

PART V.—What Would Christ Do in Chicago?

CHAPTER I.

THE CONSCIENCE OF CHICAGO.

If Christ came to Chicago He would do as He did in olden time and endeavor to band together those who loved Him and believed in Him in an organization which would work for the realization of His ideals, and for the removal of the evils which afflict the least of these His brethren. In other words, He would form a church in which all might be one, even as He was one with his Father. Such unity is impossible on any basis excepting that of the practical life of service and of sacrifice. But the one church, that is His Church Militant, can and will be founded upon the basis of His life and His love, for that is broad enough to include all existing churches and others beside, of whom He said: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold." The only possible definition of the Church Universal is the union of all who love for the service of all who suffer. And that church, from the very fervor of its love for its Divine Master, will not ensconce itself in pews stuffed with comfortable ecclesiastical cushions, enjoying as sweet morsels spiritual caramels dispensed from the pulpit, but will find the true service of the sanctuary in going down into the depths, even to the depths of ward politics and electoral agitation, in order to attempt, amid the dust and the din of the world-struggle to rebuild society on the foundation of the Kingdom of God.

The old idea of the union between church and state, has long since been recognized by the modern mind as an anachronism at the present time. It is a survival

from the past which must either be readjusted to meet different conditions or cease to exist. Cavour's formula "A free Church in a free State," is accepted by Americans in the plural number—free Churches in a free State, But the problem of the relation between the spiritual power which the conscience of the community and the civic power which represents the will and the executive mind of the nation is far from settled by the mere enunciation of a formula. The Mayflower sailed across the Atlantic not in order to found a free church in a free state, in the sense of a state in which the church had nothing to say, but rather to found a state in which the church should be supreme. Our Puritan forefathers, labored for a theocracy as all earnest men have always labored whether they call themselves Mohammedans, Catholics, Puritans or Latter Day Saints. No one at this time of day would propose to endeavor to realize the theocracy or the rule of right and the attainment of the ideal by the worn out machinery of church meetings or ecclesiastical synods, but the essence of the problem remains the same. The community which we call a state stands more than ever in need of being directed and controlled and dominated by the moral sense of the community. In other words, the state must have a conscience as well as a will and a mind. That community will be best governed in which the moral sense of its members has most authority. This indeed is only a re-statement of the old proposition that the society which always endeavors to do what it believes to be right will be a better governed society than one whose members subordinate right to considerations of selfish interest and who act upon the unavowed but practical belief that it is quite possible to cheat God. Mr. Bigelow's caution that "you have got to get up early if you want to take in God" has been forgotten by many smart citizens who imagine that they can run a town safely and well by entering into a practical copartnership with the Devil.

The address to all English-speaking folk, written four years ago, will at least serve to show that whether in London as an editor or in Chicago as a visitor I have clung with tenacity to my one central conception of the Civic Church.

There exists at this moment no institution which even aspires to be to the English-speaking-world what the Catholic Church in its prime was to the intelligence of Christendom. To call attention to the need for such an institution, adjusted, of course, to the altered circumstances of the new era, to enlist the co-operation of all those who will work towards the creation of some such common centre for the inter-communication of ideas, and the universal diffusion of the ascertained results of human experience in a form accessible to all men, are the ultimate objects for which this review has been established.

This is done distinctly on a religious principle. The revelation of the Divine Will did not cease when St. John wrote the last page of the Apocalypse, or when Malachi finished his prophecy. "God is not dumb, that He should speak no more," and we have to seek for the gradual unfolding of his message to his creatures in the highest and ripest thought of our time. Reason may be a faulty instrument, but it is the medium through which the Divine thought enters the mind of man.

Among all the agencies for the shaping of the future of the human race, none seem so potent now and still more hereafter as the English-speaking man. Already he begins to dominate the world. The British Empire and the American Republic comprise within their limits almost all the territory that remains empty for the overflow of the world. Their citizens, with all their faults, are leading the van of civilization, and if any great improvements are to be made in the condition of mankind, they will necessarily be leading instruments in the work. Hence our first starting-point will be a deep and almost awe-struck regard for the destinies of the English-speaking man. To make him worthy of his immense vocation, and at the same time to help to hold together and strengthen the political ties which at present link all English-speaking communities save one in a union which banishes all dread of internecine war, to promote by every means a fraternal union between the British Empire and the American Republic. These will be our plainest duties.

It follows from this fundamental conception of the magnitude and importance of the work of the English-speaking race in the world, that a resolute endeavor should be made to equip the individual citizen more adequately for his share in that work. For the ordinary common English-speaking creature, country yokel, or child of the slums, is the seed of Empire. The red-haired hobbledehoy, smoking his short pipe at the corner of Seven Dials, may two years hence be the red-coated representative of the might and majesty of Britain in the midst of a myriad of Africans or Asiatics. That village girl, larking with the lads on her way to the well, will in a few years be the mother of citizens of new commonwealths; the founders of cities

in the Far West whose future destiny may be as famous as that of ancient Rome. No one is too insignificant to be overlooked. We send abroad our best and our worst; all alike are seed-corn of the race. Hence the importance of resolute endeavor to improve the condition, moral and material, in which the ordinary English-speaking man is bred and reared. To do this is a work as worthy of national expenditure as the defence of our shores from hostile fleets. The amelioration of the conditions of life, the levelling up of social inequalities, the securing for each individual the possibility of a human life, and the development to the uttermost by religious, moral, and intellectual agencies of the better side of our countrymen,—these objects follow as necessary corollaries from the recognition of the providential sphere occupied by English-speaking men in the history of the world.

Another corollary is that we can no longer afford to exclude one section of the English-speaking race from all share in the education and moralizing influences which result from the direct exercise of responsible functions in the state. The enfranchisement of women will not revolutionize the world, but it will at least give those who rock our cradles a deeper sense of the reality of the sceptre which their babies' hands may grasp than would otherwise be possible. Our children in future will be born of two parents, each politically intelligent, instead of being the product of a union between a political being and a creature whose mind is politically blank. If at present we have to deplore so widespread a lack of civic virtue among our men, the cause may be found in the fact that the mothers from whom men acquired whatever virtue they possess have hitherto been studiously excluded from the only school where civic virtue can be learnt—that of the actual exercise of civic functions, the practical discharge of civic responsibilities.

We believe in God, and in Humanity! The English-speaking race in America and elsewhere, is one of the chief of God's chosen agents for executing coming improvements in the lot of mankind. If all those who see that, could be brought into hearty union to help all that tends to make that race more fit to fulfil its providential mission, and to combat all that hinders or impairs that work, such an association or secular order would constitute a nucleus or rallying point for all that is most vital in the English-speaking world, the ultimate influence of which it would be difficult to overrate.

Our supreme duty is the winnowing out by a process of natural selection, and enlisting for hearty service for the commonweal all those who possess within their hearts the sacred fire of patriotic devotion to their country. Whatever we may make of democratic institutions, government of majorities, and the like, the fact remains that the leadership of democracies and the guidance of democracies belong always to the few. The governing minds are never numerous.

Carlyle put this truth in the most offensive aspect, but truth it is, and it will be well or ill for us in proportion as we act upon it or the reverse. The wise are few. The whole problem is to discover the wise few, and to place the sceptre in their hands, and loyally to follow their leading. But how to find them out? That is the greatest of questions. Mr. Carlyle, in almost his last political will and testa-

ment to the English people, wrote: "There is still, we hope, the unclassed aristocracy by nature, not inconsiderable in numbers, and supreme in faculty, in wisdom, in human talent, nobleness, and courage, who derive their patent of nobility direct from Almighty God. If, indeed, these fail us, and are trodden out under the unanimous torrent of hobnails, of brutish hoofs and hobnails, then, indeed, it is all ended. National death lies ahead. . . . Will there, in short, prove to be a recognizable small nucleus of Invincible Aristoi fighting for the Good Cause in their various wisest ways, and never ceasing or slackening till they die? This is the question of questions on which all turns." In the answer to this, could we give it clearly, as no man can, lies the oracle response, "Life for you: death for you."

Our supreme task is to help to discover these wise ones, to afford them opportunity of articulate utterance, to do what we can to make their authority potent among their contemporaries. Who is there among the people who has truth in him, who is no self-seeker, who is no coward, and who is capable of honest, painstaking effort to help his country? For such men we would search as for hidden treasures. They are the salt of the earth and the light of the world, and it is the duty and the privilege of the wise man to see that they are like cities set on the hill, which cannot be hid.

The great word which has now to be spoken in the ears of the world is that the time has come when men and women must work for the salvation of the state or of the city with as much zeal and self-sacrifice as they now work for the salvation of the individual. For the saving of the soul of Hodge Joskins, what energy, what devotion, is not possible to all of us! There is not a street in Chicago, nor a village in the country, which is not capable of producing, often at short notice and under slight pressure, a man or woman who will spend a couple of hours a week every week in the year, in more or less irksome voluntary exertions, in order to snatch the soul of Hodge Joskins from everlasting burning. But to save the country from the grasp of demons innumerable, to prevent this city or this Republic becoming an incarnate demon of lawless ambition and cruel love of gold, how many men or women are willing to spend even one hour a month or a year? For Hodge Joskins innumerable are the multitude of workers; for the city, or the state that embodiment of many millions of Hodges, how few are those who will exert themselves at all? At elections there is a little canvassing and excitement; but excepting at those times the idea that the state needs saving, that the democracy need educating, and that the problems of government and of reform need careful and laborious study, is foreign to the ideas of our people. The religious side of politics has not yet entered the minds of men.

What is wanted is a revival of civic faith, a quickening of spiritual life in the political sphere, the inspiring of men and women with the conception of what may be done towards the salvation of the world, if they will but bring to bear upon public affairs the same spirit of self-sacrificing labor that so many thousands manifest in the ordinary drudgery of parochial and evangelistic work. It may no doubt seem an impossible dream.

Can those dry bones live? Those who ask that question little

know the infinite possibilities latent in the heart of man. The faith of Loyola, what an unsuspected mine of enthusiasm did it not spring upon mankind? "The Old World," as Macauley remarks, "was not wide enough for that strange activity. In the depths of the Peruvian mines, in the hearts of the African slave caravans, on the shores of the Spice Islands, in the observatories of China, the Jesuits were to be found. They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word."

How was this miracle effected? By the preaching of a man who energized the activity of the church by the ideals of chivalry and the strength of military discipline. What we have now to do is to energize and elevate the politics of our time by the enthusiasm and the system of the religious bodies. Those who say that it is impossible to raise up men and women ready to sacrifice all they possess, and, if need be, to lay down their lives in any great cause that appeals to their higher nature, should spare a little time to watch the recruiting of the Salvation Army for the Indian mission field. The delicate dressmaker and the sturdy puddler, the young people raised in the densest layer of English commonplace, under the stimulus of an appeal to the instincts of self-sacrifice, and of their duty to their brethren, abandon home, friends, kindred, and go forth to walk barefoot through India at a beggar's pittance until they can pick up sufficient words of the unfamiliar tongue to deliver to these dusky strangers the message of their Gospel. Certain disease awaits them, cruel privations, and probably an early death. But they shrink not. A race whose members are capable of such devotion cannot be regarded as hopeless, from the point of those who seek to rouse among the most enlightened a consuming passion for their country's good.

But how can it be done? As everything else of a like nature has been done since the world began—by the foolishness of preaching. And here again let Mr. Carlyle speak:—

"There is no church, sayest thou? The voice of prophecy has gone dumb? This is even what I dispute: but in any case hast thou not still preaching enough? A preaching friar settles himself in every village and builds a pulpit which he calls newspaper. Therefrom he preaches what most momentous doctrines is in him for man's salvation; and dost not thou listen and believe? Look well; thou seest everywhere a new clergy of the mendicant order, some barefooted, some almost barebacked, fashion itself into shape, and teach and preach zealously enough for copper alms and the love of God."

It is to these friars that we must look for the revival of civic faith which will save the English speaking race. For other hope of salvation from untutored democracy, demoralized by bosses and wire-pullers weighted with the burdens of state and distracted by its own clamor, wants and needs, it is difficult to see.

That which we really wish to found is in very truth a civic church, every member of which should zealously, as much as it lay within him, preach the true faith, and endeavor to make it operative in the hearts and heads of its neighbors. Were such a church founded it would be as a great voice sounding out over sea and land the sum-

mons to all men to think seriously and soberly of the public life in which they are called to fill a part. Visible in many ways is the decadence of the press. The mentor of the young democracy has abandoned philosophy, and stuffs the ears of its Telemachus with descriptions of Calypso's petticoats and the latest scandals from the Court. All the more need, then, that there should be a voice which, like that of the muezzin from the eastern minaret, would summon the faithful to the duties imposed by their belief.

A recent writer, who vainly struggled towards this ideal, has said:—

“ We are told that the temporal welfare of man, and the salvation of the state, are ideals too meagre to arouse the enthusiasm which exults in self-sacrifice. It needs eternity, say some, to stimulate men to action in time. But as there is no eternity for the state, how then is patriotism possible? Have not hundreds and thousands of men and women gladly marched to death for ideas to be realized solely on this side of the grave? The decay of an active faith in the reality of the other world has no doubt paralyzed the spring of much human endeavor, and often left a great expanse of humanity practically waste so far as relates to the practical cultivation of the self-sacrificing virtues. We go into this waste land to possess it. It is capable of being made to flourish, as of old, under the stimulating radiance of a great ideal and the diligent and intelligent culture of those who have the capacity for direction. If we could enlist in the active service of man as many men and women, in proportion to the number of those who are outside the churches, as any church or chapel will enlist in self-sacrificing labor for the young, the poor, and the afflicted, then indeed, results would be achieved of which, at present, we hardly venture even to dream. But it is in this that lies our hope of doing effective work for the regeneration and salvation of mankind.”

This, it may be said, involves a religious idea, and when religion is introduced harmonious co-operation is impossible. That was so once; it will not always be the case, for, as we said recently in the *Universal Review*:—“A new Catholicity has dawned upon the world. All religions are now recognized as essentially Divine. They represent the different angles at which man looks at God. All have something to teach us—how to make the common man more like God. The true religion is that which makes men most like Christ. And what is the ideal which Christ translated into a realized life? For practical purposes this: To take trouble to do good to others. A simple formula, but the rudimentary and essential truth of the whole Christian religion. To take trouble is to sacrifice time. All time is a portion of life. To lay down one's life for the brethren—which is sometimes literally the duty of the citizen who is called to die for his fellows—is the constant and daily duty demanded by all the thousand-and-one practical sacrifices which duty and affection call upon us to make for men.

As the result of the publication of the foregoing appeal and the subsequent agitation of the subject through the *Review* was the formation of associations or federations of workers for the public good in various

cities in England and Scotland. None of these associations, however, called themselves churches. The name of church is unpopular with the unchurched masses. And the application of the term to associations, including atheists, horrified many orthodox Christians. Cardinal Manning wrote me shortly before he died: "Call it anything but a church and I am with you with all my heart. Call it a church and not one of my people will lift a finger to help you." Mr. Price Hughes, of the Methodist body, was even more vehement than the Cardinal in denouncing my attempt to restore the great word which has been degraded into the label of ecclesiastical coteries to its original purpose describing the union of all who love for the service of all who suffer. In some towns the name preferred was Civic Centre; in others, the Social Questions Union; and again others preferred the title An Association for Improving the Condition of the People. In Chicago the name preferred has been that of the Civic Federation. The name is immaterial, but I still hold that the conception of the church universal and militant conveys better the idea which the Civic Federation is established to realize than any other yet invented by the wit of man. The Church was the machinery Christ devised for saving the world by self-sacrificing love.

What is wanted is a civic center which will generalize for the benefit of all the results obtained by isolated workers. The first desideratum is to obtain a man or woman who can look at the community as a whole, and who will resolve that he or she, as the case may be, will never rest until the whole community is brought up to the standard of the most advanced societies. Such a determined worker has the nucleus of the Civic Church under his own hat; but, of course, if he is to succeed in his enterprise he must endeavor by hook or by crook to get into existence some federation of the moral and religious forces which would be recognized by the community as having authority to speak in the

name and with the experience of the Civic Church. The work will of necessity be tentative and slow. Nor do I dream of evolving an ideal collective Humanitarian Episcopate on democratic lines all at once. But if the idea is once well grasped by the right man or woman, it will grow. The necessities of mankind will foster it, and all the forces of civilization and of religion will work for the establishment of the Civic Church.*

*See Appendix D.

CHAPTER II.

"LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION!"

What would Christ do if he came to Chicago? Surely he would endeavor to help to fulfil His own prayer.

"Lead us not into temptation" is not a prayer which is regarded with much respect in the city administration of Chicago. It would be more accurate to say that the whole system from bottom to top has been constructed on the principle that it is a good thing to lead aldermen and officials into temptation on every possible occasion.

To prove this it is only necessary to refer to the unrestricted liberty which is given to a snap vote of the majority of the alderman to dispose of the common property of the city without any check excepting the mayor's veto which is nugatory in case the majority in the council exceeds two-thirds. Another instance is the position of the assessors. An honest assessor cannot meet his expenses whereas a man need not be very dishonest to make \$100,000 during his term of office. If the aldermen and the assessors are to be kept from picking and selling they must be removed from temptation. It is not fair to human nature to expose it to a stress and strain to which it has proved manifestly unequal.

There is no reason in the nature of things why aldermen, for instance, should be exposed to that temptation. The Australian ballot has done much to purify American elections from the scandalous abuses which prevailed when the ward politician was tempted by endless opportunities to stuff ballot boxes and to poll repeaters. If the City Council of Chicago would not be above taking another hint from English-speaking men under the Union Jack they might remove much of the temptation to boodle which at present is altogether too strong to be resisted by the average alderman.

An ordinance of the city of Chicago conferring a franchise upon a company for the supply of gas, corresponds to a private act of Parliament and it is both interesting and instructive to compare the precautions which are taken in England against such scandals as that which disgrace the city council with the rough and tumble methods which prevail in Chicago. The situation which prevails in Chicago is not unlike that which exists in an English city which is supplied with gas by a private company.

No private bill is passed in England until it has been dealt with in quasi-judicial fashion by two impartial committees one selected from the Commons and the other from the House of Lords. Inexorably standing orders prevent any possibility of rushing the measure through the legislature without due consideration and ample opportunity being afforded to all sides to be heard before an impartial tribune of their own selection.

Compare this with the hitty-missy, hugger-mugger fashion in which the recent boodle Gas ordinance was dealt with by the City Council. Somebody, nobody knows who, it may have been a man of straw, as mythical as John Doe or Richard Roe, thrusts a piece of paper into the hands of an alderman and asks him to bring this proposal as an ordinance before the attention of the City Council. This ordinance may affect adversely millions of dollars invested under the sanction of the Council under previous ordinances. It would certainly have affected for the worse all the conditions of existence in Chicago for years to come if it had been carried out. It decided once for all in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the citizens, the price that they were to pay for all time to come for artificial light. This reckless and criminal proposal without any preliminaries is introduced into the Council, and then, without any opportunity being afforded for proving either the need of such an ordinance or of defending the *bona fides* of its promoters, this measure is thrust by a fine brute majority

through the City Council in a single sitting. The existing gas company had no opportunity of being heard in their own defense. The representatives of other interests vitally concerned in the case were never consulted; but at a single sitting, after a wrangle which could not be dignified by the name debate, a scratch majority, secured, it is universally believed, by out-and-out bribery of the grossest kind, passed the ordinance into law, and law it would have been but for the veto of the Mayor. No amount of standing orders and regulations can make rogues into honest men; but a very simple proposition, entirely in harmony with the principles of the American constitution and the charter of the city of Chicago, would remove three-fourths of the temptation before which the aldermen succumb. No man in his senses would dream of suggesting that the elaborate and cumbrous machinery of English private legislation should be transplanted to this western soil, but ordinary common sense would suggest that in every case where an ordinance was introduced, affecting either public or private interests, some adequate caution should be taken to prevent the prostitution of legislation for the purposes of blackmail.

