

Chicago and Its Administration, by Hon. Lyman J. Gage,  
IN THIS ISSUE. PRICE, TEN CENTS.

47.

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the  
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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CHICAGO

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# The New Monthly Open Court

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and  
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## CHICAGO AND ITS ADMINISTRATION.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE HON. LYMAN J. GAGE.

THE characteristic element in the common notion of a city is an aggregation of dwellings, either in actual contact each with each or separated only by such little space as convenience of light and ventilation requires,—a cluster of compacted habitations such as was anciently surrounded by a common wall. And perhaps we may, without any violent stretch of imagination, regard these habitations, even in a great city like our own, as but the multitudinous apartments of one vast house, and all the citizens as members of one household.

“A palace,” says Dr. Johnson, “must have passages”; and our great house has no lack of extensive and spacious corridors, 1,183½ miles of paved streets, enough to make a continuous road from St. Louis to Boston, some of it admirable, a good deal barely tolerable, not a little intolerably bad.

And as our house is not yet completed, but is all the time enlarging,—6,444 new apartments were added in 1896 at a cost of nearly \$22,730,615, and the work has not stopped yet,—so there are yet other main passages which might naturally be expected to have, and do have, a rough and unfinished appearance, 1,494½ miles of unpaved roadway, most of it provided with sidewalks, of which we have in all 4,863⅓ miles of various degrees of excellence. And as a great house, besides its stately halls and galleries, has also its back stairways and dark passages, with many a

<sup>1</sup>Lack of time preventing the Hon. Lyman J. Gage from personally preparing for publication the MS. and proofs of this article, he authorised the editor of *The Open Court* to have the statistical figures revised and a few lines added concerning the latest reform movement. The latter was done by Mr. Ela, the former by Mr. Charles A. Lane, whose courteous assistance is hereby acknowledged.—EDITOR.

nook and corner handy to conceal the delinquencies of the slovenly housekeeper or unconscientious servant, who is prone, like Shakespeare's Puck, "to sweep the dust behind the door"; so we have abundant counterparts to these in our 1,340 miles of alleys, of which only 108½ miles are paved, so that it may safely be affirmed that that portion to the condition of which we can "point with pride" is very small.

The halls and corridors of this house of ours are lighted with more or less regularity and constancy, by 54,203 lamps, of which over 42,180 burn gas and over 10,000 gasoline, while 1,765 shine with electric light. Our total expenditure last year for keeping our lamps trimmed and burning was \$1,058,496.88. Our electric light plant is valued at nearly \$750,000.

Our municipal house has, of course, the modern improvements, being supplied daily with 254,208,509 gallons of water (including a good deal of solid ground, as any one may see by letting some of it stand a little while), by means of an apparatus valued at \$25,369,215.21, including nearly 1,692 miles of pipe, to which great additions will (evidently) have to be made before our vast stretch of unpaved streets is fully supplied. The same is equally true of the not quite 1,306 miles of sewers with which our house stood equipped last New Year's day; they included more than 57 miles laid during 1896; they have doubtless been largely added to during the current year, and will need still greater additions in the years to come.

Indeed, these modern improvements of ours, stupendous as their extent is, fall a good deal short of the magnificent proportions of the mansion which they undertake to supply; and its inhabitants have opportunity now and then,—some of them pretty much all the time,—to draw the lessons of patience which, in a single dwelling, prompted Henry Ward Beecher's essay on "Brown Stone Fronts as a Means of Grace."

The family that inhabits our municipal house has gathered itself "out of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues." According to the last school census there were then more than a million and a half—to be exact, 1,616,635—of us. The school census reports not quite two-thirds of our family as Americans. According to the proportion disclosed by the census of 1890, nearly two-thirds of these are children of foreign-born parents, so that only about 320,000 are of native American parentage, including nearly 25,000 of African descent.

The number of those whose tone of thought and habits of life

are in general harmony with our national institutions and traditions is, we may reasonably apprehend, considerably short of the greater number, and let us hope a good deal more than the 320,000.

The school census reports 121,436 Irish, an element which certainly shows a remarkable aptitude for making itself at home in our political institutions, surprising in view of the very generally accepted assertion that it is impossible for Ireland to get along with Saxon laws and methods. The number of these is increased to 226,636 by counting those of foreign or mixed parentage. The same estimate shows 187,000 Scandinavians, for the most part very hopeful material for American citizens, 20,184 of the same blood and training as the founders of New Amsterdam, and 427,527 Germans, among whom may be found many of our best citizens and comparatively very few of our worst.

More strange to American ways are (for the most part) the Bohemians and Poles, who collectively number 85,620 according to the school census, and 81,844 more than that American-born are reported of foreign-born parentage.

