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# How to Govern Chicago



A Practical Reformer



Charles H. Kerr & Company, Publishers, Chicago, Ill s.....



# HOW TO GOVERN CHICAGO

BY A PRACTICAL REFORMER



CHICAGO  
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## PREFACE

For more than a quarter of a century I have witnessed the growth of Chicago as promoted or obstructed by its government. Waves of reform have come and gone as the tides come and go. Franchise after franchise has been given away until the municipality has parted with many of its most valuable rights, and to the extent that its people are in modern slavery.

A new factor has come into the political life of the city, called the Civic Federation. Its membership includes many of the principal men of Chicago. It has made considerable headway in the suppression of vice, and it has entered upon a somewhat vigorous legislative campaign, but its measures savor of the visionary, and thus invite failure.

Chicago needs a deliverer, a leader strong enough to raise the people to a higher plane of political morality. There are already too many reformers who are in the business because it is popular.

Most of the measures proposed for the betterment of the people are impracticable; and, amid the noise and parade of sham and hypocrisy, real opportunities are being lost. A municipal election is about

to take place, involving questions greatly affecting the welfare of the city. The legislature is in session frittering away valuable time with no prospect of giving Chicago needed relief.

In the midst of these things the writer ventures to point out the real conditions and requirements of Chicago, to review its political history for a year or two, to expose the false pretenses of reform, and to point out in plain, blunt, strong terms, such as may prove valuable to readers in this and every other American city, *HOW TO GOVERN CHICAGO*, from the standpoint of a

PRACTICAL REFORMER.

Chicago, Feb. 20, 1895.



# HOW TO GOVERN CHICAGO

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## I.—MUNICIPAL LIGHT

When the Almighty began business in this part of the universe his first act, according to all accounts, was to make the light. It appears that light was necessary to a successful carrying out of the other work on hand. All will agree that a world should be well lighted. The same is true of a city.

Chicago should be abundantly supplied with light. It is one of the essential functions of a city government to provide the inhabitants within its jurisdiction with this necessary comfort at as little cost and inconvenience as possible.

I take up this question of light at the outset because its proper solution will throw so much light on the other subjects to be considered that the reader will scarcely hesitate to grant to these pages a sufficient measure of confidence to pursue them to the end.

Whenever one advances a plan, no matter how available, for a better and cheaper supply of public comforts to the people of Chicago, or of any other

city, for that matter, the proposition is at once smothered or snuffed out with suggestions of difficulties in the way. One hears about state constitutional limitations, the lack of sufficient municipal powers, the difficulty of securing the necessary legislation, the want of a new city charter, the need of a constitutional amendment, and numerous other obstacles to be overcome. But few are versed as to what the powers of the municipal government really are, and perhaps a smaller number have fully comprehended how the powers vested in the municipality can be best applied in bringing about desired ends. Those who have a knowledge of this phase of the subject often find it profitable to keep it to themselves.

I do not remember how many times a bill has been introduced in the Illinois legislature to enable cities, towns and villages to erect and maintain gas and electric works, and to supply the inhabitants thereof with light, heat and power, but certainly as many as a dozen. In every instance the bill has been loaded down to its death with constitutional objections. It might be added that in almost every case the objectors were well rewarded by those in whose interests the objections were made, but it is not my purpose at all to scold corporations, or persons in any capacity, on these few pages. Possibly these measures were unconstitutional. Most of them undoubtedly were.

The real objection to them, however, is that they should never have been introduced, for had they

been within constitutional scope, and become a part of the statutes, their provisions would not have been available in any city in the state, certainly not in Chicago. Even were the municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting works demonstrated to be practicable, the city had neither the money nor the means of raising any with which adequately to undertake these enterprises.

Right here I wish to point out the fatal error which has ever characterized the average reformer of our day. "Everything or nothing," is the rock on which too many have been wrecked. The state socialist begins at the top of his ladder rather than at the bottom. Instead of bringing the people to his way of thinking by demonstrating the value of his theories in practice, step by step, from small beginnings on to larger measures, he asks the country to take a whole course of study in one lesson.

Almost every citizen believes in the righteousness and expediency of municipal control of gas and electrical enterprises carried on for public supply, of street and elevated railway service, and indeed of all undertakings which depend upon franchise ordinances for existence. The only difference of opinion on this question is as to the measure of that control. On the other hand thousands have not yet come to endorse the platform of municipal or government ownership of these works. But there is a common ground on which both these schools of reform may stand together.

At present the corporations operating under franchise ordinances own or control the city, rather than being controlled by its government. A movement to establish municipal control would certainly meet with approval from every interest save the corporations themselves, and it would be a step in the direction of final government ownership. If radicals would content themselves with this rudimentary step, if such they may choose to call it, they could rely upon the support of the conservatives, and await, with prospects of success, opportunities for pushing the issue further.

But aside from considerations of compromise, it is the only road open. Any other course is blocked by legal prohibitions, constitutional restrictions, or the lack of revenue.

You cannot build securely without foundations. All effort to secure the passage of reform laws, out of joint with fundamental statutes, is a waste of time and energy. The thing to do is to show the disposition and ability to utilize such laws as already exist. This has not yet been done, and the reader must feel surprise to learn that Chicago has within its reach both law and revenue sufficient to flood the city with gas or electric light, or both, at a cost to the inhabitants not to exceed the present price of water.

How can this be done? Easily enough. Chicago already owns electric plants with which it lights

some of the public streets. These would no doubt be extended had the city the required revenue. Hampered in this respect, it has made little progress, and the entire plants are, to-day, probably not worth more than \$250,000. With these the municipality illuminates the street opposite your shop, store, factory or residence windows, but cannot run its wires inside nor permit you to use any of its electric currents, with or without pay. That privilege, the constitution of the state, owing to its silence or otherwise, wisely or unwisely leaves to be enjoyed by the enfranchised corporations.

But this the city can do. It can sell the electrical plant it now possesses. It can grant a franchise to an electrical corporation, already organized or yet to be organized, and it can enter into a contract with such corporation on almost any terms it sees fit, to run for a period of twenty years. Very well. Suppose then the mayor and council should by ordinance invite proposals from the public which would enable a syndicate, or corporation, capitalized to the extent of \$25,000,000, more or less, to obtain a twenty-year franchise from the city, together with its present electrical plant, under the following terms and conditions, would not the whole problem be, in a great measure, solved?—

1.—A franchise contract between the city, and a quasi-public corporation extending for twenty years, with provisions for renewal, at the option of the city,

for a like period, providing for a proper measure of municipal control, and ultimate ownership, if at any time such should be deemed wise on the part of the people; for the employment of sufficient capital by such corporation under the control, direction and supervision of the city, to provide ample facilities for lighting the streets, parks, alleys, subways and other portions of the city requiring it, and to furnish light, heat and power to the people in their homes, workshops, stores and factories; for rates and terms of payment for such supply; for the kind or kinds of systems to be used; for hours of service and other rules and regulations for the safety and comfort of the people; and for the rapidity of construction or time in which the system should be completed and the regular supply established.

2.—For an accounting to the city of all expenditures and income, and the payment to the city of such a percentage of gross receipts as might be considered necessary; the revenue so derived to be used for general purposes or to constitute a fund for the purchase of the plants and properties created by the corporation with a view to final ownership by the city.

The question at once arises, Would such a scheme command financial support? There is not a financial agency in Europe or America that will not quickly affirm that, to-day, electrical enterprises are at a premium in the money centers everywhere. In short,

the way for such an undertaking is wide open, legally and financially. The vaults of the country are bursting with money that needs only the invitation to be employed in such an improvement. Twenty-five millions and twice twenty-five millions are awaiting this useful employment. It requires but the simple, business-like action on the part of the mayor and council of Chicago to release this idle capital, and to employ thousands now in enforced idleness in the labor of providing this comfort to a long-suffering people.

Yes, capital is available in any volume required for this enterprise. It would be a far safer investment than a private corporation on the same line, because it would enjoy protection from the city, and in a certain way, a monopoly of the business, but a monopoly in which the inhabitants would share equal benefits with the corporation. That is the sort of business combine the people want but have been denied.

Let us look at this plan from the city's standpoint for a moment. It would require the establishment of a new department of the city government,—a department of public service, if you please. This will appear the more imperative, as the scheme unfolds. The aim is ultimately to include telephone service, power supply on a large scale, and for a great variety of purposes, messenger service, and electrical communication of all sorts within the corporation limits,

including calls, alarms, signals, messages, and the like.

An electrical engineer of ability and experience, would be required at the head of such a department, who, fully understanding the value and vested rights of patented appliances, and the requirements of such a system, would be able to order the works on a broad, comprehensive scale, commensurate with present and future demands.

It is by demonstrating the practicability and expediency of this plan that one must hope to create public opinion in its favor. The great question of municipalizing electricity, gas, telephone service, surface and elevated transit, and like comforts, just as water has been municipalized, must be solved for Chicago. This may or may not involve absolute municipal ownership. But even if this be an important consummation it can best be attained by the route indicated.

It must be admitted that even among those who are studying the subject there is a difference of opinion as to the relative merits of municipal control and municipal ownership. Over in Great Britain the cities of Liverpool and Glasgow afford us an example. The one owns and operates its street railways, the other operates them under a concession, retaining and exercising a substantial control, and deriving large revenues therefrom. The testimony from that side of the ocean, both as to revenues and efficiency of service, favors the latter.



The plan of municipalizing the services referred to, either by establishing control or ownership, is rapidly gaining ground in America. Within a very recent period the writer has placed himself in communication with Mayors, and other heads of city governments in the United States, for the purpose of gathering their views on this subject. It was found that in the east the plan was in less favor than in the west. For instance, to my communication of Nov. 28, 1894, the Mayor of Baltimore, under date of Dec. 3, wrote as follows:

“My Dear Sir:— In answer to the question propounded to me in your letter of Nov. 28, that is, whether a municipality should control electric lighting, gas and telephone works, street railways and the like, I should say, in my judgment, no.

“I think the municipality should confine itself to the government of the city, making laws for opening, grading, paving and repairing of streets, public education, care of the indigent sick, providing a proper fire department and controlling the same, maintaining the good health of the community, maintaining a proper water supply, maintenance of courts, jails, etc., dredging of the harbor, cleaning the city and proper disposal of garbage, and such other functions as immediately belong to municipal government.

“I think it better that the street railroads, gas, telephone and telegraph works should be left in the hands of private corporations, who should use the streets of the city, subject to such rules and regulations as may be from time to time imposed by the municipal government. For the use of the streets I think these corporations should pay a reasonable

tax annually. The street railways should pay a certain percentage of gross receipts and so should gas and electric light, telephone and telegraph companies. The franchises they enjoy are very profitable and therefore a fit subject for taxation; their value is established not only by the market value of the securities of such corporations but by the fact that companies are always ready and willing to pay for such franchises and frequently do, the loss to the public being that often the pay goes into the pockets of a lobby and not, as it should, into the city treasury. This latter diversion of funds may be because the legislature does not give the question of the granting or of the municipal value of such franchises the thoughtful consideration to which they are entitled.

“If it is proper for a city to control and manage gas works, telegraph and telephone companies, street railways, etc., it might also be considered proper for the same control and management to be extended over the baking of bread, slaughtering of cattle and hogs, manufacturing of clothing, shirts, etc., and all such industries as supply the absolute necessities of the people.

“Under our system of government, in my judgment, it would be almost impossible to prevent the patronage that would be supplied by street railways, gas, telephone works, etc., mentioned in your letter, if they were municipalized, from being used for political purposes, thus becoming sources of corruption, or, to say the least, such temptation for corruption as the people should not be subjected to.

“If any exception should be made it would, in my judgment, be in favor of the city supplying electric lighting for its own streets. An electric light plant is not very expensive in comparison with gas, and would not offer the same temptation to use a

large patronage for political purposes from the fact that the employes would not be very numerous, but even in this case I think it better to rely upon private enterprise, which should pay a reasonable tax for the use of streets.

"In Baltimore the city passenger railways pay an annual tax to the city of 9 per cent of their gross receipts. In addition the property of the railways is taxed as any other property. The telephone company pays an annual tax of 30 cents per lineal yard for the privilege of its underground subway and the telegraph and telephone companies pay an annual tax of \$2 upon all poles erected in our streets. Other municipal franchises have in Baltimore, as in other cities, been given away before the people either understood their value or when they only gave consideration to the additional comfort and public convenience thereby secured without thinking of the profit obtained by the grantees of the franchise. Had the foresight of our predecessors in the government of cities been better I am sure that the cost of municipalities would now be almost entirely met by the revenues derived from the grants of their franchises.

"Yours very respectfully,

"FERDINAND L. LATROBE, Mayor."

This letter is instructive. It not only indicates the public sentiment in that quarter on the issue under consideration, but plainly shows that even Baltimore has made greater headway in municipalizing its street railway system than Chicago. If this city received 9 per cent on the gross receipts from its street railway systems it would be in advance of its present progress. But one must come to the west to get pronounced views favorable to our proposition. Under

date of Nov. 4, 1894, Mayor Bemis of Omaha, Neb., wrote to me as follows:

“Sir:—The idea of municipalities owning and operating their electric and gas works and street railways is one which has been steadily gaining a foothold in this country and I believe that the time will soon come when this method will be the general rule. Municipal ownership of gas or electric plants already obtains to a large extent in many of our smaller cities and towns, and the larger cities must eventually follow in the same direction.

“There are two objects to be attained in municipal ownership of these franchises. The first and greatest object is a practical purification of politics. The second will be a saving to the taxpayers of the thousands of dollars which annually find their way into the coffers of the corporations which now own these franchises.

“With regard to the first object, I speak with authority when I say that these great franchise corporations exert a most pernicious and far-reaching influence upon local politics. Their interests are so diversified that they may be regarded as a constant factor in the consideration to almost every matter which presents itself. Their usual method is to endeavor to secure the election to the municipal legislative body, and also to the executive department, of men who can be controlled in the interest of the corporate pool, either through business channels or by the use of other well known means. This method is usually followed by more or less success as far as the legislative body is concerned, and a body thus constituted is seldom on the right side of any question where the interests of the taxpayers are concerned.

“With regard to the cost of municipal operation

as compared with corporate ownership, I believe that the balance will be largely on the side of the former when it is considered that the taxpayer supplies the money which the corporations expend in retaining control of the municipal political machinery, and that the municipality is also called upon at frequent intervals to pay for expensive schemes which are presented in the guise of necessities but which prove to be plans for turning the dollars of the taxpayers into the coffers of the corporations.

“Yours respectfully,

“GEORGE P. BEMIS, Mayor.”

A large number of letters received from mayors of cities, and others connected with municipal government, indicate that a line drawn somewhere about half way between the two communications quoted properly represents the true sentiment of the people of the United States on the questions involved.

But perhaps some one will ask, What is the necessity of such a move? Is not Chicago getting along well enough as to light as matters stand? The city has gas companies, electric corporations, and the municipality is making considerable headway in lighting the public streets. What more is needed? In reply I say light in Chicago is costing five times as much as the people should be obliged to pay. To most of the people it ranks as an expensive luxury; to many it is not attainable at all except by the use of coal oil. Vast districts in Chicago in the poorer neighborhoods are without even gas. The gas monopoly does not find it profitable to lay mains or to put in supply pipes.

More than this, electric light is confined to a very few. It is sold at a cost wholly beyond the means of the small business men and is out of question for the ordinary home. It should not be so. No reason can be found for this scarcity and high cost of lights except in the greed of franchise manipulators. Light should always be as cheap and as plentiful as water.

But, finally, I hear some one say, Yes, your scheme is all right, but it would be an injustice to the existing gas and electric companies. I answer, not at all. There is nothing, in all that has been said, that prevents the present gas companies from offering bids, or the city from accepting the same in any movement to municipalize gas on the lines indicated. Nor is there any obstacle in the way of the present electrical corporations taking a hand in the work of municipalizing electricity to their own advantage. The object to be gained is an abundant and cheap supply of light to all the people of Chicago. Under the present system this cannot be reached. Through the plan proposed it can. That states the whole case.

Besides, if justice and equity are to be considered, where will the people stand in relation to the corporations? The latter have flourished at the expense of the inhabitants long enough. Now let them flourish together. It is not that the corporations are to be put down, but that the people should be put up.

