and that of Boston \$10,194,000, or more than six times the expenditures of Birmingham. Although in the calculation Boston has been taken as a convenient subject of comparison, it must not be supposed that Boston stands alone or is comparatively excessive in its expenditures. In the census bulletin, No. 32, published by the census office, the superintendent, the Hon. R. P. Porter, gives the statistics of the expenditures of one hundred

principal and representative cities of the United States, with a total population of 12,425,366, or about two-thirds of the urban population of the whole country. The list includes cities of every class, from Burlington, Vt., with a population of 14,590, to New York with 1,515,301; and the respective expenditures vary from \$3.79 per head in the case of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Oswego, New York, to \$27.61 for St. Paul, Minnesota.

“The total ordinary expenses for the whole of the hundred cities are given as \$234,626,655. Deducting \$7,166,901 for charitable objects, and \$19,086,751 for water works, which are expenses not represented in the Birmingham statistics, there remains \$208,373,003, or \$16.78 per head of the population. The corresponding expenditure in Birmingham, including schools, is 403,000 pounds, which is equal to 18s. 9d., or \$4.50 per head. The expenditure of Birmingham, with a population of 430,000, is, therefore, little more than one-fourth of the average of one hundred American cities, great and small together.

“In attempting to find the cause of the great difference in cost of the municipal administration of the two countries, it is of course necessary to take into account the difference in the cost of wages. A second reason frequently given to account for the extravagances of American city expenditures is the alleged existence of deliberate dishonesty and corruption practiced on a gigantic scale. In the popularly elected municipalities of England this does not exist and has never existed.

“There remains only one other possible cause; and that is, that, owing to ineffective control and supervision by the honorary members of the Councils in the first place, and secondly by the chief officials, the standard of work has fallen too low and the standard of payment has risen too high. In such cases apathy and carelessness would soon lead to general inefficiency and incompetence. Places without work would be inordinately multiplied to give opportunities for patronage, and we may be sure that, whenever four men are chosen to do

a task which one can easily perform, the work will be badly as well as expensively done; hence there can be no proper sense of responsibility under such conditions. Ignorance would be permitted to review the work of idleness; and dishonesty, even if it did not take the form of actual theft, would be rife in the shape of neglect of duty and inadequate service.”

One cause in Chicago besides those mentioned above, is the expense of running a City and County government, when the former would answer for the entire County, as shown by the Hon. Mayor Washburne in his last message.

A MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS' ACT.

If the question could be brought before congress, and that national representative body could give us a “municipal governments' act” applicable to all our large cities, as the English parliament gave a uniform framework of municipal government to all the cities of the United Kingdom, the problem might in a great measure be solved. There is no reason why New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, San Francisco, Boston, New Orleans, and all other such cities in the United States should not be governed substantially by the same municipal form of government. This should be reduced to a science, and be taught like history in all our public schools, so that every one may understand it and act accordingly.

The vote on the constitutional amendment submitted to the people in November, 1891, having been defeated, Illinois has practically tied her hands, temporarily, so that she can not now give Chicago, with over a million inhabitants, a suitable charter without forcing the same on many other cities in the state which do not require it. State legislatures will continue to annoy and embarrass the larger cities in the states in many ways, as the New York legislature has done, and it will take centuries perhaps to accomplish universally in the United States, what congress with the bright

light of modern intelligence concentrated upon its action, might crystalize in one act for the benefit of all present and future cities in the United States.

Even if congress could not force its conclusions upon all our large cities, a congressional commission appointed to formulate a system of municipal government would greatly aid state legislatures, and be far more safe to follow than charters and municipal systems, often without a precedent and proposed by experimentalists. A statement which is here ventured, that all large cities in the United States are badly governed; that their corruption, extravagance, and disorder is a blot upon the proud name of the American republic, can not be contradicted. This being the fact the different states might well call upon congress for an investigation and for a plan of speedy and radical relief in this direction. Neither members of the legislature nor of a common council are as well qualified to handle this important question as congress, on account of local political and personal interests. Nor are the private associations springing up here and there under various names, and proposing reforms. These could not be expected to contain the concentrated wisdom of the British parliament which gave the British nation the "municipal governments' act," or the ability of the congress of the United States.

STRONG MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION REQUIRED.

It will require strong permanent municipal organizations to hold in check and direct the great heterogeneous collections of people in our large cities.

In Bryce's American Commonwealth it is stated "that the number of persons living in cities exceeding 8,000 inhabitants to the total population of the United States, was, in 1880, 22½ per cent." A still larger proportion, say fifty per cent, would now, in 1892, be found in our cities. A great part of the wealth is gathered there. Their methods of government are of high concern to Americans. They now absolutely control the gen-

eral government and elect its chief officers. They speak to the nation in tones of authority from the Capitol in Washington. If our cities are badly governed, the effect is speedily apparent in the national government. "Gath," an able correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, writing from Washington, recently pointed out the great power in National politics of large American cities. He says "the vast patronage of American cities has won the multitude. Congress has not as much to give away as has been given away in New York city in street franchises since the presidential election; \$359,000,000 are expended annually by 100 cities. "Shall state legislatures," he says, "register the edict of the municipal caiffiffs and elect to the United States senate the brewer who assisted Senator Hill with the power of all the breweries and saloons in the State?" Yes. And "Senator" Murphy is now there.

"This is the great new question of politics! To this issue tariff is nothing!" says "Gath" who is an experienced journalist.

THE THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

In all well regulated governments, whether of the nation, state or municipality, there should be an efficient and well defined executive, legislative and judicial department.

THE EXECUTIVE.

Where so many important interests are at stake, and so diversified a population is to be governed, it is evident that the executive should be a personage eminently qualified for the position. He should be clothed with sufficient power to enable him to carry forward, during his administration, with dispatch and regularity, the great organization of which he should be the head.

The Honorable Seth Low, formerly Mayor of Brooklyn, under whose administration that city was judiciously and properly governed, is in favor of granting a large measure of power to the mayor or executive of the city. He says, "when one reflects that in the government of the United States, the immense administrative departments, like the Treasury and the Post Office, have, from the beginning of the government, been committed to the care of a single man, it seems strange that in their cities Americans should have been so unwilling to proceed upon the same theory." In Brooklyn the Mayor appoints the heads of all departments, who in turn appoint their own subordinates. Philadelphia, Boston and New York are following the example of Brooklyn, by increasing the power of the mayor.