The school census also gives a total of about 30,000 Russians, a term applicable to races more diverse than the most unlike of those whom we have been considering; a Russian may be by race and education, German, Scandinavian, Finn, Slav, Tartar, or Esquimaux. Then, too, there are 22,340 Italians. And to make up an assortment, there are among us about 1000 Chinamen, over 700 Greeks, together with a liberal sprinkling of Arabs, Persians, Japanese—people, indeed, from all four corners of the earth, aggregating in the unclassified columns of the school census over 15,000 souls. Our sister republic, Mexico, has a surprisingly select representation, 100 plus 2. Perhaps she still remembers that in earlier days her elder sister has been somewhat over-bearing and grasping.

Of the 380,245 voters who registered for the presidential election of 1896, nearly one-half, were foreign born. And of the men of 21 years of age and upwards, the census of 1890 represents only a little over 127,000 as native Americans, nearly 198,000 (more than 60 per cent. of the whole) having been born in foreign countries.

On the whole, however, we may infer that if the principles of Christian civilisation on which this nation was founded do not prevail in Chicago, it is not because of any necessity of heredity, other than the common heredity of original sin.

Closely connected with the question what are we, is that other (if indeed it is another), what are we doing?

The sites of great cities are generally determined by their convenience as distributing points. This is pre-eminently the case with Chicago. The safe landing-place which the mouth of the Chicago river, afforded at the western extremity of the chain of lakes; then the convenient communication with the Mississippi through the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and later still the converging of multitudinous railroads, are the triple source of the greatness of Chicago. And as she was created for distribution, so that has been her predominant employment ever since. Manufacturers too have been attracted by the convenience of the place for collecting their material and sending out their products; but still the decided majority are engaged in the work of distribution either directly, or by supplying the means of distribution or ministering to the wants of those who distribute. These two latter classes include many who may be disposed to assert for themselves the title of producers, and may feel a certain superiority over those whom they call "middlemen." But if they are only furthering the business or serving the personal wants of the distributor, then his work is all that theirs ultimately amounts to; and judged by what it accomplishes, their work can have no greater merit or dignity than his. If we do not judge by the result accomplished, then the distinction between producer and distributor becomes altogether idle; and we are thrown back upon the truth that the dignity and merit of a man's work consist not in what is accomplished by it, but in the intelligence and conscience which prompt and direct it. More than that, one who accomplishes nothing at all, who can only lie still and suffer, may rank in moral worth and dignity immeasurably above one who works out the most useful results simply because he does not see how else he can so conveniently get a living, and who would drop his work almost as suddenly as lightning, and quite as recklessly, the moment he saw how he could live comfortably in idleness.

Some idea of the extent of our commerce and (indirectly and not very accurately) of our consumption of food may be derived from the fact that in 1893 (these figures chance to be at hand) there were received 4,664,000 barrels of flour, while 4,105,117 were shipped, a difference of 558,883. Of wheat 35,355,101 bushels were received and 24,715,738 shipped, a difference of 10,639,363 bushels. Of Indian corn the receipts were 91,255,154 bushels, and the shipments 78,919,781 bushels, a difference of 12,335,373. The

receipts of butter were 150,742,418 pounds, and the shipments 145,700,000 pounds, a difference of 5,042,418 pounds. The receipts of cheese were 59,000,000 pounds, and the shipments 51,000,000.

The receipts of lumber were 1,600,000,000 feet, and the shipments 733,000,000 feet. The enormous amount of 925,000,000 feet is said to have been used in the city during the year.

The United States census of 1890, which attributed to Chicago a population of about 1,100,000, enumerates not quite 10,000 manufacturing establishments, employing about 191,000 workmen, not including clerks, superintendents, proprietors, or officers of corporations. Of these workmen about 12,000 were employed building or repairing railroad cars and engines, the only object of which is obviously to provide means of distribution. Between 10,000 and 11,000 were employed in printing and publishing establishments. So far as their work did not tend merely to the wasting of ink to spoil paper—which as every one's observation may teach him, is just what a very large proportion of printing amounts to—it is simply the distribution of thought.

There were also (in round numbers) 5600 carpenters, 6000 masons and 2200 plumbers, a great proportion of whose work was necessarily applied to provide dwellings, offices, and warehouses for those who were engaged in distribution or in ministering to the wants of those so engaged. The workmen thus particularised amount to more than 36,000, and there are still other deductions, each by itself comparatively small, but all together very considerable, to be made from the 153,000 remaining. And of the work of that remainder a great part, the extent of which can hardly be ascertained with exactness, is merely subsidiary to distribution in the way which has already been pointed out.

A census for the year preceding that of the World's Fair, taken by the City Department of Health, does not distinguish between manufacturers and wholesale dealers, nor between the clerks and the workmen in any manufacturing establishment. It shows a total number of 572,000 persons employed in all branches of business, of whom over 72,000 were engaged, directly or indirectly, in some kind of transportation service, besides 10,400 bridge and car builders, 6326 pavers, 5000 persons, manufacturers, or wholesale dealers in bicycles and baby wagons, 2684 in vehicles of a larger growth, 574 harness makers or wholesale dealers, and 427 ship chandlers, a total of over 26,000 whose work is evidently altogether subsidiary to transportation. There were over 32,000 others engaged in wholesale trade, besides many more who, as I have already

said, cannot in the returns be distinguished from manufacturers. Banking, insurance, commercial agencies of various kinds, real estate and abstract-making employed between 11,000 and 12,000 more. There were also 120,000 persons engaged in various retail trades, a considerable number of them doubtless at handicraft of one kind or another, but again a very large portion of these serving the wants of the distributors. Of those who, as distinguished from distributors, would be classed as producers, the various building trades occupied nearly 64,000, and printing and publishing 20,000. On the relations of these to the municipal family I have already remarked in connexion with the United States census.