## II.—IMPORTANCE OF CHICAGO

Before proceeding further in the discussion of municipalizing the quasi-public service, involving the more difficult undertakings of terminating franchises, and transferring plants and properties from monopoly franchise corporations to quasi-public corporations under city control, let us pause for a few minutes to get, as near as possible, an adequate understanding of the present and probable future importance of Chicago, as a city, and as a community. This is necessary to a proper comprehension of what is required of the municipal government, what that government may do under existing laws, and what legislation is needed to enlarge its powers so that it may accomplish its full mission. This involves the importance of city government generally, but I am obliged to pass that with the remark that it is a subject not generally understood. One is almost startled at the deductions of Professor Bryce, which show that while the population of fifteen of our largest cities increased from 1860 to 1875 70.5 per cent, the debts of the same cities increased 280 per cent; the taxable valuation increased 157 per cent and the actual taxation increased 363 per cent.

Various reliable statistics, including the authority mentioned, furnish evidence that, taking cities of about the same size and requirements, Boston expends six times as much as Birmingham, England, and receives less and much inferior service. This must be considered together with the fact that Boston is much more economical in its expenditures than most of the western cities.

It appears from the available statistics that American cities generally pay four or five times more than English cities of the same size for like services. This is usually attributed to the newness and growing condition of this country, but the disproportion does not appear to lessen very rapidly with increased age. However the matter may be accounted for, the explanation fails utterly to diminish the weight of taxation that the people have to bear.

But the subject of municipal government becomes of the greatest weight when considered in connection with the very rapid growth of American cities. Viewed in this light the questions come home to Chicagoans with great force and imperatively demand solution.

In the last forty years, we are told authoritatively, the population of cities in the United States as compared with that of the country outside of the cities has increased 140 per cent in excess. This forces serious considerations upon thoughtful men. If the growth of the last ten years in cities is to be taken as a measure of the increase of the next thirty



we shall have, say in 1920 or 1925, 10,000,000 more inhabitants in the cities than in the districts outside of them. It is not a difficult matter to compute Chicago's share of this increase.

It must have occurred to all of us that the United States is rapidly becoming a nation of cities. The tendency in this direction is becoming stronger with each decade. Agricultural machinery has lightened and diminished the labors of the farmer. A given acreage is now cultivated to the highest degree of capacity by half the hands required a quarter of a century ago. We must expect even greater advances in this direction.

On the other hand, the triumphs of skill in the use of labor-saving machinery in industrial pursuits centralizes the population. Great manufacturing centers are developed and these forces must continue to prevail, permanently distributing the inhabitants of the country so as to make the cities larger, if not to some extent depopulating the more thickly settled rural districts. These circumstances force upon us the conclusion that the cities must become more than ever the great centers of industrial, social, political educational and religious life of the people. Hence it is that the government of the cities must come to be practically the government of the whole country. It is in the light of these facts that we should study the present and future Chicago and its governmental requirements. In doing so we will

find ourselves confronted with questions of great importance. One must see in the not very distant future the necessity of uniformity of city government in this country, especially among the great cities. There is necessarily a community of interest among large cities that cannot fail to foster closer relations and produce a greater similarity of municipal systems.

It may not be profitable to indulge prophecy, and yet if we are to prepare to properly govern the Chicago of the future we must not only learn to properly rule the Chicago of the present, but anticipate in some measure the task that is to be imposed on those who are to come after us. Our duty is not only to take care of the present but to get ready for the future.

If we study Chicago properly we must be convinced that it will soon be the largest city on this continent. Facts come to our understanding which force this conclusion upon intelligence. Many thought that the predictions of twenty-five years ago would not be accomplished, but we now realize that these have fallen far behind the growth actually attained.

In a quarter of a century, in spite of the great fire of 1871 and in the face of other serious obstacles, the population has increased from a little over 250,000 to nearly 2,000,000, and long before another twenty-five years shall have carried us to the three-quarter century point from the date of municipal

organization, it will exceed 3,000,000 and be without a peer among the cities of America. These facts should inspire the realization that we not only have a momentous task on hand in properly meeting the demands of the present, but that we are pioneers of a greater Chicago.

The elements of Chicago's greatness have not all been developed by the skill, industry, intelligence and pluck of our people. Much was done by the hand of nature. Much has been forced upon the city by circumstances not within the control of man. It was Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas who recently and correctly said from the desk of the People's church:

"When nature placed a great body of water running through hundreds of miles to the north that the head of Lake Michigan should be near the center of the continent, central to all its vast industries and on the direct line of travel and commerce, nature said: This is the place for the greatest city on the continent, just as nature said that this continent, lying between the two oceans, should contain the greatest nation on the earth."

We are confronted by the fact that in two or three years the drainage canal from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi will be finished. In this achievement Chicago conquers one of the greatest engineering difficulties that have blocked the path of its progress. The Chicago river will be transformed into a pure running, navigable stream. Its course will be changed. Instead of its sluggish current toward the Gulf of St. Lawrence, its hurrying waters will

flow toward the Gulf of Mexico. A waterway for commerce will have been established between New York and New Orleans, and Chicago will enjoy the best and most abundant water supply of any city in the world. May we not confidently expect that this wonderful accomplishment will some day be followed by the construction of the already mooted ship canal between Lakes Michigan and Erie, shortening the distance of lake commerce and adding still greater facilities for our commercial, industrial and cosmopolitan growth.

Chicago's growth is natural and well balanced. The development of the city is equally wonderful on all lines. Chicago is great in its law and medical progress; it is a literary, music and art center; its park and boulevard system is the finest and most extensive in the world. Every year is adding to the glory of the city on these lines.

The population of the city is cosmopolitan and its heterogeneous elements afford the best guarantee that here in Chicago will be worked out in advance of other places the great problem of a distinctively American nationality. Here all languages of the earth are spoken. Here the people may teach and preach and pray and sing in any and all tongues, free and unrestricted, except by the wholesome provision that all of our 150,000 children and the hundreds of thousands that are to come after them shall learn to speak and write the national language.

Here the heterogeneous is becoming homogeneous, and assimilation is developing on lines that will secure to the nationality that is being evolved all that is good and worth preserving in those that are fading under the weight of the new civilization. Chicago's last school census gives the city a population of nearly 2,000,000. These inhabitants represent all the nations and tongues of every civilization of the world.

Chicago's greatest weakness is to be found in its system of government.

As at present constituted it is calculated in some respects to hamper rather than facilitate the prosperity of the city. In the first place we have too many governments of one kind and another within the city limits. At least two of these should be abolished as soon as the state constitution can be amended or revised so as to permit the step to be taken. County and town rule must go. Neither are required within the city limits. Both are a useless burden to the people. Chicago should be given the right of self-government in one undivided system. The present constitution prohibits this by providing for the existing complex, cumbersome and expensive plan.

Relief in this direction can come only from legislative action. It should not be delayed longer than is necessary to go through the forms required to change the fundamental laws governing such proced-

ure. If it cannot be accomplished by submitting amendments to the people, then steps should be taken to provide for a convention on revision, so that the constitutional barriers to legislative action on behalf of the city may be removed.

### III.—TO MUNICIPALIZE TRANSIT

Two things are needed in connection with the Chicago city government. One is that all the quasi-public service, such as electric lighting, gas lighting, electric and gas heating, power supply, telephone and messenger service, transit, and the means of communication generally, within the municipal jurisdiction, should be brought under such measure of city control as will fully protect the interests and subserve the wants of the people, and secure to the city adequate revenues therefrom. The other is that the municipal government itself should be reconstructed, and placed under civil service laws, so as to more fully meet its requirements and responsibilities.

All that has been said in the first part of this work concerning municipalizing electricity, and providing an abundant, cheap supply of light to the inhabitants of Chicago may be done, and done at once, under existing municipal laws and powers. The task should be entered upon without delay, and if the people are alive to their interests they will see that it be made an issue in the pending civic elections to such an extent that a mayor and council be

elected favorable to the scheme. Any candidate running for a city office, or for a seat on the Board of Aldermen, who will not pledge himself to this plan of reform, so far as its general outlines are concerned, should be defeated. The people have the matter in their own hands, at this time. It is for them to act, or continue in modern slavery.

But that branch of municipalizing that I am now about to consider—city control over surface and elevated railways, the terminating of franchises, upon expiration, or otherwise, and the transfer of vested and property rights from monopoly corporations to quasi-public corporations under municipal control, cannot be successfully carried out without the aid of legislation. The laws required, however, are very simple, and wholly within constitutional limits.

In the first place there should be better statutory provisions for terminating a municipal franchise. As the laws now stand, the way is opened, legally, for any city in the state to grant franchises to run for a period of twenty years for any number of purposes, and about all the city can do, when the life of the privilege expires, is to renew it for a like term. The first thing the corporation does after getting possession of valuable rights is to acquire property or plant and to establish the rights of property. When its franchise terminates a question arises which cannot be adjusted by law, equity or anything else available for the purpose. The city cannot purchase the assets



of the corporation, first, for want of money, and, secondly, because it has no power to make use of them on the lines for which they were created.

On the other hand such assets, without the franchise, are of no value to the corporation. Our fundamental laws might as well have authorized perpetual franchises as to have left the question in its present shape. The corporations, however, are very well satisfied with the laws as they stand, for, having once obtained a franchise, they are morally certain of securing its renewal as often as it expires, generally on better terms than were contained in the original grant.

A law is required that will designate a court to which the city may apply, when any franchise is about to expire, for the appointment of a board of arbitration, which board, acting as a part of the court for the purposes for which it is created, shall ascertain the true value of the assets of the corporation holding such franchise, including the plants and other property required for the legitimate business for which the corporation was authorized and the franchise was granted, such valuation, when approved and confirmed by the court, to be final, and to be accepted by the company at interest in full settlement of all rights and interests in such property.

In this way the city could, at the expiration of any franchise, terminate the same, acquire the plants and properties that had grown up under its use, and, by

the aid of other laws, operate them on its own account, or, through the agency of a quasi-public corporation, under municipal control, have the business carried on to the best advantage of the people.

As the reader, no doubt, apprehends, I am leading up to a plan for terminating all the franchises now in existence, granted by the mayor and council of Chicago, for the operation of street or elevated railways in the city, when such franchises shall expire, or sooner, and for the transfer of all plants and properties of the corporations now operating such railways, to the city, or, what is perhaps better, to a corporation or corporations that shall be directly under municipal control.

Probably the most remarkable feature of this whole proposition is the ease and certainty and equity by which it may be carried out. All that is required for its accomplishment is the creation of public sentiment in its favor strong enough to elect a mayor and board of aldermen pledged to do the work. It will not take long. A considerable number of railway franchises will expire in a short time, —all within twenty years. The work may be undertaken at once, or as soon as the simple measure referred to is enacted at Springfield; and, once the plan is enforced in part, the new order proposed will absorb the old objectionable regime long before half the franchises expire.

Under this plan a vast system of transit may be

developed and perfected in Chicago that will give its inhabitants

1.—Rapid, safe, and comfortable transit to all parts of the city.

2.—Large, well ventilated, well heated, comfortable cars and seats for all.

3.—One fare from any point within the city limits to any other point, with a perfect transfer system.

4.—Commodious and well heated waiting rooms at convenient points for the accommodation of passengers.

5.—Eight rides for twenty-five cents between the hours of 5:30 and 8 o'clock A. M. and 5:30 and 8 o'clock P. M.

6.—Six rides for a quarter at all other times.

7.—Sufficient number of lines and cars to accommodate all, the cars to be run at intervals and at rates of speed to be regulated by the city engineer with the approval of the mayor and council.

8.—Extensions to be made and additional cars to be attached whenever required by the city.

9.—A just proportion of the gross receipts to be paid into the city treasury monthly.

The first step to secure this great blessing to the people of Chicago, as soon as the law referred to is secured, is for the city to pass a comprehensive ordinance as a basis upon which to ask proposals for the purchase of a twenty-year franchise, with the option of renewal, as far as such option can bind

the parties to the contract, so that syndicates or corporations can be formed for making proposals, on a basis of a capitalization equal to the undertaking, either as a whole, or in three divisions, so that the city would at once have, at command, ample means for carrying out the plan.

For such corporations, under municipal control, all new transit franchises would be available, and all old lines as fast as franchises expired, or were sooner terminated—the systems of transit in all cases to be under and in compliance with the plans of the city.

Under this scheme the whole system or systems would be under the department of public service referred to under the head of MUNICIPAL LIGHT, in the first part of this work, and in charge of an engineer of ability and experience.

I must hasten to demonstrate the practicability of this scheme, drawing the proof from municipal experience elsewhere, or suffer from the charge of being visionary. All that I have here recommended has been accomplished in the city of Toronto, Canada, under difficulties much greater than confront Chicago, within the last four years.

And now for the proof.

In 1891 the franchise granted to the Toronto street railway system expired. The concession had been for thirty years. It was voted by the city in 1861. The company had become a greater monopoly,

in proportion to the size of the city, than the Yerkes system is to-day in Chicago. Senator Frank Smith, who controlled the system there, had shown himself absolutely deaf to the oft repeated reasonable demands of the people. The cars were filthy, inadequate, infrequent, and altogether unsatisfactory. Baron Smith went on piling up money, abusing the people, violating franchise-imposed obligations, and doing about as he pleased. He oppressed his employes, and strikes followed. The last one that occurred resolved itself into a conflict between the street car magnate and the people.

The issue found its way into local politics and aldermen were elected or defeated on it. Finally the years of the monopoly drew to a close and the city authorities resolved that the franchise should not be renewed to the old company. Provincial legislation was secured, just as has been recommended for Chicago on these pages, providing for a court of arbitration to determine the value of the company's property. This was done with a view to terminating the franchise at its expiration in 1891.

But Toronto had no more money in its treasury than has Chicago to-day, and Baron Smith laughed in his sleeve at the whole movement, fully believing that it would come to naught, and that the city would be compelled to grant him another thirty years' lease under which to oppress the people for the benefit of his private exchequer.

When the time came the city went into court and asked for a board of arbitration under the law for the purpose of ascertaining the legal value of the railway property. The railway was cited to appear and show cause why the arbitration should not be proceeded with. It put in an appearance and for answer pleaded that the city could not purchase because it did not possess the money, nor the means to obtain it. The plea was overruled, and the arbitration proceeded, and in due time the arbitrators presented the result of their labors, which was confirmed by the court.

This document may not prove entertaining to the average reader, but I reproduce it here except the schedules for the benefit of those of the legal profession who may become actively interested in carrying out a similar work for Chicago:

“AWARD OF THE ARBITRATORS *IN RE* THE TORONTO  
STREET RAILWAY.

“To whom all these presents shall come:

“We, Edmund John Senkler, of the City of St. Catharines, in the County of Lincoln, and Province of Ontario, Judge of the County Court of the County of Lincoln, and Charles Henry Ritchie, of the City of Toronto, in the County of York, and Province of Ontario, one of Her Majesty’s counsel learned in the laws, send greeting:

“Whereas the Corporation of the City of Toronto, by notice in writing bearing date the twenty-third day of November, A. D. 1889, and under the cor-

porate seal of the said the Corporation of the City of Toronto, and the hand of Edward Frederick Clarke, Esquire, M. PP., Mayor of the said City, and Richard Theodore Coady, Esquire, treasurer of the said the Corporation of the City of Toronto, and keeper of the City seal, addressed to the Toronto Street Railway Company, and served upon the said the Toronto Street Railway Company upon the said twenty-third day of November, A. D. 1889, did require the said, the Toronto Street Railway Company, to take notice that the Corporation of the City of Toronto intended, at the expiration of the term of the franchise granted to Alexander Easton, Esquire, by certain resolutions adopted by the municipal Council of the said Corporation on the fourteenth day of March, 1861, and by a certain agreement made on the twenty-sixth day of March, 1861, between the Corporation of the City of Toronto, and Alexander Easton, and by a certain By-law of the said Corporation passed on the twenty-second day of July, 1861, and numbered 353 (and which franchise the said Company then claimed the right to exercise), and also of certain other franchises subsequently granted by the said Municipal Council at different times for the said term to the Toronto Street Railway Company, to assume the ownership of these railways of the said Company, and of all real and personal property in connection with the working thereof, on payment of their value to be determined by arbitration.