As the Mayor should devote all his time to the business of the great corporation of which he is the head, he should be paid a salary which would compensate a man who could, in any other department of business, of equal importance, command a salary of \$25,000 at least. With its population of 362,839 in 1890, Boston paid its Mayor \$10,000 a year, while Chicago, with 1,350,000, pays but \$7,000. With a salary of \$25,000, the mayor should be expected to look after his own corporation's financial and general welfare the same as the president of a railroad. He should not use his position to advance the interests of other corporations, and he and his constituents should be responsible for the administration.

Professor Bryce compares the municipality "to a business corporation or company in which the tax-payers are shareholders, doing through the agency of the city officers things which each might do for himself with more cost and labor." Hon. Charles Francis Adams holds "the municipality is a mere business organization," and says "it is no part of the proper function of those handling municipal affairs to consider philosophical principles of statecraft. They are, on the contrary, persons selected by the constituencies to do the work intrusted to them because the constituent masses have proven so large

that they can no longer meet in one body to do that work themselves. The function of the municipal officer is, therefore, to administer the affairs of each community in an intelligent and business like way. In accordance with such views, the mayor should be selected not so much on account of his political creed as for his well-known business and executive qualities."

The Rt. Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, in an article in the November Forum, preceding the article on municipal affairs by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, states, that "the leading idea of the English system of municipal government may be said to be that of a joint stock or co-operative enterprise, in which every citizen is a shareholder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the improved health and the increase in the comfort and happiness of the community. The members of the council are the directors of the great business." The mayor would be in our system, the president of the Board of Directors.

THE LEGISLATIVE.

Referring to the Quincy, Mass., charter, Hon. Charles Francis Adams says: "The analogy of the business corporation should have been followed to its full extent, and all the members of the legislative department should have been chosen at large, regardless of Ward lines; with, moreover, some provision for minority representation. This result, it is argued, would have been brought about to manifest advantage, had the charter provided for the election of a council to be comprised of fifteen, or twenty-one, or twenty-four members, as might be thought best, all to be chosen at large, while no voter could vote for over two-thirds of the entire number to be chosen; but on the other hand, each voter should have been at liberty to concentrate all or any portion of the votes he could cast on one or more candidates, or to distribute them among the full number he was entitled to vote for, giving one vote to each. The fifteen, twenty-one or

twenty-four candidates who received in this way the largest number of votes, irrespective of the size of the several votes as compared with the whole or each other, would be elected and would compose the council."

"It would surely require no great degree of ingenuity to devise a local municipal system under which it would be practical for a scattered constituency, no longer imprisoned in ward lines, so that those composing it may the more conveniently be throttled by ward politicians, so to concentrate itself as to escape complete suppression."

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Dr. John M. Vincent, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, calls attention to the system of proportional representation in vogue in the Canton of Ticino, Switzerland. He says: "In Ticino, the amendment to the constitution was adopted March 8, 1891, by a very even vote. The test is chiefly devoted to the new division of the country into districts, etc., and simply states that hereafter deputies to the grand council constituent assemblies and municipal councils shall be elected by the proportional system, in which electors have the right to vote for candidates of various groups.

The constitutions of Neuchatel, Luzerne, Sulothurn, and St. Gallen favor the system indirectly. Various groups signify different parties, and under this system each party will be represented in the assembly. A majority vote of one party will not defeat the entire vote of the minority party, but the latter will still hold a minority representation in the assembly. The sum of all the votes received by all the groups is divided by the number of deputies to be elected, and this gives the "electorial quotient." Each group has a right to as many deputies as the electoral quotient is contained times in the number of votes received by the group. Groups having a less number of votes than the electoral quotient do not participate in the division.

CANDIDATES MUST QUALIFY.

The city council, which receives its legislative power from the state legislature through the city charter, instead of being left unprotected from ward intriguers and machine politicians, who are always ready to capture it, and who are willing to purchase at high figures their election, should be entirely reconstructed. As there will always be a scramble for all offices, and especially that of councilor, the position should be strictly guarded. It should not be easy to qualify. The applicant should be a resident of city and pay taxes for at least five years; not engaged in keeping a saloon or gambling house, and free from any criminal offence or misdemeanor.

HOW SHOULD COUNCILORS BE ELECTED?

In some cities a board of aldermen are elected on a general ticket and a board of councilmen by wards. Two houses are thus formed, as the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress. This would check too hasty legislation. New York, Boston, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Denver and many other American cities have two houses. Hon. Albert Shaw states in the *Century*, that "A few years ago a council committee, of which Segismund LaCroix was chairman, reported an interesting scheme of municipal organization for Paris. It provided for a council consisting as at present of at least four members from each arrondissement but additional representation for larger ones, increasing the total body from eighty to one hundred and nine members. The council were to be elected for three years, one-third retiring annually, as in England, and the elections were to be upon general arrondissement ticket, a great improvement upon the present plan of unimperial election quarters which necessarily tends to fill the council with obscure men."

Councilors are elected on a general ticket in London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Dresden and many other European cities. Honorable Seth Low is authority for the statement that "as a

general proposition it is found in American cities that the larger the constituency to which a candidate must appeal, and the more important the offices the more of a man the candidates must be."

The council of Brooklyn consists of nineteen members, twelve of whom are elected from three districts, each having four aldermen, the remainings even being elected as aldermen at large by the whole city.

In St. Louis the assembly is composed of two houses. The council consists of thirteen members elected for four years by general ticket. The board of delegates consists of twenty-eight members, one for each ward. This city is governed by a charter or scheme of government, which in pursuance of a special provision for that purpose in the last constitution of Missouri, 1875, was prepared by a board of thirteen freeholders elected by the people of the city and county of St. Louis, and was finally adopted and ratified by the people themselves by a vote at the polls, August 22, 1876. Boston also has two houses.

Albert Shaw, in *March Century*, 1890, states in an article on "Glasgow; a Municipal Study," that "The whole government of Glasgow may be said to be exercised by a grand committee of fifty men chosen by the qualified electors. The election is for a term of three years, and one man from each ward retires annually. From their own number the councilors choose a provost, who corresponds to the mayor in English towns, but he is not an administrative head as the American mayors are." "There is not," he continues, "in British cities any disposition whatever to concentrate appointing power and executive control in the hands of one man as an effective way to secure responsible administration. There is nothing in British organization or experience to sustain the proposition of certain municipal reformers, that good city government can be secured by making the mayor a dictator. All the appointments are made by the council. Heads of departments are selected with great care, and their places are practically permanent." In remodel-

ing our charter this question of the power of the council and that of the mayor should be carefully considered. If members of the council were business men, and upright, respected and successful citizens, like those of Glasgow are said to be, it would be safe to leave all this power in their hands while the mayor would act merely as president of the council. But it would not do unless the character of our council, judging by the past, is entirely changed.