The statistics of retail trade show 1403 dry goods stores, 730 drug stores, 7000 of those places which by a disgusting euphemism have come to be called saloons so universally that it is useless to protest against it, 1056 bakeries—not so great an improvement as might be wished on Falstaff's proportion of "one half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack"; 2200 butcher shops, 1228 milk depots and 3336 groceries, 1,550,000 barrels of flour, 3,000,000 barrels of beer.

The statistics of the Health Department do not include physicians or lawyers. According to the directories for the current year, we have a little over 3000 of the latter and not quite 2500 physicians and surgeons of various degrees of regularity.

There are those in every city, who, instead of being regarded as members of the household, deserve no better analogy than that of the vermin, the rats, and mice, and cockroaches, and those blood-thirsty insects which it is hardly in good taste to mention to ears polite but which will occasionally start up to disgust and horrify the most careful and diligent housekeeper, and which seldom fail to overrun that habitation where negligent and indolent householders tolerate and set example to dishonest and lazy servants. So in too many a city do those who live by, and for, beggary, fraud, mischief, and lawless violence, those whose business it is to cultivate and develop the vicious propensities of mankind, to tempt the susceptible to their ruin and entrap the unwary,—these pernicious vermin of the municipal house not only creep in through unfrequented lanes and lift up their heads here and there in obscure nooks, but plant themselves in the most conspicuous locations, swarm in the chief thoroughfares and thrive sometimes in partnership with those whose sworn duty it is to exterminate them. Citizenship implies the sacred duties of the guardian as well as the ward's accruing benefits; but a culpable indifference too often



characterises citizens of large municipalities. We become too indolent or too busy to attend to our public duty or too listless to discriminate between the faithful and the unfaithful public servant. To keep the municipal house clean and orderly we select men on account of the color of their hair or the cut of their whiskers, or the opinions which they profess on predestination, or the historic episcopate, or the canals of Mars, or the tariff, or the currency, or anything else wholly irrelevant to the business they have to do.

When the servants and the stewards who are to oversee public functions are thus appointed and retained or dismissed for considerations as remote as possible from the duty they are to perform, is it any wonder that that duty should occupy a very low place in their thoughts, and that regard for it should not be strong enough to prevent them from following up various channels of a very different kind of usefulness?

Fortunately these considerations now apply chiefly to the servants of the county and of the various townships included in our municipality. In the spring of 1895 the city adopted a civil service law, and thereafter inaugurated a system of municipal house-keeping which puts our public service upon a rational basis. This law applies the merit system to appointments and removals in every department of the city government, and while—so far as appointments are concerned—it applied gradually, as vacancies occur, it is being put in thorough operation, and its effects are already plainly perceptible in the increased effectiveness of the entire service. The extension of this system to the county and town officials and employees within the city will give our municipal *menage* a domestic service as nearly perfect as such things ever get to be.

It is not absolutely impossible, however, that our municipal vermin may by suitable reformatory agencies be converted into useful and acceptable members of the household. That their young may be so converted, if seasonably taken in hand, there is every reason to hope.

And there is no neglect more cruel to the subjects of it, or more dangerous to the future of our city, than that which leaves multitudes of children to grow up in haunts of vice and uncleanness, or swarm in the streets, acquiring a precocious smartness which only aggravates the want of any respect for law or faith in virtue. And of all our inadequate public charities none call more urgently for re-inforcement than those which pick up children destitute of any genuine parental care, and bring them under the discipline of a virtuous home.

Every one who has not altogether got rid of old-fashioned ideas would think family life not altogether complete without family religion, manifested by occasional gatherings for worship and instruction in faith and morals, and by some indication of those instructions and of a regard to the object of worship in the daily conduct of the members. How perfectly that conduct should exhibit and embody that regard and those instructions, is a question as to which the majority have perhaps rather vague notions, and some have notions which to some others would seem fanatical. But something of that nature almost every one will admit to be highly desirable and commendable.

And this element is conspicuously recognised in our municipal habitation, which, like the stately mansions of old time, has among its multitudinous apartments not a few chapels and oratories.

The City Directory shows in all about 780 places of public worship of every kind, some of them only small mission stations, a few which most people would regard only as rendezvous of cranks, but the vast majority of them centers of useful instruction and wholesome moral influence. The bulk of them may be grouped as follows: Baptist, 78; Presbyterian of all schools and Congregationalist, 159; Episcopalian, 54; Lutheran, 124; Methodist, 138, and Roman Catholic, 106; leaving 121 unclassified.