It would not be difficult, for instance, to adopt so much of the principles of English private bill legislation as to insist that before any ordinance was introduced it should be submitted to the corporation counsel, say, one month before it was read before the City Council, and that he should stop its further progress until the promoters had done three things. First, to furnish full information as to what they proposed to do, when they proposed to begin and finish, and how they were going to find the money. Secondly, to fully inform the local public of the proposed ordinance by means of advertisement, and to give notice to all persons whose property was affected or whose interests were endangered by the ordinance. Thirdly, to deposit with the City Treasurer, say, 10 per cent of the total sum which they propose to spend should they receive their franchise. Some

such system would be simple, convenient and easily worked. After the ordinance had been introduced into the Council and had received the approval of a majority of the aldermen it might be referred to a quasi-judicial committee of four disinterested persons nominated, say, two by the Mayor and two by the city council, who would be instructed to take evidence as to the proposed scheme, to hear everything that could be said against it by those whose interests it adversely affected, and to report back to the council as to whether or not it was to the public interest that the ordinance should pass. The final vote of the whole council on the ordinance as passed or amended by the committee could still remain as at present subject to the Mayor's veto, which can only be over ridden by a majority of two-thirds. To adopt such a procedure would involve no fresh legislation, and would establish no new precedent at variance with constitutional practice. It would on the other hand give invested capital security which it does not possess at present against wild cat legislation, and the sand bagger and black mailer would find three-fourths of their business disappear. As to the aldermen it would in every case be a veritable answer to the petition "Lead us not into temptation." From a boodle point of view the post of an alderman would hardly be worth having.

That brings me to another consideration, namely, whether it would not be wiser and more economical in the long run to pay the alderman \$5,000 a year rather than to leave them as at present to sacrifice millions of the property of the city in order that they may levy an illicit toll upon the plunder which they convey to predatory corporations. \$5,000 a year would at least remove the temptation of picking and stealing from the alderman. At present they are paid three dollars a sitting of the Council. This takes no account of the much more arduous sittings in committees. As a matter of fact the \$156 a year hardly supplies the alderman with drink

money. In England no representative in Parliament or any municipality is paid for his services. The result is that a very heavy money fine is virtually imposed upon the most public spirited citizens who devote their time to the service of the community. They have to pay their election expenses to begin with, and as long as they represent the people they have to neglect their own business and sacrifice often half of their working time in the unpaid service of the people. Hence, among the English democracy there is a growing feeling in favor of the payment of members, not only on the ground of justice but in order that the community may be able to command the services of its ablest members without regard to the question whether or not they are sufficiently wealthy to stand the racket of election expenses and the loss on neglected business. In Chicago, considering that the wealthier classes, who alone can afford to serve the city for nothing, refuse to take any part in the city government, there is a great deal to be said in favor of paying the aldermen respectably if we expect them to live honestly. At present the aldermen regard themselves as morally justified in recouping the losses incurred in getting elected or in devoting their time to the public business by levying black mail on all those who are asking the people for franchises. And until the wealthier classes can be induced to come into politics, I fail to see any way out of it short of the adequate remuneration of the aldermen.

With regard to the assessors and also to the assessed any attempt to realize our Lord's prayer to lead them not into temptation, but to deliver them from evil would necessitate a radical revision of the whole system of assessment. At the present moment assessments are based upon a lie, and the whole superstructure is honeycombed through and through with dishonesty and perjury. The arbitrary power of assessment given to elected officials whose hopes of continuance in office depend entirely upon propitiating those whose property

they assess would make thieves of archangels, and the assessors in the three towns of Chicago are not archangels. The result is that it is assumed that they are not honest and that they will take advantage of their positions to make money. The basis of a true system of assessment is very simple. Whether it is a matter of realty or personalty there exists an automatic method of assessment that lies ready at hand. Why not make every citizen his own assessor? The city might accept as final the sworn statement of each of its citizens as to the value of his possessions subject to the distinctly understood proviso that they might at any time be condemned or appropriated at the figure at which the owner assessed them. By this means no citizen would dare to assess his property much below its real value. If he did so he would simply invite the condemnation of his own property for the benefit of the city. The law in that case instead of leading citizens into the temptation of making false statements in order to dodge the taxes would practically tend to deliver them from the evil of inadequate assessment by holding over them *in terrorem* the possibility of having to sacrifice their goods and their real estate in return for an inadequate sum. Of course, provision might be made for heirlooms and for some exceptional cases in which the sentimental value could not rightly be appraised for assessment purposes, and which at the same time it might be very cruel to condemn. But as a broad general principle, every man his own assessor, under penalty of expropriation at his own figures is a sound one, and would enormously simplify the question of assessment.

Another great department of public administration in Chicago which stands in very serious need of being delivered from evil is that belonging to justice and the police. Law should be impartial and just. In Chicago it is neither one nor the other. The administration of the law should be resolute, and merciful, but whatever punishment is allotted should be enforced with the same

calm unswerving regularity which distinguishes the revolution of the planets. Almost every principle of sound jurisprudence is violated every day in the justices' courts, both civil and criminal, in Chicago. Justices nominated for political considerations and swayed more or less shamelessly by partisan feelings set before the lawless members of the community a shameful object lesson in injustice and corruption. I do not mean for a moment to assert that the justice in any Chicago court would sentence an innocent man for a bribe, or that for so many dollars down he would deliver the guilty. But there is hardly a court in Chicago where a prisoner who has a political pull is not tolerably sure of escaping punishment, unless, of course, his crime has been too flagrant or too sensational for it to be safe for him to be liberated after the usual fashion.* But take the case of an ordinary offender. That man, if he stands in with an alderman or the owner of an alderman can almost always escape scotfree. For the sake of appearances he will be fined but before the court rises his fine will be suspended indefinitely—that is it will be remitted. The practice of imposing fines and then suspending them is one which leads many justices into

*At a meeting of the Sunset Club held March 31, 1892, Mr. W. S. Forrest read a paper based on his personal experience as a lawyer in the courts of the city of Chicago or rather of Cook County in which Chicago is situated. In the course of that paper he said: "There are wrongs in the administration of criminal law in Cook County, wrongs against the accused, wrongs against society, wrongs against the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the state. What are some of these wrongs? The rich and powerful are seldom indicted and never tried, well, hardly ever. The Criminal Court of Cook County exists only to punish the poor and the vulgar. Manslaughter is committed by corporations with impunity—Men are convicted who are innocent. Even in ordinary trials the forms of law are frequently set aside and the rules of evidence ignored."

Gen. Stiles who followed Mr. Forrest confirmed his statement, and strengthened it. He said: "Brother Forrest complains that no rich merchants are ever convicted. Don't forget to mention that no prominent criminals are ever convicted. No prominent gambler is convicted. Three convictions would send him to the penitentiary, and they take mighty good care at the States Attorney's office that no second conviction shall ever be had against an open, notorious and leading gambler in the city. No prominent confidence man is convicted. A man who kills another in a prominent saloon is hardly ever tried, never convicted and never was his worthless neck stretched at the end of a halter. The People must wake up. I don't exactly want them to form a vigilance committee, but to go so almighty close to it that you can hardly tell the difference. Run out the riff raff, the gamblers, the men who live upon the honest toil of others. Put a stop to the frauds at elections. Run out of office men who are there only for the boodle that is in it. Do this and you will soon have a better order of things, and unless you do it yourselves no reform can be accomplished." "Sunset Club Year Book 1891-2," pp. 170, 181.

temptation. It makes easy the way by which he is lead step by step to be a mere tool of party politicians. An appreciable step would be taken towards delivering the justice from the evil course into which he has fallen if he were compelled to make a monthly return of all fines which he has imposed and the fines which he has suspended, specifying in every case the reason for such suspension. It is an old saying that the progress of civilization may be measured by the extent to which the authority of impartial law supersedes arbitrary will of the individual in the judicial administration. Judging by the justices' courts Chicago is still in the state of barbarism. Justice there in too many cases is the measure of the justice's foot modified by the conflicting influences of antagonistic political pulls. The evil is as great in civil as in criminal courts. if not greater. A distinguished lawyer quoted by the *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 26th, says:

The petty court or "justice shop" system in Chicago and Cook County is the most iniquitous method that human ingenuity could have devised to oppress the poor, harass the financially distressed and annoy victims of spite and enmity. It is a reflection upon the fair fame of the city and a disgrace to the bar that such a condition of things should continue to exist.

The *Herald* commenting on these remarks says:

That the present system of administering justice in petty cases is a disgrace to the judicial system of this city is known to everybody, and is so patent to all that countless efforts have been made to remedy the evils which it produces. The fundamental element of the evil, that is, the system itself, being based upon a constitutional provision, cannot be changed without an amendment to the constitution.

That is usually the case in Chicago. Whenever you find a very unmistakable manifestation of the Devil, you are certain to find him entrenched behind the Constitution of the State of Illinois.

If any change is to be made justices should be paid by salaries instead of as at present partly by salaries and partly by fees. The practice of giving the justices the interest of a solid silver dollar in every person whom they pull, or in every case they hear, is a crying

shame which has been denounced times without number but it remains today as yesterday the same. The temptation which leads police to make raids in order that they may net a sufficient harvest of dollars from the luckless captives of these arbitrary razzias is one into which the justices should not be led.

These are a few of the more salient instances of maladministration of justice in which Chicago is distinctly below the level of any European town. There are plenty of evils which the city shares with other cities in the Old World. The bureau of justice is an excellent and well meaning institution but unfortunately it has not the funds to enable it to discharge the duties of the poor man's lawyer. Some day possibly just as the physicians in the community consider themselves honored by being allowed to practice for nothing in the city or county hospital so that day may come when the same standard of society may prevail among the legal profession, and the leading lawyers in the community may consider it a distinction to be allowed to practice without fees in the cases of the poor.*

The last class of persons whom I shall consider as subjected to temptations from which they might be delivered by the same Christian and rational system is the police. At present it is almost impossible for the policeman to resist the temptation to supplement his salary by bribes. It may be taken as a general rule that whenever a law exists in the statute book that is not enforced that law is the source of pecuniary profit to all persons charged with the enforcement of the law.

*Speaking on this subject at a meeting of the Sunset Club March 31, 1892, Mr. Joseph B. David said: "As one who has had a somewhat extended experience in the practice of criminal law in this county for the past seven years I wish to say a word or two on the subject under discussion. No man who is tried in the Criminal Court of Cook County, who is without means to hire able lawyers, can get a fair trial. The law of this state provides that when a man accused of crime is too poor to hire a lawyer the court shall appoint counsel to conduct his defense. What happens? A man who has just been admitted to the bar, who never tried a case in his life before, whose only knowledge of criminal law is gathered from a few months reading of text-books, such a man is appointed to cope with able counsel such as the States Attorney and his distinguished assistants. The result is inevitable. The trial is a farce—a parody on justice."

Whether it be gamblers, or prostitutes, keepers of opium joints, or any other offender against the municipal ordinances nothing is more certain than that they have to pay for their immunity from prosecution by more or less political blackmailing levied by the police. The remedy for this can only be sought by bringing the written law into closer relation with that which can be actually enforced. A law ideally good may become the source of endless corruption when it is applied to a community that is really bad. It may be, for instance, considered an excellent thing that every house of prostitution, and every opium joint, and every gaming hell should be outlawed, and authority given to every member of the police force to suppress them whenever he finds them; but in communities where prostitution, opium smoking and gambling are deeply rooted the responsibility for the initiative in suppressing these evils should not rest upon individual policemen. It ought either to be placed under the responsible authority of neighboring citizens or of some body other than the officials charged with the execution of the law. To leave the initiative to the patrolmen is simply to expose them to a temptation to levy blackmail to which in most cases they succumb. If, for instance, no house could be raided on the initiative of a private constable, and if in other cases the law could only be put in motion either by a citizen's committee or by local residents the power to levy blackmail, and therefore the temptation to receive it would largely disappear. The greater the power the policemen have of exercising option in favor of or against the offenders the more increase of corruption. The ideal police service is that in which the policeman should have no law to enforce excepting laws which he must enforce or be responsible for their non-enforcement. At present in Chicago the policeman is nominally expected to enforce an endless multiplicity of ordinances which are openly set at nought by thousands of citizens every day, and every non-

executed ordinance affords an opening for official blackmail.

These evils and many others which might be described are admitted to exist by every observant citizen in Chicago. All the preaching in the world would fail to help our Lord to realize his own prayer in relation to those offenses. But what preaching cannot do, what the personal religion of the individual would be powerless to effect, civic religion practically applied by the election of honest men would assuredly accomplish. If then our churches and our Christians mean what they say when they pray "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," is it not obvious that it is their Christian duty to go into politics and stay there until they have done something to help to fulfill their own prayers?

Obvious though it may appear to us, it is unfortunately the reverse of obvious to many good men. This winter at the Willard Hall in the Woman's Temple a "trophy" was produced in the shape of a confirmed drunkard who had found salvation through conversion. "Friends," said this brand plucked from the burning, "I have been wonderfully delivered by the grace of God from the bondage of sin and Satan. All my life long I have been devoted to whisky and politics. Now, thanks be to God for his redeeming mercy, I am delivered from both." There is small prospect of the redemption of the city when the first thought of the redeemed is to leave whisky in undisputed possession of politics.

CHAPTER III.

CASTING OUT DEVILS.

They greatly err who imagine that the doctrine of diabolical possession is an exploded superstition. Not only individuals but communities are often the victims of this unhallowed appropriation by the Powers of Evil of that which was designed as the temple of the Holy Spirit. As in Judea in olden time the casting out of devils was one of the most manifest signs of the power of the Messiah, so to day if He were to appear amongst us in Chicago He would doubtless signalize His divine presence and power in a similar fashion.

Chicago like other cities is possessed by a host of unclean spirits, whose name is Legion for they are many. There are several, however, which can be distinguished sufficiently to be named and described. These I will now proceed to enumerate with some brief suggestions as to their exorcism.

First and foremost, Plutocracy. I came to America to see what Mr. Carnegie described as the Triumph of Democracy. I found instead the Evolution of Plutocracy. The new tyranny which is being installed behind the convenient mask of republican form is likely to cure itself by its own excess. Compound interest which if left undisturbed will concentrate the wealth of the world in the hands of a corporal's guard of multi-billionaires has already destroyed the distinctive glory of the American Republic. Nearly half of the once independent proprietors of their own holdings are now tenants of these usurers without tenant's rights.

According to the latest Government statistics, we possess sixty billions of wealth. Nine per cent of the families own 71 per cent of this, leaving but 29 per cent to the remaining 91 per cent of the families. The 9

per cent is composed of two classes: rich and millionaires. Of the latter there are 4,074 families. They average three million dollars each. They constitute only three one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the whole number of families, while they own 20 per cent of the wealth. That is, they own nearly as much as the 11,593,887 families.

The process of accumulation goes on irresistibly. The snow ball gathers as it grows. Even spendthrifts and prodigals cannot dissipate the unearned increment of their millions which multiply while they sleep. The millionaire is developing into the billionaire, and the end is not yet. The transformation is hidden from the multitude because the coming despot eschews the tawdry tinsel of the crown, and liberty is believed to be as safe as well, let us say, as the populace of Rome believed the republic to be when Julius Caesar refused the imperial purple. But everywhere the money power has the people by the throat. Whether it is the pawnbroker down the levee, charging ten per cent. per month interest upon the pledges of the poor, or the millionaire, negotiating with newspapers for the abandonment of the Interstate Commerce Act, the spectacle is the same. The poor man is the servant of the rich, and at present stands in some danger of becoming his slave.

Plutocracy in America even more than in England, to which I have already compared it, recalls Victor Hugo's memorable description of the octopus. Victor Hugo was a great artist in words and he described the octopus from life. Had he described it from his observation of plutocracy in America he would not have altered a single sentence. This description of this spectral phantom of the deep, the devil fish, with its eight huge arms, with its four hundred pustules that cut and suck like a cupping glass, this loathly horror of vampire-death lurking in ocean caves to seize the limb and drain the life of the unwary fisherman, is only too true to life as many an unfortunate will recognize.

It winds around its victim, covering him and enveloping him in its slimy folds. . . . It is a spider in its shape, a chameleon in its rapid changes of hue. When angry it becomes purple. Its most disgusting characteristic is its impalpability. Its slimy folds strangle; its very touch paralyzes. It looks like a mass of scorbutic gangrened flesh; it is a hideous picture of loathsome disease. Once fixed you cannot tear it away. It clings closely to its prey. How does it do so? By creating a vacuum. . . . It is a pneumatic machine that attacks you. You are struggling with a void which possesses eight antennae. No scratches, no bites, but an indescribable suffocation. The terrible wretch grins upon you by a thousand foul mouths. The hydra incorporates itself with the man, and the man with the hydra. You become one and the same. The hideous dream is in your bosom. The devil fish draws you into its system. He drags you to him and into him; bound helplessly, glued where you stand, utterly powerless, you are gradually emptied into a loathsome receptacle, which is the monster himself. . . . The devil fish is a hypocrite.

Nothing can be more hypocritical than the way in which plutocracy disguises its designs, until its victim is well within its reach. It has already flung its all devouring tentacles round almost every institution in the United States. Some it has devoured, others it is preparing to engulf. Among the latter that which most excites my sympathy and dismay is the last refuge of independent criticism in the domain of sociological study. I refer to the universities. Among the younger university professors in America there are many who have devoted themselves to a life long study of the sociological phenomena. They know and appreciate the advantages of municipal monopolies as opposed to the monopoly of the predatory rich. They have been most of them in the old world, and they have learned the lessons which the most progressive of the municipalities of the Old World have to teach the cities of the new. They are devoted to the cause of labor and of social progress. They write and teach the necessity of dealing with the problems of labor in a sympathetic spirit, of making the municipality the ideal employer and of leveling up all other employers to the municipal level. They are in favor of everything or nearly everything that I have advocated in this book, for municipal gas, municipal water, municipal street cars, municipal telephones

and in short for the municipalization of all the monopolies of service. Nowhere in the world will you find more thoughtful and fearless exponents of the new economics than in the American universities. Contrasted with the servile subjugation in which most of the slaves of the press are kept by their plutocratic owners, the university is as an oasis in the desert, a fresh green spot in the midst of an arid waste of sand. How long will this oasis be permitted to continue? I am afraid that when the battle becomes hotter, and the hosts now being arrayed against each other grapple in the struggle for life and death, it will go hard with these teachers of truth. For the endowment of the universities is one of the fashionable pastimes of the American millionaire. Vanderbilt has given his name to a university in the South, and Rockefeller—the story of whose Standard Oil Trust will some day be given to the public in all its infamy of detail, and continental grandeur of rapacity, by some Zola of reality who will discover in it one of the most interesting episodes in all history—is the great patron of the University of Chicago. There is hardly a university in the country which has not either received large sums from millionaires or which does not live from day to day in the hope of receiving large sums from millionaires. Universities like every other institution in the country are “on the make,” and just as the modern Herod becomes a pew holder and gags John the Baptist by starving him out of the pulpit, a much more efficacious method than the ax of the executioner, so the predatory rich have intrenched themselves in the citadels of the American universities.

I heard a story the other day which is significant of much. A well known millionaire who was one of the trustees of an eastern university met at one of the university functions a professor to whom he freely expressed his opinion that it was a very good thing that there were half a million men out of work in the United

States. By such a condition of affairs the laboring men could be kept down. The professor shocked by the cynicism of the avowal strongly controverted the millionaire's view unmindful of the fact that the millionaire was a trustee of the university.