The government of London is under the county council. Mr. Shaw states, "The absolute control of municipal affairs by one central, elective body, representing the masses of the citizens, will be the permanent and final government of this chief of urban communities." Such is the British ideal of a perfect municipal government.

Councilmen should be paid from \$3,000 to \$5,000 per year instead of \$3.00 a session as now, and be subject to removal for malfeasance in office, on conviction. An honest man can then afford to take the office and spend a portion of his time in attending to the affairs of the city, which he could not do if depending on his time and strength for a living. Honest men who can come up to the requirements prescribed, could then compete with men who seek the office only for plunder.

STOP THE PURCHASE OF ELECTIONS.

If we punish the corrupt use of money at elections we might succeed in getting better men elected to the council. Mr. Shaw refers to elections in London as follows: "All the stringent regulations against the lavish and corrupt use of money that have proved so salutary in purifying English parliamentary elections, have been made applicable to the election of London councilors. Under no circumstances may the election expenses of a councilor aggregate more than twenty-five pounds. All expenditures must be made through authorized agents and these must report the items to the candidate, who within one month must render a complete return of

expenses incurred in his election." These laws are construed strictly, carry heavy penalties and are scrupulously observed. If voters could be compelled to vote or forfeit their right unless good cause for abstaining can be given it would bring out the better classes.

How are our common councilmen elected in Chicago? What does it usually cost to be elected in some of the thickly settled wards at present? A "councilor" from the principal saloon in his ward, where the boys get free drinks, lays his plans to capture the ward. He pays \$100 or \$200 to a number of henchmen well known in each precinct, to work primaries and the final election, and before he covers the entire ground it may cost him \$3,000 or \$4,000, which he willingly expends to be elected to a seat in the council which pays annually \$150. *Men elected in this way should have every possible power taken out of their hands as has been attempted in New York and Brooklyn.*

DAYLIGHT SESSIONS.

The city council remodeled for Chicago, if possible, with an upper and lower house, should hold its sessions during broad daylight, two or three times a week, so as to continually and speedily dispose of all routine business and hear reports of standing committees, etc.

UNITE CITY AND COUNTY.

To concentrate the municipal business, the county, city, and towns should be merged into one government.

April 18, 1892, Mayor Washburne, in his message to the council, says: "In this connection I would suggest the desirability of taking some action toward bringing about legislation amending the law governing our present method of assessment and collection of taxes. Under the

our liberty and enlightenment and wonderful achievements. We will learn that tall buildings, gigantic trusts and corrupt officials do not constitute a model city, and that only by eternal vigilance can its citizens maintain their rights.

Frank P. Pritchard, of Philadelphia, publishes an article on

“THE SCIENCE OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.”

in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for January, 1892, in which he states that in the city of Philadelphia, (where the men and money came from which captured our streets for the dangerous cable system for which Chicago gets little or nothing), “the community was startled by the discovery of the dishonesty of a public official. The same investigations which disclosed his guilt, disclosed also a looseness of administration of state and city finances which gave opportunity to it, if it did not suggest the crime.” He claims that the system by which our cities are governed is wrong, and that “the control of accumulated capital by corporations has introduced a dangerous force into the operations of trade and commerce, and the phenomenal increase of large cities has introduced an equally dangerous factor into the domain of politics. The ordinary administrative machinery of the government, constructed for a less complex condition of society, is proving inadequate. A more scientific construction and a more systematic operation is imperative.”

The action of the mayor and common council, if investigated by a grand jury in reference to its action in granting the

“CHICAGO POWER SUPPLY AND SMOKE ABATING ORDINANCE,”

might disclose not only a startling state of crookedness in our council, but also a fatal weakness in our corporate system.

The Legislature should appoint a commission to investigate the methods which now obtain in the management of our city affairs.

The men who voted for this measure can hardly claim to be friends of the people, and looseness of city affairs have enabled them to act as the tools of monopolists seeking to divest Chicago citizens of valuable municipal properties or privileges, in order, perhaps, to participate in the profits of this new monopoly themselves. They made no effort to make the best bargain for the city, or to replenish her treasury beyond an uncertain per cent; they yielded all that was asked. If these men had performed their duty as the council of Glasgow, London or Paris would have been expected to do by those cities, they would have obtained a large annual income and charged a round sum of money for the benefit of the city for its princely grant, or they would have retained the rights our council gave away, and operated the same scheme for the direct advantage of the city. But the people's representatives apparently forgot who they were acting for.

The city of Glasgow is so averse to giving up the control of its streets to any corporation for street car or other uses, that it opposes every bill in parliament asking power to invade its streets. It constructed its own street car lines or tramways, and leased them to the company proposing to operate them, for a term of years, but it retained absolute ownership of streets and tracks. The result of this patriotic interest of the council in the city, will be that the entire cost of the car lines will be paid back and that the city will own them clear, and obtain a large rental annually from leasing them. These councilmen of Glasgow provided in the lease that morning and evening cars should be run for the workingmen at half price. Have the workingmen of Chicago such men in the council to look after their interests? Why not force the men who sell their votes, whether republicans or democrats, out of office, and prosecute them until they are driven out of the city and into the penitentiary for bribery and conspiracy?

Glasgow has reduced the indebtedness for gas works from \$5,330,000 for the entire outlay to \$2,400,000, and owns its plant. All this good work for Glasgow was accomplished by

its fifty councilmen who would not be bribed by American street car companies to give up their streets to a greedy monopoly or hand the people over to a grinding gas trust. Glasgow does not exist under a republican form of government either, like the city of Chicago. But among its voters are included all adults who occupy homes, however small the rent, and pay their poor rates. Women householders are also admitted to vote. In 1890 the male voters thus enfranchised numbered 75,000 and the women 14,750.

The people should have an appeal from the action of a city council so plainly against the public good as the ordinance passed for the benefit of a private corporation like the "Power Supply Company," which simply paid the state \$3 50 for a license to organize and then sent a draft of the ordinance to the council. Property owners whose property is affected should enjoin the company from tearing up the streets. The Supreme Court of the state should be called upon to interfere and test the right of the council to deprive for all time 1,350,000 citizens of the State of Illinois of the equitable *use and control of their own streets and alleys*. There may be technical points that may invalidate this reckless grab if contested, and the legislature should provide some way to protect the people from such high bounded imposition in the future.

But this is only another startling illustration proving that the method of conducting our municipal government is wrong. If we possessed an upper house of well-selected aldermen, elected on a general ticket, and a lower house of councilmen chosen by wards, the upper house, if composed of the right material, would have been a check on the lower house and stopped the passage of this ordinance.