All the places thus grouped, and a large proportion of those which have not been classified, are devoted to the inculcation of everything which Protestants generally would consider essential to Christianity, the Roman Catholics differing from the rest only by adding some doctrines which they deem essential but which most Protestants regard as pernicious. But the computation roughly indicates that of those who have any conviction in matters of religion which they are interested in maintaining, the immense majority adheres to the essentials of what is commonly known as evangelical Christianity.

If then the principles of that religion have not their legitimate practical application in the public life of Chicago, if vice and atheism often successfully arrogate to themselves the right of way, it is worth considering whether it is not because those whose duty it is to exert a contrary influence, are not enough in earnest in the principles they profess to co-operate with one another in the practical assertion of them. Such practical assertion would, of course, not consist in attempting the impossibility of compulsory religion, but in insisting on the eradication of haunts of vice, the suppression of brutal or indecent exhibitions and advertisements, and in the recog-

dition and teaching of piety and virtue (without forcing upon any doctrines to which they have conscientious objections) in our public schools.

A recent issue of the Chicago Congregational Directory states the number of communicants of Protestant churches, other than Unitarian and Universalists, at 98,147. The numbers for the Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches are precise, the others estimates merely. That for the Protestant Episcopal churches appears from the full statistics given in the Journal of the Diocesan Convocation to be less than half the actual number. Correcting this error, the whole number would be 104,531, but it is very probable that the numbers of the Lutherans also are underestimated.

In Protestant Churches there is almost uniformly a considerable number of customary attendants and supporters of the church who are not communicants, of whom no account is generally taken in published statistics. The Protestant Episcopal statistics before referred to show that the number of parishioners of all ages is considerably more than twice the number of communicants. For the other denominations I have made a calculation based on a comparison of the membership roll of one Congregational church with a directory of the actual congregation for the same year, adding to the numbers shown by the latter 44 per cent., for children under 14, being a fraction less than the proportion shown by the School Census. We thus arrive at a total 76 per cent. greater than the membership roll. Adding 75 per cent. to the number of communicants of churches other than the Protestant Episcopal, and combining that result with the Diocesan reports before mentioned, we have, at a very moderate estimate, a total Protestant evangelical population (in round numbers) of 190,000. To this should be added about 7000 for Unitarians and Universalists. Adding the estimated Roman Catholic population of 495,000, we have a total of 692,000 for what might be called the Christian population of Chicago, a minority by 183,000.

This unfavorable showing is probably due in great measure to the fact which has been very generally remarked, and the cause of which has been a good deal debated, that great numbers of people who might naturally be expected to be Protestants, stand aloof from the churches. The statistics of the Sunday schools, however, would indicate that a large proportion of these people are not unwilling to have their children brought under religious influences.

And there is thence reason to hope that another generation may show a smaller proportion of "Nothingarians."

In 660 Protestant Sunday-schools there are 140,000 members, twelve Unitarian and Universalist churches not being included in the enumeration. Of Roman Catholic Sunday-schools I have no figures; but the total Roman Catholic population is estimated at 495,000; (the Catholic Directory for 1896 places the number at 600,000 for the Diocese of Chicago;) and since our whole number between the ages of five and fourteen is a fraction more than a seventh of the whole, we may infer that there are something over 70,000 persons between those ages who are in Roman Catholic Sunday-schools or receive Roman Catholic religious instruction in some way. We have then about 211,000 persons of the common school age who are being to a greater or less extent instructed in the most essential doctrines of the Christian religion, leaving about 18,000, or not quite 8 per cent. of the whole, most of whom, it is to be feared, are without any religious instruction at all, while that of too many of the other 92 per cent. is too probably fragmentary, irregular and inadequate to a thorough grounding in the principles of virtue.

Government is essential to the normal constitution of a family; indeed there is strong reason for regarding the family as the arch-type and source of all political organisation. And the multitudinous family that inhabits our municipal house is not scantily provided for in that respect. In fact, as was pointed out on a recent occasion, Chicago has eight or nine governments, leaving out of account the higher powers of the State, to which this, like every other family, is subordinate. But much the most important of these local governments is that which, it is to be hoped, will ultimately draw to itself the powers and functions of all the others.

While there may be those who do not accord much weight to the authority of Scripture, no one will dispute that of Abraham Lincoln; so that we may assume it as a truth universally accepted that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." And here, though the division of functions and powers is far from being equal, the city government having much the greatest share, and though the harmonising control of the State exercised through its courts, is always at hand to preserve the peace; yet the elements of conflict and disintegration inherent in several overlapping jurisdictions have already given proof of their mischievous and distracting effect.

The drainage canal is a public work transcending both in loca-

tion and effect the largest limits which could reasonably be allowed to the municipal authority of Chicago; and therefore it has seemed wise that the extraordinary powers necessary to its location and construction should, during its progress, be lodged in a distinct organisation, if the salutary principles of local control over the proceeds of money raised by special local taxation are to be preserved.