“And whereas by an order made in the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division, by the Honorable the Chancellor of Ontario, on Wednesday, the eighteenth day of June, A. D. 1890, in the matter of an arbitration between the Corporation of the City of Toronto and the Toronto Street Railway Company, and in the matter of the Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, 52 Victoria, Chapter 13, and 53

Victoria, Chapter 105, upon motion that day made unto the said Court by Mr. Robinson, Q. C., of counsel for the Corporation of the City of Toronto, and upon reading the affidavit of C. R. W. Biggar, Q. C., a certain notice served by the said City of Toronto on the said Toronto Street Railway Company on the twenty-third day of November, 1889 (being the notice hereinbefore recited), the affidavit of Patrick Joseph McCormack, being the affidavit of service of such notice, and upon reading the notice of motion therein, and a certain agreement made between one Alexander Easton and the said the Corporation of the City of Toronto, on the twenty-sixth day of March, A. D. 1861 (being the agreement mentioned and referred to in said notice), and upon hearing counsel, the Honorable the Chancellor of Ontario did, pursuant to the statute firstly above named by the said order, appoint Edmund John Senkler, of the City of St. Catharines, Judge of the County Court of the County of Lincoln, Samuel Barker, Esquire, and Charles Henry Ritchie, one of Her Majesty's counsel learned in the law, the arbitrators to ascertain the value to be determined by arbitration under the said agreement.

"And whereas the said arbitrators duly took upon themselves the burthen of the said reference and arbitration, and duly weighed and considered the several allegations made by and on behalf of the said the Corporation of the City of Toronto and the said the Toronto Street Railway Company, the parties thereto and also the proofs, vouchers and documents which have been given in evidence before them.

"Now, therefore, we the said Edmund John Senkler, and Charles Henry Ritchie, being two of the above-named arbitrators (Samuel Barker, the other of said arbitrators not joining in its award, although



present at the making thereof), do hereby make and publish this our award of and concerning the matters so referred to us as aforesaid, in manner following, that is to say:

“We find, award, adjudge and determine the value of the railways of the said Toronto Street Railway Company, and of all real and personal property in connection with the working thereof, to be the sum of one million, four hundred and fifty-three thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight dollars (\$1,453,788).

“We further find, award, adjudge and determine that the said railways, and the said real and personal property so valued by us, consist of and include all the railways, and all the real and personal property specified or mentioned in the schedule hereunto annexed, and also all other railways belonging to or worked or constructed by the Toronto Street Railway Company within the City of Toronto aforesaid, and all other real and personal property of the Toronto Street Railway Company used or intended to be used in connection with their said railways or any of them, and that the above-mentioned sum so found by us is the value of all said railways, and of all said real and personal property free and clear and fully and completely exonerated and forever discharged of and from all mortgages, debentures, bonds, debts, liens, encumbrances, claims and demands whatsoever either at law or in equity, and of every nature and kind whatsoever.

“We are of opinion that the true construction of the agreement of the twenty-sixth March, 1861, between the Corporation of the City of Toronto and Alexander Easton, and the resolutions recited therein, the right and privilege to construct, maintain and operate street railways upon certain streets in the City of Toronto was granted to the said Easton for the period of thirty years from the date therein men-

tioned only, and not in perpetuity, and that all street railways constructed in the City of Toronto by said Easton, or by the Toronto Street Railway Company, have been constructed and operated under privileges for the same term of thirty years and not in perpetuity, and in valuing said railways we have valued the same as being railways in use capable of being, and intended to be used and operated as street railways, but have not allowed anything for the value of any privilege or franchise extending beyond the period of thirty years, as we consider no privilege or franchise exists beyond that period.

“We are also of opinion that on the true construction of the agreement of the nineteenth January, 1889, between the Toronto Street Railway Company and the Corporation of the City of Toronto, the Company is not entitled to be paid for permanent pavements constructed by the City subsequent to the thirty-first December, 1888, and we also think that such pavements cannot be considered as having been constructed or paid for by the Company as to entitle it to any allowance therefor under the fifth section of chapter fifty-eight, fortieth Victoria (Statutes of Ontario), and we have therefore not allowed anything in respect thereof. In valuing the pavements constructed prior to the first January, 1889, we have not made any deduction in respect of used life of such last mentioned pavements subsequent to that date, as having regard to the terms of the said Agreement of the nineteenth January, 1889, we do not think any such deduction should be made.

“It was shown in evidence before us that the property valued by us is (in whole or in part) subject to the following encumbrances, that is to say: Debentures issued by the Toronto Street Railway Company under the authority of the Act (Statutes of Ontario) forty-seventh Victoria, chapter seventy-

seven, for the principal sum of six hundred thousand dollars, payable on the first July, 1914, and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, payable half-yearly.

“Mortgage in favor of one Platt for eight thousand dollars (principal money), payable on the first July, 1892, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum.

“Mortgage in favor of one Crowther for one thousand seven hundred dollars (principal money), payable on the twenty-eighth of April, 1891, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum.

“Mortgage in favor of one Gooderham for twenty-six thousand dollars (principal money), payable on the first November, 1891, with interest at the rate of five per cent per annum.

“Mortgage in favor of one Allen for two thousand five hundred dollars (principal money), payable on the twenty-second December, 1891, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum.

“And mortgage in favor of one Parsons for two thousand dollars (principal money), payable on the first day of November, 1891, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum.

“In witness whereof we the said Edmund John Senkler and Charles Henry Ritchie (being a majority of the said arbitrators), have hereunto set our hands this fifteenth day of April, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

“(Signed) E. J. SENKLER.

“(Signed) C. H. RITCHIE.

“Signed and published the fifteenth day of April, A. D. 1891, by the said Edmund John Senkler and Charles Henry Ritchie (the above-mentioned Samuel Barker being present at the time, although not joining in the award), in presence of

“(Signed) J. F. MIDDLETON.”

When this award had become law, and indeed before that, the city asked for proposals, looking to the formation of a new company that should purchase the plant together with a new franchise and carry on the business of operating street railways in Toronto under city control. The conditions upon which bids were invited are set forth in a lengthy document, which I would give on these pages did space permit. Following, however, is a very complete summary of it. The instrument begins:

"1. The privilege to be disposed of is the exclusive right (subject as hereinafter provided) to operate surface street railways in the City of Toronto—excepting on "the Island" and on that portion (if any) of Yonge Street, from the Ontario and Quebec railway tracks to the north City limits, over which the Metropolitan Street Railway Company claims an exclusive right to operate such railways, and the portion (if any) of Queen Street West (Lake Shore Road) over which any exclusive right to operate surface street railways may have been granted by the Corporation of the County of York—for a period of twenty years, which shall be renewed for a further period of ten years in the event of legislation being obtained to enable this to be done; and the City will assist in endeavoring to secure legislation.

"(a) Over those portions of Yonge Street and Queen Street West (Lake Shore Road) above indicated, the purchaser shall have an exclusive right to operate surface street railways, so far as the city can legally grant the same.

"2. The party whose tender is accepted (and who is herein called "the purchaser") must take over all the property to be acquired by the City from the

Toronto Street Railway Company, as it stands on the date of the acceptance of the tender, including the rails, points, and substructures of all tracks now laid, real estate, buildings, shops, rolling stock, horses, machinery, stock and all other articles covered by the award of the Board of Arbitrators, at the amount of said award.”

It was further set forth that the purchaser must accept the title acquired by the city, the amounts to be paid, dates of payment; and further, that the undertaking should not be charged with bonds or debentures for a longer period than the term of the contract, and must satisfy the city that means were provided for meeting such obligations at maturity. It further provided:

“At the termination of this contract the City may (in the event of the Council so determining) take over all the real and personal property necessary to be used in connection with the working of the said railways, at a value to be determined by one or more arbitrators (not exceeding three) to be appointed as provided in the Municipal Act and the Acts respecting Arbitrations and References, and to have all the powers of arbitrators appointed under said Acts, and each party shall bear one-half of the cost of the necessary arbitration at conclusion of term of lease, but the City shall only pay for the land conveyed by them to the purchaser, what it is worth, without reference to its value for the purpose of operating a street railway or railways.

“The City will construct, reconstruct and maintain in repair the street railway portion of the roadway, viz., for double track, 16 ft. 6 in., and for single track, 8 ft. 3 in., on all streets traversed by the railway

system, but not the tracks and substructure required for the said railways."

The terms of sale or conditions upon which proposals were received further provided, in detail, as to tracks, a complete electric system of roads for the whole city; the funds necessary for the undertaking, and stipulated that the "purchaser will be required to establish and lay down new lines, and to extend the tracks and street car service on such streets as may be, from time to time, recommended by the City Engineer and approved by the City Council, within such period as may be fixed by By-law to be passed by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of said Council; and all such extensions and new lines shall be regulated by the same terms and conditions as relate to the existing system, and the right to operate the same shall terminate at the expiration of the term of this contract."

It was provided that the speed and service should be regulated by the city, that night cars should be run, and as follows as to tickets and fares:

"Single (cash) fares are to be five cents each.

"Fares on night cars are to be double the ordinary maximum single fare rates.

"A class of tickets must be sold at the rate of 8 for 25 cents, the same to be used only by passengers entering the cars between the time the day cars commence running and 8 a. m., and between 5 and 6:30 p. m.

"A class of tickets must be sold at the rate of 25 for \$1, and

"Another class at the rate of 6 for 25 cents.

“Children under nine years of age, and not in arms, are to be carried at half fare rates, and infants in arms are to be carried free; school children are to have school tickets at the rate of 10 for 25 cents, only to be used between 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and not on Saturdays.

“The payment of a fare shall entitle the passenger to a continuous ride from any point on said railway to any other point on a main line or branch of said railway within the City limits; and to enable this service to be carried out, transfer arrangements must be made by the purchaser to meet with the approval of the City Engineer and the endorsement of the Council.

“Police Constables in uniform, Detective Police Officers in the employ of the City, and (while a fire is in progress) members of the City Fire Department in uniform, shall be carried free.

“The purchaser shall be liable to, and shall indemnify the City against, all damages arising out of the construction or operation of the said railway system.”

It was provided that cars should be of the most approved design “for service and comfort, including heating, lighting, signal appliance, numbers and route boards. They must be kept clean inside and out, and shall not exhibit advertisements outside unless under permit from the City Engineer. The platforms must be provided with gates. Cars are to be used exclusively for the conveyance of passengers, unless otherwise permitted by the City Engineer.” The conductors were to be uniformed, and a sufficient number of cars were to be provided to accommodate all the people. Employes of the road were not to be re-

quired to work more than ten hours a day or sixty hours a week, or more than six days in the week, and no adult employe should receive less than fifteen cents per hour. There were many other conditions, but these will show to some extent how the people were to be protected.

You will ask, What was the result of all this? The answer is in a nutshell. The competition of bidders for the privilege was spirited. Several proposals were received, backed by heavy deposits as a guarantee of good faith. Abundant capital was at once at command. One of the bids was accepted, and a contract was entered into. In short, the street railway system of Toronto was municipalized, and to-day it has one of the most perfect systems of the kind to be found on the American continent, with ample accommodations for all. Clause 16 of the contract provides that the company shall pay, monthly to the city, the following percentages of the gross receipts:

On all gross receipts up to \$1,000,000 per annum,	8 per cent.
Between \$1,000,000 and 1,500,000	10 "
" 1,500,000 "	12 "
" 2,000,000 "	15 "
And on all gross receipts over 3,000,000	20 "

And in addition to the above the sum of \$800 per annum per mile of single track, or \$1,600 per mile of double track. It is needless to say that Toronto, besides receiving excellent service, is deriving a large annual revenue from its street railways.

In this matter Toronto has done well. This book is written that Chicago may be induced to do likewise.



#### IV.—MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Cities in the United States are left, in a great measure, to work out their own destinies. Congress, unlike European parliaments, is not permitted to interfere in their management. Hence one meets with a great diversity in the forms of municipal government in this country. It is much easier to find out the system of municipal government in the cities of Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland and Italy than to ascertain how municipalities in the United States are conducted. All the principal cities of the British Isles are organized under what is known as the municipal corporation act of 1882.

The cities of Italy are managed under the "communal law" approved by royal decree Feb. 10, 1889. City ordinances for the provinces of Preussen, Brandenburg, Pommern, Schlessn, Posen and Sachsen were promulgated May 30, 1853, and were followed by general laws under the rule of the German empire. With varying exceptions, the system which prevails in the management of German cities can be learned by studying these general ordinances. In Switzerland there exists a similarity in the laws regulating cities.

In Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland,

## HOW TO GOVERN CHICAGO

therefore, the central governing power of the nation promulgates the laws which govern the municipal corporations in the different countries. If this prerogative were granted to the United States congress, all the great municipal centers would be regulated by one general act of the national legislature. Under the present order of affairs in the country each of the state legislatures produces a system of municipal government for its own cities, following no definite precedent. There is no uniform method; so it is impossible to refer to the American system of municipal government, as there is no definite system.

This is a young nation and it cannot be expected that its rulers will be as well versed in the difficult problems of municipal government as cities ten times the age of ours, but they should be sufficiently liberal-minded and unprejudiced to enable them to adopt the wise provisions tried and found reliable by older cities in Europe, where many of America's rich citizens go to live and enjoy life after accumulating fortunes here.

The present system of Chicago, City government has its peculiarities. Some of its features are good; others are at fault. Its weaknesses arise mostly from constitutional sources. The framers of the constitution of 1870, although Chicago at that time was a city of over 300,000 inhabitants, appear to have wholly ignored the question of city government except in a very superficial way. Much attention was paid

to the manner in which county affairs should be managed, but the municipal idea was, to a great extent, overlooked.

This is shown from the fact that, to-day, Chicago has various systems of municipal jurisdiction, the one somewhat conflicting with the other, the whole forming an expensive, cumbersome and out of date monstrosity. No one can study the situation to any extent without concluding that county and town rules within the limits of the city of Chicago should be abolished. St. Louis affords an example of this. There is but one form of government other than federal and state in that city. There are many other instances that could be mentioned. Chicago has too much government altogether. The town lines and town jurisdiction should be wiped off the map. They are only a burden to the people. They create a useless expense which is needlessly added to the taxes of the people.

It is the same with the county government. It should have no existence within the city limits. It amounts to an enormous burden and gives nothing in return except taxation. It should have been wiped out by the constitutional convention of 1870. Because it was not, another convention is necessary. Chicago should have but one form of municipal government within its borders and that one as simple and as close to the people as possible.

To reach this desired end the constitution of the

states needs to be revised, and the legislature should stop talking about submitting amendments to the people and take steps at once to bring about a new constitutional convention. One may, at the present time, take a position on any street corner and he will find himself amenable to five governments. They are federal, state, city, county and town. Each one takes him and filches him, but gives him mighty little in return. All that is accomplished by the three last named could be much better done by one. Has any one figured how much the taxpayers of Chicago would save by abolishing its town and county government burdens?

Bad revenue laws are a curse to Chicago, and for that matter to the whole state. No one should favor removing the present constitutional limit to municipal indebtedness. Chicago requires no relief in that direction. If the legislature will provide for an honest assessment of all taxable property within the state on the fair valuation plan, Chicago, with its other resources at present available and those which will be made available under proper reforms, will be in receipt of more money than will be required for all purposes.

It would appear that the question of our faulty assessment system is one which the legislature cannot longer ignore. It concerns the whole state, but of course no portion of Illinois suffers to the extent of this city. Chicago pays one-third of the taxes of

the state and more, and the poor pay two-thirds of that, while the rich and the property of great corporations almost wholly escape.

There is but one cure for this evil. It must come from the legislature. The power to cure is not to be found outside that body. All that is needed is a law to compel a fair and honest assessment of all taxable property on the fair valuation plan by making any other sort of an assessment punishable by heavy fine and imprisonment.

By the way, the Republicans were in power at Springfield in 1885 and 1887. In the former year the legislature authorized Governor Oglesby to appoint a commission to revise the revenue laws of the state. He appointed such commission and it worked at its task the greater part of 1886. The outcome was a revenue bill which the governor laid before the general assembly of 1887. That bill provided for one county assessor and an honest assessment on the fair valuation plan, with severe penalties for violations. So far as these two provisions were concerned the bill was a good one, but it was torn to pieces in committee and finally strangled at the end of a rope provided by the corporations.

Since then the legislature has done nothing. The Democrats did not even make the attempt when they got control.