There is no place in this business of running a great city, for men to introduce their private schemes, nor for public representatives who boldly misdirect and abuse the confidence placed in them by the people electing them. The million or more of citizens in the great free city of the lakes should arise in their majesty, and not rest until their betrayers are

punished. City officials should be promptly compelled to do their sworn duty or suffer instantly for their lack of fidelity, when the lives of thousands are at stake.

In free America we endure from city officials wrongs the citizens of a German empire or an English kingdom would never submit to. Paris of to-day is a model city, but we see it after, not before the reign of terror, when it was ruled by a privileged class, corresponding to our monopolists and those who control great corporations.

The granting of franchises must be submitted to the people. The present Legislature could at least help the forgotten million in Chicago by passing a law applicable to all cities on this point. The city should only lease privileges.

WE KEEP "THE BEST" MEN OUT.

Hon. Charles Francis Adams says in the Forum of November, '92: "It is true—and for us very sadly true—that the whole underlying political machinery now in common use in American cities is admirably adapted—as admirably as if it were so designed—to put control securely in the hands of the professionals. The caucus system supplements the ward system. To be in public life in America, whether in the national Congress or the city government, a man must be a member of the political majority in the locality in which he chances to live. A political system better adapted to throwing control into the hands of those who will use it for ulterior and selfish ends, and for keeping the best men out of the field of public usefulness could not be devised: and so it is against this part of the existing political machinery, I submit, that the charter-makers and reformers should now direct their efforts, rather than in the direction of more ingenious contrivances for the division of functions of representation. We reach our results to-day by the process of counting noses, *pro* and *con*, within the pale of certain geographical ring-fences, known as district and ward lines."

The puzzle, therefore, the charter reformer has to work out, if he is going to get down to the root of the matter, is some political system which shall secure the utmost free play of the individual citizen, and the representation of minorities in municipal affairs; having done this, and having thus set individuals free and made minorities potent, it will be for those composing the minorities, to put their hands, as of old, on the shoulders of the "best men" and enact of them compulsory, municipal service, those civic tours of public duty. The above statements are given to show some of the difficulties to be overcome before we can have proper men elected to the Council.

NEEDED LEGISLATION NEGLECTED.

Very little good can be accomplished by electing a competent mayor when the council is composed of men elected as now, from wards, without adequate compensation from the city, who pay no attention to the wishes of the executive when he wants to accomplish anything for the public welfare, but who lend themselves as willing servants to schemers and corrupt corporations who pay them for their services. Hon. Mayor Washburne states in his report April 18, 1893, that "sixty out of sixty-three ordinances for the improvement of streets within the territory named, which had been agreed upon, were defeated." Again, referring to the House of Correction: "At the present time three prisoners are compelled to sleep in one cell, with only one cot, each cell being 6x4 feet in size. Although the state of affairs herein referred to has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the authorities by the superintendent, it has not been remedied, because the city has not the money wherewith to do it. It is time this community should take up this matter in earnest and see to it that boys should not be subjected to corrupting influences which make criminals instead of reforming vicious and smart children."

The majority of the councilmen were too busy giving away, for private considerations, rich franchises, which in Glasgow

or Birmingham would have netted the city millions of dollars, or would not have been granted, while the improvement of streets is disregarded. The youth committed to the care of reformatory institutions, are grossly neglected, when under our present system of ward elections these same neglected vagabonds may in a few years be voted into the council and become as prominent and trustworthy as the present incumbents. If Chicago does not have money to meet the demands of reformatory institutions and streets, it is the fault of the aldermen, who could have demanded and obtained from different corporations annually, large revenues.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

As to this department, there is no call for an immediate change. Others may find cause for reform here, but it is not considered necessary to open the question in this connection, except in reference to police justices.

JUSTICES' COURTS.

All the justices of the peace in Chicago are appointed by the Governor on recommendation of the judges of the Circuit, Superior, and County Courts. From their number are selected the police magistrates, who attend to the city's business, such as breaches of the peace and violations of city ordinances. The city justices are paid \$2,500 per annum besides clerk hire, fuel and rent-free quarters. They should, to comply with the terms of their contract, turn in to the city treasury all their receipts for fines, costs, etc. There is, probably, no more prolific source of scandal and reproach than these "justices' shops" as they are not inaptly termed. Of them the June, 1892, grand jury report says, "there are many men occupying

the position of Justice of the Peace in this county who are wholly unfitted for this responsible position, both from lack of ability and want of proper comprehension of the rules of law, justice or honesty." A later publication by the News Record of this city gives the following:

"Under the law as it now exists, justices of the peace get their compensation out of the fees earned by them. It is therefore important for them to have as many suits brought before them as possible. A collection agency bringing a large number of suits is a valuable customer. If such agencies are pleased with the decisions of the justices they will bring more suits in his court, and the justice will make more fees. If displeased, they will seek some more complacent justice, and take their source of revenue to some other court. Let the justice be ever so fair-minded a man, he will be subject to the continual temptation of resolving judicial questions in favor of his customer; and, if he be corrupt, this system will enable him to make large profits out of a judicial office where, in the majority of instances, the litigants are among the poor and most helpless classes.

"In the police courts the system is still worse. It is a matter of common notoriety that in these courts policemen bring in hundreds of the unfortunate and disorderly elements of the city without warrants or any other process of law and lock them up in the stations until they are bailed out. One or more professional bailers are attached to each court. These bailers receive from \$3 to \$10, in accordance with the amount of money possessed by the victim, for signing a bail bond.

PROFIT BY CONTINUANCES.

"The justice receives \$1 for taking the bond and \$1 for each renewal thereof, and such renewal is necessary on each continuance. It will be readily seen that when continuances yield the justice \$1 apiece for approving the new bond, there is considerable inducement to granting continuances, because they

inure to his profit. Aside from the professional bailer another hanger-on of the police court is the professional shyster, who has a "pull" with the justice and the officers at the station. He frequently acts in the double capacity of attorney and bailer, and it is a recognized fact that these professional attendants of the court have more or less influence or "pull" with the justice. How this particular influence is acquired must be left to inference; that it exists is unquestionable.