But there is no reason—I might say, indeed, no excuse—for not applying to Chicago the ancient rule for English cities, exemplified not only in the case of London, but also in Bristol and even York, Chester, and Gloucester, and familiar in our own country in the city of New York, thus making Chicago a county of itself, with the administration of all its municipal affairs entrusted to the Mayor and City Council.

Any one learning for the first time of our curious entanglement of city and township boundaries would not know how to ascribe it to anything but oversight or forgetfulness by which, when the city territory was enlarged, the township boundaries were not rectified so as to coincide with those of the city. Nor have I ever heard it suggested that there were any functions of a township government which could not be just as well performed—indeed, most of them are now performed—by that of the city.

It is not impossible that the existence of an additional number of official positions by which diligence in the service of some party or some party dictator may be incited and rewarded, has a great deal to do with the continuance of this anomaly.

One dangerous absurdity incident to the separate town governments is the election from time to time by direct popular vote, of great numbers of constables. I am conscious of making a large demand on the faith of any one who did not actually see the ballot or the election notice when I say that at the last ordinary election for Mayor there were elected in the town of West Chicago, on a single ballot, *sixty-four* constables. When we consider the amount of mischief and annoyance which an unscrupulous constable can inflict, and when we consider that hardly anybody knows sixty-four men, or half that number, who are both competent for the office and willing to undertake it, we may well wonder that the results of this blind election have not been more conspicuously mischievous.

The principal function of the town governments in Chicago, the valuation of property for purposes of taxation, is exercised in a way which provokes general complaint and condemnation. But its faults, so far as they are chargeable to a law in force throughout the whole state, are chargeable to the citizens themselves, who

elect to the assessorship, with what in matters outside of the sphere of politics we should not hesitate to call sottish stupidity, one or the other of the men who may be prescribed by two assemblies of politicians, and who have very seldom given any evidence whatever of fitness for an office demanding no little financial skill, extensive acquaintance with the business and property of the community and invulnerable integrity.

The most important function of the county government, the care of the poor, is very inadequately performed by the county commissioners, and is in great measure thrown upon the city police, which last year gave free lodging to destitute persons in over 176,980 instances, and also to some extent fed them—to what extent does not appear from the report, which blends in one item the nearly 141,000 meals furnished to prisoners and lodgers.

These figures report the work to December 31 only. The noble service of the Police Department during the early part of the current year affords a memorable instance of municipal philanthropy, manifested in such zealous and intelligent methods as to have challenged the admiration of the world.

In one important respect the analogy of municipal to family government does not hold: the family administration and expenditure are generally regulated by that member who has to furnish the money; whereas our civic governors provide but an infinitesimal proportion of the money they spend, so that an irreverent journalist a good many years ago styled them tax-eaters in contradistinction from tax-payers. Perhaps this fact has something to do with the frequent complaints from those in places of municipal authority, of the niggardly limitation imposed by State law on city expenditure, and the inadequate valuations of property for purposes of taxation; whereas there is some room for question whether a rigorous business manager, regulating all employment and all expenditure strictly by the needs of the municipal business, would not contrive to make both ends meet without stretching the statutory limitation or begging the State Board of Equalisation, which is not generally deemed to need any prompting in that direction, to shift a still larger proportion of burden from the rest of the State to the shoulders of his fellow citizens.

Looking at the city government proper, its actual constitution is to a remarkable and beneficent extent free from those divisions of power and responsibility which have wrought such mischievous results in other cities. Virtually all its powers are vested in a mayor and aldermen, elected by the citizens for terms of two years.

Upon the City Council, in which the mayor has a casting vote when the aldermen are equally divided, and over which he has a veto not to be overridden without a two-thirds vote, the State statute which constitutes our municipal chart has conferred more than ninety enumerated powers, a number from which one would naturally infer that the State has been liberal in putting the powers of government over us into the hands of our own representatives.

These powers thus conferred may be generally described as the making of rules for the conduct of the executive officers of the city government so far as it is practicable to regulate it by general rules laid down beforehand, and also for the conduct of individual citizens in their relations to each other, whether in business or recreation, in matters where State law does not interfere, and regulation of which by public authority becomes necessary or expedient from that closeness of contact or neighborhood in men's habitations and outdoor movements which is the characteristic feature of city life, and the occasions thence arising on which it becomes necessary or convenient to rely on the honesty or competency of persons with whom it is impossible to have had much previous acquaintance. To this latter class belong among other things, the supervision by license, of auctioneers and carriers of passengers or goods for hire ; to the former the regulation of street traffic so as to prevent us from running over each other or getting unnecessarily in each other's way ; of occupations capable of becoming dangerous or annoying to persons in whose neighborhood they are carried on ; of the erection, preservation, and management of buildings, in the interest of safety and public convenience ; provision for remedying unsanitary local conditions and preventing the sickness or untidiness of individuals from imperilling the health of their neighbors.

These powers of the City Council also extend to providing against certain common dangers, such as fire, and to some extent supplying certain individual wants to which all are subject, such as water, roads, and lights.