Shortly after the professor ventured to publish an article in which he formulated the right of the laboring man to be shielded from being dismissed at the mere caprice of his employer. This article was made sufficient cause to compel him to leave the university. He was not dismissed, but strong representations were made by the millionaire in question to his fellow trustees that this professor must be cleared out. The board, like Pilate, was loath to yield to the pressure of the modern Caiaphas, but ultimately the professor, for peace's sake, resigned his post and accepted another in a state university in the west which he still holds. A vacancy occurred quite recently in his old university and it was mooted that it might be well to invite the professor to return. But the suggestion was immediately negatived. The millionaire would have no such pestilent fellow about his place.

Another instance also came to my notice quite recently. One of the younger professors who had taken a very energetic and honorable part in the agitation for the municipal ownership of the monopolies of service, was warned by the representative of a great trust, that he had better take care what he was doing. Articles which he had published had attracted the attention of the combine and they were considerably alarmed at the effect which they had upon their invested capital. He told his friend quite frankly that if he continued in his present course they would have to down him. He regretted it very much but he said "there is no doubt it is a financial necessity and we shall have to down you" for the trusts and corporations have a curious knack of using even the phrases of the Camorra and other associations of assassins. Not, of course, that the

Professor was to be assassinated. I have been assured that the predatory rich do not shrink even from using the sandbag and the revolver — of course by deputies. That, however, is not a very usual method. They prefer to starve a man out. It costs less and does not make so much scandal. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the professor feels that a Damocles sword is hanging over his head. If these things are done in the green tree what will be done in the dry? It remains to be seen whether the university which should be before everything else the home of free and independent thought is to be subjected as completely by the money power as the City Council of Chicago or the newspaper press of America. For the sake of the American people and the evolution of society in the United States I sincerely hope that the various faculties charged with the control of higher education in the republic, may stand to their guns and may prove themselves proof alike against the menace and the bribes of the plutocrats.

To check this stealthy but rapid encroachment on popular liberty, and to cast out this demon, is the task which lies before American patriots at the close of this century. Of one demon it was said this kind goeth out by prayer and fasting, and it is so with plutocracy. Of fasting we have had but a foretaste. When to that is added enough prayerful, earnest wrestling with the Throne of Grace as leads the men who pray to vote as they pray, the way of escape will appear. But there must be more fasting and more prayer than there has yet been if the grasp of the Octopus with its myriad arms is to be loosened from the throat of the republic. At present the plutocrat is supreme because the democracy is divided and apathetic. Nor has "the sense of power from boundless suffering wrong" yet given the masses of the despoiled courage to resent their wrongs. Here in Chicago the first obvious step is to insist upon the readjustment of the burden of

taxation so that wealth may no longer shift its share upon the shoulders of the poor. The next is to resume as rapidly as possible all the franchises and other sources of revenue which have been stolen from the people by corrupting their representatives and to peremptorily veto all further appropriation of the wealth of the many for the profit of the few. When the democracy is disciplined enough and has established sufficient confidence in its leaders to do these two things, it may safely be trusted to discover ways and means to carry out the rest of the programme of its emancipation.

The second devil which today needs exorcism is one I did not expect to find in a civilized and progressive country.

We rid ourselves of it so long ago in the old country that it was startling to find that it had simply migrated to the New World. Of all the folklore tales of Europe the most horrible is that of the Vampire of the Levant. The vampire is the reanimated corpse of an evil doer which is doomed to leave the tomb and return to the living in order that with livid lips he shall draw in the life blood from the veins of his sleeping friends. In the A. P. A., that strange association for the protection of American citizens which seems to have within its ranks far more Canadians and Orangemen from Ulster and Glasgow than native-born citizens of the United States, always reminds me of that restless vampire of southeastern Europe. No-Popery fanaticism died fifty years ago in England. We imagined it dead and buried. But here is the vampire thing making night hideous by revisiting the pale glimpses of the moon in western America. It is the same old demon, with its familiar hoof and horns and tail, scaring the old women of both sexes with the bogey of impending massacre and of the domination of sixty millions by six. To avert the menaced St. Bartholomew the Protestant Mayor of Toledo and many of the A. P. A.'s in that city laid in a stock of Winchester rifles, a fact of which

the public only recently became aware owing to the reluctance or inability of these doughty champions to pay for their guns after they had been delivered. Ridicule ought to be the best means for exorcising this belated survival of antiquated bigotry. To lay a vampire the Greeks say it is necessary to drive long nails into the quivering carcass of the Dead-Alive. When the last nail is driven home the vampire walks no more. There are several nails of hard fact and solid sense which intelligent and patriotic citizens should drive up to the head into the A. P. A. The first is that this is a land of liberty, where the whole armed force at the disposal of the authorities will be used to protect freedom of speech even when it is as much abused as it sometimes is by A. P. A. lecturers. And the Catholics of all men should be foremost in demanding that no mob shall be allowed to interfere in their name with the utterances of their enemies. The second is the fact that this anti-Catholic propaganda is chiefly the work of non-Americans who, finding no field for the reception of their pernicious nonsense in Cardinal Manning's country, are endeavoring to palm off upon the New World the cast-off trumpery for which we have no more use on our side of the water. But the third and by far the most effective nail in the coffin of this propaganda of distrust, malice and all uncharitableness is to refuse absolutely to batten upon the bones of the martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to insist constantly upon the immense and but little recognized services which the Catholic Church is rendering to humanity and to civilization here and now. To hate your brother who is doing Christ's work here in Chicago because his great-great-grandfather burned your great-great-grand-uncle three centuries since in Europe is hardly rational and not at all Christian. This devil, however, will disappear, like the materialized spectres of the seance room, if you simply turn on the light.

After Plutocracy and Religious Intolerance, there is

the devil of Intemperance. In Chicago there is said to be sixty millions of dollars spent every year in intoxicants. The victims of strong drink are to be found in the Olympian heights where the millionaires dwell and in the humblest homes. Dr. Keeley is curing thousands of the craving for drink, and by his success has paved the way for numbers of rivals. But to cast the demon of intemperance out of individuals is not enough. There is the community to be considered, what is to be done with the saloon?

In Chicago the question was one of the most hotly debated of all those on which I touched. What I said to the prohibitionist was simply this: "Prohibit where you can and where you cannot prohibit do as much as you can in that direction. But remember that the saloon is not to be got rid of by swearing at it. The true policy is to recognize the need to which it ministers and to put something better in its place."

Nothing but harm can come from a foolish refusal to look the facts in the face. And the facts which the prohibitionists ignore is that with all its faults the saloon is ministering to many great wants of the citizens which the church ignore. In many neighborhoods the saloon is the only parlor and the only club of the working people. It is their solitary place of recreation. They shelter therein the wet and cold, they meet their friends there, and read the papers. Chicago is abominably ill supplied with lavatories and similar conveniences. The saloon is the only place where a poor man can wash his face outside his own house, and the only substitute there is for the retiring rooms which every city should establish as necessary conveniences. Bad as the saloon is it holds the field and deserves to hold it until there is at least one temperance saloon in every precinct. There are 800 precincts and 7,000 saloons. But in all Chicago there are not seventy temperance resorts such as the Teetotums of London, the cafés of Liverpool and the coffee parlors and cocoa palaces of many English towns. Until

the temperance people put something better in the place of the saloon, the saloon will never be got rid of.

Failing the wholesale extirpation of the saloon can nothing be done to exorcise the worse evils which attend the sale of drink? I am too keenly sensible of the miseries of intemperance to dare to advise that nothing should be tried until everything can be accomplished. The evil is too terrible such for fooling as this.

No remarks of mine excited more general discussion or evoked stronger dissent than a passing observation I made at the Central Music Hall Conference in November concerning the saloons. It was made the theme of much animadversion in the temperance press and on the temperance platform. Suppose there are three saloons. Grant that they are all diabolic because all sell intoxicants, and you have only two prohibitionist votes, what are you to do? If you insist on closing them all, you will close none, for two men cannot out-vote three. But suppose that while all the saloons are strongholds of Satan because they sell beer, No. 1 is a clean, well conducted place to which, excepting for the

* An important decision in the Indiana Supreme Court, as to the nuisance of saloons, which suggests a possibility of getting rid of the saloons even when they have a majority was pronounced in December 1893. The facts are as follows (summarized from the *Chicago Tribune*, December 24):—An Indianapolis woman owned a house on a residence street of that city. There were no saloons in the neighborhood. The owner of the adjoining lot built a store on it and started a saloon there. He did this against the united protest of the people in the neighborhood. The authorities said that they could not refuse to grant him a license, because the law, there as here, is that a man who has "a good moral character" and pays the license money is entitled to a license.

Thereupon the woman brought suit for damages, alleging that the saloon was a nuisance and that it hurt the rental and selling value of her property. The defendant claimed that he was licensed pursuant to law, and as long as he did not keep a disorderly place he was not amenable to any law; if neighboring property was damaged it was something for which he was not responsible. The lower court found for the defendant, and so did the Supreme Court at first, but on a rehearing reversed itself, and decided in favor of the plaintiff.

The court holds now that while the Legislature has the right to license saloons, the saloon business is an immoral one and is licensed in order that the citizen may have some protection against the evils from the unrestrained sale of liquor. It could not be assumed that it was the intention of the Legislature to place the sale of spirits above the rights of the citizen and make him endure a nuisance and submit to loss for the benefit of the saloonkeeper. Hence the court says in conclusion:

If the saloon causes property to depreciate in value it is a nuisance within the law and can be abated. Not only that, but the person who operates the saloon is liable in damages to the injured party and the measure of damages is the measure of injury to the property.

sale of drink, no objection can be taken; No. 2 runs a gaming hell and No. 3 runs both a gaming hell and a house of prostitution. Here two prohibitionists are confronted with three saloons, possessed respectively by one, two and three devils. Why not ally yourselves with No. 1 to vote No. 2 and No. 3 out of existence? "No covenant with hell?" Well, the result of that policy of refusing to use a single barrelled devil of the good saloon to cast out the double and triple barrelled devils of gaming and prostitution and drink is that all three will go on running and you are responsible for that.

Some criticism was offered chiefly on the grounds that such a policy would give a monopoly to No. 1. To which my reply is make him pay for it, and if you are wise enough make him your paid agent, for I am as I have been since 1873, a sworn advocate of the Norwegian system of dealing with the license question. To avoid monopoly municipalize the saloon! This, however, by the way.

The argument has also been used that this would involve the municipalizing or the licensing at least of the house of ill-fame. But that is absurd. There is a distinction as wide as the poles between the saloon and the brothel. No one in his senses can assert that to drink a glass of beer is a mortal sin, whereas every Christian recognizes that a house of ill-fame exists expressly and solely in order to facilitate direct breaches of the moral law. Of course those who do hold that it is a mortal sin to drink a glass of beer under any circumstances are quite right in refusing to license saloons or to accept any responsibility for their existence. But all who admit that the drinking of beer although terribly liable to abuse may be indulged in without sin are bound to do what they can to control the supply and minimize the evils of the traffic. That is why I have sometimes said that the ideal church would run a saloon. For if the sale of drink where it

cannot be prohibited is so dangerous a business, it ought to be in the hands of the very salt of the earth. It takes a very elect saint to make a saloon a means of grace. A man good enough to be a minister, may fall far short of the ideal standard required for the saloon business. And as the church was founded to produce saints for the world's salvation it is right that the church should see to it that if the saloon is to exist it should be in the hands of men who will not make it a curse and a scourge to the community.*

The temperance element expected that the city would go dry at the municipal election and made no more than a perfunctory effort to get out the vote. The liquor men, on the other hand, put a large amount of money into their campaign and won the city for license, to the surprise of everybody. The temperance element was chagrined. And in this novel and perhaps effective way they will harass their opponents.

They will fit up one of the largest stores in the heart of the city as a saloon. This they will stock with the best liquors and beers of all brands. An efficient business man will be put in charge, and behind the counter will be a dozen expert drink mixers. Prices will be as follows: Mixed drinks and fine wines, 5 cents; liquors, plain, 3 cents; beer, 2 cents; ponies, 1 cent. Bottled goods will be sold at cost, and no profits will be expected from sales, except sufficient to pay for the running expenses, as the rent, fixtures, advertising, and license fee will be paid for by subscription.

In this way the promoters hope to draw enough customers from the other saloons to ruin their business. This may be the more easily effected as all who take out licenses have to pay \$2,000 each May 1, and it takes considerable time to get the equivalent back in ordinary business. The trade is extremely lucrative here. The law limits the number of licenses to one to every 1,000 inhabitants, which gives Haverhill twenty-seven liquor shops, but as all the neighboring cities and towns connected by electric roads regularly vote no license the trade here supplies a population of 100,000 persons. The projectors have \$1,400 already subscribed toward the saloon.

During my stay in Chicago, Mayor Eustis of Minneapolis passed through the city on his way to New York. Before I was aware that he had arrived he had departed. But the previous day I read in the papers the following

* A Chicago paper published a special telegram dated Haverhill, Massachusetts, Dec. 23, describing a curious development of temperance activity in the heart of a prohibition district. I wrote to Haverhill but I have received no reply; the story may be an invention. I quoted, however, as indicating a possible use of the competitive principle for the destruction of the vested interest of the saloonkeeper which may be more useful in England than in Chicago.

interesting expression of opinion in an interview with Mayor Eustis:

"We are operating under the Stead plan of local government," said he, "and strange to say we adopted the policy before we ever heard of Stead or his ideas. By conferences with the liquor dealers' associations we have succeeded in closing up all tough saloons and stopped robberies and fights that had taken place in them every day. In this way all thieves, swindlers and thugs have been driven from town. Ministers took offense because I refused to close the back doors of saloons on Sunday. I believe men will drink on Sunday if they wish, and if one door be closed another will be opened. I preferred to employ the saloon-keepers as allies in trying to bring about a decent government. How I have succeeded may be seen from the police court records. One year will develop statistics to show the correctness or error of my position."

I wrote at once to the mayor asking him for further information, and he was good enough to write me a long and most interesting letter which is a most valuable contribution to the solution of a very knotty problem. The best way of fighting the saloon is to put something better in its place. It is a great delusion to imagine that the need of social centers or public rooms is only confined to laboring men. The modern club of the middle and upper classes show that the need is felt by them and not even the conveniences of the American hotels are sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. Hotels and clubs have alike one great disadvantage, they are both places in which treating goes on as a matter of course. If intemperance is to be successfully exorcised provision must be made for supplying a meeting place without drink. An admirable example of what can be done in this way is supplied by the Commerce Club, in the Auditorium Building. This institution has no bar but it has all the other conveniences of an ordinary club with the additional advantage that it can be used by both sexes.

A number of such institutions with moderate terms—the subscription to the Commerce Club is only \$20 for resident and \$12 for non-residents, while \$100 secures a life membership—scattered about the city would have a wholesome effect. Having used the Commerce Club

every day for months I gladly testify to the fact that it is the most convenient place I have ever seen in any city. It is a model of what such an institution should be.

The exorcising of the gaming fiend so far as public gaming hells go is easier than that of dealing with other vices which perplex the moral reformer. The experience of Europe suffices to prove that the public gaming house can be suppressed by law without any difficulty. The experience of Chicago from the 6th of January to the 12th of February shows that open gaming can be suppressed by the mere fiat of the Mayor. That every gaming house in Chicago is not shut up tight at this moment is due to those who are charged with the enforcement of the law. The law itself leaves nothing to be desired on the score of stringency.

There is practically unanimity on the part of the respectable and decent people, that open gaming houses are an evil, this is admitted as frankly by the newspapers as it is by preachers, nor is it only journalists and ministers who have expressed a clear opinion on the subject.

Last December the grand jury in Mr. Justice Brentano's court investigated the subject, drew up a report which concluded with a very emphatic condemnation of the system and a practical proposal for dealing with the evil. The following is the closing passage of that report.

This conflicting testimony from officials charged with the responsible duty of enforcing the laws of the state and ordinances of the city wisely enacted for the purpose of protecting the persons, property and morals of the people from the vicious and criminal classes so closely associated with gambling, together with evidence of several other subordinates, who confessed to honest efforts to earn their salaries by preventing "crap," "brace" and "copper" operations (terms not fully understood by all the grand jurors), led us unanimously to the conclusion that there is collusion between the police force of the city and the gamblers so general and wide that its "devil fish" tentacles reach to a large portion of the police force. In a community claiming the concomitants of civilization there ought to be sufficient moral and legal power to locate the head center of official collusion with gambling and smite it to the death. While any portion of the police force is under suspicion of this conspiracy—a "combine" which hesitates not at the crime of perjury—no citizen can feel a sense of security in life or property; and inasmuch as

grand juries of the regular panel have as much as they can do, or more, with the regular docket cases, we suggest the calling of a special grand jury for the sole purpose of considering the subject of gambling and the relation of the city police thereto, as herein set forth.

We have, therefore, a very favorable condition of things. The law is all right; public opinion is all right; the Mayor wishes to do everything he can to suppress it; and Chief Brennan's orders are all right, whatever they may be worth. The grand jury which has reported on the subject so emphatically declares that there ought to be sufficient moral power to locate the head sinner of official collusion with the gambler and smite him to the death; and further, the grand jury has indicated the way in which this can be done, viz., by the calling of a special grand jury for the sole purpose of considering the subject. The state's attorney or any judge on the bench can act upon this recommendation. Judge Brentano, upon whom would naturally devolve the calling of such a grand jury, has been engaged with the trial of Prendergast so long that he has not had time to look into the matter. He stated, however, that it was his opinion that,

The report reveals a state of affairs that should be investigated without delay, and if the regular juries cannot find time to do it no time should be lost in calling twenty-three men who can devote their entire time to an honest inquiry into a matter that so much concerns the public welfare.

What, then, is still needed in order to put the machinery of the law in motion? Here we have some help from an unexpected quarter. The late Carter Harrison in defending his policy made a notable speech which may well be taken into account by all those who are interested in this question. He said:

Those who have so vigorously cried out for its extermination have failed to suggest any possible or practicable plan by which the desired end can be accomplished, and they forget that every effort at its annihilation has been a dismal failure. * * * Considering what the results had been, I came to the conclusion, on becoming Mayor, that the evil must be kept within proper bounds and restrictions. More than that, I determined to restrict these houses to the central portion

of the city, where they could be closely watched and kept in check. By this course of procedure I had in view the easy and unrestricted entrance of either the police, to detect sharp practices by the gamblers, keep minors out and find any crooked persons who might seek its enchantments, or of business men, who might desire to see whether an employe was squandering money surreptitiously taken from their funds. By such a course as I have thus outlined I have had the endorsement of a large number of citizens and the results have been far better than they would have been under different conditions. Under the apparent rigid rule in vogue in 1873 there were in the city forty-four gambling establishments and twenty odd bunko places; in 1877 over thirty gambling-houses and a dozen or more bunko-rooms, while during 1888 there have not been seventeen of the former and not a single bunko room. The present state of affairs here is due to restrictions, and while a great number of complaints came to my office shortly after my inauguration, there have been not more than a half dozen within the past eighteen months. The plan of keeping these places in the heart of the city enables the police officers to learn where brace boxes are played upon unsuspecting victims. Such houses are promptly dealt with. Those that run are put upon their good behavior; minors are excluded, and those who must play protected from the tricks of dealers, and games of a character calculated to attract the man of small means entirely prevented.

After having laid down his position and stated the ground upon which he defended it he then proceeded to suggest the natural and proper course to be taken by those who have differed from him, if they had the courage of their convictions and were determined to have their way.

I am not defending gambling *per se*, but if I am wrong in my position in dealing with it from a practical standpoint, the people have their remedy. They can appeal to an authority higher than mine, and strange it is that such citizens and newspapers as have assailed me have not also directed their batteries toward that authority. Those who think my plan not the best have a state law under which any one so disposed can take his hand in suppressing gambling. I fear, however, that Mr. Lincoln was not mistaken when he said that "statutory enactments can't turn a calf's tail into a third hind leg." The fireside, the lyceum and the well-stocked public library will do more than laws to suppress social evils.