"The Citizens' Association of Chicago, which has given this matter careful attention during the last two years, and has laid the facts before the chief of police and the mayor, has caused to be made the subjoined schedule of the number of cases brought, fines paid, amount paid to comptroller, number of discharges, fines suspended and number of cases continued, which furnishes its own commentary as to the mode of administration in the police courts of Chicago:

JUSTICES.	Number of cases.	Amount paid comptroller.	Discharged.	Executions staid.	Fined.	Held to Criminal court.	Nolle prossed.	Bound to keep peace.	Continued cases.	Change of venue.	Average amount paid to comptroller for each prisoner.
M. R. M. Wallace	522	\$ 229.00	131	135	211	8	6	1	114	26	\$ 0.44
G. P. Foster	536	395.80	162	100	215	10	8	8	91	9	.74
M. Eberhardt	1,176	257.50	350	36	224	7	2	11	454	85	.21
J. C. Dooley	732	263.00	307	49	198	6	11	13	229	26	.36
J. Blume	711	110.00	228	13	58	11	5	35	365	24	.15½
C. W. Woodman	1,672	583.00	348	124	453	25	69	5	561	31	.35
D. Scully	283	242.00	53	6	105	10	45	10	42	6	.85½
O. Severson	781	649.00	152	48	277	25	68	45	161	23	.83
D. J. Lyon	2,017	951.85	570	274	680	47	26	28	595	36	.47½
E. T. Glennon	3,069	1,493.90	990	230	---	43	51	62	1,378	49	.49

JUSTICES ARE INFLUENCED BY THE FEES.

"From these figures it appears that the arrests made by the police are in nearly one-half of the instances of innocent par-

ties, or, at any rate, without any evidence upon which to base a conviction. It also shows that the justices are influenced by the money to be made by continuances, for themselves and the hangers-on of the station. For example, Justice Glennon, out of 3,069 cases brought before him in one month, continued 1,278 cases; Justice Eberhardt fined 224 prisoners \$257.50, out of a total of 1,176 prisoners. An analysis of the figures in the foregoing schedule leads to the necessary inference that either the police most recklessly and unlawfully arrest innocent parties, or else the straw bailers or other hangers-on induce the justices to remit the fines or discharge the prisoners in cases where the parties are guilty.

“Another effect of these frequent continuances is, that where a law-abiding citizen has been injured in his person or property and seeks to prosecute the offender, he is worn out by the process of allowing a case to be continued from time to time until he can no further follow it, and the prisoner is thereupon discharged for want of prosecution.

“The system of inferior courts now prevalent in the city of Chicago was well adapted to the primitive communities which first used it, where the justice was a substantial farmer or citizen, well known to his neighborhood, and knew most of the people who had cases before him, and sat as an arbitrator of neighborhood differences, and this system still works well in the country at the present time. That it is thoroughly unadapted to a city of 1,500,000 inhabitants is clearly apparent.

NEED A DIGNIFIED MUNICIPAL COURT.

“A law that would abolish the entire system uniformly throughout the state could never pass the legislature. Any legislation, therefore, which could meet the wants of the city would have to be applicable to the city of Chicago alone, and to pass a measure such as is required, without coming in conflict with our somewhat outworn state constitution, will be exceedingly difficult. What is needed is a municipal court of

equal dignity with any court in the county, filled by as capable and high-minded men as any that can be obtained as judges, a definite, fixed salary, so as to avoid any interest on the part of the justice in the result of any suit pending before him. As to whether such a measure can be enacted without conflict with the constitution, will be for the legislature to determine, but even without the much-needed reform stated, even without a constitutional convention, something can be done to remedy the evils now existing in our police courts.

“The salary received by the police justice from the city should embrace all the emolument and profit to which he should be entitled from his office; all of the fees for approving bonds or other costs should go to the city, and for the justice to receive any emolument or fee of any kind aside from his salary, should be a misdemeanor, for which he should be immediately removed. It should be the cause for removal of any police officer, clerk of the police court or any other employe or officer of any police court to receive any emolument, reward or compensation for any act or service rendered by him. No arrests should be made for any misdemeanor of the nature of disorderly conduct, breach of the peace or other offence embraced in the term ‘disorderly conduct’ or being inmate of a disorderly house in the first instances, but such procedure should be begun by a summons, and, if failing to appear when so summoned, the offender could be fined and execution issued against the body. This would deprive the straw bailer of his occupation, the justice of the temptation to go in league with the bailers and hangers-on of his station and remove from his court a corrupting influence.

“Even as the law now stands a vigorous, earnest and honest administration of it could do much to improve the existing condition. If the police court prosecutors employed by the city of Chicago attended to their duties and exercised that discretion and judgment of which they are supposed to be possessed, they could do much to prosecute and prevent the discharge and escape of actual offenders, and to effect the

release of the innocent and unfortunate. It is a notorious fact, and one established by reports made to the Citizen's Association by officers employed for that purpose, that for weeks at a time no one representing the city, other than the policemen, appeared in the police courts to take charge of the city's interests in these cases, and the policeman acts as prosecutor or as attorney for the defendant, as his interest may suggest."

"No more important duty rests upon the legislature than to afford us some relief and remedy in the direction suggested. It involves no partisanship or party interest. It involves the welfare of all and most particularly those who are least able to help themselves and the most liable to oppression and abuse. Would we have the law respected we must make it respectable; and to justify the feeling and belief on the part of those it is intended to restrain, protect or punish, that it is an instrument to be used by those in power for their oppression and abuse, and that it can be modified or rendered impotent in its application by money, influence or friendship, is to breed lawlessness, disorder and anarchy."

Another article on the subject gives the following:

"Legislation is needed that will effect a remedy. The specific measure that can bring about the reform is a matter for the legislature to consider, but many suggestions have been made worthy of attention. The mere statement of the fact that courts organized for the purpose of administering justice, preserving the rights of liberty and property, are administered for the financial benefit of the officers of such courts, and that the so-called justices are pecuniarily interested in the result of their decisions, is of itself sufficient to convince any one that the present system is vicious and corrupting. This statement embodies simply the fact."

"In many of the minor courts the stern chase after fees has entirely obscured the humble needs of justice. The collection agency which throws its business into a certain channel is likely to get more consideration than the debtor who brings no

fees to the magistrate's hopper. The industry of arresting inmates of disorderly houses for fees, of dividing the loot with professional bailers and other profitable adventures of a similar sort are well recognized by many justices of the peace as a part of their work. It is disgraceful, demoralizing, a prolific source of outrageous wrong."

Among the suggestions made for relief is that of establishing a City Court of high character with, perhaps, seven judges of similar standing to those of the Circuit and Superior Courts, whose jurisdiction shall extend to all municipal cases; its functions might be so extended as to embrace all the criminal cases occurring within the city.

THE CHIEF OF POLICE.