Now all Chicago needs in the way of revenue reform is a law that will provide and enforce an honest

assessment. Will the present Republican general assembly give us such a law? Will it prove to possess sufficient moral stamina for the work, or will it succumb to corporation "influences"? We shall see.

The present mayor of Chicago in his annual message of April 1894, speaking of the situation under "bad revenue laws," said:

"It was a great American who said that the way to make a bad law odious was to attempt to enforce it. We are working under a bad revenue law, and our only hope is in new legislation. But the people will never awaken to the necessity of such legislation until the present system is thoroughly exposed. Such exposure is the single object lesson that will arouse the tax-payers to the necessity of a change and induce the members of the next legislature to grant proper relief.

"It is most unfortunate that at a time when materials are cheap, labor abundant, and the needs of the laboring classes so great, the city is without the means to begin important works, or even to complete those already commenced. At the very time we should seek to give employment to the largest number, we are compelled to dispense with the services of competent officials in order to keep within our means.

"It is evident that for a number of years past the revenue of the City has been entirely inadequate to meet all just demands.

"The perplexing dilemma which confronted my predecessors for many years, reappears at this time with greater force than ever. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this administration has to meet the culmination of an evil, which has grown to such proportions as to be no longer dealt with on any general commercial principles."

Under the present system the saloons contribute about half the total revenues of Chicago, and yet many people complain that the saloon has too much representation in the city council, and other branches of the city government. This complaint is unfair. Taxation without representation is as unjust to-day as it was at the dawn of the Revolution, though unfortunately not as unpopular.

If a full, fair valuation were enforced in the assessment of property, the city would be able to realize all required revenue within the present, constitutional limit of taxation. But unless Chicago moves in this matter the legislature will more than likely adjourn without taking the desired action. If the civic federation were as active to secure an honest assessment as it is to obtain a civil service law there would be more ground to hope for relief. Alas! this new reform body has no quarrel with legalized crime.

In order to solve the question, How to Govern Chicago, an honest assessment of all taxable property must be provided for, whether through county assessors or boards of assessment commissioners. The appeal of this work to the legislature is to pass such a law.

Every well governed city should maintain a Department of Public Safety, having administrative jurisdiction, with the mayor, over the police force, the health and fire departments. Chicago should consolidate these branches of its government under one

management, with the immediate supervision of each department in charge of a separate head.

These three branches of the government are kindred, and interlock at almost every step. The police are indispensable to the exercise of the functions of the fire and health officers, and all three work together, though on somewhat different lines, for the safety of the inhabitants of the city. The fire department is at present well managed, and may be regarded as the most excellent feature of the municipal system. The health bureau requires reconstructing, and more efficient regulations for the management of the police force are demanded.

But too much has already been said against the Chicago police. It's easy to talk. A great deal of reform talk heard nowadays is chaff. Much of it is downright injustice. For instance, the police department of Chicago is one of the most unjustly abused bodies in the country. There are many unworthy officers on the force, but the great majority of them are faithful, obedient servants of the public. Nearly all the trouble with the police is with the system of government. Every member of the force is working for promotion. Experience has shown that he can obtain that quickest by zealous adherence to his master's political interests, as well as by strict attention to duty. The former often conflicts with the latter. Hence the criticism.

No city in the country has a better police force



than Chicago, but no other police department is so badly governed. The question is, How can Chicago police management be improved? Certainly not by taking it out of the hands of the mayor. The testimony on that point is overwhelming. Experience is the only safe guide in these matters. Certain duties may be assigned to a police commissioner, but whenever that body has been made independent of the mayor it has worked badly. Some of us remember the old Chicago board of police commissioners. Its record is now one of the rottenest landmarks of the city's history.

I respectfully submit a number of letters from mayors of American Cities, taken from a mass of recent correspondence carried on with a view to obtaining opinions and experiences in other cities on this question of police management. They will be found instructive and entertaining:

MILWAUKEE, NOV. 23.—DEAR SIR: Yours of the 20th inst., requesting my views on the subject of the management of a police force, is at hand. In reply will say it is but natural that the people of Milwaukee are prejudiced in favor of the system of police government which has been in vogue here since 1885, on account of the satisfaction it has given and the universal support which it has received at the hands of the press and the public generally.

The position of fire and police commissioner is purely an honorary one and is not sought by politicians. I believe, too, that the mayor is best equipped to select proper material for the board, because of his superior local knowledge of men and the needs of the departments.

I speak of the two departments, fire and police, as they are on the same footing, and the same arguments will hold as to both.

I am satisfied that both departments have been removed as far from political influence in this city as it is possible to place them.

The board has been invested with appointing powers only, except that it is authorized to hear and determine charges preferred by the mayor against the chief of police, inspector of police, chief engineer of the fire department and the first assistant chief; it has also the power to dismiss any of the four officials named 'for the good of the service.'

The chiefs are responsible to the board for the proper administration of their departments; they may dismiss members, but have no voice in their appointment; hence the incentive to show favoritism is reduced to a minimum. The board is evenly divided between the two political parties and may safely be trusted with making appointments impartially, especially as all appointees are subject to a competitive examination.

The system of commissioners as applied in Milwaukee has passed through three Republican and two Democratic administrations and thus far no change has been attempted or desired.

I will add that aldermen and other officials have long since become reconciled to the idea that there is no such thing as a "pull" in either department and the men comprising the two forces, secure in the knowledge that so long as their services are faithfully performed they will not be molested, can be relied upon to do efficient work. Yours respectfully,

JOHN C. KOCH, Mayor.

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BALTIMORE, Nov. 23.—DEAR SIR: In answer to your

questions I would reply: first, in my judgment the best system of government for a city police force is by a commission of three, with the mayor of the city ex-officio a member, making four altogether. The three members of the commission, in my judgment, should be appointed by the governor of the state, two of whom should belong to the majority and one to the minority of the two great political parties.

This, I think, would be the best way of divorcing the police force from politics. The minority representation ought to satisfy both parties that the management would be fairly conducted.

The mayor should be a member ex-officio because the city would pay the expenses of the board and therefore ought to have a representation in the expenditures. The governor should appoint because that would place the responsibility upon one man of making good appointments, and if he should fail to do this the people could get at him.

I am, very truly yours,

FERDINAND L. LATROBE, Mayor.

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NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 23.—DEAR SIR: Mayor J. A. Lobkurcher desires me to reply to your inquiries of the 20th inst. and to say:

1. In his judgment the best system of government for a police force is a nonpartisan commission.

2. Such commission should be appointed by and be responsible to the mayor.

3. The divorcement of the department from politics and the securing of an efficient service depends solely upon the character of the men comprising the commission, and the tenure of office of patrolmen should be secure during good behavior.

Yours very truly,

JOHN S. GIBSON, Mayor's Secretary.

PITTSBURG, Nov. 23.—DEAR SIR: Answering yours of the 20th inst.:

1. Having the mayor of the city the real head of the police department and holding him responsible for the conduct of the men.

2. Don't think a commission good policy.

3. The men on the force to be appointed by the mayor after examination as to physical and mental qualifications, they to be appointed during good behavior and only subject to dismissal after examination by the mayor or the chief of the department, the men to have a copy of the charges made against them.

Very respectfully,

M. MCKENNA, Mayor.

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BUFFALO, N. Y., Nov. 23.—DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of the 20th inst., relating to the best system of police management, I would say that in Buffalo the police force is subject to a board of commissioners consisting of the mayor ex-officio and one Republican and one Democratic commissioner, appointed by mayor for six-year terms. This board appoints a superintendent who is the actual as well as the nominal head of the police force in its practical workings.

The members of the force hold their positions during good behavior, and cannot be removed or reduced in rank except upon fair trial.

In Buffalo this plan has, when desired, secured police service free from political favor.

From my experience I am of the opinion that the only way to divorce a police force from politics and thus secure the most efficient service is to put at the head of the department as commissioners and superintendent men who honestly desire such a divorce. With such men at the head the result can be attained

under any method of police government, and without such men at the head some way can always be found to defeat the most carefully considered methods.

Respectfully,

CHARLES F. BISHOP, Mayor.

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CINCINNATI, Nov. 21, 1894.—DEAR SIR: In reply to yours dated Nov. 20, asking for information in reference to the organization and management of a police department, I have the honor to inform you that:

1. The best system of government for a city police force is the nonpartisan. All nominations and appointments should be made without reference to political party, opinions or affiliations.

2. The administrative part of a police department should be vested in a board of police commissioners, consisting of electors, to be appointed by the governor or a period of years, say four.

3. The best method of divorcing a police force from politics, etc., etc., is to appoint persons on the force of sobriety, integrity, and who are orderly and law-abiding citizens. No man should be appointed who has been convicted of any misdemeanor within three years previous to his appointment, or has been engaged in any unlawful calling; nor should any person be appointed on account of any political sentiment or affiliation, nor should he be discharged or reduced in grade for political opinion. Their appointment and continuation upon the force must depend solely upon their ability and willingness to enforce the law and comply with the rules and regulations laid down for the government of the police department. I am, sir, very respectfully,

JOHN A. CALDWELL, Mayor.

TORONTO, ONT., Nov. 27, 1894.—DEAR SIR: In reply to your communication of the 21st instant I beg to say that the police in cities should, in my judgment, be under a board of commissioners composed of men occupying responsible official positions, the more permanent the better, and removed from political, religious or society influences. Their sole object should be to administer the affairs of the force in the interest of the preservation of peace, the protection of life and property and a strict enforcement of law—federal, provincial and municipal. The composition of such a commission in a measure depends upon local circumstances. In the province of Ontario the police commissioners in cities are the county judge, a federal appointment; the police magistrate, a provincial appointment; and the mayor, elected by the municipality. So far as my experience goes, this system of representation has proved most successful. In order to avoid politics in police matters make all appointments, from the chief executive officer downward, permanent, subject, of course, to continuous good conduct and efficiency. Hold all in their respective spheres strictly to their duty. Permit no member of the force to join a secret or political society. Tolerate no aldermanic or other outside influences and maintain a high standard of discipline. To carry out these ideas it will be necessary to have one chief executive officer clothed with ample power to carry out the policy of the board and to enforce compliance with all the rules and regulations that may be laid down for the guidance of the force. I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

WARING KENNEDY, Mayor.

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OMAHA, NEB., Nov. 26.—DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of the 20th inst. regarding a system of

government for a city police force, I submit the following replies to your questions:

1 and 2. By a strictly nonpartisan commission, appointed by the governor, with sufficient money at its command to pay good salaries to competent and efficient men, with one patrolman for each 700 inhabitants in cities having over 20,000 population, and one patrolman for each 1,000 inhabitants in cities having less than 200,000.

3. The entire administration of the department should be vested in the commission without any interference from any other department, and any officer or policeman who meddles with politics further than to cast his vote should be immediately dismissed.

This method has been in force in this city for the past seven years and the result has been entirely satisfactory.

GEORGE P. BEMIS, Mayor

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ST. PAUL, MINN., Nov. 21.—DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry regarding the best system of government for a city police force I desire to say that in my opinion the control of the police should be vested absolutely in the mayor, without any interference whatever by the council or any other co-ordinate branch of the city government. This, in effect, answers the three inquiries embraced in your letter; but it may be better to give a specific answer in each case. So to inquiry No. 2 I may respond that while a commission might be desirable for a city as large as yours, it has no value for a community of 50,000 to 200,000 population.

In answer to your third question I may say that I know of no better way to divorce police from politics than by vesting the responsibility for police manage-

ment in the man whom the people choose to put at the head of their city affairs. Yours truly,

ROBERT A. SMITH, Mayor.

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In addition to the above, I received a number of brief letters, in answer to questions put by myself, from chiefs of police as follows:

BROOKLYN, Nov. 22.—SIR: In reply to yours of the 20th inst., I have respectfully to inform you that I have been pleased to mail you this day a copy of our last annual report. This department since 1889 has had one head, known as the commissioner of the department of police and excise, who is appointed by the mayor for two years. Our force is under civil service rules. All appointments are during good behavior and all promotions made upon merit under provisions of civil service law.

Very respectfully yours,

P. CAMPBELL,

Superintendent of Police.

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BOSTON, Nov. 22.—DEAR SIR: Replying to yours of the 20th inst., I have to say that this department is governed by a board of police, created by act of legislature in 1885. The board is appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council. Members of the board are appointed for a term of five years.

Respectfully yours,

BENJAMIN P. ELDRIDGE,

Superintendent of Police.

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BALTIMORE, Nov. 22.—DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 20th inst., I beg to say that the police force of this city is of the Metropolitan system and is governed by three police commissioners who are elected



by joint ballot at the convention of the legislature, one commissioner being elected every two years to serve six years.

Very respectfully,  
JACOB FREY, Marshal.

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 20th inst., I have to state that all municipal departments of the District of Columbia are supervised by a board of three commissioners (two civilians and one army engineer) appointed by the president of the United States.

The police department is under a superintendent, appointed by the commissioners, who managed all affairs connected with the department, the more important questions being subject to their approval. Appointments are made upon his recommendation and members of the force hold office during good behavior. Very truly, W. G. MOODY,

Major and Superintendent Metropolitan Police.

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INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 21.—DEAR SIR: Allow me to say, in reply to your communication of the 20th inst., the police force is conducted under a board of public safety, said board being appointed by the mayor of the city and being directly under his control. The board makes all appointments of police and firemen. The mayor is elected for two years and his boards are appointed for the same length of time.

Very respectfully yours,  
GEO. W. POWELL,  
Superintendent of Police

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DETROIT, MICH., Nov. 21.—DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of inquiry requesting to be informed how our police force is conducted and if under a board

of commissioners, how appointed etc., I have to say that the department is governed by a board of four commissioners appointed by the mayor for a term of four years each. The board is a nonpartisan one, being composed of two Republican and two Democratic members. Respectfully yours,

C. C. STARKWEATHER,  
Superintendent of Police.

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PITTSBURG, Nov. 2.—DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 20th inst., I would state that we do not have a board of police commissioners in existence in our city. Our police force is appointed by one city official known as the director of the department of public safety, who is elected every four years by our city councils. The power is vested in him for all appointments and discharges of persons in the employ of his department, which also includes the bureau of fire, bureau of health, bureau of electricity, bureau of building inspection and bureau of plumbing inspection. Very truly yours,

ROGER O'MARA,  
Superintendent Bureau of Police.

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CINCINNATI, Nov. 21.—DEAR SIR: In reply to yours dated Nov. 20, asking for information as to the management of the board of police commissioners, etc., I have the honor to inform you as follows:

1. All police powers and duties connected with and incident to the appointment, regulation and government of the police force are vested in the mayor and the board of police commissioners, consisting of four (4) electors appointed by the governor, not more than two (2) of whom are of the same political party, namely, two (2) Republicans and two (2) Democrats. They are to serve for a term of four years.

2. The mayor has full power and authority over the police organization, government and discipline of this force.

3. The force is nonpartisan and politics are not considered as to an applicant's fitness for a position on the police force. We do not recognize politics, religious faith or any other matter, except that a candidate is a fit and honest man and comes up to the requirements of the rules laid down by the mayor and police commissioners for the appointment of police officers.

4. No member of this force, after his appointment as directed, can be removed from the force except for inefficiency, misconduct, insubordination or violations of law. Charges must have been duly formulated and the same proved before the board of police commissioners before an officer can be disposed of.

Very respectfully yours,  
PHIL. DEITSCH,  
Superintendent of Police.

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LOUISVILLE, KY., Nov. 21.—DEAR SIR: In reply to your favor of the 20th instant would say that the police force of this city is under the control of a board of public safety. The board consists of three members appointed by the mayor for a term of four years at a salary of \$3,000 per year.

Yours respectfully,  
THOS. H. TAYLOR,  
Chief of Police.

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DENVER, COLO., Nov. 22.—DEAR SIR: Answering your favor of the 20th instant I have to say, while I am not at this time chief of police, I herewith inclose you a copy of my last report of that department.

The department is conducted under a board of commissioners of three members, who receive their appointments from the governor of the state, whose term of office is the same as the governor (two years). The intent of the governor creating this board was to remove the police department from politics, which was strictly carried out until the present governor was elected, when he appointed a board who totally ignored the governor and conducted the department as a mere political machine.

The law creating this board requires the governor to appoint one member of the board who is of a different political faith from himself, with a view of making it nonpartisan.