That is to say, Mr. Harrison points to the same remedy which Rev. O. P. Gifford referred to in his speech at Willard Hall. Under the law of the State of Illinois it is quite possible for any association of citizens, or for any individual to swear in police for a special purpose to enforce any law which may be violated, and to employ

these police to raid the gambling houses and prosecute the gamblers under the law of the State of Illinois. There is no necessity of doing this on a very extensive scale. If one prominent gaming house were raided and its proprietors prosecuted, not once, but twice or thrice in succession—until they had qualified for Joliet—that would settle matters. Gamblers do not mind in the least being fined; they have a strong objection to being sent to the Penitentiary. After a second or third conviction they would be sent to prison and when once it was well understood that every leading gambler in the town would be taken in turn and prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the law until his career is terminated by incarceration, Mr. Hopkins would be able to realize his pious wish for the suppression of public gambling and the city would be rid of one of its most conspicuous plagues.

Of course, this work should be undertaken by the constituted authorities, but if the constituted authorities fail in their duty, as they have habitually done in Chicago, then the duty of action would devolve upon the committee of the Federation charged with moral questions, of which committee, by the by, the chairman is none other than the Rev. O. P. Gifford.

The open air gaming hell which is carried on on the public race tracks—a much more difficult question, owing to the element of innocent amusement that enters into it—and the “respectable” speculation which is but another term for the gambling on the Board of Trade—equally difficult from the element of business which pervades it—are much more insoluble problems. But the fact that it is difficult or impossible to deal with racing is no reason why so simple and obvious measures as the closing of public hells should not be carried out. The machinery is there, the law is clear, and all that is necessary is for some one to put it in operation, who has a steady hand, cool head and resolute heart.

The Social Evil usually so called is one of those problems which confront the administrator in every land and which are satisfactorily solved in none. In Chicago it is not greater than elsewhere, and in some respects it is manifestly reduced to smaller proportions.

There is very little street walking in the ordinary sense of soliciting on the streets in Chicago. I went about the town at all times of the night and in many of the thoroughfares which have the worst reputation in this respect, and I had nothing to complain of. This result, however, is obtained by practically sacrificing the liberty of the single woman in the streets of Chicago at night. A woman sauntering or gossiping with a friend in the streets of Chicago at night is liable to be arrested by the police, in virtue of no ordinance, for the law is singularly weak, but in virtue of the high and singular power with which every police officer in Chicago seems to be invested to arrest anybody without the slightest risk of penalty for false imprisonment, at least when the person arrested is a woman. No corroborative evidence ever seems to be asked for on the charge of molestation which is alleged against the street walker by her captor. The rule enforced in London police courts is that a woman shall not be arrested for molestation and annoyance unless the person molested and annoyed will appear against her. This rule does not prevail in Chicago. Street walkers are outside the law and the question as to whether a woman is a street walker or not, is decided according to the arbitrary caprice of the policeman. He has only to swear that he has seen her soliciting. No other testimony is required. The woman may deny the accusation as much as she pleases. It is only her word against the policeman's, and he can, as a rule, obtain a brother officer to swear to anything that he pleases. The habit of levying black mail is almost universal. On Wabash avenue the officers "pinch," to use the technical term, girls regularly unless they pay up

regularly. "Pony up or we will run you in," is the formula which secures the requisite backsheesh to the officers of the law. A woman in thriving business will pay up \$10 to the policeman, while those who are not doing so well are allowed to compound for \$2 or \$3 as the case may be. Refusal to pay simply lands the unfortunate in the police cell every time she puts her face outside the door. One very bad case on Wabash avenue was one in which a girl had quarrelled with the police. She refused to give them their black mail, was arrested on one occasion when going to a drugstore. Shortly afterwards they broke into her house and said that if they could not get her on the street they would take her in her home.

In all great cities it is the same. Where arbitrary power of arrest is given to the policeman, and no confirmatory evidence is required by the justices in convicting those whom they accuse, the street walker proves a great revenue to the policeman. I have been disillusioned as to American freedom. There is much more freedom in London than in Chicago, and any girl, say a typewriter or a work girl, can go from one end of London to the other at any hour of the night, with much less chance of molestation by policemen or by other people, than she can go through Chicago. Victor Hugo said truly, long ago, that it was a delusion to believe that slavery had vanished from the earth. It still exists, he said, only they call it prostitution. These women are as much slaves of the police as was any negro on a cotton plantation before the war. The idea that a prostitute has as much right to be treated with justice as any other human being, is a conception that has not yet dawned upon the mind of the average man. The day upon which immoral men are subjected to the same arbitrary authority, without a hope of redress or chance of escape, that these women are subjected to, would see the beginning of a revolt. But women are weak, and there are few who dare to plead for the

prostitute. It is a bad way to reform men, or women, either, by denying them justice and sacrificing their liberty. Chastity is a good thing, and purity of life, but these things are not more holy than the right of all human beings to liberty and to justice; nor will you in the long run promote purity by trampling justice under foot. To make women the chattels of the administration as is done in France, or whether it is a system of arbitrary arrest tempered by black mail as in Chicago, does not moralize the women, but it does demoralize the administration.*

What then can be done? The first thing to decide is, what cannot be done. One thing is impossible, and that is to yield for a single moment to that temptation of the devil which is ever whispered in the ears of the authorities when they are confronted with this question. Regulation in the European sense, apart from its hideous immorality and cynical violation of every principle of right is absolutely futile from the standpoint of health which is the plea usually put forward in its defense. A system against which the womanhood and the moral sense of the manhood of the world are in hot revolt is not likely to find much favor in the western world. Any system of official license and registration is virtually an authorization of vice by the state. It is as if the constituted authorities were to certify for the use of the citizens a number of women guaranteed healthy by the certificate of some state

* It has been reserved for Mayor Weir of Lincoln, Nebraska, to take the lead in a repressive campaign directed not against the unfortunate women but against their customers. After taking every precaution that adequate accommodation was provided for all women on the town in public institutions if they wished to abandon their present life, he gave six weeks notice of his determination to root up the traffic in vice. On the 1st of March the name of every man found entering a house of ill fame or gambling house was noted by the police. They were instructed to take pains to obtain their real names, and the order significantly continued "it does not matter if the arrests occur every day or oftener." The order was issued to break up and destroy this alleged business, and the mayor assured the police that he would support them to the last extremity in the performance of its duty. "I will under no circumstances," says the Mayor, "concur in the custom of fining the woman alone, believing that all prostitutes male and female should be dealt with exactly alike." The names of all men entering houses of ill fame will be publicly exposed at the police station for general inspection. All owners of property rented for immoral purposes will be prosecuted.

surgeon. "This is the way, walk ye in it" would be written up over the broad and easy way which leads to the house of debauchery. The system or no system of irregular arbitrary license by black mail which prevails in Chicago at present with all its faults, is immeasurably better than any attempt to legalize or to give the imprimatur of the state or of the city to the practice of prostitution. This system in the garrison towns in England has been shattered by the uprising of all that was best in the English people. The agitation against it is hot and strong on all parts of the continent. To introduce the system of compulsory surgical examination while it may secure the health of a faction it tends directly to increase the disease among the women who elude the register. In Paris where the system has been in existence the longest, the administration admits that for one woman who is licensed and periodically examined in a licensed house there are ten who ply their calling clandestinely. The only way of combatting venereal disease is to take it at the outset when it can be cured instead of allowing it to continue until it assumes a more aggravated form, when it is almost incurable and dangerously contagious. Hence from the hygienic point of view the great object is to tempt sufferers from this malady to seek medical assistance at the earliest possible moment. This is directly hindered by trying to subject these women to a periodical examination which they detest and which makes them the bondslave of the police doctors. Besides no system of regulation and examination can ever succeed when it is applied only to one sex. The immediate consequence of any system of state regulation or municipal authorization for houses of debauchery is to teach every citizen that vice is necessary and lawful and to encourage the delusion that freedom from disease is guaranteed to debauchees by the government. The law then becomes a schoolmaster to lead men to the brothel.

In Cleveland, where Chief Director Pollner has on his own mandate, introduced a system of regular medical inspection and police registration, the girls trade upon the fact and assure hesitating men that they are all right because they have the official certificate at home. One of them, while I was there showed me a whole bundle of duly signed copies of the original certificates which have to be filed every week in the Director's office. What then must be done?

Common sense would suggest that the entrance to the profession should be narrowed and made as difficult as possible, while the exit from it should be made broad, easy and accessible to all the unfortunate victims of the system. This is exactly the opposite to the course which at present prevails.

Sexual incontinence is not a crime, and should not be treated as such. It is a sin which should be left to the moralist, and the Christian teacher. It only comes within the lash of the law when it becomes the source of disorder and public scandal, and actual crime. If this principle were recognized, many of the greatest difficulties would disappear. An immoral woman who plies her vocation, so as to make no scandal and create no nuisance should no more be subjected to police surveillance, to say nothing of arrest, than the immoral man who takes pleasure in a dissolute life. The case is different when the woman converts herself into a peripatetic nuisance, or makes the house a moral cesspool, so that it infects the neighborhood. In that case she should be proceeded against as a nuisance and her neighbors should take prompt action against such a center of contagion being established in the midst of their young people. Even then the greatest care should be taken against arbitrary and vindictive measure in which justice is violated under the plea of protection for morality. These people forget that it is a greater immorality to prostitute justice than to follow the calling of a prostitute. The girls for the most part

are victims rather than the accomplices of the criminals and should not be interfered with. It is the keepers, and the landlords of such houses, who should be prosecuted when prosecution is deemed advisable; and in every case when they are proved to be guilty they should be sent to jail and the house broken up. The present system of arbitrary pulling is simply a regulation system under the mask of arbitrary arrest. Those who make a traffic in vice by exploiting their fellow creatures, the procurers, the souteneurs and the "macs" are the worst parasites of the vicious system, and should be severely dealt with instead of being allowed, as at present, to escape scotfree.

A lady who has devoted much time to the subject, and who has had practical experience in the work of reclaiming and rescuing the unfortunates, called upon me soon after my arrival in Chicago to urge upon me the importance of more vigorous action in this matter. The Anchorage mission, an admirable institution established close to the sunken district of Fourth Avenue does a good and noble work. So does the Refuge for Fallen Women which is one of the most remarkable institutions of its kind in the country. But they are inadequate. The Home of the Good Shepherd is another institution which is doing excellent work. But these three do not do more than touch the fringe of the question. My friend wrote me as follows-

I wish to see established over the city a series of seven graded homes.

1ST HOME.—For pure girls found in hospitals, depots, worn out clerks, etc., where if they desire they could be trained into service for this field.

2ND HOME.—For those who come in after their first offence. There is so much need of this, they have no refuge now.

3RD HOME.—For those who have lived the life, either as kept women or madames, or those who have frequented houses of shame.

4TH.—A home for the workers, chapel school and work rooms of many kinds, type writing, music, drawing, painting, dress making, book keeping, or any other thing a woman can do credit to or develop a taste for. Care being taken, no woman is where she does not fit, misapplied people cause much of the confusion in life to my thought.

5TH.—Maternity home. Mothers living here with little ones.

Children born here and cared for afterwards. Kindergarten, kitchen garden etc., etc.

6TH HOME.—For women addicted to drink.

7TH.—A home where old sinners can come and die—*with a Saviour*—and hospital in which these women can help much and in making themselves useful, they will be more content.

The women able to work should receive wages, kept for them in a bank of our own, as it were, and after a few years, strong in the physical and spiritual with a sum of money at their command, they could go out from us citizens, able, having been taught their trade, to build up a business of their own. Desirable, that this should be done in our city, than the one in which they have been living and known in sin.

All that is needed to start this home *at once is the money*. God grant it may soon come. I am looking alone to Him for it, and I *firmly believe* it will be given, and you can see the benefit of having a preventive home in connection with the others. No girl coming from the neighborhood would receive any stigma, no one knowing from which she came, it would be no disadvantage to the pure girl, as those homes would be perfectly distinct and what greater honor could be conferred on any woman, than to be educated for this field in the vineyard.

When Mr. Carter Harrison ordered all the women to leave State street, and concentrate on Fourth Avenue and Clark street, he effectively destroyed the value of all decent property in the neighborhood. If such a policy is pursued in the future, the owners who have property in the condemned district should be compensated otherwise they are driven to the alternative of either closing their property or of entering the business of brothel keeping. The Japanese alone have carried this policy out to its full logical extent. There are prostitute quarters in Japanese cities which are the Fourth Avenues magnified. Should such a policy be adopted, it would be well to adopt it with our eyes open, giving due regard to the interests of the neighbors and with adequate security for the escape of the inmates. It is possible to establish such a quarter, brilliantly lighted and constantly patrolled by police matrons, who would have power to suppress any house which would be proved to have debauched innocent girls, or to have admitted any inmates without first sending them to a good woman to dissuade them from the life into

which they were entering. This could be done. It would be better than the present system, which has the disadvantage of establishing a prostitute quarter without the safeguards which might be secured where the Japanese system is logically carried out. For my own part I prefer the scattering system, but this is too large a subject to discuss here.

All these measures, however, are but palliatives, the real exorcism must be accomplished by raising the standard of morality until it will be regarded as shameful for a man to be unchaste as it is now for a woman, and in the promotion of everything which tends to give men and women more points of contact. Any advance that is made in the direction of the emancipation of woman tends to reduce the physical relation to its proper subordinate position. Nor does this in any way imply the ignoring of the important part which that relation occupies in society. Unless civilization is a mistake, and Christianity a delusion, monogamy is the ideal towards which our race is tending. In the future, adultery and fornication will be regarded as almost as inconceivable as incest. Every step towards this tends to exalt the conjugal relation and at the same time to extend the possibilities of friendship between the sexes.

Hitherto I have confined myself to discussing the exorcising of evil spirits which are vices rather than crimes. But the criminal demon must not escape attention, he is the superlative degree of human crookedness. To cast him out is the task which the police and magistrates have continually before them and there is no truce in that eternal warfare. But there are one or two things which might be done with advantage in Chicago. The first is to cease manufacturing criminals. That is much more practical and easier withal than to reclaim them after they are manufactured. Chicago manufactures her criminals in two ways: first, by the absence of any

enough to be done, it is only a question as to whether the tramps will be allowed an opportunity of working at useful labor for their rations instead of prowling round the city, infesting every street and alley and rapidly degenerating into the semi-criminal condition of professional bum.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF LABOR.

It was an old jug, and withal much worse for wear. It had lost its handle and its sides were seamed with many a flaw, but still it held the water and that sufficed. Nor did the speakers in the Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago, object to use its contents because of its forbidding and even repulsive exterior. For the battered old gallon jug stood on the table all worn and frayed with much pounding of the gavel, at which sits the chairman of the Parliament of Associated Labor in Chicago, and the water which it contains refreshes the unionist orators when they are dry and parched by their own fiery eloquence. For the water is there all the same and thirsty men are not particular about the jug.

Which jug is a parable of the relations which ought to exist, but which at present do not, between the labor unions of America and the organized Christian churches of the continent. The labor unions look askance at the church as it exists and is organized today. If they do not say with the French Republicanism, "Clericalisme—voila l'ennemi!" they say much the same thing—American style. They have got no use for the church, they say. It has no handle by which they can use it to help labor. It is seamed and flawed with numberless imperfections. So they will have nothing to do with it; and they don't. Not five per cent of the members of labor unions in Chicago, I was assured on my first visit to the Trades and Labor Assembly, ever darken the doors of a place of worship. Such unionists as are churchmen are chiefly Catholic. The result is what might be expected. The labor unions are suffering from the lack of the support which

the church could give them, and the church is vaguely and painfully conscious that it is not ministering to those who need her most. And all because of the prejudice against the battered and ugly old jug which, nevertheless, is the vessel that contains the water of life.

By water of life I do not mean what many labor men think is religion, which is as they would put it, the mere obtaining of passports duly vised and countersigned by certificated sky pilots for admission to the celestial regions after death. I mean the help which they need on earth to enable them to realize their ideals here and now. I mean the strength which would enable them to redress grievances, to elect just judges, to amend unjust constitutions and generally to deliver them from the bondage under which they are laboring. I mean the friendly sympathy that would, for instance, secure them places in which to meet and liberal support both in the moral backing and in the financial help of which they stand in sore need. And I mean more than any of these things, more than all of them put together, a reinforcement of the moral sentiment among the unionists themselves, a restoration of confidence of man in man which is almost eaten out by the all-pervading worship of smart money making, and as the result of this the discovery of leaders among their own ranks whom they would not hesitate to trust with uncounted gold. Unionists in Chicago and in America lack many things, but this above all. For they, like other men have forgotten God, and have learned to distrust men. There is as much envy, malice and all uncharitableness among them as among any other class in the community. They distrust each other, malign their leaders and are more singularly lacking in enthusiastic devotion to their chiefs than any body of men I have ever met.

I do not for a moment believe what I hear on every side as to the universal dishonesty of everybody whose name I mention. But this readiness to hurl the reproach

of dishonesty against every labor leader by the men who follow them shows that the rank and file is suffering from what might be expected from the divorce between labor and the church. The divorce has gone much further here than in the old country. In England most of the labor leaders even if they have quit church going bear the stamp of their early training in church and Sunday school. Some of them, notably those who more or less ostentatiously repudiate Christianity, are as stalwart as puritans in everything but the ordinances. And as a result English trades unionists and the labor movement in the old country has the advantage of half a dozen leaders, whose personal character is unimpeachable and whose record is as stainless as that of the highest and noblest in the land. There may be many such men in America but they have not succeeded as yet in securing the same general recognition even among their own class, let alone in the community at large. That seems to me the greatest weakness of the labor movement in America.

Distrust and lack of faith are due to lack of character on one side or the other. It is only the honest man who believes in the honesty of men. Those who are certain all men are thieves but see the reflection of their own inner soul in the mirror of their neighbor's faces. But whatever the cause and wherever lies the secret of this lack of confidence, it is a fatal bar to any real progress. If in the heat of the fight you have to keep squinting over your shoulder to see that your officer is not picking your pocket, you stand a very poor chance of victory. The labor movement suffers and will suffer more from these indirect consequences of the worship of the dollar among its own members than from the tyranny of Mammon in all its trusts and corporations.

I never realized so clearly before the eternal truth of the saying that, "by faith ye are saved," as when I was confronted with the consequences of the lack of faith. Not faith in formulas, but faith in the divine in man,

of so much at least of the divine in man as will lead him to keep his word, to stand to his guns, and to keep his hands from picking and stealing. That elementary indispensable, irreducible quantum of faith seems to be more lacking in Chicago than in London. Faith has perished among the people and as a result they are handed over helpless and hopeless to be trodden under foot, by the strong.

Long centuries of oppression during which all the resources of England were employed to foment distrust and destroy the confidence of the Irish in each other have produced their natural results in Ireland and here, where the Irish element is strong, the fatal heritage brought across the seas has lost none of its evil power. But that would not be sufficient to account for this deep ingrained conviction that if you elect your most trusted comrade to office he will in a few months be as corrupt as the rest, that every man is more or less "on the make" and that the more you trust a man the more certain it is that he will sell you when he gets an opportunity and that you will get left. No brotherhood of labor or of anything else is possible until this fundamental lack of faith is replaced by that more generous confidence of man in man which is the basis of every good thing.

"Do your neighbor as he would do you—if he gets the chance," the Chicago version of the Golden Rule is not working out well for the laboring man. In so far as he has substituted for this the older version he has succeeded in bettering his condition. The Cigar Makers Union, for instance, which is one of the strongest in the country with a reserve fund of half a million in the bank has gone through these hard times without having to submit to wage reductions and that without having recourse to strikes. The Lumbershovs' Union on a smaller scale has been, and is, very successful. Of course no amount of confidence in each other will enable men to keep up prices against a falling market, but it

minimizes the loss and enables them to tide over bad times. "A brother that is helped by a brother is like a strong city." It may have its reverses but the strong city stands.