The chief of police should be given a salary sufficient to secure the best man in the country, whether from Chicago, New York or any other city, and should be independent of the city council, so as to take the police force beyond the reach of politics, or aldermanic control. He should be enabled to enforce law and order without respect to persons and parties, and be as independent in some respects as the perfect of police in Paris. The local military companies and the militia, if need be, within the city limits, should be subject to his call to enforce law and order if necessary; he should have a mounted force of 100 picked men, besides a sufficient force of unmounted men, on account of the large area of the city. He should be aided by the detective force and given sufficient power and money to enable him to act quickly and independently, without fear of check or hindrance from other officials in the city, but be subject to removal by the mayor who appoints him, if he abuses such power. The appropriation for police purposes should be adequate and estimated and applied for by the chief of police and the mayor

to the common council, and passed upon by that body. In some states the chief of police is appointed by the governor and is independent of city elections.

Police Chief McClaughry says: "So long as Aldermen have the right to name policemen, the appointees would continue to recognize the power behind the throne, and discipline would be almost valueless. The patrolmen should be made to recognize that only efficiency would insure their retention."

If the mayor and council are properly constituted there is no use delegating to the governor of the state the power to appoint the chief of police or any other head of a purely local department. The mayor and every member of the council should be as competent an officer in this respect as the governor. In a city like Chicago the police force should be as thoroughly equipped as in Paris or London. It should be a little standing army, with its West Point for preparing men for the force, who should be thoroughly drilled and equipped and strong enough numerically to keep the lawless elements in Chicago completely under control. The chief and his subordinates should be permanent officers during good behavior, like those in the army. All should be taken care of, well provided for when sick or old, by pensions. The detective system should be as thorough as that of the police force. The local police force of a great city like Chicago, Paris, or London, should be as formidable to the enemies of good government as the United States government when it is summoned to put down rebellion or an invading army.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The members of the school board of Chicago are appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the Council. Under the revised charter this need not be changed. However, in Boston the school committee is distinct from the rest of the city government, being elected on a general ticket over the whole city and serving for three years, eight of the twenty-four retiring annually.

THE CITY AND COUNTY TREASURER.

The city should pay a salary to the city treasurer equal in size to the importance of the office, but provide that all interest on funds collected be turned over to the city. The same provision should be made in reference to the county treasurer, and this should be fixed by a special statute.

THE COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, ETC.

The commissioner of public works, and other appointees of the mayor, should be paid adequate salaries, so as to secure the best talent in the city for heads of important departments, and hold their offices during more than one administration, if competent, and be subject to a prompt removal by the mayor for misusing their offices. The commissioner should be empowered to enforce the elevation or lowering of all railroad tracks at once.

RAISE OR LOWER THE TRACKS.

Minneapolis can teach Chicago a lesson on how a city government should manage the railroads within her boundaries. In the Harper's of March, Julian Ralf states: "It was five years ago that the city council of Minneapolis ordered the city engineer to prepare plans for the execution of the work. This done, the city attorney began proceedings in court to determine why the railroads should not lower their tracks. The Great Northern and Manitoba railroads at once complied with the city's project and the other roads were soon forced to do so. The arrangement that Minneapolis made was a simple one, for the city. It decided that the railroads were to build the entire viaduct approaches, bridges, masonry, walls, excavations and all, and that the city was to stand between the railroads and those property-holders who might claim damages for injuries growing out of the improvement. The city comes out of the affair at very slight cost, while the railroads have been

put to an enormous outlay. The railroad must keep the bridges and approaches in perpetual repair. The passenger tracks are sunk ten feet at the lowest point; the freight track four or five feet. It will be of interest," he says, "to those officers of other cities who are meditating work of this kind, to know that the railroads which can use the new viaduct are greatly pleased with the reform, and would not go back to the old conditions."

OTHER IMPORTANT MATTERS TO BE CONSIDERED.

The mayor should not be confined to Chicago for the material to make up a sufficient and effective administrative force, but should be permitted to gather the best material in America or Europe for engineers, etc. Louis Napoleon obtained the services of Baron Haussmann to remodel Paris.

Every corporation doing business in the city should be made to understand that it is subordinate to the greater corporation known as the City of Chicago, and that it is subject to the will of the mayor and councilmen acting within their legal jurisdiction. All franchises should be sold at public auction, as is now done in Brooklyn. It should be impossible to purchase legislation, and if bribes are used and discovered, it should be the law that such legislation could be annulled by the courts.

Read Seth Low's article in the Century of September, 1891, on "The Government of Cities in the United States." He states, that since the scandal concerning the Broadway railroad, it is now the law that all the charters shall be sold at public auction. Such a sale, he adds, should be in fact a lease for a term of years not exceeding twenty. The new rapid transit bill for New York, happily illustrates this point. It may be too late to remedy the evil as to franchises already granted, but it is not too late to change the policy of our cities for the future. If Illinois, like New York, had taken this precaution,

the Chicago Power Supply and Smoke Abating ordinance, and the Economic Gas Company, would have been offered at public auction.

The possibilities of the future Chicago can hardly be imagined, if we are to judge from the past record of this wonderful city of the last half of the nineteenth century, but the dangers that threaten her from corrupt legislation and other evils are no less gigantic, and may, if not overpowered, work out her ultimate ruin and degradation.

Let us take warning in time from other large cities where pauperism, crime, drunkenness, and disease, have done their deadly work, while dishonest and carelessly chosen officials have misused their powers, robbed city treasuries, and left huge debts for future generations to struggle under.

The property owners of Chicago should hold public meetings in the several wards, and zealously take hold of this great subject of municipal reform for the metropolis of the west, and inaugurate measures in time to bring about through the next legislature a change of certain provisions in the city charter, and the adoption of a system suited to a great city like Paris, Berlin, London, or Chicago.

Instead of getting everything and giving nothing, gas, street car, and other companies should be made to contribute liberally to the city. Street car, gas, and other companies should not be permitted to injure the streets simply to carry out their high-handed schemes for stock jobbing purposes on the New York Exchange, or to force some other company to buy their franchise, procured often by corrupt means, and without compensation to the city.

An admirable way to raise money to keep the streets clean, would be to levy a special tax on each lot fronting the streets which are thickly populated, for the purpose of raising money to keep such streets and the alleys clean, and if such money be not promptly used for that purpose, and the health of citizens jeopardized, the owners or tenants should be permitted to clean the streets and alleys opposite their lots and collect the

money from the city. If sufficient water could be obtained, the streets and sidewalks should be flushed every night.

Albert Shaw states, that in Glasgow, "the streets (181 miles) are swept nightly, most of the work being done by twenty-three horse machines, which are followed by the department's removal carts. A good feature of this work are the iron boxes or bins with hinged lids, sunk in the sidewalks next the curbing along the principal streets, at intervals of forty yards. Men and boys are kept busy brushing up the day litter and depositing it in the boxes, the contents of which are removed by night with the sweepings." The city is divided into five main districts for sanitary purposes and a sub-inspector appointed for each, having subject to him ordinary inspectors and lady visitors. There is a central office with necessary clerks.