From my experience in police matters I am firmly of the opinion that the police department that can be conducted on a strict non-political basis can be made the most efficient. Respectfully,

J. F. FARLEY,  
Superintendent of Supplies.

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ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 23.—DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 20th inst., would say that our police force is under a board of police commissioners, consisting of three in number, who are elected by the common council every four years alternately. I should add to the above that the mayor is chairman of the board (ex-officio). Yours truly,

J. P. CLEARY,  
Superintendent of Police.

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From such a study of this subject as I have been able to give, I am fully convinced that the mayor should be held responsible for the proper management of the police department. This he can probably best

carry out through a commission to be appointed by himself and confirmed by the council.

Civil service rules and the merit system as to appointments and promotions should prevail.

There should be an improvement of the Chicago police courts, first in the direction of divorcing them completely from the justice of the peace system. The following letter to the writer from W. C. Moreland, city attorney of Pittsburg, Pa., contains valuable suggestions for the establishment of an efficient police court system for Chicago.

PITTSBURG, PA., Dec. 3.—DEAR SIR: Under what is known as the 'City Charter' of the city of Pittsburg, act of assembly June 14, 1887, P. L. 396, the mayor has the power of appointing five police magistrates, subject to the approval of the city council, and in such districts of the city as shall by ordinance be designated. The term of office shall be during good behavior and until a successor be appointed and approved. The annual salary of each magistrate paid by the city is \$2,500. All fees and fines collected by these magistrates are payable to the city treasurer; they receive no other compensation than the salary fixed.

By act of assembly, approved June 16, P. L. 303, the power and duties of these magistrates are defined: They have the power and authority to receive and take criminal informations . . . accusing any person or persons of the commission of any felony or misdemeanor, where such felony or misdemeanor has been committed within the corporate limits of the city . . . and to issue warrants for the arrest of such persons so accused, administer oaths and hold preliminary hearings in all such cases and

commit to jail or bind over for trial, or discharge. They also have full and complete power, jurisdiction and authority to administer oaths and examine witnesses and hear, determine and punish according to the laws and ordinances of said city, all cases of arrest upon view or upon information made and warrant issued by the police of the city in which such police magistrate may reside of all persons who may be found engaged in or charged with drunkenness, disorderly conduct, selling liquor contrary to law, maintaining a disorderly house or bawdy house, lewd, indecent or lascivious behavior on the streets or elsewhere, gambling, creating riots or disturbances, vagrants, beggars, prostitutes, disturbers of the public peace, known or reputed pickpockets, burglars, thieves, watch stuffers, cheating, swindling, persons who abuse their families and suspicious persons who can give no reasonable account of themselves or violating any of the laws or ordinances of such city.

They also have jurisdiction of suits for the recovery of fines and penalties imposed by any and all laws of the city in which they reside and of all cases of summary conviction arising under the laws and ordinances of said city. The full power to hear the cases, administer oaths or affirmations, decide the same, enforce the penalties, collect the fine or commit to prison, as the case may be, according to the provisions of the law and ordinances applicable thereto.

Thus far our system has worked admirably. The men appointed seem to perform faithfully and intelligently the duties imposed on them. We regard the system as a very decided improvement over the one previously existing. Yours, etc.

W. C. MORELAND, City Attorney.

## V.—CIVIL SERVICE

Civil service rules and the merit system are necessary to the good government of Chicago, even more so under the plans proposed than otherwise. In one sense the patronage of the municipal government will be greater. But this question has been fully discussed and the value of the plan admitted on all sides.

I desire only to point out that the duties of a civil service commission should both begin and end with providing candidates for the public service. That task is sufficiently great in itself, without adding to it the responsibilities of a trial board for disciplining or dismissing delinquent public servants, or defending those unjustly assailed. These matters properly belong to the administration of government, and must always be more or less a matter of party politics.

It will be quite sufficient for this, and perhaps for two generations to come, if, for all departments of the public service, employes, male and female, shall be selected from a list of candidates provided by an authorized civil service commission. The matter of their dismissal or discipline may well be left to the

government that employs and pays them, and to such regulations as may, by law, be made to regulate such matters. If a civil service board is to dabble with such issues, it will soon become a political machine, with just as much partisanship and partisan zeal as characterize any department of a municipal government.

By all means give Chicago, and every other city of any importance in the state, a civil service board for ascertaining and certifying to the qualifications of candidates for the public service, but, as you would value its usefulness, keep it out of any and all branches of government, else it will become a partisan machine and an object for contempt. I believe such a board should be a state body having jurisdiction over the qualifications of all persons employed in every branch of the public service to which it may be applicable, but local boards may not prove objectionable.

Such a board cannot have any legitimate part in the trial of a policeman, or a civil engineer employed on sewers or tunnels, or a fireman, or a sidewalk inspector, a school teacher, or any other servant of the public who may be the object of charge of misconduct.

Political patronage is probably the greatest drawback to efficient and clean municipal administration everywhere. This is particularly true in Chicago. Too many citizens have taken active part in political



contests for the spoils of office and with the expectation of occupying positions in the public service rather than from patriotic motives. No one can consistently find fault with these selfish motives everywhere visible in our political life so long as the very essence of the municipal system invites to these practices. The rigid enforcement of civil service rules and the application without flinching of the merit system of promotion in the civil service will have the wholesome tendency of inculcating among the people the idea that good, efficient, clean government is more to be desired and sought after as the result of civic elections than the mere occupancy of office. Too many citizens follow politics as a business and for the sole purpose of obtaining an easy livelihood. This is not so much the fault of the people as it is the weakness of municipal methods.

But these results can best be reached by a law that will compel every branch of the government to select its employes from the lists of the civil service boards, rather than from the roll of ward workers. The civic federation, or some of its members, has erroneous ideas on civil service rules and their enforcement. The proposition to supplant the government, or any portion of it, by an outside body, which shall hold the whip over a mayor, or chief of police, or any other officer, is impracticable, not to say ridiculous.

One of the best features of civil service laws is their economy. Under strict civil service rules and

the merit system, the force in the city hall can be reduced one half. That will amount to an enormous saving annually to the taxpayers. And the work will be done much better. One of the greatest drawbacks to the heads of departments is the practice of the administrations of placing a herd of green hands at work in the city hall after each election. As soon as they learn to properly perform the tasks assigned to them, and very often before, they are discharged to make room for others.

And yet I would be inclined to consider an active interest in politics, on the part of a young man or woman, as a characteristic giving some claims to a place in the public service. Of course other things should be considered. We do not want the public service to be a mere machine, but a live, intelligent, energetic force, each member of it pressing forward to political preferment. Promotion in office is political preferment. It can never be anything else. It should not be. We do not want to abolish politics, but rather to elevate and reform party government.

I would increase opportunities for political action on the part of the people. Therein lies the safety to what is good and worth preserving in American institutions. Nor would I weaken party lines. Man has not yet invented a better system of popular government than that which is by political parties. A strong government and a strong opposition are requisites to the safety of the people. It is a sign of

intelligence on the part of the voters, not an indication of disloyalty to party, when the government frequently passes into the hands of the opposition. It rather indicates that leaders have become disloyal to their pledges, and that the people are quick to rebuke them.

Some of our civil service reformers want to eradicate party politics altogether, at least from the public service. That would be an unsafe experiment. It would be followed by rings far more corrupt than political cliques. In the first place we are not so badly off in political morals as some so called reformers make out.

It is easy and often popular with the masses to assail and denounce officials, and to lay charges against them, and even to bring them into public discredit. One cannot produce much in the way of reform by calling public servants bad names. Nothing can be accomplished for the people, except through the people themselves. You cannot maintain a government on higher lines of political morality than a majority of the voters sustaining it enjoy. There is a tendency always among the few who enjoy a measure of wealth and refinement not found among the masses to feel themselves better than the common herd. But, as a matter of fact, they are often less worthy to be intrusted with the responsibilities of government than those who make no pretensions.

I remember a few years ago when the people lost

confidence in the old parties and elected a number of the "better class" as members of the Chicago Sanitary Board of Trustees. It was a citizens' movement, a reform move. What were the results? All of the gentlemen elected, except two, found out soon after taking office, either that they could not afford time from their private interests to devote to the public service, or that they were wholly unfit, by experience, for the work, and they resigned. The old political parties were compelled to elect their successors, who, by the way, are now rendering the public good service.

A large number of good citizens are just now talking loud about municipal reform, who know very little about the subject. They are talking too much, by the way, and some of them are beginning to sound ridiculous. The civic federation has its share of this class. It is through the zealous efforts of impracticable reformers that the cause generally receives its worst setbacks. I hear men say:

"There is a man employed in the water department who only yesterday became a citizen. He can scarcely speak the national language intelligently. It is a disgrace to the city."

Nothing of the sort. Such a sentiment has no place in genuine loyalty. It is downright prejudice and ought to be heartily condemned. All the nationality elements should be represented in the public service. It is not necessary that a young man or

woman should graduate in the high schools to be entitled to a post in the government. I am not so sure that the high school should be maintained at all at public expense. One thing is certain. If all the opportunities for individual progress in great cities are to be absorbed by corporations, monopolies, trusts, department stores, and other consolidations, we shall soon have little use for high schools, as parents will be obliged to take their children from the grammar schools to the stores, shops and factories in order to maintain the family existence.

I am for giving every foreign-born citizen an equal opportunity. Broken English is not a distressing sign of our times. It is rather an indication of national progress and a proof that all the nations of the earth are contributing to the evolution of American greatness.

Chicago's municipal government could be reconstructed with advantage on some such plan as follows:

1.—A mayor, attorney, treasurer, collector, comptroller, and clerk, elected every two or four years by the people.

2.—A common council, comprising two aldermen from each ward, elected one half each year, for two years, as at present.

3.—A board of public safety of three members, of which the mayor shall be *ex-officio* chairman, for the general management of the police, fire, and health

departments, appointed by the mayor, and confirmed by the council, for a term equal to that of the mayor, such board to act under ordinances providing civil service rules and the merit system for promotions.

4.—A board of public works of three members, of which the mayor shall be ex-officio chairman, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, for the administration of all city works, the laying of special assessments, and the general management of all public improvements.

5.—A board of public service of three members, of which the mayor shall be ex-officio chairman appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, to be charged with the management of all franchise corporations connected with the quasi-public service, such as gas and electric light, heat and power, telephone, and message service, street and elevated railways and other franchise interests of the city.

6.—A board of inspection of three members, of which the mayor shall be ex-officio chairman, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, to be charged with the duties of inspection of all kinds, including water, gas, oil, foods, sanitary matters, etc.

7.—The corporation council and the heads of all departments to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council. All other employes of the city, including secretaries and chief clerks, to be under civil service rules.

8.—A Public library board as at present.

9.—A board of education as at present.

10.—A police court system providing for judges, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, with ample jurisdiction, the city to be divided into suitable judicial districts for the purpose, the judges to be paid an ample salary to secure the services of able, honest men, and all fees to be turned into the city treasury.

11.—A board of three civil service commissioners, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, charged with the duty of examining candidates as to their qualifications for every branch of service of the municipal government, but to have no control over them after their appointment.

## VI.—REFORM METHODS

We cannot hope to summon a new set of politicians to the municipal helm all at once. Even if such were possible nothing could well prove more disastrous. We must use the materials we have. With an enlightened, active, expressive public sentiment, keeping close watch upon our public servants, insisting upon needed changes and reforms, the progress will be substantial and in the right direction.

I am not among those who see only that which is to be condemned in the majority of our politicians. Their greatest weakness lies in the unfortunate truth that they are, to a large extent, owned and controlled by the franchise corporations. But for this the people themselves are largely to blame. The average voter is generally too much absorbed in the insane race of making gain to bother much with political affairs. So completely absorbed are the business men of the city, that it is next to impossible to get them together for purposes of remonstrance or agitation on any public question. It is only when a taxpayer is struck squarely between the eyes that he will pay the slightest attention to the actions of those who are robbing him. Even then, if an oppor-



tunity offers by which he can cheaply purchase his own emancipation from the evil, he is generally quite willing to let his neighbor take care of himself. This selfish, dishonest, indifferent spirit is the curse of our people.

Talk about honesty, political or otherwise, and what must we say, if we speak or write the truth? Take the policeman. He is to-day branded by the so-called reformers as an officer of the government in league with thieves, pickpockets, gamblers and outcasts. In some cases this is true. But alas! the average policeman of Chicago is the peer in honesty of the average bank president. Is that not true? Is he not more honest than the municipal franchise manipulator? Is he not as honest as his master, the alderman?

But there is a difference. The policeman is low. He has to defile his hands in the slums of the city. He is a servant, often too coarse to be an agreeable companion. He will do very well as an object of attack. On the other hand the bank president, the franchise corporation manager, the lobbyist, is a gentleman, cleanly shaven, with fine linen, and the advantages of luxury. His dishonesty don't count.

I am sick of the pot calling the kettle black. There is not a reformer, or reform organization, in Chicago that has yet ventured to cross the pathway of a franchise corporation. Not one. The civic federation is making a great ado about gambling and

other vices that always flourish to some extent in great cities, but it hasn't a word to say about the greater municipal crimes of stealing public franchises. Is not this hypocrisy enough to weaken one's confidence in the "better classes?" I use the term advisedly. These people belong to the "better class." They acknowledge it themselves. They pose as a little better than their neighbors. I am holier than thou! These words are imprinted on their actions. And so it is that the good they would do is dwarfed by their hypocrisy, which to-day cries to Heaven for punishment.

Hypocrisy? Yes, hypocrisy of the rankest character. The term is not strong enough. Truth demands fiercer language. Contemplate the facts. Here is an organization of reputable people, of wealthy citizens, banded together to protect the inhabitants from bad city government. What steps did this reform body take to prevent the consummation of that colossal steal, the Universal gas ordinance? None whatever. It was blind, deaf, and dumb to that infamy. What action did it take in regard to the recent delivery of Chicago to street transit monopoly, with its trolley and double fare monstrosities? Let an awakening indignation of the people who have been outraged answer.

But it is unpleasant to talk thus plainly. Let us be thankful that the civic federation is really in earnest in its work to prevent public gambling, and

to purify the ballot. These are noble missions and well worthy the best efforts of the earnest people engaged in the work.

The civic federation has made considerable parade in preparing bills, and getting them launched in the general assembly at Springfield. In this work I am bound to say that the organization meant well, but acted unwisely. None of these bills will ever become laws. They were presented in an impracticable shape, and must come to naught. If legislation is to be had for Chicago it will have to come through the Cook County members. The civic federation and the Chicago clubs can't do the work. The thing to do is to get the Chicago delegation together, and for the leaders in municipal politics, such as George B. Swift and John P. Hopkins, to agree with them as to the measures most needed. If there is to be a party split, then so much the better. It will result in the Republicans advancing one plan, and the Democrats another. The legislature can take its choice, and the people of Chicago will have an opportunity of pronouncing on the merits of both.

Three measures are imperatively needed at this session. These are:

- 1.—A law for the enforcement of a fair valuation in all assessments.
- 2.—A law for terminating municipal franchises upon their expiration, and providing for courts of arbitration as to the value of the properties of franchise corporations.

3.—A joint resolution providing for a revision of the state constitution, so as to permit the legislature to pass a suitable charter for the government of Chicago.

But let us examine some of the measures of municipal reform proposed by the civic federation. A sub-committee of that body has framed a bill providing for a new form of Chicago city government. Without stopping here to question its constitutionality or practicability, even if constitutional, let us see what it provides.

Under it the mayor is to be elected by the people. In case of vacancy the mayoralty falls to the heads of departments in specified order of succession. The mayor is the only elective administrative official and is given power to appoint and remove heads of departments without interference from the council. In his appointments he is to be subject to civil service rules.

The proposed charter provides for five executive departments, the heads of which shall constitute the board of control. They are: The department of accounts and collections, with the comptroller at its head; the department of finance, with the city treasurer at its head; the department of law, with the corporation counsel at its head; the department of public works, with the commissioner of public works at its head, and the department of public safety, with the commissioner of public safety at its head.

The comptroller has general charge of the complete audit of the city accounts, and prescribes the form and manner of bookkeeping, making pay-rolls and all other claims against the city, as well as performing the duties now prescribed by ordinance. The sub-committee, in its report in explanation of the measure, contends that the comptroller should also have charge of the collection of tax money belonging to the city.