It needs but a very moderate degree of observation and reflexion to convince any one how necessary is the exercise of these powers and others such as these, to make life in a city tolerably safe or comfortable, and how easy it is to exercise them in such a way that people not absolutely insane may be driven to think it would be far better to have no regulation at all.

If citizens who wish to live quiet, peaceable, and honest lives would seriously consider what powers over the life, liberty, and

happiness of themselves and their fellow citizens are conferred in the annual elections of aldermen, would they not take more pains than they do now, not merely to register and vote, but to combine their votes, whatever action primaries or conventions, Republican or Democratic may have taken, for men in some measure worthy of being intrusted with such powers.

The executive powers of the city government are virtually concentrated in the mayor.

In this respect our system is immeasurably superior to those divisions of executive power among divers boards and commissions, created in divers ways, and of alternating membership, so that thorough concert of action is practically impossible, bad administration eludes responsibility among the windings of the official labyrinth, each department laying the blame of its shortcomings on the refusal of some other to co-operate; and even if a discontented people succeed at last in locating the fault, it cannot be dislodged until several terms of office, one after the other, have expired; and so through the public weariness or forgetfulness, the mischief very likely escapes expulsion after all.

The evil last referred to does to some extent exist in regard to our board of aldermen, in which each ward is represented by two members, elected one each year, to serve for two years, so that only one-half of the board can be changed at any one election.

This arrangement was doubtless designed, like analogous provisions in our own and other State constitutions, to afford some check to the too hasty fluctuations of popular opinion and favor. And we may admit that democratic power, like monarchical, would be the better for some salutary restraining influence on its extravagancies. But great danger of mischief and scanty hope of benefit lies in putting the restraining power in the hands of democracy's own creatures; when they rebel against their creator it is much more likely to be for worse than for better.

And moreover, this restraining power should be obstructive merely and not active, a power to prevent changes and serve as barrier against corrupt schemes, not a power to make changes and promote schemes according to its own pleasure, in defiance of its constituents.

We may well question therefore whether there is any good reason for not permitting the people of any ward when dissatisfied with their aldermen to remove them both instead of one only.

Do the people "love to have it so"?

Much evidence could be adduced in support of the proposition



but it should be remembered that passivity, indifference, inertia are not true evidences of active approval.

While all the dwellers in our municipal house, acting together, are mighty—even irresistible, the individual atom as related to the vast executive machine, is weak, if not powerless. His voice of protest is not heard, and his outcry at executive maladministration is lost, amid the political clamor at City Hall. There are signs, however, gratifying signs, that the growing evils of municipal misrule are to be met in a more effective way. The people will not much longer be tricked by the ingenious devices of low ringsters who play the game of politics for the sake of official plunder. The instinct of danger to our civic life is aroused. Agencies are in the process of evolution through which the lovers of good government can unite to correct many of the evils from which we have so long suffered. At least 80 per cent. of our people desire peace, good order, decency, honesty in administrative functions, a pure ballot, and an honest count.

Indeed, the civil service and other municipal reforms which have lately been so encouragingly prosecuted are eliminating many of the evils against which the moral sense of the people has hitherto vainly protested.

Although, as I have said, it very seldom happens that a city council has refused to confirm the mayor's appointments, yet it is quite possible that this apparent harmony between the two branches of the city government is based upon a tacit understanding that the recommendations of the confirming aldermen shall have weight in appointments to subordinate positions in the several executive departments, so that there is an unseen influence at work in the selection of those who are to carry out in detail the duties of the city administration, which impairs the mayor's control over the service for which he is responsible, and (it is to be feared) has an unfavorable effect on the quality of that service.

While no mayor has any right to be a party to any understanding by which he is to barter away the powers which the municipal constitution has lodged with him in trust, and while his having done so aggravates rather than extenuates his blameworthiness for the bad administration which naturally results, yet it would seem that the mayor who seeks to do his duty would have an obstacle which (while we do not tolerate the suggestion that it is insuperable) we must admit to be serious, removed out of his way, if he were enabled to make his appointments and removals independently of the City Council; or at least that the power of appointment

should be, like that of removal, subject only to the veto of a number equal to two-thirds of a full council.

The worst hindrance to the efficiency of a government is a deadlock ; and very little better is a corrupt compromise by which a deadlock is avoided. We should insure against both of these by making the mayor's power over the administration of his own department practically independent of the City Council.

Of course there is danger that unlimited power may be abused, but to paralyze or cripple its efficiency for good is hardly a satisfactory safeguard. To say nothing of the criminal proceedings which are available against outrageous misconduct, the short term of office, involving the necessity of speedily giving account to the people, who will hold him fully responsible for the full power entrusted to him, and from whom he will naturally be desirous of some further honor, if not of a renewal of this, besides the honorable ambition of acquitting himself well of his present trust, which must be strong in every man worthy to be thought of as Mayor of Chicago ; all these constitute a safeguard against misuse of power, to which the power of a board of aldermen to clog and shackle can add very little, and from which it detracts a great deal.