The unions of Chicago have done good, noble service to the cause of labor this winter. They undertook at the outset to provide for the relief of all the unemployed of their own number and on the whole this promise has been honorably kept. There are 297 unions in Chicago with 100,000 members representing a population of 400,000. Very few of these unionists have come upon the fund raised by public charity. The sum which the unions have distributed to their unemployed members, this winter in Chicago, probably exceeded all the money subscribed by the rest of the community for the relief of distress. Exact statistics are lacking but the facts speak for themselves.

The more thoroughly organized unions, especially those connected with the building trade which have a separate council or federation of their own have succeeded in securing the eight hours day without legislation and until the recent bad times they maintained a high standard of wages. Wages, however, have tumbled in some cases very heavily and what is much worse to bear, the work itself is not to be had. The aristocracy of labor in Chicago is apt to imitate other aristocracies and having obtained its own comforts to leave its less fortunate brethren to get along as best they can. This lack of a realizing sense of human brotherhood, combined with the deep underlying conviction of almost all unionists that if any wider movement is promoted outside their own immediate trade it is in order that some "skate" or boodler may get something out of it, paralyzes the labor party in Chicago as elsewhere in America.

The labor movement in America seems to me to be about where the English labor movements stood nearly thirty years since. The unions are still to a certain extent outlawed. They have no allies and many ene-

mies. They have no representatives in City Councils,* in state legislatures or in the Federal Congress. The newspapers, almost without exception, are against them. Among the churches they have some sympathy but little support. They are hampered, as we were not, by the fetters of written constitutions.

These are the consequences to labor of the divorce between the unions and the churches. The results to the churches are not less disastrous. They have lost the confidence of the leaders of the labor movement. The local unions regard them with suspicion, and in some cases with positive dislike that is a barrier to doing any good work. A well known minister, in Chicago, told me a curious instance of how this operates. He is a doctor of divinity and he recently made a tour round the world. On his return he was asked by a member of a Milwaukee labor union to give them an illustrated lecture about his travels. The union approved of the invitation believing that he was a medical man. Before the lecture was delivered they discovered that he was a doctor not of medicine but of divinity. They immediately cancelled the invitation with only one dissension and the lecture was declared off. To preach and teach in the face of such prejudice as this is somewhat difficult work. The result is that as the unionists don't attend church while their employers do, the ministers naturally and inevitably tune their music to their audience. †

* See Appendix F, "What London County Council has done for labor."

† The Lutherans, of Oshkosh, honestly believe that labor unions are contrary to the law of God and in February all unionists were expelled from the south side Lutheran church in that town. Admission to membership was refused to the son of an officer in the church because he was a member of a labor union. The arguments used by the minister in question are somewhat archaic. "We Lutherans are against labor and trade unions, because their principles, endeavors and proceedings are against God's commandments. Their principles, endeavors and proceedings are evidently against the order which God has put in the fourth commandment. In this commandment God has drawn the line of difference between the employer and the employed, parents and children, masters and servants. If the workman does not come to the employer with decent requests or desires, but with firm demands, taking the control of the business into his hand, he removes the bars which God has put between master and servant; in fact, he makes himself the master of the business. It is the duty of father and husband to care for their families. If they do not do this, if they rather go on a strike, they sin against the word of God, neglecting the duties imposed upon them in the fourth and sixth com-

The wealthy pew holder, the liberal supporter of church funds becomes as potent in the church as he is elsewhere, and so the breach is made worse. The net effect of it is that the church cannot fulfil her divine mission.

All that I have done or tried to do in Chicago resulted from my conviction that no good worth speaking of will be done in Chicago or elsewhere which does not bring together again into a firm fighting alliance the forces of organized labor and the forces of organized Christianity. When on my first Sunday in Chicago I was asked to address the Trades and Labor Assembly, I was earnestly cautioned against saying a word about religion. "If you say anything about God or the church or religion they will hiss you off the platform. This crowd takes no stock in these things." I listened and wondered. But when my turn came to speak I could not refrain from telling them that the first condition of social emancipation was a hearty alliance between the church and labor. "You don't take much stock in churches I am told," and the audience assented heartily. "Don't take stock in them," I continued, "if you don't believe in them, but it is fatuous folly on your part to refuse to use them for all they are worth to attain your own ends and to promote the regeneration of society." The ice was broken. They didn't hiss. "The boys stood it," said a journalist who was present, and from that day I never lost an opportunity of pleading for the recognition of the need which each of these two great factors has of the other.

mandments. It is the will of God; laid down in the seventh and ninth commandments, 'That we may not craftily seek to get our neighbor's money, goods, inheritance or house, nor obtain it by a show of right;' nor by oppression or extortion. But this is done if the unions meet their employers with firm demands, threatening with strikes and carrying out the same. It is well known how many a strike is the cause of sins against the fifth commandment. The eighth commandment is sinned against by calling nonunion men 'scabs' and abusing them in different ways. According to the tenth commandment we should urge our neighbor's servants 'to stay and do their duty.' Union men on the contrary alienate the servants from their employer by telling him whom he has to or whom he has not to employ. The members of this union have to pledge themselves not to divulge the proceedings of this union to any person not a member of the same. The Bible says: 'Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their works are in the dark, and they say: Who seeth us and who knoweth us?'

"No practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of religion and the church." That is the dictum of the Pope in his famous encyclical, and it has been and is the burden of all that I have said or what I have to say. Labor parched and thirsty will yet overcome its prejudice against the chipped old ungainly jug that contains the living water of helpful sympathy and effective support. It was the chasm between the unions and the churches organized as Mr. Pomeroy told the Labor Federation by "the Great Master Mechanic, and his immortal twelve walking delegates," one that is impossible to bridge. There is every disposition on the part of the better men on both sides to join hands for helpful mutual service. The ministers of religion for the first time in the history of Chicago sent an influential deputation of their number to bid welcome to the American Federation of Labor when it held its annual meeting in the city last December, and the act was hailed on both sides as a harbinger of better days to come. Nor has labor on its part been indifferent. At the Central Music Hall conference in November the chair was taken by Mr. M. H. Madden, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, who in an eloquent opening speech made an earnest appeal to the churches to clasp hands with labor and to do something for God and humanity. "We yearn," he said, "for the co-operation in the work of doing good and alleviating suffering."

At Milwaukee, under the auspices of an energetic young Methodist minister a church and labor social union has been formed, which was inaugurated by an address by a well known labor leader who had not darkened the doors of a church for a quarter of a century until he came by invitation to occupy the pulpit and explain why the working classes were not within its pale. In Chicago the retail clerks union through their able and indefatigable representative, Mr. L. T. O'Brien, appealed to the Ministerial Federation for their assistance on securing the passing of an ordinance giving the clerks

in the stores the boon of Sunday closing. Nor were the ministers slow to respond. The ordinance was approved by the judiciary committee, and it is expected it will be passed by the council.

One of the most remarkable of all the evidences of the altered spirit of the labor men has been afforded by the formation of a church in the identical building where four months ago I was told I should be hooted off the platform if I so much as mentioned religion. "The Modern Church" was founded by Mr. Pomeroy, Mr. O'Brien and other leading labor unionists on modern principles in response to a challenge thrown out by Dr. Harper of the University of Chicago at a social gathering of Congregationalists, where a labor leader had severely denounced the church for her indifference to the interests of labor. "Why not organize a church of your own?" said Dr. Harper. "So we will" responded the labor men, and "The Modern Church" was the result.

It met for the first time, on Sunday afternoon, February 11, in the Bricklayer's Hall, which is occupied by the Trades and Labor Assembly on alternate Sundays. The church therefore meets once a fortnight. Its salient features as defined by its founders are "free seats, no collection, no dogma."

It is the intention of the committees in charge to have a different preacher each time and to see that every creed has its representative. In course of time they hope this will cause the labor people to think differently of preachers, and preachers to change their opinion of the labor people.

As yet "the Modern Church" has not progressed so far as to build itself a local habitation and is perforce content to accept the hospitality of the Temple of Labor. But if it makes headway it intends to have its own building.*

*The following extract from the programme of the founders will be read with interest: The most radical departures from established church construction are to be observed in the plan proposed for the home of the "Modern Church." It will be not only a place of worship but a pleasant lounging place where the members may find any recreation they desire. It will be an educational institution, and

The church was opened by the Rev. J. Lloyd Jones, the Unitarian who defined it as a church whose cornerstone was sympathy, and declared that its object was to make here in Chicago a new Holy Land. The second meeting, held February 25, was devoted to a discussion between Mr. Pomeroy on the one hand and the Rev. Mr. Burch on the other as to the relation between the church and labor. The hall was crowded by an attentive audience which remained for two and a half hours following the debate with the deepest interest. Both agreed that the time had come for more hearty co-operation between the two, but they differed as to who was to blame. Both speakers were capable and earnest but the most eloquent passage in the speeches was that in which Mr. Pomeroy in his impeachment of the organized church referred to the character of Jesus. He said:

I am pleased to have my friend know that the labor people have cheered the name of Christ, that carpenter of Judea, the sweet pathos of whose life has softened the stone in the bosoms of men, whose teachings have made the world better beyond measure; Christ, whose fraternity was as broad as eternity, and as immeasurable as is space, whose mission among men was to teach them brotherly love; Christ, whose name is the synonym of fellowship, whose lessons were love, whose words were love, whose every act was fathered by His mighty love and pity for the poor, the weak, the persecuted and the helpless—love for every man, woman, child and beast of the field. Christ, the halo of whose glory makes the sunshine dim, the magic of whose name calls the evil hand to halt; Christ, whose church was the world, whose pulpit was the breasts of men; Christ whose religion was humanity. No wonder the sons and daughters of toil cheer His name. Nor can you separate Christ and His church. His church, I say; for His church is within the inner temples of the pulsating hearts of the people of the world, and in listening to His sermons they forget those of the "salaried soothsayer."

from the pulpit rostrum university extension lectures will be given, debates on every topic of any interest whatsoever will be held, and musical and other entertainments given. The central idea in the club-house arrangement will be to keep men away from saloons and other bad resorts. In furthering this object the basement will be given up to a set of baths, a bowling alley and a fine gymnasium. On the ground floor will be a large amusement hall, billiard and pool tables, checkers, dominos and other games, and stands for the sale of cigars, light temperance drinks, and lunches. A library will be installed in one corner. This floor will be a general lounging place where men may read, smoke, or enjoy themselves as they see fit. On the floor above will be the auditorium proper, church, lecture hall and theatre combined.

It was in full accordance with the spirit of this declaration that Mr. Pomeroy concluded his speech by an impassioned appeal to the churches to produce a new Peter the Hermit who would preach a new crusade for the redemption not of the holy sepulchre but of the desecrated temple of humanity. "Peter," said Mr. Pomeroy "must come from the churches. We want their help and they will not follow Peter of our raising." A notable declaration from one who in this same speech eulogized Tom Paine's writings as the only revelation accepted by the American workman.

Mr. Pomeroy is a Kentuckian, of some education and wide reading with a natural genius and magnetic power which stood in small need of book training. He is in many respects the most remarkable personality in the camp of labor at Chicago. His address of welcome to the Federation of Labor was unique. His position—idolized by some, detested by others, and distrusted by most—is exceptional. It might be made commanding. All that he needs to attain to any position for good to which he might care to aspire is the command of the confidence of his fellows. On the day when Mr. Pomeroy is trusted in America as John Burns, for example, is trusted in England, the labor men will not need to look further for their leader.

There is ample need for the advent of a Peter the Hermit if the social crisis in America is not to culminate in bloodshed. The working people without allies have given no hostages to fortune and have no visible reason for refraining from violence. It is true that violence will injure them in the long run far more than it can help them, but like all men who suffer and who are weak they think more of the immediate winning of a strike by knocking a few "scabs" on the head than of the permanent loss which such violence inflicts upon their cause. The fact that large numbers of labor men are at this moment in what in England we call the Broadhead stage of development, Broad-

head being the secretary of the Sheffield cutlers union, who use to hire men to kill and maim scabs or black-legs, simply proves that they are more or less outlawed.

If they were within the pale, if they had churches to back them, and newspapers to plead for them, and courts to do them justice and their own trusted representatives on the bench and in Congress to see fair play, they would have long ere this emerged from the stage of incipient Thuggee in which many of them dwell. As they have no church to help them they clutch the revolver, and in default of an impartial judge to appeal to on the bench, they fetch the "scab" a clout over the head with a sandbag or a club. Every time they do this they supply Mr. Carnegie and others with plausible justification for the use of Pinkertons and of Gatling guns, and public opinion even among those who are most sympathetic is driven over to reinforce the enemies of labor.

What American labor needs is (1) a definite practical programme—not a wild cat scheme for inaugurating the millenium by passing a resolution and appointing a committee, (2) honest and capable leaders, and (3) a policy of making allies with all who will help labor to elect to city councils, to state legislatures, the bench and congress honest men first and foremost. Infinitely better in the interest of labor itself to send an honest capitalist to congress or to Springfield rather than a dishonest laborer who is simply in the market for the dishonest capitalist who prefers to buy his legislators ready made. Honesty is a jewel of price. Without honesty political life is simply a den of thieves in which justice and right are sold at auction to the highest bidder.

The policy of electing labor men to office is excellent, if labor men can be found to subscribe to pay their representatives. Here it is that the universal distrust, bred from want of confidence in character and the loss of faith in the very possibility of disinterested service,

hamstrings the labor movement. Until labor men learn to trust each other, and are worthy of trust, their cause is under a curse and can never prosper. It can only writhe like a wounded snake occasionally inflicting injury upon its enemies but never doing any real permanent good for itself.

The alliance with the churches can best be secured by appealing to their help for definite practical reforms. Take for instance the question of the emancipation of labor from the seven days a week. On this point the churches ought surely to be solid with the unions. In a kind of a way they are. But even here in Chicago, they are still half asleep on this subject. Instead of eagerly volunteering to help the clerks in their crusade against the open Sunday store, they have for the most part needed to be coaxed and entreated and worried into action. A still more promising field is now opening before them. The attack upon the statutory limitation of child labor under the guise of a technical question of its constitutional legality ought to bring the churches into line with the unions not merely on this question, but on the broader question of constitutional revision.

Mr. Pomeroy has directly challenged the ministers to take issue on this question. He said:

Is the church the protector of women and children? Let us see. A society of wealthy manufacturers has recently been formed to purchase a verdict from the state supreme court declaring that most just law unconstitutional. They have retained the strongest legal firm in the state to handle their case. Here the lines of contest are plainly drawn. On the one side wealth and legal craft, seeking the re-enslavement of women and children. On the other the labor organizations saying "hold your hand! with all your money, all your lawyers, with all the past record of that supreme court against us, we say hold!" Where is the church in this controversy? How many sermons have been hurled from the pulpit against this threatened infamy, this huckstering of childhood, this immolation of feeble women on the altar of greed? "By their works shall ye know them." Who are the members of this soulless manufacturers' association? Prominent pillars of the church—men whose consciences are as hard as their marrow bones are soft. I charge the church as being tacitly guilty of complicity in this premeditated crime. The church has guilty knowledge of this most damnable scheme, and forgets to call down damnation upon the heads of the men who conceived it.

What has the church to say to this? And what has the church to say to the demand that will assuredly follow a ruling by the court that the law is unconstitutional for a revision of the constitution? Legislative restrictions which even the most reactionary, hard hearted capitalist in England admits to be indispensable for the protection of labor are unconstitutional according to the State of Illinois. That constitution makes a fetish of freedom of contract and immolates before this idol victims whom British law would have long since rescued. The lawyer of the Manufacturers Association in explaining why he regards the Factory Act as unlawful said:

It denies to both employer and employee freedom of contract. The Supreme Court of this state has held somewhat similar legislation unconstitutional. It declared the truck law illegal, also the mining statute, which provided that miners should be paid by actual weight, equally invalid.

The simple fact of the matter is that from the point of view of the working man and the working woman if the State of Illinois could be suddenly placed under the Acts of Parliament passed by the British legislature they would attain at one stroke almost all the reforms for which they are now clamoring in vain.

The need of an indissoluble union between labor and the church which was proclaimed as the great need of the age by the present pope will if recognized and worked out practically, offer the best chance of securing the reunion and the revivification of American Christianity. There is only one saving faith, says Prof. Briggs, but "nowhere in the world is the Christian Church so torn to pieces by denominationalism as in America." If there is to be a Universal Church it will have to be based on the ministry of service, and the more practical that service the more insignificant will seem all speculative points of theological difference. The natural result of this new departure will be a breaking down of the barriers which sectarian theology has built up between Christians of different rites and creeds. When you are

concerned solely upon hoisting an invisible soul into an impalpable heaven, you may without sense of shame or of guilt refuse the co-operation of all who do not see eye to eye with you about the Immaculate Conception or the Procession of the Holy Spirit. But when it comes to be a question of hauling a half-drowned donkey out of a mudhole in which he is in danger of suffocating, there is not a bigot in any of the churches but would feel condemned before God and man if he let that donkey drown rather than take his place at the windlass side by side with a heretic and a schismatic. And the more the church sticks to the outward and visible works of charity and philanthropy, the more anti-Christian will seem to be the spirit of exclusion and excommunication which destroys Christian power.

The church cannot do better service to labor than by helping labor to help itself. The time is perhaps coming when under the inspiration of religious enthusiasm, we may see the problem of the unemployed solved by the establishment of a great Brotherhood of Labor, which would utilize in co-operative industry at ration rates, the unemployed labor of the nation. There is plenty of work to be done and plenty of workers, only too anxious to do it. Who shall bring those together whose separation spells starvation? Anything can be done if you can get men to trust each other. Nothing if trust is absent. The organization of labor camps for the unemployed, where a workless worker could pawn his future earnings in return for rations and shelter, might be carried out by such a brotherhood if men were honest. There is money in that scheme of a labor pawnbroker which will be realized by somebody some day—as Mr. Farnsworth has been endeavoring in vain to point out all this winter—and it would be well that its profits should accrue to associated labor. In like manner the issue of local inconvertible paper currency in the shape of labor certificates against material work into which the labor has been put which is advocated by Mr. DeBar-

nardi in his "Trials and Triumph of Labor," might be carried out with advantage, if men but trusted each other as brothers should.

Faith not only can move mountains. It can earn dollars. Without it even the securing of the dollar seems to be becoming more and more difficult.

If we had but a more real faith we should have more practical religion. Chicago has been somewhat interested by a series of discourses in which Dr. Harper, president of the University, has been expounding week by week the generally accepted theories as to the more or less poetical or mythical nature of the narrative in the first chapter of Genesis. Hence much perturbation among many good souls inside the church, and a more or less languid curiosity on the part of those who are without to see whether anything will happen. The alarm is quite unnecessary, and the public interest might well be devoted to something more practical. The real religious issue before the city is not whether Cain killed Abel, but whether rascals compared with whom Cain was a gentleman, are to be allowed to continue to sit as aldermen in the City Council.

Either the whole gist of the teaching of the Old Testament Scriptures was misleading, or the silence of pulpit upon the moral and social issues of the election is a practical negation of the church's belief in the inspiration of the sacred books, infinitely more serious than the speculations of the scholars as to the conflicting theories of their dates and origins. It does not matter much to John Jones in the Rookery whether a real Cain did or did not kill a real Abel. It does matter a very great deal to John Jones whether the condemnation pronounced upon the man who asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" expressed the inner thought of the Eternal Lawgiver. Ministers and priests who at this juncture drone away with their homilies and their platitudes, without one vitalizing word of inspiration and of guidance to their

flocks, may not be bad men. They are simply blind.