The department of finance is arranged practically on the old basis. There is a provision for securing to the city all interest paid by banks. In fact, the general plan is that all fees and perquisites of office shall belong and be paid to the city, the officers receiving nothing except the salaries provided by law. The department of public works is to have the initiative in all improvements to be paid for by special assessment.

The department of public safety includes the police force, the fire department, the health department and the inspection of buildings, of steam boilers, of gas and of oil. The mayor will not preside or vote in the council, but will have a seat and the right of debate. The city is to be divided into six districts, each of which will have six aldermen. Twelve aldermen are to be chosen at large from the city.

In the matter of franchises the civic federation's bill provides that all material and structures in, over, upon or under the streets shall belong to the city

on being put in place. The grantee obtains the privilege of use during the limited period for which the license is given. This period is thirty years in the case of elevated roads, twenty years for surface roads and ten years for heat or power plants, electric lights and private switch tracks. These franchises are to be given in return for such rental as the ordinance provides. The cost of construction is to be credited on this rental charge and the construction is to be supervised by the commissioner of public works. In all cases where the conditions permit competition, advertisements are to be made for proposals or bids on terms most favorable to the city before privileges in the streets are granted.

Application must first be submitted to the heads of the executive departments, known collectively as the board of control. If the assent of a majority of these heads of departments is secured the ordinance may be submitted to the council. After this the mayor has an absolute veto of ordinances granting such privileges. No grant for a branch or extension of any system, nor any branch or line operated or controlled by an existing system, may extend beyond the limit of the term for the exercise of the original privilege, or of the privilege held by the main company. The salary of the mayor is placed at \$10,000 a year, of heads of departments at \$8,000 and of aldermen at \$2,500.

The framers of this bill rely upon the passage of

the civil service measure, now before the legislature, and a special assessment law to be submitted later, to perfect the system proposed. It may be taken also that they expect a new revenue or assessment law to be passed.

There are merits and defects in this somewhat remarkable measure. In some respects it is too radical. The changes proposed are too sweeping by far. Genuine reforms seldom come with such strides except in cases of revolution. The framers of the bill must surely expect that it will serve the purpose of agitating reform issues. They cannot seriously hope to see it become a law in its present shape or in any other by which it could be recognized as their work.

In the first place the measure is unconstitutional for many reasons. It could never pass if made to apply to all the cities of the state, for the smaller centers could have no use for it. The garment would not fit at all. It must therefore be intended especially for Chicago, and in that sense is pre-eminently within the scope of special legislation and clearly prohibited by the constitution. Just where the legislature is to get power to divide the territory of a city into six, or any other number of districts, is not clear. It provides the city with property rights in and to materials and plants placed on, under or over the public streets under franchise grants, but makes no provision for municipal use of the same at the ex-

piration of the franchises under which they may be created.

The newspapers have named the measure, a bill for a new city charter, and I must acknowledge that the title is in every sense proper and fitting. If the general assembly of Illinois had the power and authority to enact a statute giving Chicago, or any other particular city, a charter, all might be well. At any rate it would make it worth while to discuss the faults of the bill, of which there are many, but under the circumstances there is nothing to be said except that it's only fit for an amateur debating society. It presents plans and theories, the elucidation of which would certainly prove instructive and entertaining, but it ought to be taken into some other state, Nebraska, for instance, where the legislature has been endowed with constitutional prerogatives of sufficient scope to provide city charters to suit the wants of the people, one kind for a small city, and another for a metropolis. It would be a waste of time to debate its provisions at any length in Illinois until the constitution of the state has been radically changed. The bill as proposed by the civic federation would not become a law if passed by the legislature and adopted by popular vote, unless stripped of its features which bring it into conflict with the letter and spirit of the cities, towns and villages act, and the constitutional provisions for legislative action on behalf of the government of cities.



The bill to change the present special assessment system, in the preparation of which the civic federation is said to have had a hand, is, in most respects, a desirable measure. It bears the impress of the real estate board and of Corporation Council Palmer, however, and is calculated to bring about a desirable change.

Again reformers are told that before framing bills for the better government of Chicago they should carefully study the constitution of Illinois, and, if they will do this, their energies will be directed towards a revision of that instrument, adopted in the year of grace 1870, at the instance of the corporations, rather than to framing proposed statutes which are out of joint with its plainly expressed terms.

## VII.—CURRENT HISTORY

The necessity of some of the reforms already pointed out is best impressed upon the reader by reference to current municipal history. The Chicago city government, for some years back, has been struggling against odds for necessary financial support, and city administrations have become victims of unpopularity, as much from what could not, under existing laws, be accomplished, as from what they failed to do. But the people have not hesitated to hold the city authorities responsible for results wholly beyond their power to control. Unless some legislation is at once provided, a financial crash will overtake the city government.

If the reforms, in the way of municipalizing gas, electricity, and transit, indicated in this sketch were now well advanced, revenues for all purposes would be in sight, but it will take some time to create public sentiment in favor of these changes, and to inaugurate them. Something must be done meanwhile to put the city treasury in receipt of more money. The present administration, acting with the council, should send a delegation to Springfield to secure the passage of a revenue law, with an emergency clause, so that it will take effect in time to cover the assess-

ment of 1895, providing for a fair cash valuation in the assessment of all property. This, with a clause to enable the city to better anticipate the taxes, will meet immediate necessities.

The struggles of the Hopkins administration on the financial question, creditable in every sense to the present mayor, show the great necessity of some steps in this direction. In his last annual message Mayor Hopkins said:

“You are well aware of the financial condition of the city. You know that it will require the most strenuous efforts on our part to not only place the city on a sound financial basis, but to bring to a successful end the reform which this council and the administration inaugurated at the beginning of the fiscal year. It will require not alone your co-operation, but the co-operation of the citizens whose interests are identified with the successful administration of local affairs.

“The financial question is the most serious one that confronts the present administration. Without a sound system of finance, no municipality can be successfully administered. The present condition of affairs is the natural result of an attempt, which has been made for many years past, to carry on the city's business under a defective system. This doubtful course should not be continued; the real facts should no longer be concealed. In my judgment, it's better far that a full and frank statement

should be made of the financial condition of the city, so that its citizens may be induced to turn their efforts in the direction of such improvements as will result in the application of better business principles to the conduct of city affairs. Such reform can never be brought about in any other way."

Addressing himself to the task before him, the mayor cut out his work on three lines in this language:

"Three great problems confront us, and though we may not solve them, yet I hope we shall do something toward their final solution which shall benefit the public. First there is the financial question, then the question of public franchises, and lastly, the elevation of railroad tracks. The two first are closely connected, and embrace many minor questions which arise from time to time. Since assuming office three months ago I have made some beginning in the consideration of these three important questions, and in this connection I desire to thank the members of your honorable body and the city officials who have given valuable assistance in the prosecution of this great and onerous undertaking."

All that Mayor Hopkins could do, under the present laws, in the way of solving the financial question, was to watch every opportunity for increasing the revenue, and to economize by reducing the expenses. On these lines he has probably accomplished more than any of his predecessors.

Taking the tax levy of 1893, that of 1894 not hav-

ing yet been all realized, I find that it was distributed among the following funds:

General Sinking Fund..\$	1,020.00	
School Sinking Fund...	1,020.00	
Public Library.....	487,464.00	
School Tax Fund.....	5,550,000.00	
Interest Account.....	994,500.00	
		<hr/>
		\$7,034,004.00
General Fund.....	424,258.80	
House of Correction....	61,200.00	
Contingent Fund.....	15,300.00	
Fire Department.....	528,690.99	
Sewerage Department..	105,651.60	
Dep't Public Works.....	1,287,523.76	
Police Department.....	2,010,926.94	
Street Lamp Fund.....	295,800.00	
Health Department....	47,613.60	
		<hr/>
		4,776,965.69
		<hr/>
Total tax levy of 1893.....	\$11,810,969.69	

From the above it will be seen that after deducting the amount of School Tax, Public Library, Interest and Sinking Fund, there remained only about \$4,800,000 for municipal purposes. This, so far as the receipts from taxes were concerned, was the whole amount applicable to the needs of every department, while \$5,550,000 was allotted for school purposes alone. Under such conditions it can readily be seen how difficult it was to maintain the credit of the city.

The city's proportion of the general taxes for mu-

nicipal purposes in 1894, was \$4,817,490.88, or about sufficient to carry one department of the city effectively. The humiliating spectacle consequently was presented of the city of Chicago being obliged to depend on the receipts from saloon licenses to eke out its municipal existence.

The total estimated receipts from this source for the year 1893 were \$4,298,182.15; the actual receipts were \$3,729,698.29, showing a deficit of \$568,483.86. The receipts from these two sources combined were entirely insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of the city government in the protection of life and property.

It is easily seen from the above that the present mayor has had his hands full, and now that his term of office is at an end he is able to give this account:

It is figured that during his brief term he has saved for the people of Chicago the sum of \$7,178,303.80, and it will be noted that the bulk of this saving is to come from a close imitation of real municipalizing of the quasi-public service. One is almost warranted in the belief that Mayor Hopkins is not far from conversion to the plans set forth in this work.

Of the vast total of over \$7,000,000 it is calculated that \$5,358,519 will accrue on account of the administration policy of demanding some compensation for every franchise given by the city. The present administration has been busy with franchises, most

of which have been for enterprises of great magnitude. Since Mayor Hopkins entered upon the duties of his office ordinances have been passed for the Northwestern Elevated Railroad company, the North Chicago Elevated Railroad company, the North Side Electric Street Railway company, the Northern Electric Railway company, the Cicero & Proviso Street Railway company, and the Mutual Electric Light company. Besides these, ordinances have been passed under which the Yerkes railroad systems and the Chicago City Railroad company's system may be transformed from horse to overhead electric railroads. In all of these ordinances Mayor Hopkins and the council have insisted upon some compensation for the great privileges granted. In the cases of the elevated railroad companies this compensation has been based upon a percentage of gross receipts to be paid over on a sliding scale of percentages after the tenth year and continuing for the remaining forty years of the grants. In the cases of surface street railroad ordinances the percentages have been fixed upon gross receipts payable after the tenth year of the grant, and until the expiration of the remaining ten years. In the cases of ordinances allowing the change of motive power sums of money have been demanded outright, or the beneficiaries have been forced to agree to pay stipulated sums yearly for street lighting, or other municipal purposes. In the Mutual Electric Light ordinance a percentage upon gross receipts has been secured.

Mayor Hopkins has estimated the receipts from these sources to the end of the grants, fifty years in cases of elevated railroads and twenty years in the other cases. As stated, this estimate reaches the sum of \$5,358,519.

Following are the estimates where estimates are necessary, and the amounts otherwise provided for to come to the city from franchises granted during the last two years:

Northwestern Elevated Railroad company car tax and percentage accruing to city (estimated).....	\$ 4,192,000.00
North Chicago Elevated Railway company car tax and percentage accruing to city (estimated).....	112,110.40
North Side Electric Street Railway company car tax and percentage accruing to city (estimated).....	59,004.50
Stipulated amount to be paid by the North and West Side Street Railroad companies for permission to change motive power.....	570,000.00
Viaduct damages on account of Dearborn Street viaduct to be paid by same companies, about.....	34,454.70
Chicago City Railway company, for permission to change motive power	250,000.00
The Northern Electric Railway company .....	62,500 00
Cicero and Proviso Street Railway company.....	6,450.00
Mutual Electric Light company ...	72,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$5,358,519.60</b>



The account proceeds: The remainder of the \$7,178,803.80 is accounted for in four items. One of these shows the amounts secured from quasi-public corporations having underground work in the streets for repairs necessary on account of their disturbance of the streets. The other shows the difference paid by property-owners for public paving between the years 1893 and 1894. The mayor takes credit for this on the theory that his action broke up the paving combine, though he admits that the prices of material and labor were lower in 1894 than they have been for years. The third item shows the saving in expenses of running the city government for the year 1894 as compared with 1893, and the fourth shows the increase of receipts during 1894 over 1893. These tables are given below.

Income from franchises.....	\$5,358,519.60
Corporations, for street repairs.....	249,141.70
Street-paving contracts, as compared with prices paid in 1893:	
Asphalt.....	\$ 95,871.29
Cedar blocks.....	373,398.96
Macadam.....	54,546.60
Garnite.....	3,875.04
	<hr/>
	\$ 527,691.89
Saving 1894 over 1893:	
Pay rolls.....	508,041.16
Other expenses.....	446,025.52
Increase in receipts.....	89,383.93
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$7,178,803.80

But even this does not tell all the story. It is shown that though the appropriation for 1892 was \$8,339,315 and for 1893 \$9,087,765, as compared with \$7,968,791 for 1894, there were over-drafts at the beginning of the year 1894 of \$779,786, while at the beginning of 1895 they were but \$609,767; in other words, that though the city had more than \$1,000,000 less appropriation in 1894 than in 1893 there was a saving even then of \$170,019.

The statement also contains the following, making a comparison of payrolls:

November and December, 1893 (Swift's).....	\$1,479,521.09
November and December, 1894 (Hop- kins').....	1,283,727.40
	<hr/>
Reduction in 1894.....	\$190,793.69

Nor is this all. It is shown that the increase in water pumped at various stations in 1894 over 1893 was 11,040,000,000 gallons. The bulk of this increase is said to have been at the Fullerton Avenue and Canal stations, indicating that the increase was pumped into the river. The effect of this dilution of the river slime is shown by a comparison of the death rates, the statement showing that for 1893 to have been 16.9 per 1,000, as against 15.3 per 1,000 during 1894.

In the matter of elevating railroad tracks the Hopkins administration excels. That great undertaking has been actually begun, and is in such a state

of progress as to warrant the conclusion that it will be carried on to a complete finish.

Hence, it will be seen, one can find much to commend in the struggles against odds in the Hopkins administration. These things should serve as lessons to the people, pointing out what is necessary in the way of changes and reforms in the present systems, in order to attain greater, and even more substantial permanent results.

What is needed more is a sort of new beginning, a new start in the government of the city, on lines laid down in this little book; and if the voters will take the matter up, and elect only those pledged to such a course of reform, great and glorious will be the outcome for Chicago.

## VIII.—PRACTICAL REFORM

It was announced the other day that at a meeting of Populist leaders held in Chicago it was practically settled that the platform of their party for the approaching election will contain a plank declaring against a down town elevated loop unless it is to be owned by the city. This is in common with most of the declarations of the Populists on the subject of municipal ownership, and it is certainly discouraging even to one who advocates the principle.

It must strike one as remarkable that the leaders of a political party noted for intelligence and advanced thinking on matters of principle, are so much at fault in practice. No matter how sound their theories may be, they appear to be utterly astray in methods of putting them into practice. It must be known to these reformers that, under the present laws, the city of Chicago cannot own or operate a street railway of any sort. More than this, those qualified to judge, who have investigated the subject, declare that the legislature has no constitutional authority to grant the city such power by statute. If this be so, a vast deal of work, in the way of law making and constitutional revision is necessary before

the proposed "plank" can be available to the people.

Meanwhile Chicago wants the loop and will have it. It is likely indeed to be constructed under existing franchises, and if not the mayor and council will certainly grant one for the purpose as soon as applied for under the proper procedure. The city could not proceed to do what the Populists contend for, first for want of law, and in the next place because the means are not within its reach for such an enterprise.

This brings me to consider some mistakes of the Third party on this whole matter of municipal ownership of the means of the quasi-public service. In the first place, we are moving along in the world of progress too swiftly to pay much heed to things wholly impracticable. A proposition for a certain reform carries with it the necessity of laws and means for its inauguration, and its proposer is visionary, and indeed a stumbling block to progress, unless he be able to point out by what methods his plans can be accomplished.

Let us look at this proposition of the Populists for municipal ownership of the proposed down town loop, squarely. It would entail a constitutional amendment, or revision, the passage of laws by the general assembly empowering the city in the premises, and the passage of ordinances by the city for the details of the scheme. This is a work that under no conditions could be carried out inside of four

years. I mean it would take four years to put the city in a position to do what the Populists demand as to this loop. Now the same is true of any similar undertaking of municipal ownership.