A conscientious use of executive power is more likely to be promoted by leaving it in the hands of one who knows that he will be held to full accountability for the exercise of it, and that a right and judicious use of it will insure him high honor available for his future career than by making him share it with a numerous body, each one of whom need have little concern about his undivided seventieth of the responsibility and can have little to hope from his fraction of the honor ; while his proportionate share of the spoils will be something quite appreciable.

A good safeguard and an additional help to good administration would be afforded by making all subordinate positions obtainable only upon a thorough test of qualifications and tenable during good behavior, all removals to be only for cause stated, with the privilege of a public investigation of all the alleged causes if the person removed desires it.

As a general rule, the head of each department appoints, with the consent of the mayor, the chiefs of the several bureaus in that department, each chief of bureau appointing and removing his own subordinates with the consent of the head of the department. These chiefs of bureaus are in some instances entrusted with highly important duties, particularly in the Department of Public Works, where there is a city engineer having the care of our vast system of

water works and those extensions of it which are almost continually being made, a superintendent of the water office, who sees to the collecting of the rates which we pay for the use of the water; a superintendent of sewers; a superintendent of streets, who has charge of the work of grading, paving, lighting, and keeping in order and repair our 2570 miles of street,—a work closely related both to that of the city engineer and that of the superintendent of sewers, both of whom may have frequent occasion in repairing, renewing or modifying their several systems of underground conduits to disturb the pavements, and whose structures may be favorably or unfavorably affected by the kind and quantity of the material piled above them; as in New York, some years ago, the water mains in one of the streets were found to have been crushed by the weight of broken rock which had been laid over them to make a road bed. Hence is apparent the importance of having all these bureaus under the control of one head, who can, in case of need, decide their disputes and make them work in harmony together.

A part of the work of the bureau of streets has recently been transferred to a superintendent of street cleaning, a change which has not as yet justified itself by any conspicuous results. Now as heretofore, so many of our streets as are well paved and well drained and are sometimes clean, namely just after a heavy and prolonged shower. At other times they are dirty in varying degrees, so that a bright and breezy day which otherwise would come with health and refreshing in its wings, comes to Chicago as a calamity; for, undesirable as it is to have the street filth plastered on our footgear and the borders of our garments, it is immeasurably worse desiccated and pulverised and showered into eyes, nose, and mouth.

Closely connected with the cleaning of the streets is the removal of the garbage, ashes, and other rubbish which accumulates in every house, and which it would be oppressive to require the average householder to remove for himself. Till recently this work was under the charge of the Department of Health.

In 1893 the supervision of the work was transferred to the newly created Street Cleaning Bureau, which has an inspector in every ward to see that the contractor does his duty. The terms of the contract are stringent, making the Superintendent that final judge of the question whether the contractor lives up to his undertakings or not, and making the contractor and his sureties liable for all additional expense which the city may incur by reason of having to relet the contract or to do the work through its own em-

ployees. Nevertheless, it is notorious that the work which the contractors undertake to do, is not done. And it is difficult to detect any cause for this failure in the system or anywhere else than in the men who administer the system.

The ordinances on this subject might be improved, so as to provide for a more complete service less burdensome to the householder; but the want of such improvements is no excuse for failure to do what little is provided for.

The Department of Health, perhaps beyond any other, is empowered to interfere with personal liberty, and it is hardly too much to say, to demand the sacrifice of the individual life to the necessities or supposed necessities of public safety.

The fundamental statute in sweeping terms gives the City Council power "to do all acts and make all regulations which may be necessary or expedient for the promotion of health or the suppression of disease;" and the Council in declaring the powers of the Commissioner of Health have gone to the full extent of the statute. He may not only draw a quarantine cordon around the city, but may in his discretion remove any person whom he decides to be suffering from infectious disease from his home to a pest house, or may leave the patient at home and shut off the house from all communication with the outside world. And lest this should not be enough, it is his duty (in the words of the City Ordinance) "in case of pestilence or epidemic disease, or of danger from anticipating or impending pestilence or epidemic disease, or in case the sanitary condition of the city should be of such a character as to warrant it, to take such measures, and to do and order and cause to be done such acts, for the preservation of the public health (though not herein or elsewhere or otherwise authorised) as he may in good faith declare the public safety and health to demand."

If we are not kept in good health, it certainly is not for want of plenary authority in the Commissioner.

How serious a matter for the patient, removal from his home to the pest house may be, will appear from a report made by Dr. Cazier at a recent medical conference, of the result of his own observation at the small-pox hospital. "The building," he says, "offers inadequate protection from storm and rain, is wholly without fire protection and in imminent peril of fire. The heat is irregular; the patients near the stove are overheated, while the remote ones freeze; and thus the elements wage a ceaseless war,

making the efforts of doctor and nurse alike futile; pneumonia claims convalescents, and lives by the score are sacrificed."

Inasmuch as the protective power of vaccination has made small-pox the least to be dreaded of all the more virulent class of diseases, it would seem as if these human sacrifices to the god of health were hardly necessary.