"Humanity," said Heine, "yearns after more solid food than the symbolic blood and flesh of the Eucharist. Humanity smiles compassionately at the ideals of its youth, that have failed in realization in spite of all its painful attempts, and it grows manfully practical. Humanity in our day worships a system of earthly utility; it has serious thoughts about establishing itself in citizen prosperity, about a reasonably ordered household, about securing comfort for its old age."

What a change has come over the whole aspect of Christendom since the century begun! The modern spirit—of which Heine was the exponent—which was then in fierce feud with the church, has ended by triumphing over its old adversary, and changing the standpoint from which it contemplates the affairs of men. This life is no longer merely the ante-chamber of eternity. We are no longer mere pilgrims through a wilderness to a heavenly city, which rises on the other side of the waters of the river of death. We have become, on the contrary, citizens of the kingdom of God on earth, charged with the duty of transforming the world and regenerating human society. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The human spirit, which in the early ages, affrighted by the bestiality and cruelties of Imperial Rome, could find no resting place, even for its imagination, on this side the grave, now sees the waters subside, the tops of the mountains appear, and the dove already bears the olive branch to the window of our social ark.

CHAPTER V.

WHO IS MY NEIGHBOR?

One afternoon in February an unknown visitor announced himself at the Commerce Club. On going out to see who he might be I came upon a little Irishman who introduced himself as one who was a man about fifty and lived in Custom House place. "I am all alone in the world," he said, "am getting on in years, and I should like very much to make the acquaintance of some people, especially of some good women, who are in a somewhat better social position than myself. I have neither man nor woman friend to whom I can tell my troubles or with whom I can have any conversation. The only people with whom I can speak are those in my own rank in life. They shift and move about and cannot help me if I get into trouble, and I feel as if it would be a good thing to be able to go, now and then at least, and have a friendly talk with somebody who would take an interest in me. So," he said, "I have called upon you. Do you think you could help me? You see," he said plaintively, "I don't see why I should be condemned for wishing to know people who are higher up in the world than myself. I noticed the other day that Chauncy M. Depew has been over to Europe and has been received by the Pope. Now, Mr. Depew is as much below the Pope as I am below Mr. Depew, yet if I should go and call upon Mr. Depew I should be treated as a tramp and should never be allowed to get a word with him. It is a little lonely for a workman who has got along in years, and I often think if I could only tell my troubles now and then to a good friend I should feel like another man. I should feel twice as much energy as I have. I am so lonely all alone in Custom House place."

The plaintive little Irishman set me thinking. How

many must there be in every great city who are more or less inarticulately echoing the complaint of this forlorn and lonely carpenter. They are alone in the world—alone in a great city. They have all the aspirations of a human being to be in healthy sympathetic relations with the rest of their kind. Educated men and refined and sympathetic women, in so far as they are educated and refined, represent a capacity for human intercourse which the uneducated and inarticulate can hardly be said to possess. What that carpenter wanted was not money. He indignantly disclaimed any desire for money for which he, indeed, stood in no need. It was not charity that can be expressed in dollars, but the much rarer and more valuable charity of friendship and sympathy that he craved.

It is a sad enough thing to contemplate the number of the destitute of this world's goods; after all it is not so sad as to see that other host of the lonely and forlorn. Persons who seem to be orphaned of the universe and who never go to sleep without feeling somewhat of the bitterness of the third Richard's anguished cry, "There is no creature loves me, and if I die no one will pity me." It was said of old time that the Lord setteth the desolate in families, but our modern civilization masses them together not in families but in blocks, in hordes regimented only for industrial work. That process is the reverse of divine. Every human being, man or woman, in so far as they are human and not animals, have tendrils of the heart which are perpetually yearning to clasp and to cling to their fellow-creatures. Sometimes cruel disappointments early in life, or bitter periods in later years, sear these tendrils as with hot iron, and the man or woman, instead of being a living vine, full of the grace of life, and of the tender and delicate sympathies and associations which blossom so freely in the heyday of youth, becomes but dry and withered stick. Useful, perhaps, but living no more.

If Christ came to Chicago it seems to me that there are

few objects that would more command his sympathy and secure his help than efforts to restore the sense of brotherhood to man and to reconstitute the human family on a basis adjusted to modern life.

In the doing of this work the Christian Churches are doing a good deal. Not so much as they might do and will do when once they have grasped the social obligations of the Christian faith. But they are probably doing more than any other institution that can be named. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor Societies, the Epworth League, the King's Daughters and other associations are all efforts in the right direction. And after a time it is to be hoped that they will make practical efforts to see how far it is possible for them to secure the advantage of federated co-operation without losing the strength which comes from a firm, narrow foothold upon a single principle. The time is surely coming, however, when something more must be done to knit together the caste and class severed units of the city's population into a homogeneous whole, in which the strong should bear the burdens of the weak and where the rich and poor could meet together as a first step towards recognizing that the Lord is the maker of them all. The lesson of the Incarnation needs to be taken into the hearts and worked into the lives of all of us. That is to say, the Word must be made flesh, and if your fellow-man is to be helped he can best be helped by making him your neighbor. You have got to come unto him to lift him up, and it is vain to think that the great, submerged, toiling multitude can be substantially assisted to a higher and more human life if their higher and more humane fellows remove themselves apart. When Christ came to save the world He did not do it from some contiguous star from which messages of love and mercy could be securely conveyed by some missionary angels to a miserable, sin-smarting world. He did just the op-

posite. He came right down and lived as a man among men; among the artisans of Nazareth, with the fishermen of Galilee, and then finished His course without a place to lay his head among the homeless wanderers of Judea. As He did then, would He not do now if He came to Chicago? That is to say, if His object was to redeem the least of these, His brethren, who live in Halsted street and in Little Hell or down the levee, He would take up his quarters where His brethren and sisters could be within talking range, and where He could see them from day to day, hear their troubles, heal their sicknesses and minister to them from the store of His divine compassion.

If so, then Miss Addams was right in going to Hull House, where, with her friends she for some five years has been endeavoring to help the people by the redeeming grace of good neighborliness. Hull House is one of the best institutions in Chicago. Not merely because of the humanitarian influences which it radiates around the district in which it stands, but because it will become a training ground and nursery for multitudes of similar institutions speedily to spring up in all the great cities of America. What the monastery of St. Bernard was to the Cistercians, what the original Brotherhood of St. Francis was to the Franciscan order, so Hull House will be to the brotherhoods and sisterhoods or helpers and neighbors, who in increasing numbers will take up their residence in the midst of the crowded and desolate quarters of our over-crowded cities. Only by this means can we hope to reconstruct the human family, and restore something approaching to a microcosm of a healthy organization in every precinct of the city. Mere propinquity counts for a great deal in human affairs. The healthy natural community is that of a small country town or village in which every one knows his neighbor, and where all the necessary ingredients for a happy, intelligent and public-spirited municipal life exist in due proportion. Within a **single**

square mile you will find ministers of religion, the lawyer, the doctor, the laborer and the business man all within stone's throw of the blacksmith and the carpenter. Such a community constitutes a unit of which each human life forms a part where public opinion is powerful, and where the influence of the best members can be immediately brought to bear upon the worst. But there are square miles in Chicago from which the cultured and the wealthy and the well to do flee as if from the plague. Whole quarters are left to be crowded with the poor and the ignorant who become sodden together in houses where the only civilizing light is the bull's eye of the policeman's lantern. My chief hope for our great cities is that the increasing number of intelligent, warm-hearted people will establish neighborly friendship with the crowded precincts which at present are almost as unknown to them as the territory of Timbuctoo. If in every one of the eight hundred odd precincts into which Chicago is divided, there were but one educated man or woman who had leisure to devote, say one hour a day to making friends with the people of that precinct, a great step would be taken towards civilizing the city. Each of the eight hundred helpers would be like a living filament linking on the precinct in which he or she spent an hour a day with the wealthier and more favored circle in which the other twenty-three hours of their daily life was spent. Hull House is one of the best illustrations of what can be done by intelligent and sustained effort in this direction. The pioneer of this system of settlement was probably Toynbee Hall in the East of London, but Toynbee Hall is a very much less humane institution, and by no means so beneficent in its multifarious activities. The University settlement in Bethnal Green is on a much larger scale than Hull House, but it is much more of a polytechnic or democratic people's palace, than a settlement in the strict sense of the word. Mansfield Hall, founded by the Congregationalists in London, is more

on the lines of Hull House. There are similar institutions in both New York and Boston, but of all those that I have seen in the old country Hull House seems to me best because it is most helpful. This, perhaps, is due to the fact that a woman, with a woman's instinct of natural motherliness is at the head of Hull House, whereas the other institutions are all more or less under the supervision of men. Whatever is the cause, Miss Addams and her associates have good reason to thank God, and take courage when they contemplate the work they have done in the last five years, and the prospect now opening before them of a still wider field of usefulness. For they have realized the ideal settlement of which many have dreamed, but which they alone have brought into life. Hull House has avoided the Scylla of denominational narrowness, and at the same time has not less dexterously steered passed the Charybdis of the luke-warmness and apathetic indifference which are the bane of much undenominational effort. A High Church movement or a Catholic sisterhood or a branch of the Salvation Army may generate more enthusiasm, but they insist upon confining it to the straight and narrow channels of their conception of orthodoxy. On the other hand institutions which are maintained by those who are Laodæcean in matters of theology, are too often very tepid in their humanitarianism. Very broad people are very seldom as earnest as they are broad. Human enthusiasm seems to be like a volume of water in a river, if you confine it to a mill race, it is powerful enough to work the most powerful machinery, but if you spread it out over a wide, shallow bed, it has not sufficient force to drive a single wheel. Hull House has been enthusiastic without being intolerant, and broad without losing the fervour of its humanitarian zeal. Therein Miss Addams has done good work. She has been the subject of considerable criticism, not to say denunciation, among the stricter devotees of cast iron creeds, but she has bravely stuck to her guns, and vindicated her position,

not by arguments, but by quietly and constantly endeavoring to live the life and do the deeds of Christ. What is wanted is a multiplication of Hull Houses all over the city. Some, of course, will be founded by denominationalists and sectarians on denominational and sectarian lines, and of all of them I can only say that every one must wish them God speed in the name of the Lord. It is a thousand times better that Christ should be preached in this practical way, even if He preached of envyings and strife. But these dogmatic partition walls are wearing very thin, and justice and righteousness, and the weightier matters of the law, which, being interpreted, mean honesty, cleanliness, and brotherly kindness are becoming more and more recognized as of infinitely greater importance than the tithe of ecclesiastical mint and anise and cumin, to which the scribes and pharisees in every age attach such exaggerated importance. In southern Chicago, in the neighborhood of the stock yards, a new settlement has been founded in the last month or two, in connection with the University, with the cooperation of a company of kindergartners, who are entering upon their residential movement in the best spirits, with practical heads and kindly hearts. The only fault about Hull House is that it has been too successful, and has increased and extended to such an extent, that solitary individuals who might be disposed to attempt something of a residential helpship, may shrink back aghast at the thought of having to found an institution with all the adjuncts and paraphernalia which have sprung into existence around Miss Addams' original venture. Let them not be afraid. If they can do but one thing let them do that, and do not shrink from doing the duty of today from any fear that your strength may not be equal to the duty of tomorrow. In this matter I am disposed to look most of all to individual effort, but a great impetus would be given to this work if the churches in various districts could practically combine

to found a residential settlement in the most neglected precincts. There is great advantage in a union of churches, because when half a dozen churches have to work together, the necessity for co-operation prevents any undue insistence upon the sectarianism of any one of the associated churches. Once let us get the people thoroughly well satisfied that we have not even begun to enable the masses to realize Christ until we have got one Christlike man or one Christlike woman living within five minutes' walk of his door step, and a great deal of the light of the life of God will penetrate into the heart of darkest Chicago.

Yielding to many and pressing applications from those who have sought information about Hull House, Miss Addams has at last been good enough to publish a brief statement or outline sketch of the work which is being done at that social settlement. Hull House has entered upon the fifth year of its existence with a residential membership of eighteen, thirteen of whom have been in residence longer than six months. The settlement began with two ladies, who believed that "social intercourse could best express the growing sense of the economic unity of society." They simply went to Hull House, 335 South Halsted Street, and lived there in the Nineteenth Ward, which returns Alderman Powers to the Council. Miss Addams was attracted to it by the fact that it was so forlorn and desolate. She says:

In a ward where there is no initiative among the citizens the idea underlying our self-government breaks down. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, factory legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables defy all laws of sanitation. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street's sewer. There are seven churches and two missions in the ward; all of these are small and somewhat struggling save the large Catholic church on the west boundary. Out of these nine religious centers there are but three in which the service is habitually conducted in English.

It was her conviction that this ward and similar God-forsaken regions could not be saved by mere political

activity. They could only be saved by applied Christianity working out into the social sphere. But who was to apply this Christianity? Miss Addams believed that among the mass of unemployed people of culture there was a reserve battalion of the Lord of Hosts which might be brought into the field. She says:

We have in America a fast-growing number of cultivated young people who have no recognized outlet for their active faculties. The impulse to share the lives of the poor and desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. That Christianity has to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships in the way in which he connects with his fellows; that his motives for action are the zeal and affection with which he regards his fellows.

When she settled in Hull House she did not know exactly what line of development experience would suggest. She was content to wait and see how things framed themselves. She began by living among the people, visiting them and asking her neighbors to call as friends and guests. They responded to her invitation so willingly that Hull House has 2,000 visitors a week. These guests of hers formed the first class of what is now a regular system of College Extension courses with 250 enrolled members, with twenty-five teachers, mostly college-bred men and women, some of whom have taught continuously for three years, and all of whom give their services free. The only charge made is fifty cents per student to cover cost of prospectuses, etc. Here is a week's diary of these classes and reading parties:

Day.	Hour.	Subject.	Day.	Hour.	Subject.
Mon.	4.	Pedagogics, or how to teach Science.	Tues.	5.	Reading in English Literature.
	7.	Latin, Elementary.		7.	Arithmetic.
	7.	Drawing.		7.	Emerson.
	7.30,	Gymnastics (women).		7.30,	Gymnastics (women).
	8.	Latin Reading.		7.30,	English and Letter Writing.
	8.	History of Art (Early Italian).		7.30,	Cooking.

Day.	Hour.	Subject.	Day.	Hour.	Subject.
Tues.	8.	English Poetry, Arnold and Clough.	Fri.	7.	German, Element- ary.
		8. Book-keeping.		7.	Algebra.
	8.30,	Delsarte.		7.	American History.
	8.30,	English Composition		7.	Drawing.
Wed.	3.30,	Cooking.		7.	Physiology.
	7.	Shakespeare, Othello.		8.	German Reading.
	7.30,	Gymnastics (men).		8.	French, Advanced.
	8.	Dante (Purgatorio).		8.	French, Elementary.
Thurs.	4.	Biology, with Labor- atory.	Sat.	8.	Geometry.
	7.	German Needle- work.		7.	Chemistry.
	7.	Singing.		7.30,	Gymnastics (women).
	8.30,	Reading, Lang's Odyssey.		8.	Bohemian Literature
				8.	Electricity.
				8.	Physics.
				8.30,	Dancing Class.

In addition to these regular courses there are three University Extension courses. The Students' Association is divided into Literary, Dramatic, Musical and Debating sections, each of which gives an entertainment once a month, which is always followed by an informal dance in the gymnasium. Twice a year there are exhibitions of pictures, small but select. No pictures are admitted to the walls of Hull House but those helpful to the life of mind and soul, and much of the influence of the House is traceable to the harmony and reasonableness of the message of the walls. On Sundays there are meetings of choral societies and a free concert in the gymnasium. A branch of the Public Library is established in Hull House, with a reading room attached. The first public bath in the city was established last year on Hull House property. It has seventeen shower baths and one swimming bath.

Situated as it is in the midst of the sweat shop district of Chicago, its residents have been the central nucleus of the anti-sweating agitation in Illinois. It was largely owing to Hull House that the Factory Inspection Law of 1893 was passed, and it owes what efficiency it possesses to Hull House influence, both in framing it and in its

administration, for one of its residents, Mrs. Kelley, is Inspector of Factories in the State of Illinois.

Hull House breeds clubs. The Jane Club occupies five flats, for it is a co-operative boarding club for young working women. It now numbers fifty members and is entirely self-supporting and self-managing, without either matron or outside control. The members pay \$3 a week, which covers rent, service, food, heat and light. The furnishing and first month's rent were supplied by Hull House. An Eight-Hour Club of women meets twice a month at Hull House. The Working People's Social Science Club meets every week. The Arnold Toynbee Club meets once a month. The Chicago Question Club meets every Sunday in the art gallery. The Nineteenth Ward Improvement Club, which has standing committees on street cleaning, etc., meets once a fortnight.

In connection with this Improvement Club, a co-operative association has been formed which has just started a co-operative coal yard. The Hull House Woman's Club consists of fifty of the ablest and most active women in the ward. They visit the sick, relieve the poor, look after the inspection of streets and alleys and keep in active touch with all the reform movements of the city. Every Friday evening there is a social reception for Germans. Two hours are spent in singing, reading, games, etc., with occasional coffee drinking and entertainment. The Hull House Men's Club has 150 members, and has a reception once a month. The Lincoln Club is a debating society which meets once a month with a Social Club of young women. They have also at Hull House three clubs for boys and four for girls. The latter are the School Girls', the Pansy, the Story Telling and the Kindergarten. One club had a consecutive course of legends and tales of chivalry. One boy, after a number of Charlemagne stories, flung himself half crying from the house and said that "there was no good in coming any more now that Prince Roland was

dead!" The Shamrock Club is a mixed club of boys and girls. In the children's dining room dinners are served on five-cent tickets to children who attend school in the neighborhood. A class of 120 Italian children meets in the gymnasium every Monday afternoon, where a superintendent and fifteen teachers instruct the little foreigners in the mystery of sewing and dressmaking. Cooking and natural history classes are also in full swing. Every year Hull House takes 500 children for a day in the country, and all last year Hull House secured the use of a vacant lot, rent free, for a children's playground, which was filled with swings and sandheaps and was immensely appreciated.

For the youngest of all, Hull House has a creche, where mothers can leave their little ones for five cents a day. The walls are hung with large photographs of Raphael's Madonnas, and there are also casts from Donatello and Della Robbia. The children talk in a familiar way to the babies on the wall; sometimes climbing upon the chairs to kiss them. The babies vary in number from thirty to fifty.

The latest addition to Hull House is a coffee house, built like an old English inn, with a coffee and lunch room, a New England kitchen, a gymnasium with shower baths, and a men's club room filled with billiard and card tables. The coffee house is open from 6 a. m. to 11 p. m., every day, Sundays included. The New England kitchen supplies cooked food, well cooked, for home consumption; coffee, soup and stews are delivered piping hot, every day at noon, to the neighboring factories. Five cents will buy a pint of soup or coffee and two rolls. Hot lunches at ten cents were supplied last winter to the unemployed.

There is a public dispensary open from 3 to 4 and from 7 to 8 every day. It is hoped to put this on a mutual benefit plan. A physician resides in Hull House, and a nurse from the Visiting Nurses' Association. There is a Labor Bureau in connection with the House.

No public appeal for funds has ever been made, but the money comes. The residents give their lives to the work and they are esteemed worthy of support. No rent is paid for Hull House, or to adjacent lots on which friends of the House have put up needed buildings. All superintendence and teaching is given free. Residents pay for their board and lodging, what just covers the cost, which is arrived at by calculating all expenses as if they were incurred by a co-operative club, under the direction of a house committee. Such is a very brief, bald and inadequate survey of the social settlement.