What then should these Populists have done? What should they do? They should agree upon a very different plank. The city has it within its power, if it will show the disposition and ability, to take a most important step towards municipal ownership of the enterprise referred to, and one which a great many people think preferable, but a step, however, which must be taken if the municipality is ever to own such works. It would be folly to say that Chicago must wait four years or longer before commencing to build a down town loop, and yet that's what the Populists' proposition involves. What these often misguided reformers should do is to advocate the sale of a franchise for twenty years, or fifty years, if an elevated railway comes under the railroad act, by the city to a corporation that would furnish the required means, construct and operate the loop under city control, and on a plan that would give the city substantial revenues; and all other elevated lines access over its tracks for the accommodation of the people. This Chicago can do, and ought to do.

The mayor and council should at as early a day as possible pass an ordinance setting forth the terms and conditions upon which the city is ready to part with such a franchise. Then proposals should be

invited. The result would be the formation of a company that would, if the terms and conditions of the ordinance were properly set out, be completely under city control, and that would give to the city a great public work under a degree of municipal management that would fully protect the patrons of the service, and the treasury of the city.

The terms of such a franchise would of course provide that upon its expiration the city would have the right to renew it or to acquire the plant and property of the company under an arbitration valuation. This is the only route to municipal ownership for the city, in respect to street railways, gas, electricity, and other branches of like public comforts.

If the Populists would put forth as much effort on these lines as they do in the agitation of ends that are not now attainable, much more would be realized. I am not finding fault with the Populists, but venture to call their attention to these things in the hope that they will get actively upon lines with something besides talk and resolutions.

For all new enterprises of this kind under consideration the city has ample scope for action on the lines pointed out. For municipalizing those already in operation, laws are required to enable the municipality to wind up the business under a franchise upon its termination and to acquire the plant and property rights that have grown up under it.

It would, indeed, be a hopeful indication if one of

the old political parties would appeal to the voters of Chicago in the pending election on the platform of municipalizing gas, electricity, and the loop system, on the plan set forth in this little volume. These things can be immediately done, without the aid of legislation, and it would be an auspicious opening of a great work of reform that would certainly go on until all these means of public service were fully municipalized and, at some future time, if such were deemed practical, brought under full city ownership.

Suppose one of the great political party conventions should decide to place such a public undertaking in its platform, and ask its candidate for mayor to stand squarely on such a plank. Could there be any doubt, if such a movement were known to be sincere, of the success of the plan? The corporations holding franchises from the city would array themselves against the policy, but the ballot is secret, and the voters could be relied upon to take advantage of the opportunity to free themselves from the unjust burdens that now load them down.

It appears to me that the average voter would scarcely care much which political party happened to champion the cause so long as he was given the chance to vote for so grand a reform. As against this proposition the relative merits of candidates, and party considerations, could have little weight. It would not be the Outs against the Ins. It would be something more than clique *vs.* ring. The politics



of the campaign would be lifted out of the realm of spoils and placed upon a plane inviting the attention and criticism of intelligent voters. It would give the contest real issues, instead of personalities. It would give something besides saloon oratory to ward work.

But if the old political parties refuse to espouse the cause of the people; if these organizations will not rise above the spoils of office, then let the Third party wage a campaign on these issues, placed in practical form, with a strong man at the head of its ticket, and the people will rally to its support. The voters, or rather a majority of them, want substantial, practical reform, expressed in positive actions and with less empty talk.

## IX.—HOPE IN POLITICAL PARTIES

It has been the effort of these pages to point out the road to practical reforms in the present system of Chicago city government. It will be seen that the movement, to be successful, must be gradual. We cannot have the end with the beginning. The progress must be step by step. We may start out for municipal control over all franchise corporations, and reach that much desired result under existing laws, or with a very small degree of legislation wholly within constitutional limits. We may incorporate civil service rules and the merit system for promotions in every branch of the public service. We may reconstruct the present city government as indicated in this work, almost entirely by ordinances, with some slight legislative enactments. Ample revenues can be secured by a law to enforce honest assessments.

The greatest gains will come to the people in an abundant and cheap supply of light, heat, power, telephone and message communication, street and elevated railway transit, and the like, and while these blessings are being realized, the movement for a constitutional convention can be pushed, and such a

revision of the fundamental laws secured as will put the legislature in a position to give Chicago a special charter, with one form of municipal government within the city limits.

The question is, how are these things to be accomplished? By whom is the work to be done? When is it to be begun?

With all deference to the People's party, which has a legal and healthy local existence, and which has put forward a platform with many good features, we are left with no reasonable expectation that it will get control of the Chicago city government within the next two or even four years. As a party it is unable to agree upon a set of principles of local self-government. It must yet devote much time to perfecting a policy, for at present it depends more upon the shortcomings of the old political parties for popular support, than upon the merits of its own proposals.

Relief must come, if it is realized in the near future, from either the Democratic or the Republican party. The cause of Chicago is really in the hands of the people themselves. If they will become more interested in the questions of local self-government, and elect only such men as are committed to practical plans of reform, much will be accomplished. If, on the other hand, municipal politics are left to a monopoly of the professionals and spoilsmen, franchise monopoly and aldermanic corruption will flourish.

The result of the pending city elections will put either the Democrats or Republicans in power in the city hall. There is a possibility of the mayor being on the side of the council minority, as at present, but this may not re-occur. The people ought to know, in advance, what they are voting for. It must of course be a contest of men, but it should be pre-eminently a battle of measures. The voters are entitled to know just what the respective parties propose to do, so that they can intelligently determine how to cast their ballots.

So far as a municipal policy is involved in the present contest, George B. Swift, whether elected to the office of mayor, or defeated, represents the Republican sentiment. His views are those of his party, and from his attitude the people may judge what to expect from his administration if elected.

The same is true of John P. Hopkins, the present mayor of Chicago, as regards the Democratic policy. Whether Mr. Hopkins is re-elected, or another Democrat takes his place, the sentiments which he now voices are those of his party, and from them voters may know what to expect if a Democrat is elected. Hence I venture to discuss the attitude of these two politicians towards the measures herein advocated, not from a partisan standpoint, but with a view to informing my readers what measures of support, relatively, the reforms which this little book has been called into existence to voice, will receive at their hands.

First as to Mr. Swift. He is the Republican candidate for mayor of Chicago. He is well known to the people. His public record is an open book. He has had long and varied experience of municipal affairs, both as commissioner of public works and as an alderman. Upon the death of Mayor Harrison he discharged the duties of mayor *ad interim* with credit to himself and the city.

Among his more recent utterances, from which one may judge as to his views on municipal reform, is his address on "The Municipality," at the Marquette Club Lincoln memorial banquet on the 12th inst. He said:

"It is difficult to determine where to begin in opening up to your view and presenting for your earnest consideration a subject so vast in its proportions and so near to your wellbeing, morally, physically and financially. 'The Municipality'—the government of our city, the administration of city affairs, is the subject I have chosen.

"Let us note briefly what there is to be governed, cared for and maintained. The city was organized March 4, 1837, with a population of 4,170; an area of 10 1-2 square miles; an assessed property value of \$236,842; no bonded indebtedness. In 1894, fifty-seven years later, the population was estimated at 1,600,000; the area, 186 43-100 square miles; the real estate, assessed valuation, \$190,963,364, to which add the personal property, assessed valua-

tion, \$56,462,078, making a total of \$247,425,442 worth of taxable property. The bonded indebtedness of the city aggregates \$18,000,000. The miscellaneous receipts for the year 1894 aggregate a trifle over \$7,000,000, \$4,000,000 from saloon licenses and other sources and \$3,000,000 from water taxes, to which add the 2 per cent tax on assessed property valuation, amounting to \$4,948,000, making a total yearly revenue in exact figures for corporate purposes of \$11,950,829, in addition to school tax, public library tax and special assessments.

"The expenditures for the year 1894 were as follows:

For corporate purposes.....	\$11,039,897
For board of education .....	5,711,811
For public library... ..	490,594
Paid out, special assessments.....	5,474,194
For election expenses.....	235,841

"Here we have a grand total of expenditures of \$22,952,337. This is a vast sum to exact from taxpayers—surely needing the closest supervision and the strictest business methods in its collection and disbursement.

"Contemplate an area of nearly 200 square miles; a population of 1,600,000; 3,000 miles of streets and alleys, improved and unimproved; 4,500 miles of sidewalks, 1,200 miles of brick and pipe sewers, costing \$16,000,000; 47,000 street lamps, costing for maintenance annually \$1,000,000; 560 miles of steam, electric, elevated and street railways; a net-

work of pipes and wires, gas, water, telegraph and telephone, underground; forty-one miles of river frontage, an annual entrance and clearance of 18,000 vessels, with a freighting amounting to 12,000,000 tons annually; a water system consisting of tunnels with a capacity of nearly 500,000,000 gallons every twenty-four hours; pumping stations with a pumpage of 360,000,000 gallons every twenty-four hours; 1,600 miles of mains and other equipments, costing to date \$23,000,000; a police department numbering 3,347 men; a fire department numbering 1,160 men; 212 public schools and 4,500 teachers and an enrollment of 185,000 pupils; over 15,000 city employes, and an annual expenditure of \$23,000,000. That was the year 1894. This vast corporation is controlled by two great governmental branches, namely, a legislative, the city council, and the administrative, consisting of the mayor and the heads of the various bureaus of administration.

“The citizen naturally entertains the deepest interest in the municipality. Upon it he depends for the myriad of things that combine to make our modern civilization; to it he looks for the constant exercise of the peace-preserving power, with all which that implies; to it he looks for the maintenance of popular education.

“Whatever the wealth of the municipality, it is nothing if divorced from the public health. The city cannot lengthen its strides or strengthen its stakes

without giving great attention to the transportation problem and the proper maintenance of its highways. Commerce would shrink and shrivel were water and rail communication not constantly fostered; all of the ramifications of municipal growth and development are of the deepest concern to the citizen, and for them in their many forms he looks to the executive and legislative powers of the municipality.

“As a municipality we have enlarged with marvelous rapidity. With the enlargement have come vast problems that test the highest intelligence, the natural judgment and the most sustained patriotism. With this wonderful growth the needs are correspondingly great—not time and natural adaptation, but the quick resources of the broad, western confidence; and earnest, energetic manhood must supply these needs; the work must be done. Public, not personal interests are to be consulted; patronage must be used solely to secure public interests. It is the abuse of official patronage which has resulted in a masterful public sentiment which to-day demands prompt, clear-cut, radical and permanently beneficial changes in our civil service. A remedial agency, it is hoped, will in the near future be applied; it should be heartily welcomed and hospitably entertained, so that its abode in the city government would be made permanent and productive of lasting good.

“Many are the ills complained of in the munici-



pality and as numerous are the remedies proposed. Among them may be mentioned increased official power, extension of official term, limitation to one term, removal of bond inhibition, increase of tax limitation.

“The 5 per cent bond inhibition and the 2 per cent limitation were and are wise precautionary measures, and the public should watch carefully any attempts to change or annul them. The one-term-and-then-out idea is meritorious, and to those who have had experience in public office it commends itself at once and without argument.

“To the advocates of increased official power I would respectfully recommend the careful perusal of the charter and city ordinances—it is not the want of laws, but rather the lack of inclination or ability to enforce them. There should be individual responsibility and strict personal accountability in official life.

“The power conferred on the mayor is great, almost autocratic, consequently the responsibility is equally great. The position is not one of ease and retirement nor a rostrum for oratorical display.

“There are grave duties to perform which require constant study, cool deliberation, firmness of character, honesty of purpose and courage of convictions. A man so equipped and wedded to the one-term idea and reform in the civil service as advocated and demanded by an aroused public, will prove as nearly

acceptable to the people as is possible. Such an executive will be careful in the selection of department heads. He will surround himself with men of capacity, industry and integrity, to whom he can safely trust the supervision of minor employes, such employes knowing that the price of their retention in position is faithful and intelligent public service.

“Undisturbed by political, social, or personal interference, such an administration would grapple with the problems that confronted it and successfully solve them. Such an administration would command the confidence of the people, and the people would gladly rally to its support, lending moral and financial assistance.

“The deliberations and conclusions of such executive and administrative officers would have weight with the legislative portion of the city government, that much abused body that quite often reflect the opinion of the people whom they primarily represent, much criticism to the contrary, notwithstanding.”

Such are Mr. Swift's views on municipal government. On the matters of franchise reform, and the methods of municipalizing transit, electricity, gas, etc., as set forth in this work, Mr. Swift, after somewhat hastily considering the questions, appeared to be very much pleased with the propositions, and said that he had given the idea of stronger municipal

control over franchise corporations much attention and was heartily in favor of it. From pronounced expressions of opinion on his part, the author concludes that most of the plans of reform set forth on these pages have a strong friend in Mr. Swift.

As to the present mayor, he is outspoken in their favor. Early in November of 1894 Mayor Hopkins undertook the study of municipal government generally, and particularly with reference to municipalizing gas, electricity, and street railway transit. He gathered materials, and collected experiences and opinions from many cities in Europe and America, and at one time thought seriously of laying a plan before the council, in a special message, for supplying the city with electric light, heat and power, through a corporation to be under municipal control, and from which the city was to receive a substantial share of the gross receipts, the main feature of the measure being a cheap and abundant supply of light to the inhabitants of the city, not only in their shops, stores, factories and dwellings, but upon the streets.

He had also at that time under consideration a plan for constructing the down town elevated loop, by means of a corporation under city control, the city to share in the revenues, the system to include passenger depot service, and to be available to all elevated roads, including those hereafter to be constructed, upon reasonable terms.

It is known that he made considerable headway

in formulating a plan for these and kindred undertakings for improving and municipalizing the quasi-public service, but that, for some reason, he deferred action. Those advised of his motives in the premises say that he has by no means dropped the matter, but intends to put his plans into practice as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

As shown in a previous portion of this book, Mayor Hopkins has made a splendid record in his struggles with the financial difficulties into which previous administrations had drawn the city, as well as on his policy of obtaining revenue for the city from franchises, and on track elevation. Should he succeed himself as mayor, or should a Democrat be elected in sympathy with his plans, the reforms proposed in this little volume would, to some extent at least, be given a trial.

There is, therefore, good ground for hoping that, with an awakened public sentiment in favor of practical reforms on these lines, Chicago may yet, in a measure, be delivered from municipal franchise monopoly.

I want to point out in the strongest terms at command that no great reforms in the fundamental plans of Chicago city government can be carried out under the existing state constitution, and that we must rely upon the development of public sentiment in favor of a revision of the constitution in order to induce one of the old political parties to undertake the task.

I discuss this subject in connection with HOPE IN POLITICAL PARTIES, for my experience of Illinois politics for more than a quarter of a century has convinced me that however valuable independent, third party, or reform movements may be in the way of pushing the old parties out into active progress on reform lines, real progress in legislation must come, if it is accomplished at all, at the hands of either Democrats or Republicans. It has been so for a quarter of a century, with unimportant exceptions, in this state and it will probably continue in that way for some time in the future. Our hope is, as yet, in the old parties, and if practical reforms are presented to these political organizations in such a shape that they can be carried out to the advantage of the people, there is every reason to believe the work will be taken up. It is the visionary reform scheme, the impracticable, that must fail. Half the measures that are taken to Springfield for the relief of Chicago are unconstitutional. The people do not appear to know very much about the constitution of their own state. This is deplorable, but true. Public men, even lawyers, frame bills for legislative action just as if the general assembly had no limit upon its legislative functions.

I sincerely recommend all citizens who wish to take part in public affairs and contribute to the betterment of the people, especially on the line of municipal reform, to make a thorough study of the consti-

tution of Illinois. It is not such a very lengthy document either. One may get a very clear idea of its provisions in two or three days' careful reading. If this is done there will not be so many foolish bills framed as there are, and a great many reformers will begin to talk about the necessity of constitutional revision rather than the passage by the legislature of impossible measures.

Here is a list of important reforms, advocated by a good many people, which cannot be carried out without amendment to or a revision of the constitution:

1. Charter for the exclusive government of Chicago.
2. A proper revision of the revenue laws so as to enforce an honest assessment.
3. The abolition of town and county forms of government within the city limits.
4. Municipal ownership of gas, electric and like works, street railways, or other branches of the quasi-public service, excepting water. But a substantial degree of municipal control over these enterprises may and should at once be carried out as set forth in this volume.