On the other hand, that efficient and sometimes even stringent sanitary control is necessary appears from the statistics of mortality. In 1896 there were in Chicago 2076 deaths from zymotic disease, including 751 from typhoid fever and 956 from diphtheria. But it may be questioned whether the great—not of course the only—source of danger is not miasmatic poison rather than personal contagion.

And perhaps it would not impair the efficiency of the Department of Health if its power to take heroic measures at the sacrifice of personal liberty and life were made dependent upon the advice of a consulting board composed of practising physicians and non-medical men commanding the public confidence for good judgment.

Another side of the protective work of the inspectors of this Department appears from the fact that in 1896 they condemned as unwholesome 125,000 pounds of meat on South Water Street and in Fulton Street Market, and about 2,000,000 pounds at the Stock Yards.

Our municipal family contains its proportion of bad children—of those, indeed, who do not deserve to be deemed its children at all—besides many more who occasionally stand in need of some restraint, so that no department of our municipal government is more essential than the police. We had at the beginning of this year 3398 policemen, not including clerks, lock-up keepers, etc. During 1896 they made 96,847 arrests; but of these prisoners not quite half, more than 47,000, were discharged in the police courts. What proportion of these were improperly arrested, and what proportion improperly discharged, is a question which any one who has observed the proceedings of our police courts, would be unwilling to answer off-hand.

Of the arrests 29 were for murder, 6 for manslaughter, and 607 for assault with intent to kill. The mortality reports of the Health Department show 69 homicides, of which one third are classed as murders and the balance as manslaughter, whence we may infer that the number of arrests does not quite equal that of the actual crimes of this class.

There were, in 1896, 1947 arrests for burglary, 1083 for robbery, and 149 for assault with intent to rob, 6780 for larceny, including 459 for larceny of property which had been intrusted to the accused, 401 for receiving stolen property, and 651 for obtaining goods or money under false pretenses. There were 241 arrests for keeping houses of ill fame, and 5547 of inmates of such houses, 310 for keeping gaming houses, and 1000 lacking 4 were of inmates of such houses.

There were 40 arrests for riot, 602 for malicious mischief, 1988 for vagrancy, and, to come down to a petty nuisance very inadequately dealt with, 194 for lounging on street corners.

So far as the police are aware, only 19 drunkards and 21 minors succeeded in finding any one to sell them intoxicating drink during the year 1896.

There were some arrests of Aldermen, for what offences does not appear.

There is a more genial side to the work of this department. During the same year it restored over 3318 lost children to their parents, assisted 6164 persons sick or hurt, rescued 42 persons from drowning, and extinguished 321 incipient fires, besides giving 3395 fire alarms. There were also, as has already been stated, 176,980 instances in which homeless persons were furnished with lodging.

These figures emphasise the importance of this department and show also that it must be credited with a very considerable degree of efficiency.

The system might however be improved by making the mayor's power of appointment and removal independent of the City Council, and by providing that no patrolman shall be appointed or promoted until his qualifications have been tested by a thorough examination; that no reduction or removal shall be made except for cause stated, and that the person reduced or removed shall be entitled (if he demand it) to an investigation by a board analogous to a court martial and to re-instatement if the charges are adjudged to be unfounded.

Any splitting up of the control, and consequent dissipation of the responsibility by means of a non-partisan (that is, doubly partisan) commission, can only tend to introduce alternations of wrangles and corrupt compromises where unity and integrity are essential.

Close by the Department of Police is another with organisation almost exactly parallel, the Fire Department, having at its

head a fire marshal with powers similar to those of the superintendent of police. Under him is a force of 1135 men of all ranks, including 93 clerks, telegraphers, machinists, etc. The fire-fighting force is divided into 109 companies, operating (among other apparatus) 78 steam fire-engines and 4 fire boats. The fire apparatus is valued at \$855,000, and that belonging to the alarm and telegraph system at \$643,000.

During 1896 there were 4414 fires, causing a total loss of \$1,979,355. In less than half of these was the loss over \$10, and in only 161 cases did it exceed \$1000. The number causing a loss of \$30,000 or over was 4. Two firemen were fatally and 16 others seriously injured in the discharge of duty. The firemen rescued 71 persons from imminent peril of death.

This department appears to do its work with practically no complaint either as to efficiency or honesty. But a guaranty of permanence in its good condition might be afforded by modifications such as have just been suggested for the Police Department.

It would seem on the whole, that if the city government of Chicago does not work as it ought to, the cause is to a very slight degree in the system and practically altogether in the men who administer it. And these men are much more effectually under the control of the citizens than if more of them were elected by direct popular vote. It would be impossible to make good government easier of attainment than it is now, depending as it does solely on the election of an upright and capable mayor, and of two upright and capable aldermen in each of a majority of the wards. If anything is wrong in the city government, it is because (as we said of another city centuries ago) the "people love to have it so."

Nor is there any reason to hope that if the people of Chicago have not virtue and capacity enough to get good government for themselves, they can get any help from the people of the rest of the State, who are not so very much more virtuous or wise, and who have immeasurably less at stake. Any change in that direction would be simply removing the cause of the evil from where we can get at it to where we cannot.