But no mere catalogizing of the institutions which have blossomed into being from the parent stem of Hull House can give any idea of the gracious and blessed influence which Miss Addams and her residents diffuse throughout as squalid, and as mean a precinct as is to be found in Chicago. You need to live in the district to understand. But even a casual visitor can catch a glimpse of it as he hears the continual ringing of the door bell and sees Miss Addams, pale and weary, but indomitable to the last, answering with ready helpfulness to every appeal from without. Now it is a sick infant that wants doctoring, then it is someone out of work who wants a recommendation; a third ring brings someone in danger of eviction, and before they have cleared out someone else comes in with a tale of petty tyranny. For Miss Addams, like the name of the Lord, is a strong tower, and not the righteous only but all the forlorn and miserable in the neighborhood feel that if they can but run into that stronghold they are safe. From early morn till late at night these good and gracious women, strong sisters of the poor, by the potent influence of their own example, show their neighbors how to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Chicago was *en fete*. It was a bright June morning between the hours of six and seven o'clock, but already there were many signs that something unwonted was in the air. Groups were gathered together at places of vantage, while the decorators were putting the final touches to the triumphal arches. Streets were being festooned with flags and everywhere were to be seen the signs of an approaching festival. *

It was in the twentieth century. The population of the city was between three and four millions. Although it was more than ever a city of magnificent distances, the population was more compact, due to the more general utilization of lofty buildings for purposes of co-operative housekeeping. A great impetus had been given to the city by the construction of the oceanic canal which made Chicago the greatest seaport of the world. The Atlantic steamers now plowed their way direct from Europe to Lake Michigan. Their constant arrival and departure added fresh elements to the various phases of the life of the capital of America, for all rivalry to Chicago as the capital had disappeared at the dawn of the twentieth century. Even New York no longer dreamed of contesting the supremacy of the younger city. The workmen were putting the finishing touches to the mag-

* I thought it was better to adopt the historico-prophetic method of treating this subject instead of making a schedule of suggestions as to what might be done towards making Chicago the ideal city of the world. Unlike most writers who enter the field of imaginary prediction, I have endeavored scrupulously to confine myself to the practical. In describing Chicago as it might be in the twentieth century, I have refrained from coloring the picture by introducing any element that is not well within the grasp of her citizens, if only they would give their minds to the task of obtaining it. The majority of the changes wrought in the social economy of the city have been realized piece-meal elsewhere; it now remains for the Chicago of to-day to unite all the best things which exist in other cities and combine them in the great ideal Chicago of the twentieth century.

nificent series of state buildings which were reproducing in marble the architectural glories of the World's Fair, in order to provide accommodation for the Federal Government which was shortly to be transferred from Washington to the continental center.

Chicago's ascendancy was even more marked in social and municipal affairs than in the realm of commerce and the play of politics. For Chicago had become the ideal city of the world. The changes had begun about the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The great impulse, born of the World's Fair, led the citizens to decide, when the White City had gone up in flames, that their black city should be transformed according to the best thought of the world's greatest thinkers. The great civic revival, which had liberated an hitherto unutilized moral force in that direction, brought into existence what in an ecclesiastical age would have been called a religious order, but which in this age was simply the appearance of a body of men and women who were known as "helpers." They dedicated themselves to the service of the city, as the followers of Loyola dedicated themselves to the service of the Church. It was the first time that an order or a society of consecrated souls dedicated to the redemption of the municipal and social system who undertook the task of civic regeneration with the same self-sacrificing zeal which Xavier showed in Asia, Livingstone in Africa and Judson in Burmah. The civic revival had another effect more potent still in bringing about the transformation. Before that time the administration of the city had been entirely in the hands of one moiety of the citizens; the other, the home-making portion, was jealously excluded from all share in the rights and duties of citizenship. As a result the civic administration was almost brutally lacking in all the amenities of life. It became evident that if the city had to be remodeled on the ideal of the family, woman must not only be permitted, but even compelled, to take a full and fair share with man in all civic work.

The result of this infusion of the more refined and cultured and graceful element into municipal work was everywhere apparent.

Side by side with this civic revival came a new and great re-enforcement from the side of material development. The construction of the drainage canal, by which the waters of Lake Michigan and the great arterial system of the Mississippi Valley were connected, enabled Chicago to utilize the inert force of Lake Michigan in the same way in which Niagara was long ago harnessed for industrial purposes. Immense turbines, worked by the descending volume of the surplus water of the lake, generated electricity which, when transmitted to the city by cables, supplied all the power necessary to drive all the machinery in the city. The tapping of this great reservoir of costless power corresponded with the great moral and social upheaval which, following the civic revival, enabled citizens to accomplish many things which otherwise would have been beyond their reach.

The City Council did not allow the monopolies of service to pass into the hands of private corporations. Every such source of power and of wealth was jealously preserved for the benefit of the city.

The sky was singularly bright and clear; hardly a wreath of smoke was visible over the great expanse of roofs which spread north, south and west as far as the eye could reach, for the day of smoke was almost a thing of the past. When the gas trust was broken up, and the city entered upon the supply of gas, the low prices which followed, together with its more general introduction into the houses of the citizens, led to its adoption as fuel. Every facility possible was made for this change. One of the first ordinances passed by the City Council in the twentieth century was a stringent decree drafted by Thomas J. Morgan, then Corporation Counsel,

*At the great pottery works of Doulton, Lambeth, London, England, the five-minute rule is rigidly enforced, a policeman being on duty to note the time. Prosecution and fine follow if the five minutes' grace is exceeded.

rendering anyone liable to imprisonment in the Bridewell if from his chimney smoke was seen to appear for more than five minutes at a time.

A great deal of heating, however, was done by the municipality direct. A central furnace in each block, fitted with the latest improvements, enabled the municipality to provide heat at a fixed charge for every room in the block. In this climate heat is as much a necessity as water, and at the City Hall the Heat Department had long been recognized as an indispensable part of the municipal machinery. The discontinuance of coal fires greatly reduced the difficulty of garbage. The unsightly garbage boxes which used to be such an eyesore to the city had long ago disappeared. Early every morning the refuse of the city was collected by a body of scavengers in the municipal service, who carted it away before seven in the morning.*

The garbage so collected was taken to the heat generating furnaces, where the bulk of it, after it had been sorted, was used as fuel.† Tin cans and similar unburnable rubbish was picked out, and everything was rescued that could be utilized.‡

Those who had not visited Chicago since the World's Fair, would have been startled by the appearance of the streets. All wood pavement for the sidewalks had disappeared, but the changes in the roadway were greater still. In the heart of the city the pavement was of asphalt, washed every morning and thoroughly cleaned before business commenced. The more frequented thoroughfares outside the heart of the city were paved

*This may seem rather early, but such a municipal regulation is enforced in many of the old cities of the Old World, notably in Rouen, where all refuse from the houses must be removed during the night or early in the morning. Every householder has a portable garbage pail into which the refuse of the house is placed over night and removed in the morning. By 7 o'clock the refuse of the whole town has been cleared away.

†The utilization of garbage for fuel in order to generate heat and steam is practically carried out in the town of Rochdale, Lancashire, England, where the only fuel used for the municipal boilers, employed in utilizing the sewage, is the refuse of the city.

‡Few people have any idea of the value of the city refuse. Whole colonies in Paris exist entirely from the findings of the rag pickers. Chicago has hitherto not recognized this, and has gone so far as to pay a man \$35,000 to accept a monopoly, which in other cities would have been a source of revenue.

with wooden blocks and these also were swept and washed every day by an efficient staff. All streets were paved.*

Before the universal paving of the streets was introduced, provision was made for the construction of a vast system of underground communication which is carried to a greater extent in Chicago than anywhere else in the world. Under every thoroughfare there runs a steel-lined tunnel in which are laid the pipes, tubes and wires necessary for the supply of the needs of the city. In this underground subway, which was built so as to be accessible at all times, the gas, water, hot air, pneumatic tubes, telegraph and telephone wires and the electric light cables are so arranged that repairs can be carried on at all times without tearing up the streets or the interruption of the traffic. This was immensely facilitated by the city's acquiring all the monopolies of service.

One of the first effects of the civic revival was the acceptance of the doctrine that as it was ridiculous for private corporations to own the roadway of the streets so it was wrong for them to own either street railways, gas, telephone or telegraph systems. One by one, as the franchises fell in or as they were forfeited for non-user or mis-user, all these monopolies came into the hands of the city. For accommodation of their pipes, wires and mains, and for the convenience of the citizens, the subway was constructed. This was not the only use that had been made of underground communication. When the old ruin formerly known as the Post Office was demolished, the site was utilized for a central underground terminal from which lines radiated to all parts of the city and communicated with all the railway depots. The

*In Chicago in 1892 of 2,900 miles of streets in the city only 900 were paved. Of sidewalks 3,356 were of wood and 547 of stone. No attempt was made to sweep the streets from day to day. Even when the street cleaning department had the free service of the unemployed brigade of 3,000 men, hundreds of miles of streets were never cleaned at all. In Paris a municipal force of 3,000 men sufficed to clean the whole city from end to end every day. But in France street cleaning ranked as a virtue, and even the main roads in the country were swept from end to end, a practice which was much appreciated by bicyclists.

street railways were free within the city limits. This plan was adopted in order to reduce the congestion of the population near the center of the town. To induce the citizen to give up half an hour in the morning and evening in traveling backward and forward to his place of business, it was held that the least that could be done to equalize matters was to allow him free transit. The cars were operated by electricity from underground conductors. As no fares had to be collected a single driver was sufficient for each car. They were under perfect control. For the barbarous and dangerous rail of olden times was substituted the groove slot rail, laid level with the roadway, so that it was possible to drive across the tracks without a perceptible jar.

Chicago was the center of 100,000 miles of railway, some 3,000 miles of which lay within the city itself. Grade crossings had long disappeared and the only memorial which remains to commemorate the annual massacre of the early day was a fine monument of Mayor Hopkins, erected at the former crossing at Sixteenth Street, where more people had been killed by the railroads than had been slaughtered in the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn.

The subway was divided into two divisions, down the center of which passed the footway for workmen and inspectors. The gas and water mains lay on the left, while the right was devoted to electric cables and telegraph and telephone wires.

The pneumatic tube system had been in use for some time. The construction of the subways led to the universal adoption of this convenience of life. The development of the system was very rapid. It began with the despatch of pneumatograms, following the example of Paris. Then a larger tube was introduced, and all letters and post cards were dispatched from the central office to the branches in this manner. They were looking forward to a still further development, when parcels and newspapers would also be so dispatched, but as this

would have necessitated an enlargement of the subway there was some hesitation in undertaking so great a task.

Great as were the changes which had taken place in the city, those on the Lake Front were still more remarkable. The land had been thrust forward into the lake as far as the breakwater, but due care had been taken to preserve open water for boating, bathing and landscape purposes. The whole of the Lake Front was laid out as a lovely park, half land and half water. The wonderful effect which had been achieved by the landscape gardeners who laid out the World's Fair had been reproduced here on an even more extended scale. There were more wooded islands and picturesque promontories on the Lake Front, while winding lakes afforded ample field for innumerable gondolas which gemmed at nightfall like fireflies the surface of the illuminated water. Another breakwater had been constructed outside the reclaimed land and it surrounded the city like an atoll does a Pacific island. The boating clubs, which had become so remarkable a feature of Chicago, found ample space for exercise; while a harbor, well protected against the storms, gave shelter to the yachts, which on regattas and holidays covered the great extent of the lake with their white-winged sails. The Manufactures Building, or all that was left of it after the last great fire at Jackson Park, had been brought down to the Lake Front and established as the first of a series of half a dozen People's Palaces which were one of the most conspicuous features of Chicago. The Home of the Waifs and Strays had been built on the site of the Battery, which had so long been an eyesore and had been demolished as a nuisance. At intervals along the Lake Front were bathing establishments, similar to those which abound on the Seine and Rhine, the presence of the breakwater rendering their erection along the shore of the lake possible.

The People's Institute, of which the Manufactures Building was the pioneer, formed the center of the Democratic university system of Chicago.

There were also polytechnics in connection with these institutes, the first of which had been started in connection with the Van Buren and Oakley Streets People's Institute in 1895. In each of these institutes were meeting rooms, concert, reading and news rooms and all the social adjuncts which made Mr. Quinton Hogg's polytechnic in London so valuable an agent of social progress. Every ward of the city had its institute and every precinct its Hull House outpost. Hull House had gradually extended its borders until it had become the greatest social center of the city. It had its affiliates in every one of the two thousand precincts, who were living among the people, sharing their life and constantly interchanging their experience for the purpose of bringing the help of all to the aid of each.

The saloon had practically disappeared, and so, very largely, had the drug store. Under the changed conditions of life, with the absence of wear and tear, overwork and the anxiety about the loss of work, improved cooking, and the careful training in the laws of health which was given to everyone in the public schools, the demand for medicine had shrunk so much that corner lots were no longer in demand for drug stores. As fast as they fell vacant the municipality entered into possession and established what was known as the New Saloon, which in a very short time drove the old saloon entirely out of the field. The ground floors of these saloons were fitted up like the admirable cafés of Liverpool, with provision for light refreshments and beverages. The supply of food and drink, however, was but a fractional part of the functions of the New Saloon. Upstairs the rooms were fitted up much as the Commerce Club in the Auditorium Building was in 1894, with the addition of a circulating library, and billiard table. Lavatories and all other conveniences of the kind were provided free, the library and reading room were also free, but the customers paid for their refreshments. There was no interdict on the sale of beer and light wine, but it was the policy of the ad-

ministration to discourage the sale of intoxicants so far as it was possible to do so without interfering with the liberty of the citizen to choose his beverage.*

The churches had undergone the same beneficent transformation which had taken place in the saloon. To begin with, there was now a Church of Chicago which included as its effective members all the religious organizations. When Archbishop Ireland, afterwards Cardinal, succeeded Archbishop Feehan, a wonderful change came over the churches of Chicago. The Cardinal speedily achieved for himself on the shores of Lake Michigan the same position which Cardinal Manning used to enjoy on the banks of the Thames. His primacy was acknowledged with enthusiasm by men of all creeds and of none. He had most trouble at first with his own people, but after a time they also began to see that the ideal of the Catholic Church could only be realized by widening the conception of Catholicism. The germ of the Federation of the Ministers of Religion which had begun in the year of the World's Fair was developed under his influence, and before long the Church of Chicago was organized with the Cardinal Archbishop at its head as Chairman. The Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, the Unitarian, was the first Vice-President. Then was introduced for the first time a systematic districting of the city. This is now carried on so effectively that there is not one man, woman or child in the whole city who can suffer an accident or receive injury, but that it could be ascertained in one moment, which of the churches must be called upon to take charge of the case. The Church of God in Chicago has only one belief, and that is to do what Christ would have done if He were confronted with the problems with which they have to deal. The principle of centralized administra-

*This suggestion of the municipal saloon is well within the pale of practical achievement. The experience of the Aerated Bread Company, in London, and the Coffee Palaces, in Liverpool, proves that nothing pays better than a well-conducted place of refreshment and place of call which can be used equally by both sexes. The new saloon when it is established would be a source of revenue to the city and not a charge upon its finances.

tion, with local responsibility and close intercommunication, has been adopted in the service of the Church. If any spiritual or moral evil occurs in one district, the whole of the massed forces of the associated churches can be depended upon to assist in its removal. Under this system, no district is left without the appliances of the civilization or of the means of grace. The churches have thus undergone a great change, and each is the center of the locality in which it stands. The minister every morning sits, with one or more assistants, to hear complaints, to listen to the distressed, to give counsel and to compose the difficulties of his parishioners. It is the new and modernized confessional, adapted to the endless diversities of life, in the complex civilization of the twentieth century. The church buildings are open all day and they are gradually being transformed into picture galleries and museums of sculpture, commemorating all that is best in the world of human reverence and gratitude.*

Besides this, every church was also a reading room, while all the class rooms were placed at the service of students who wished for a privacy which they could not find in the boarding house or at home. In the working class districts every church was also a concert room at the dinner hour. Nothing could be more remarkable than to see the church edifices crowded with grimy, brawny workmen eating out of their dinner pails and listening to organ recitals and vocal and instrumental music.

Chicago, which long ago achieved the foremost position in musical America, had not lost ground. The seed sown by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Tomlins had borne good fruit, and no privilege was more coveted by the

* If this seems strange to some who are accustomed to the scandalous spectacle of a church costing \$100,000 locked up from week end to week end, and only opened a few hours on Sunday, presumably for the worship of God, they may be reminded that in Southern Europe the churches do fulfil this function. They are the only picture gallery of the poor man; there he can find his wax statuary figures and learn something of architecture and the liberal arts.

singing classes in the public schools than to be allowed to sing at the midday concerts for the people.*

The schools had also undergone a great and memorable change. The post of Superintendent was regarded as the most important in the city after those of the Mayor, the Chairman of the Civic Federation, the President of Hull House and the Chairman of the Church of Chicago. He was a highly trained university man who had had practical experience in public school work. He had a staff selected from the brightest and best teachers, under the direction of a board whose duty it was to be perpetually on the road visiting all other cities for the purpose of getting pointers and picking up ideas for the schools in Chicago. Under their stimulating influence a great change had been brought about. Half of the teaching was done in the open air and by means of the natural object lessons with which the city abounded. The idea suggested by the German, the Austrian and the Irish villages had been taken up, and in Chicago there could be found, in the public parks, typical specimens of the buildings and scenery of the countries which had contributed of their most adventurous sons to the city of Chicago. Geography was studied as it is in various German and Swiss towns, by taking the children out into the country and making them draw maps and sketch what they saw. Natural History was not taught with cut-and-dried specimens in cases, but by contact with the living nature which surrounds us. A great improvement had been made in providing every school room with adequate playgrounds. At first the roofs were utilized for this purpose, but soon it came to be regarded as a public disgrace if the children were not provided with convenient playgrounds at the street level. Every vacant lot in the city was taken possession of and converted into a playground until such time as the owner thought fit to build upon it. By this means the vacant

* The experiment of having midday concerts for working people was tried on a small scale at the City Temple in London with remarkable success.

lots which used to so disfigure the city were utilized for the service of the children.

One of the first things which was rendered possible by the union of the Church of Chicago was the possibility of having religious teaching in the public schools. The Church was broad enough and wise enough to draw up a system of religious teaching to which all could subscribe. The teaching everywhere became more practical. Special attention was paid to cooking. The French *chef* who was at the head of the Culinary Department of the Education Board was at first in despair, but after a few years he comforted himself with the belief that, in the course of another generation, every woman in Chicago would be able to cook as well as if she had been born in France and had had the training of a French home.

After the Superintendent of Schools, the most important official in the town was the Chief of Police. His position, of all others, was perhaps the most coveted. The same feeling which leads the scions of the first families in Europe to aspire to commissions in the army or navy, in the twentieth century led the youth of the city to aspire to positions in the Police and Fire Departments. As these positions could only be secured by service in the ranks, there was great competition for the position of patrolmen. Entrance was by competitive examination, and for these examinations, the sons of the most cultured and of the wealthiest citizens entered most eagerly. Hence it was not at all strange to see the son of a millionaire in the patrolman's helmet, superintending the traffic at Madison and La Salle Streets, while others would do patrol duty before their own mansions. This raised the standard of the police force and "on the word of a patrolman" came to be regarded as equivalent to the old phrase "on the word of a gentleman," or "on the honor of an officer." Pupils who had attained special distinction at the public schools were sometimes, as a great reward, granted entrance

into the police force without undergoing the preliminary examinations; but with that exception the rule of admission by competitive examination was enforced. The police force was largely composed of women. The experiment begun by the Municipal Order League when police matrons were appointed had led to the adoption of a female police. This change resulted in raising the moral tone of the force and facilitated the dealing with the social evil, and with all matters relating to the welfare and custody of the children. The functions of the police had become greatly extended until from mere thief-catchers they had become the indispensable servants of the administration in almost every department of life.