The city should be given power to raise the money to build and operate gas and electric light plants, elevated roads, street car lines, telephone lines, stock yards, etc, for its own use and profit, and take advantage of the right as soon as possible. A step in this direction might have been taken long since had we possessed pure and competent councils.

The city should have the right to levy and collect a small tax, say one-half mill, on all produce brought into the city, the same as is done in Paris by the octroi officers, or Green men, including all stock killed at stock yards, and all fruit, etc., sold on South Water street, etc., to obtain money to aid in charitable work, public instruction and cleaning, lighting and running the city; and maintaining in time the finest opera house and school of vocal, instrumental, and dramatic culture in the world, as well as maintaining the finest art school in the country. Many million francs are collected and disbursed in this way in Paris. The money lost through the common council by giving away valuable franchises like that recently granted to the Compressed Air corporation, and to street car and gas companies from time to time, would have established a fund sufficient to pay for all this. Instead of all the profits

accruing from the management and support of the city of Chicago going to private capitalists, stock companies, aldermen, or city and county treasurers, the revised charter should aim to divert a large portion of these profits into the city treasury.

HOW SHOULD A CITY CARE FOR ITS POOR?

“The Elberfeld system is now practically working in at least thirty-six German towns, including most of the principal cities of the country, (Elberfeld, Barmen, Bremen, Königsberg, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Berlin, Stuttgart, Hamburg), and varying in population from Berlin with 1,579,244 inhabitants in 1890 to Ruhrort with 11,099. Ten of these towns had in 1885 more than one hundred thousand inhabitants; four had between one hundred thousand and fifty thousand; thirteen between fifty thousand and twenty thousand; and seven less than twenty thousand. Thus the system, if not equally applicable in theory to large and small places, is at least practically accepted in Germany as the only way in which any town, large or small, can hope to deal thoroughly with its question of poor-relief.”

From an article by Francis G. Peabody, in the December Forum: “The Elberfeld system, which is by space, though much harder to administer in America, is, however, the only thorough system. Cases may be ever so freely assigned, and yet other cases, just as needy, may be left uncared for in the same street. The only positive and aggressive way to patrol a whole city is to make a certain sentinel responsible for all that lies within a certain beat, and to make the beat so small that he can easily cover the whole of it. This second point of difference is as much to the advantage of Germany as the first is to her disadvantage. These scattered visitors, each supervising his little square, are, first of all, united in small ‘ward-conferences’ (*Pflegevereinen*). Of these there are forty-three in Dresden, numbering from six to fourteen members each and meeting once a fortnight. The chairman of each confer

ence is the intermediary between it and the central committee, and the forty-three conference representatives are from time to time called to confer with the central board on the more general questions involved in their work. The chairman of each ward conference, moreover, has affixed to his house or shop a conspicuous placard bearing his title, and each case needing relief within the district applies first to him. By him the case is referred to the appropriate visitor, who may relieve immediate necessity by food or fuel pending the action of his conference and of the central board."

"Another special feature of poor-relief in the town with which I am dealing is the relation of public charity thus administered to private and voluntary help. One might well ask what would become of private initiative under so comprehensive a plan. Would it not tend to check personal benevolence and to ruin the work of private societies? Would not citizens come to think of all help as state help and run all risks of a passive socialism? This might be the case if the limits of the two ways of charity were not carefully defined, but with this clear definition a good city system ought to strengthen private charity by giving it a place of its own to fill and a special work to do. This is just what has happened in Germany. Relief by the town carries with it the loss of the right of suffrage and is therefore unwelcome to all except the chronic poor. Cases of temporary poverty fall to the voluntary societies, and a relation is established between them and the city visitors by means of a thoroughly-maintained charity clearing-house. At the city bureau, where complete records of all cases are kept, there was arranged in 1883 a "central station" through which pass the statements of relief by all agencies in all cases. Thus in 1890 there were seventy-five private charities using this clearing-house for their transactions. The city spent in that year one hundred and sixty thousand dollars in its administration of charity, and the private societies, so far as reported, spent a much larger sum—two hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars."

PAUPERISM AND BEGGARY MUST BE CURED.

Count Rumford, an officer in the revolutionary war in America, later in life went to Bavaria, and through his instrumentality beggary was effectually stopped in the country once infested with beggars. He accomplished this feat by promptly arresting all beggars and putting them to work in shops and on a farm conducted by the government. Here they were fed and eventually taught trades, and young and old elevated from miserable starving wretches to industrious self-sustaining citizens. (See history of Count Rumford in appendix to "In Darkest England." by Booth.)

THE STATE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION TO BE CHANGED.

In granting these new increased powers, suitable to the future metropolis of the world, the state laws and even constitution of the state must be changed, to meet the requirements of cities of over one million inhabitants in the state. To accomplish this, right men should be sent to the legislature from this city and other parts of the state until the needed reform is accomplished.

The right of suffrage in voting for mayor and city councilmen in cities of over one million inhabitants, might be restricted in some way, by change in constitution, to those owning property, and householders who rent even a small room or tenement, (as in London and in Canada), and those who receive a regular salary, etc., or who have a visible means of support. No man, however poor, if not a vagrant, should be deprived of his vote, but all gamblers convicted of keeping gambling houses, and all employes in same, should be debarred after conviction, as well as all tramps, criminals, occupants of poor houses and jails, from voting at city elections.

A perusal of the city charter and amendments thereto will show some of the causes which have produced bad results, following their practical application in Chicago. One of the principal defects is the method of electing and paying "coun-

cilors." Like evil results have followed the same provisions in New York and Philadelphia. There are many faults in the present system which could be remedied. We might learn many useful lessons from older cities, like Glasgow, Paris, London, and Berlin, and take warning from the experience, of New York, Boston and Philadelphia.

It is a well-known fact that city government in many of our large cities has been in many respects a failure. They have been plundered for years for the benefit of political parties, corporations of all kinds, and officeholders, as well as private schemers. The power given to ward bosses, expected to serve the city without sufficient legitimate pay, and depending in many cases on the sale of their votes for extra compensation, has been abused until nothing better is now expected of them. The present system has produced such bad results that the people cannot be blamed for wanting a change, which will bring to the front business men, who can be elected and properly paid for looking after the business interests of our great city, which under present methods pays out millions where any well regulated business enterprise on a large scale would only spend thousands.