I might extend this enumeration, but these important restrictions are more than sufficient to justify a revision of the constitution, did not many other urgent reasons exist. A measure to this end is already before the legislature, introduced by Repre-

sentative Thomas B. Needles of Nashville, Ill. It is, of course, in the form of a joint resolution and is in the following terms:

“Whereas, The provisions of the present constitution of the state of Illinois are too restrictive in their character and are insufficient for the existing and future demands of the people; therefore, be it

“Resolved, By the house of representatives, the senate concurring herein, that a convention is necessary to revise, alter, or amend the constitution of this state, and the question of calling such convention shall be submitted to the electors of the state at the next general election, as provided for by article 14 of the present constitution.”

The judiciary committee of the house has already taken favorable action on this measure, and it is to be hoped that it will pass both the house and the senate. Should this be done the work on hand will be to go before the people and convince the voters of the state that a convention is necessary. The feeling in the country districts is opposed to constitutional revision on general principles. Hence it will take much labor to convince the average country voter that his interests will not in some way be jeopardized by a constitutional convention. But this work will become easy if both great political parties espouse the cause and there are some indications that they will. Reformers throughout the state should agitate for constitutional revision, for the corporations, generally, will oppose it.

## X.—CONCLUSION

And now in conclusion let me state, as emphatically as possible, that the plan set forth in these pages for municipal reform contemplates no war on existing corporations holding municipal franchises. On the contrary its propositions are equally on behalf of three great interests, which, if right, are one and the same, viz.:

- 1.—The city government.
- 2.—The people.
- 3.—The corporations.

Any scheme of reform that seeks to promote one of these interests to the injury of the other is impracticable because it is unjust. The constant harping against corporations is discord in the music to our march of progress. The corporations are as needful and beneficial to the proper growth and development of the city as the system of government that should exercise healthful control over them, and the control which this book proposes will serve as a protection to their interests as effectually as it will to the welfare of the inhabitants.

It is not proposed to set up new electrical works that will destroy the existing ones, and give out a



monopoly to a favored few at the expense of interests already created. Should the city to-morrow offer for sale an ordinance and contract for the creation of a quasi-public corporation with a capitalization of twenty-five or fifty millions, so as to extend the blessings of abundant electric light to all parts of the city, what is to prevent any or all of the existing electrical companies in Chicago from uniting and offering bids to take the ordinance and undertake the work? Nothing whatever. The idea is not war on corporations, but reform. It is the promulgation and perfecting of a comprehensive system under municipal control and protection that will supply the wants of the whole city. It is to do away with so many separate, conflicting, competing interests, and to unite efforts, skill and capital on a broad scale, equal to the demands of the situation.

Suppose that instead of passing the Universal gas ordinance last fall the mayor and council had formulated a plan for a consolidated, comprehensive gas plant for the whole city, to be conducted under municipal control, and offered for sale a contract and ordinance on that plan, the so-called gas trust interests would have been much better accommodated than they were by the passage of the ordinance referred to, and, what is still better, the people of Chicago would have been fully provided for, while as matters stand they are not.

Again, suppose that the mayor and council should

now adopt the policy of terminating all street railway franchises at the expiration of the last one granted, and to authorize no more, on the old plan, except perhaps such as would expire on even date, or a date to be fixed, and inaugurate a great system of street, alley and elevated transit under municipal control, commencing with new franchises for required new lines, what would be the result? Existing transit interests would at once see the inevitable outcome, and the advantages to them in the scheme, and would fall in line with it. Long before the expiration of existing franchises the lines now in operation would be voluntarily municipalized and, without friction, or injustice to any one, the great reform would be accomplished.

Surely this whole subject is worth serious consideration and careful study on the part of the municipal authorities and the people. It is in this belief that the author has ventured to present this little volume, and in the sincere hope that it will serve to bring about much needed reforms on the lines indicated, it is given to the public.

THE END

**Money Found:** Recovered from its hiding-places and put into circulation through confidence in government banks. By Thomas E. Hill. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe St. Paper, 25 cents; cloth, 75 cents; leather, \$1.00; postpaid.

In 1890 Hon. Thos. E. Hill, well known as the author of "Hill's Manual" and other standard educational works, proposed, in a letter to the Farmer's Voice, a vital and far-reaching reform in the banking system of the United States,—no less a reform than the government ownership and control of the whole banking business. Mr. Hill's system met with instant approval from many of the clearest thinkers of the country, especially the leaders of the People's Party. It has already been endorsed by local conventions of the party, and is likely to be incorporated into the next national platform.

In response to many requests Mr. Hill has elaborated his system in the book **Money Found**, over 20,000 copies of which have already been sold. He points out that the terrible business depression which began in 1893 was due mainly to the people's lack of confidence in the unsound private banks miscalled "national." He explains how the United States might open its own bank in every important town, pay 3 per cent on long time deposits, lend at 4 per cent to every borrower who has adequate security, do away with usury and revive business, and all this not only without expense but with a net revenue to the government of about \$390,000,000.

The latest edition of **Money Found** contains a glossary of financial terms, together with important statistical tables showing the financial legislation in the United States, the rates of interest in the several states, the amount of gold, silver and paper money in the principal countries of the world, etc. The appendix alone is worth many times the cost of the book.

**Shylock's Daughter.** By Margret Holmes Bates.

Illustrated with eleven drawings by Capel Rowley.

Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe Street. Paper, 25 cents; cloth, 75 cents; postpaid.

This book is, to begin with, a thoroughly well written love story, with an interesting plot and lifelike characters. Whoever begins it will read it through. When he has read it, if he was already a Populist, he will overflow with enthusiasm, while if he was a Republican or a Democrat he will have many things to think over.

The hero of the story is a People's Party legislator, elected to represent a constituency of farmers and miners. The heroine is the daughter of one of our typical plutocrats, a man who had secured his election to the state senate in the interest of a wealthy corporation, and whose aim was to prevent just the legislation that the hero of the story was bent on securing. The senator conceived the happy idea of using his daughter's influence with the popular young legislator, and the consequences of his endeavors are worked out by the novelist in a decidedly interesting fashion. For the final outcome, the reader must consult the book itself.

The hero, John Longwood, opens his political career by writing a series of letters on money, land, transportation, etc., to his local paper. The ideas thus advanced are sound and timely, embodying some of the most important reforms which the country is suffering for to-day.

The book is dedicated to the People's Party of America. "Never a party with so magnificent an opportunity. Never a party with rank and file so sturdy and noble. Never such a need for brave, wise and incorruptible leaders. If these pages encourage another John Longwood to come forward, it will not have been written in vain."

**The Rights of Labor.** An inquiry as to the relation between employer and employee. By W. J. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe Street. Paper, 25 cents; postpaid.

Few employers and few of those in their employ have very definite ideas as to the implied agreements which legally attach to the ordinary verbal contract to work for so many dollars a week, and still fewer have any definite ideas as to how the law might be improved. The anonymous writer of this book gives much valuable information as to the present status of the labor contract, and he advocates certain legal reforms the discussion of which can not fail to do good.

He holds that under present conditions the laborer is usually at a disadvantage in making a labor contract, since his very life depends on his finding work, and that thus the employer often grasps an unduly large share of the product. The remedy which the author proposes is to limit by law the percentage of profit (after all expenses are paid) which capital may receive each year on its actual investment. He would put this limit high enough to compensate for the losses of unprofitable years. All profits above this limit he proposes to divide among those who do the work, either of hand or head, in proportion to their wages. Also he would make some provision against the enforcement of needless and oppressive regulations.

Never in the world's history were the toiling millions so near as now to a union for political action to secure their rights. Given a plan on which all can unite, and the union can be effected with astonishing rapidity. This book develops many if not all the features of the coming plan for action, and every thinking man should read it.

**The Pullman Strike.** By Rev. William H. Carwardine, Pastor of the First Methodist Church, Pullman, Ill. Fourth edition. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe Street. Paper, 25 cents, postpaid.

The Pullman strike has passed into history. The Pullman problem remains unsolved, and every patriotic American must do his part in solving it. For it is only part of a larger problem, one that is already upon us.

Had the strikers any real grievances, or were they the dupes of ambitious men with private ends to serve? Which ought the people to demand of their legislators, that they restrict the power of organized capital, or that they go further in repressing the movements of organized labor?

The answers to such questions depend rather on facts than on logic, but facts are hard to arrive at, when statements come from the parties vitally interested in the disputed questions. Mr. Carwardine's little book has therefore a high and permanent value both to the citizen of to-day and the student of the future. For he is neither a capitalist nor, in the restricted sense, a workingman, but an observer, with nothing to prejudice him in favor of either side. This being the case, his testimony in favor of the men and against the Pullman Company is most convincing, and it is no wonder that the allied monopolists have done everything possible in indirect ways to discredit the little book, nor that its sale has been phenomenally rapid among those who are hoping and working for social progress toward a more humane civilization.

Not a single important statement in the book has been successfully challenged, and fair-minded men may read it with the certainty of getting at the facts.

**A Story from Pullmantown.** By Nico Bech-Meyer.  
Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175  
Monroe Street. Paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents,  
postpaid.

The year 1894 will pass into America's history as a memorable one. Throughout the nation the irrepressible conflict between human rights and "vested rights" has been growing more intense. Upon the town of Pullman all eyes have been focused, for here the national struggle has been reproduced in miniature,—reproduced in a fashion so concrete that the dullest minds have understood. Rarely has so grand a theme been found ready to the artist's hand, and never has the artist appeared so promptly.

Mrs. Nico Bech-Meyer is an American by adoption and loyalty, though a Norsewoman by birth. She has acquired a mastery of the English language that most of our native authors might well envy. But she does not often let the reader stop to think of her style,—the movement of her story is too rapid.

Very artistically yet simply she discloses, as her story proceeds, the insufferable oppressions of the Pullman company; she interprets the mental struggle of the more intelligent of the working people; she closes her book with their final decision to begin the strike, and every reader who has followed the story from the beginning will feel that as free men and women they could not have done otherwise.

This book is full of inspiration for those who are tempted to think of the strike as only a failure: "Never yet have great changes been effected without birth-pains. There are walls which must be torn down, and old stuff which must be thrown out. Better to lie down on the street and die than to live a slave's life and leave it as an inheritance to their children."

**Ædæology.** A scientific and popular treatise on Pre-natal Influence, the Prevention of Conception, and the Hygiene and Physiology of Generative Life. By Sydney Barrington Elliot, M. D. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe Street. Cloth, \$1.50, postpaid.

Nothing among the gloomy signs of the times to-day sheds a brighter ray of hope than the scientific discoveries in the field of pre-natal influence. It is now an established fact that parents may, to an extent before undreamed of, determine the lives of their children. "It is the right of every child to be well born." Parents may ignore that right. If they do, the chances are that the child will suffer through life from some physical, mental or moral deformity which might have been prevented. Parents may recognize that right, study the laws of pre-natal influence, and so apply them as to intensify in their offspring every good quality they themselves possess, and greatly remedy every defect. If only a majority of our people would do this, the life of the nation would be transformed in a generation.

Dr. Elliot is one of the scientists who have studied these laws of pre-natal influence, and in this book he has done priceless service in so explaining them that all may understand and apply them. One position which he takes deserves special comment. He holds that there should be no chance conception, and as a corollary to this he holds that every married woman should know that there are safe and harmless methods for its prevention. This view will be decried by some, but all who judge conduct by its bearing on the best happiness of mankind, rather than by pre-conceived notions, will heartily commend it.



## CONDEMNED BY COMSTOCK

BUT COMMENDED BY INTELLIGENT CRITICS EVERYWHERE.

Anthony Comstock condemns "Woman, Church and State." \* In a letter written Feb. 26, 1894, but only recently made public, he says: "In reference to whether this is a proper book to put in a school library for children to read, I unhesitatingly say no, it is not a proper book for children to read. . . . The incidents of victims of lust told in this book are such that if I found a person putting that book indiscriminately before the children I would institute a criminal proceeding against him for doing it."

This letter was in answer to an inquiry from a Catholic member of a school board at Fayetteville, N. Y., the author's home. She had presented the work to the school library, and the member in question, objecting to Mrs. Gage's straightforward statements of fact in her chapters on "Celibacy," "Canon Law," etc., sent the book to Anthony Comstock for his opinion.

Commenting on this letter, the Boston "Investigator" says: "The only question to be asked and answered regarding the work of Mrs. Gage is this: Does she tell the truth? That is the point. If Mrs. Gage has stated what is false, has given to fictions the face and form of facts, let her be corrected; let her be shown up as a falsifier; but, if she has told the truth, if she has bodied forth in her volume the ugly wrongs of church and state against her sex, then they who

\* Woman, Church and State, a historical account of the status of woman through the Christian ages; with reminiscences of the matriarchate. By Matilda Joslyn Gage, Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Company, 175 Monroe Street. Cloth, gilt top, 554 pages, \$2.00 postpaid.

vilify her name and attempt to throw dishonor upon her work, fear the truth and are afraid to have the dead body of history uncovered. Mrs. Gage is the victim of Christian superstition, of religious prejudice, but this foolish and unjust persecution of one of America's great women and one of the century's true reformers, ought to bring her latest and greatest effort before the public, which we feel confident will, after reading it, vindicate not alone her work, but her forcible language, as necessary to fitly reveal the subject under discussion."

The "Church Union" of New York, a Congregational paper of wide circulation, which numbers eight clergymen among its contributing editors, has given the book two reviews, the first from the pen of its editor-in-chief, the second presumably from that of Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D. D., the famous reform clergyman of New York. The first says, "We have not space for more than a notice of this highly interesting book. We should like to give it the extensive review it deserves and thus to summon the attention of our readers to some of the very important truths that are presented and which call for thought on the part of all. But get the book and study its striking contents for yourself." The second review declares that "its teeming pages contain not a few important and neglected truths which it would be well for churches and state to ponder."

Moncure D. Conway, of London, England, the biographer of Emerson, wrote, "It has long been my usage to read everything I encountered from your pen. I shall probably have something to say of it in one of my discourses at South Place."

From a lady Professor in a Pennsylvania College: "The style of your book is clear, the argument conclusive, borne out as it is by authority. It has stirred us all as I wish that the book might stir the entire race of women in every part of the world. One million ought to be distributed and read in our country alone."

Judge Merrick of the Louisiana Supreme bench declared he had "nothing but unqualified praise for the book."

A Boston physician wrote, "Allow me to congratulate you. "Woman, Church and State" is the greatest book ever written by a woman and the grandest book ever written in the interests of woman. I mention it to every woman I meet, and all who have read it are pleased, instructed and astonished."

The "Woman's Tribune" of Washington, D. C., edited by Mrs. Clara Berwick Colby, commends the book as "especially valuable for study in woman's clubs."

A Washington, D. C., lady, a Christian Scientist, said, "What a wonderful book! I cannot read but a little at a time, for it seems to stir up the old Adam in me, that I thought was buried. Every library in the world ought to have it."

The "Advance" of Chicago, the leading Congregational weekly of the West, says that the book "shows much research and learning."

Rev. Dr. Keeling, an Episcopal clergyman of Dakota, says, "It is a most remarkable book and is bound to make a stir among the clergy. I have read it once, shall read it again and mark it, read it a third time and take notes."

"The Banner of Light, a noted Spiritualistic paper

of Boston, says, "If any writer has done the present generation an extremely valuable service, Mrs. Gage's name heads the list. There is no true man or woman who cannot but feel under obligations to its author."

Victor K. Lemstrand, a literary gentleman and profound thinker of Stockholm, wrote, "I want to make the work known here in Sweden and perhaps translate parts of it into Swedish."

A noted lady reformer of the South, a woman of wealth and position, after receiving the book wrote, "I came home and looked your book through; was so chained to it I could not let it go. I am thankful and overjoyed at the book. It will make a stir and emancipate thousands. I thank you in my soul. I cannot see anything you could have omitted. It throws a light on the dark pages of life, a strong light, it is true, strong because true, but in a most solemn and dignified manner."

Column after column could be filled with notices similar in character, from newspapers, magazines and letters, all speaking in the highest manner of the purity of the book, its profound learning, the research shown, and its immense value to the world. It is a history, both of the church and the state, especially in their relations to woman, which touches many points that have been ignored by male historians, and herein lies its greatest value. Intelligent men and women who do not believe in a censorship are invited to send for the book and judge whether its tendency is to corrupt the imagination of girls, or to teach them the dignity of womanhood.