The lack of business methods and good management in a great American city would ruin any railroad or manufacturing establishment in a year. The money and property of cities is looked upon as legitimate plunder by ward bosses, and the worst elements within the corporate limits, as well as rich corporations with plenty of money to buy legislation.

In the report of the Citizens' Association of Chicago, October, 1891, attention is called to the necessity of reform, as follows: "We need a radical and comprehensive reform; a change of the whole system of municipal government. That was the object this association had in view in its endeavors to obtain a constitutional convention."

It is to be hoped these efforts will be followed up at the present legislature and be endorsed by all good citizens.

This organization has done much and is liable to do more for the benefit of Chicago. Boston appointed a commission in 1884 to reform the city government. A memorial was presented to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1883 by a number of the leading citizens of the Quaker city, "asking for a better form of city government." Commissioners were appointed by New York in 1876, "to devise a plan for the government of cities in the state of New York," of which W. M. Evarts was chairman. Those interested in the subject can find all the reports and a full account of the work of these commissioners in the first volume of Bryce's Commonwealth, under the head of "The Government of Cities."

The time has come in the history of the city of Chicago when a commission should be appointed, composed of some of the best, wisest, and most reliable citizens, who should present the great question of our city government to the legislature, and ask that a new, well-devised and appropriate charter, suitable to its present and future demands, prepared by them, be granted to the great northwestern metropolis of the United States. The governor might well refer to this subject as one needing prompt consideration.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

Before the visitors from the great cities of the old world come to Chicago to participate in the celebration of the Columbian Exposition, this city, with so many attractions to commend it, should remodel its present system of government, and place itself upon a higher plane equaling the importance of the great metropolis.

Our visitors from the cleanest city of the world, the beautiful Paris of the nineteenth century, should find our streets thoroughly cleansed, lighted and paved, our police force disciplined, and the railroads, street cars and other corporations respecting and obeying the city ordinances. The mayor whom Chicago is to elect soon should arrest, with the aid of a newly organized police force, and punish all gamblers and criminals

permitting no guilty one to escape for personal or political reasons.

THE PROHIBITION DISTRICTS SHOULD REMAIN IN TACT.

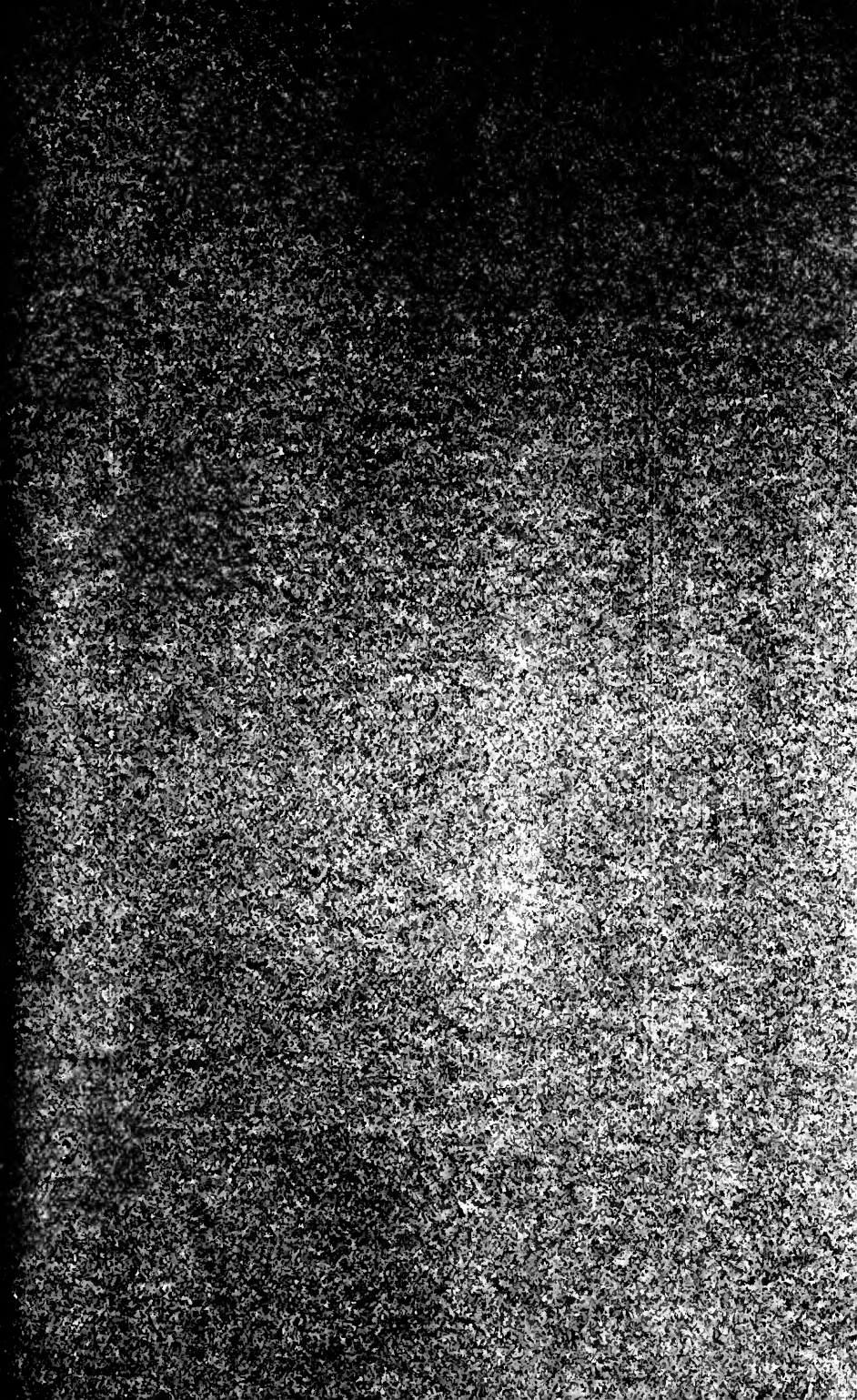
Those residence districts annexed to Chicago where saloons are now prohibited, must be watched or else they may be changed to non-prohibition districts at some future election.

The cable death-traps to surprise uninitiated visitors at Madison and State streets, Michigan avenue and Randolph street, Randolph and Wabash avenue, Randolph and LaSalle and many other cable and railroad crossings should be continually guarded by flag-men employed by the companies, or tracks lowered or elevated, otherwise there will be numerous lives uselessly sacrificed.

Rest assured our city methods of government as well as everything else connected with Chicago will be investigated by these foreign visitors, and written up in French, German, Italian, Russian, etc., as well as English.

Barton A. Ulmer

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