The school buildings were utilized as covered-in playgrounds of evenings by the younger children, and as gymnasiums by the elder; while many of the class rooms were used for the purpose of social intercourse by the inhabitants of the neighborhood.*

Another great change which had come over the town was the increased attention which was paid to recreation. There was a circus in every park, and a theater in every ward. Both circus and theater were under the direct control of the municipality. The circuses were a source of perpetual stimulus to the physical training of the youth of the city. In the gymnasium which were connected with every school in the city, the achievements of the athletes of the circus were a constant inspiration both to boys and girls, and the Board of Education specially granted free admission to the circuses to such pupils as had distinguished themselves in their physical training. This applied to both sexes, the circus being one of the institutions which afford women with practical object lessons as to

* This is no more than what is done in London and several other towns. The London School Board allows the use of its finest school buildings during the week to the Happy Evenings Association, which uses them for playgrounds for the young children, and the Recreative Evenings Association, which utilizes them for gymnasiums, concerts and other means of social intercourse and entertainment.

the fact that they are not made of porcelain, but that they can, with training, make as much of their limbs as if they had been born of the other sex.

Another institution which was established for the mingled purpose of amusement and education was the Zoological Garden. There were three such gardens in Chicago. No lesson was given in natural history unless it was accompanied by a visit to the animals, which were lodged in cages fitted up so as to resemble as closely as possible their native habitat.*

But it was the theater which was the greatest re-enforcement of all the moral forces of the city. The dramatic instinct, so strongly rooted in every human breast, instead of being repressed, was developed and relied upon as a special means of cultivating the mind and reaching the heart of the population, and especially of the scholars. Every school and every Sunday School had its own dramatic society, and it was a proud day for the pious parent when her daughter was permitted to make her debut on the boards of the municipal theater. As the stage was recruited from the best citizens and the ablest scholars, the standard of its morality was at least as high as that prevailing in the Sunday School and the church choir. Any ward without its municipal theater was regarded as being in a state of spiritual destitution which called for the prayers of the churches, and their immediate assistance to supply the want.†

This work in Chicago began by a relative of Mrs. Potter Palmer who had been studying in Germany and who came back to Chicago full of the idea of starting a town theater. Happening one day to look in at the Park Theater, in order to contrast the stage of

*The Jardin des Plantes in Paris is a zoological and botanical garden to which all citizens have free access. Most of the German cities have zoological gardens for the instruction and amusement of their citizens.

†No one who has been to Oberammergau and seen the way in which a population of two or three thousand peasants can supply a whole dramatic troupe, capable of playing not merely the "Passion Play," but most of the classical dramas of their native land, can doubt that in the theater, rightly conducted, lies the most potent instrument of popular education which human hands have yet grasped.

Chicago with what he had seen in his university town in Germany, he was unutterably disgusted by the vulgarity and the obscenity of the play and the orgies of debauchery which followed the performance. As a result, he decided to make a beginning then and there. Calling upon the Mayor he laid facts before him. This led to the summary closing of the theater and the forfeiture of the license. He then formed a syndicate which decided to supersede the old farrago of brutality and indecency by a first-class variety entertainment. He decided to begin on a small scale and made a tour both of America and of Europe in order to ascertain what could be best done in order to obtain popular amusement that would amuse without degrading. When he returned he brought with him assistance which enabled him to make the Park Theater the most popular institution in Chicago. Its success led to the improvement of the standard of popular entertainments in other quarters, and after a time the syndicate felt strong enough to undertake the regular drama. From that time their progress was rapid. The church co-operated heartily and at last, at the suggestion of the Civic Federation, the City Council took the matter in hand. There was no pedantry about the entertainments. Man is a creature who needs to be amused, and amusement must be supplied to him in his own sphere with an upward tendency. This was recognized to the full, and in the seafaring quarters the entertainments were of a very free and easy nature. It was held that where the need was greatest, there must the means of grace be the most abundant; and it was a sight for the gods and men to see Archbishop Ireland presiding over an entertainment in the Sailor's Home where jolly tars, the hornpipe and the fiddlers, were playing as merrily as ever they did in any popular resort ungraced by the presence of a dignitary of the Church.

The means for supplying these appliances of civilization were furnished with less strain upon the resources of

the citizens than was felt under the old system. This was partly due to the action of some public-spirited millionaires, and also by the immense resources of revenue provided by the municipalization of the monopolies of service. Great markets were established in which the producers of the necessaries of life were able to sell directly to the consumer without the interference of the middleman. This of course is no more than what is done in every center of civilization in Europe, but Chicago went one better, as it has been her custom to do. The way was opened up by the action of Mr. Marshall Field and Mr. Leiter, who decided that as they had made a sufficient number of millions in their great stores it would be an interesting social experiment if they were to hand them over to the city. The City Council had long been composed of the best citizens in Chicago, who administered its affairs with efficiency and probity. The two great stores of Marshall Field & Co. and Siegel, Cooper & Co., passed into the hands of the City Council, fully stocked and with an adequate capital for carrying on the business. Other millionaires followed this example and soon the city found itself in the possession of income enough to carry out the realization of most of its ideals.

I referred to the fact that the skyscrapers had been built for the purpose of co-operative housekeeping. The first of these was established by the municipality for the housing of the employes of Siegel, Cooper & Co., after it passed into their hands. No one was compelled to live there unless they pleased, but the advantages were found to be so great and so much above what could be obtained elsewhere that it was soon filled. The cook, for instance, was a first-class French *chef*, and there was also in connection with it a large library with reading rooms, concert rooms, etc. There were also established, in connection with these co-operative homes, branch establishments in the country, which in summer time were always crowded. The roads were so good that there was

nothing to prevent the employes from cycling backwards and forwards to their place of business and their summer retreat. Cycling, I may add, has come into almost universal use both for men and women, with great advantages to themselves, and in the distribution of population. In these great homes domestic service became a profession. The cooks and the housemaids in the co-operative homes had at least the social position of a stenographer or a retail clerk. They worked in relays, and after they had finished they were as free to go and come as any clerk in an office or store.

The hours of labor generally had been adjusted to the eight-hour standard, with an immense gain to family life and without diminishing the economic value of the day's labor. Child labor was strictly forbidden, and the spectacle of a child of twelve or thirteen working in a store was so unusual as to lead to an immediate summons to the police. A labor bank had been established where those who were temporarily out of work could pawn themselves on security of their future labor, and a system of co-operative distribution among workers had been established on the basis of labor certificates which, within a small area and among friends and neighbors, facilitated exchange and dispensed with the costly service of the middleman. When employment was slack and periods of depression came, exact information was obtained as to the number of the unemployed and provision made for the utilization of their labor in the service of public improvement. Men could always work for their rations, and an unemployed man was considered as a wicked waste of a valuable asset of the community. The Church of Chicago in this followed the example of the Latter Day Saints, who have from the first regarded the organization of labor and the employment of the unemployed as one of the first of religious duties.*

* Few persons interested me more during my stay in Chicago than George Q. Cannon, of the Latter Day Saints, whom I met at the Auditorium Hotel on his way through the country. I had a long talk with him on the subject of the organization of labor and the relieving of the workless worker, which forms so important a

All pawnbrokers had disappeared and their places were taken up by popular banks of deposit managed by the municipality. Instead of paying ten per cent per month as was the case under the old system, the depositors did not pay more than ten per cent a year, and the municipal pawn shop, like the municipal saloon, more than paid its running expenses. The poor were relieved upon very different principles than what had formerly prevailed. The poorhouse at Dunning, to which at the end of the nineteenth century the helpless and forlorn were dispatched by the slowest trains that crawled over the iron way, in order to be packed together in a crowded building, is a thing of the past. The change was made not so much for the sake of the poor as in order to give better opportunity to their neighbors to visit them. After grave discussion and long consideration the Church of Chicago decided that with the poorhouse at Dunning, this means of grace was too far removed from the Christians of Chicago. It was necessary for their own souls that they should visit the sick and the afflicted, and the homes of the oppressed. As they could not find time to go down to Dunning the poor must be brought closer to them and established at their doors. Hence instead of one huge mass of overgrown pauperism, there were a multitude of citizens' almshouses, where the poor people were established within easy range of their neighbors. The churches took special charge of these institutions, maintained their efficiency and supplied the visitors. The responsibility of the churches for the moral and social well-being of the community was sharply recognized, and for any failure were taken to account promptly.

In the midst of all the preparations which were going on, on this bright June day, one church was conspicuous for the absence of any adornment. It was draped in black;

feature of American polity. President Cannon's ideas upon polygamy are detestable enough, but as a captain of industry, if I were an unemployed man I would rather look to him than to most of the Christian bishops with whom I have had any acquaintance.

and the reason why this church stood out in solitary gloom amid its gay and decorated neighbors was because of the birth of an illegitimate child in the block for which it had accepted responsibility to the Church of Chicago. Such a scandal, it was held, could not have occurred if the local church had done its duty. As the church had not been able to prove that it had done all that it might have done to have remedied the evil from which this seduction sprang it was doomed to wear penitential garb on this day of public rejoicing.

Medical service was provided free for all the citizens. The reason for making this municipal change was because it was held that disease in most cases arose from conditions for which the individual was not responsible, and that it was often traceable directly to the neglect of the city authorities. It was thought only just that if the individual citizen had to bear the pain and risk of death resulting from his illness, the least the city could do was to give him a free doctor and free drugs. The convalescent system of Chicago was the wonder of the world. Mr. George M. Pullman on his retirement from business had handed over three-quarters of his immense wealth to be employed in conveying convalescents and consumptives by Pullman cars to regions where their recovery would be expedited. Floating hotels in the summer season surrounded by a small flotilla of pleasure craft were anchored off the more beautiful and shelter spots of the lake, where, in the midst of air and water, the patients made a much more rapid recovery than was possible on land.

Disease, however, had been much improved owing to the improved cooking which had been brought about by the combined agency of the public schools and of Mr. Kohlsaats' bakery. Mr. Kohlsaat, when he devoted himself exclusively to the editorship of the *Inter Ocean*, had followed the example of Mr. Marshall Field, and handed over his bakery to the city to be utilized for the purpose of experimenting in supplying well-cooked food at a

minimum cost. The result was so successful that the Civic Restaurant became a kind of Cooks' University. The menu was always published the day in advance, and householders and their cooks could come down and take lessons in the preparing of the delicate dishes with which the Civic *Chef* made cooking almost a fine art.

It was not cooking alone which had become a fine art. The much-neglected art of hospitality, especially civic hospitality, had been revived. Nothing in the traditions of the Lord Mayor of London or the Syndic of Florence could rival the hospitality of the Mayors of Chicago. They entertained as a matter of course every distinguished visitor who arrived on the American continent. This notable innovation was begun in the first mayoralty of Mrs. Potter Palmer, which made the year 1900 memorable in the history of America. Nor was it only at banquets that they displayed their hospitality. Gala performances, operatic, dramatic and musical, were provided for their guests, while all the citizens regarded it as an honor to keep open house for the entertainment of the stranger, for open house was not confined to distinguished strangers. The millionaires no longer kept their treasures of art to themselves and a select circle of friends. The same generous rule which prevails in the Old World was accepted here. On visiting days the poorest citizen in Chicago could drink his fill of beauty in the picture galleries of the richest millionaire on Prairie Avenue. A citizen who possessed valuable pictures and excluded the citizens from seeing them was regarded as virtually a thief, and when due representation had been made and made in vain, was boycotted by his neighbors and excommunicated by the Church.

Owing to the general introduction of taller buildings in the residential quarters, great spaces had been cleared and devoted to parks and recreation grounds. Each nationality had its own playing ground, in which it pursued its national sports. The streets were planted with

shade trees and provided with seats. Fountains played in all the public places and in winter time the squares were converted into winter gardens where artificial warmth enabled the citizens to enjoy the music and the society which in summer time they found in the parks. Every citizen was supplied every week with the official gazette of the city, by which everyone was kept informed as to the movement of the civic life.

Pageants were numerous and splendid. On Mayor's Day the procession which filed through the city cast the civic pageants of the Lord Mayors of London far in the shade. But that was only one of the half a dozen which brightened the civic life of Chicago. Chicago Day was a great popular *fete*. Bands played, processions moved through the streets, all gay with flowers and bunting, all those who had deserved best of the city were decorated and the day finished with a grand display of fireworks. The whole world was ransacked for hints how to beautify and enliven these *fetes*. The *Fete Dieu* of Southern Europe supplied many hints which enabled the Master of Ceremonies to decorate the streets of the city with a wealth of beauty the like of which was never seen in the Windy City in the olden times. The great aquatic *fete* which took place at the annual regatta was another ceremonial which it was worth coming to Chicago to see.

Enough has been said to indicate the scope and range of civic life which has made Chicago the ideal city of the world. Meanwhile the sun had risen high in the heavens and the first notes of the national anthem were heard mingled with the sounds of many voices, and the cheering of the crowd that was mustered thickly round the magnificent palace which had taken the place of the old City Hall. As far as the eye could see the streets were gay with flags and bright with arches. An expectant crowd lined the sidewalks waiting for the approach of a procession. Bells were ringing and now and again from the Lake Front could be heard the deep boom of the salute of the men-of-war lying off the harbor. Pres-

ently an advance corps of cavalry trotted down the street in front of the procession. The notes of German music filled the air and the smart uniforms of the Imperial escort excited universal admiration as they swept by. Presently, surrounded by a brilliant staff, there rode down the street a resolute soldier, with an imperial presence, saluting as he acknowledged the cheers of the enthusiastic people. It was the German Emperor on his way to the City Hall to be presented with the freedom of the city of Chicago, which had been voted to him on his first visit to the American Continent, to which he had come expressly in order to see for himself the ideal city of the world.

CHAPTER VII.

A CLOSING WORD.

If Christ came to Chicago what would He wish me to do?

That is the question with which I hope every reader will close this book. Nor is the answer difficult or far to seek.

For what He would have you to do is to follow in His footsteps and be a Christ to those among whom you live, in the family, in the workshop, in the city and in the state.

Be a Christ. The more you disbelieve in Christianity as it is caricatured, the more earnestly should you labor to live the life and to manifest the love and, if need be, to die the death of Jesus of Nazareth.

Even if you doubt whether He ever really lived, God Incarnate in mortal flesh, the more imperative is your duty to endeavor so far as you can, to realize in your own person that supreme embodiment of Love, in order that now, if never before, there may be on earth a Messiah of God who is Love among men who are perishing for want of love.

Be a Christ!—everything is summed up in that.

What Christ would do if He came to Chicago in these last days and were living in your circumstances, even so do you; and do it not once or twice in moments of spiritual ecstasy or of moral enthusiasm, but do it all the time.

Each day's duties at home or at work, every friend whom you love, every acquaintance which you form, every occasion where a duty confronts you and every opportunity where you can manifest love by word or deed or look—there and then you can be a Christ. If you

are selfish and unloving, then instead of being God's Messiah to your fellow men you are shutting out God from a portion of His own world.

Whenever you give up yourself—your time, which is a part of your life; your thought, which is a part of your mind; your love, which is a part of your soul—to serve others, you are, so far as that sacrifice goes, manifesting God's Love to man. For God is Love and His service is sacrifice of self in helping others.

His commandment is exceeding broad. As I have attempted to show in the previous pages, it applies especially to a great field of human service, with which many imagine religion has nothing to do. A religion which has nothing to do with any human effort is not religion. For religion is the life of man going out of himself to unite itself to the life of other men so that they may all be one in Love, which is God.

The New Redemption for which the world has long been waiting wearily is nigh at hand. The old forms having served their turn and done their work are passing away. They hinder where they ought to help, and fail to interpret the full orb'd revelation of the will of God toward us in all its bearings upon the social, political and national life of man.

"A new commandment give I unto you, that you love one another," is still, alas, a new commandment in a world that is more or less avowedly dominated by the doctrine of Cain. The New Redemption will come when that new commandment has cast out the Evil Spirit, the Prince of this world, whose watchword is, "Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." For it was the hindmost whom Christ came to save.

For this New Redemption for which the world waits, there must come a new Catholicity, transforming and widening and redeeming the old. The new religion, which is but the primitive essence of the oldest of all religions, has but one formula—Be a Christ! The new

church which is already dimly becoming conscious of its own existence, under all kinds of ecclesiastical and dogmatic and agnostic concealments, is not less broad. What is the Church? It is the Union of all who Love in the Service of all who Suffer.

Are you willing to help? If Christ came to your city would He find you ready? If so you will not have long to wait. For the least of these, My brethren, are a numerous tribe, and an hour will not pass after you close this book before your readiness will be put to the test. And Christ will then see in your case, "How the men, My brethren, believe in Me."

THE END.

APPENDIX A.

BLACK LIST.

OCCUPIERS, OWNERS AND TAX-PAYERS OF PROPERTY USED FOR IMMORAL PURPOSES.

NO.	STREET.	DESCRIPTION.	KEEPER.	OWNER.	TAXES PAID BY.
423	Clark St....	Saloon .....	.....	Annie M. Howard ..	Jacob Franks, 163 Clark-st.
429	"	{ Saloon and assign- nation house.	Joe Moll	Sidney A. Kent	A. E. Kent.
435	"	{ Saloon and assign- nation house.	C. F. Kinnucan.	Albert E. Kent.	
441	"	House of ill-fame	Carrie Watson .	Caroline V. Watson ..	Caroline Watson.
443	"	" "	Kitty Plant	No record	S. Hofman, 744 W. Monroe-st.
445	"	" "	Daisy Plant	No record	
447	"	" "	Miss Lulu ...	Jenney Lehr.	Mrs. M. Myer.
449				Andrew Iuerotte .....		Mrs. R. Iuerotte, 457 S. Clark-st.
451	"	" "	May Blank	Samuel Hofman	S. Hofman, 744 W. Monroe-st.
459				Andrew Iuerotte	Mrs. R. Iuerotte, 457 S. Clark-st.
463	"	House of ill-fame	Miss Lillie	Philo C. Hildreth ..	Philo C. Hildreth, 523 N. Weber- st., Colorado Springs, Col.
467	"	" "	Cora Clark ..	Annie C. Soloman .	
469	"	Saloon .....	.....	Grace M. Cheney ..	Grace M. Cheney, 453 Washing- ton-bl.
				Blg., Le Grand O'- Dell. Deed in trust to Thos. H. Bliss.)		Bliss & Hanscomb.
471	"	House of ill-fame	Jennie Moore..	Anna A. Cheney.....	W. W. Strong, 436 Washing'n-bl.
471 1/2	"	" "	Thos. May	Rosa Foster.....	Rosa Foster, 685 W. Indiana-st.
473	"	" "	Jessie Wilson.	Est., Hannah Meyer }	W. T. Adams, 125 La Salle-st.
				Lease, W. T. Adams. }	
477	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	Livi Winsberg.....	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
477 1/2	"	" " "	F. Whittaker ..	C. E. Robinson est. }	Knight & Marshall.
479	"	" " "	Wm. Rcidy..	William Short	
481	"	" " "	J. Finley.....	.....	.....
481 1/2						House of ill-fame ....	Ada Dick .....
483	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	Sara B. & Harriet Port.	Wm. Port, 5046 State-st.
495	"	" " "	Adolph Miller }	Bldg. W. M. Jenks. }	J. Lefe. Curtis, 69 Dearborn-st.
497	"	" " "	Joe Moll	Lease L. Friedberg. }	

499	Clark St....	Saloon	Frank Gary....	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
501	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	French Georgie.	Julius Berndt.....	Julius Berndt, 3232 Vernon-av.
507	"	" " "	Jimmie's Place.	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
509	"	Saloon .....	.....	.....	.....
511	"	House of ill-fame	Maud Gillian	Louise Mackway... }	C. L. Jenks, 100 Washington-st. Marian Mackway, 508 Belden-av E. Mackway, 930 Chi. Op. Hse. Louise Mackway, 16 Kendall-st.
511 1/2	"	" " "	Belle Gireoux		
513	"	" " "	Miss Gerbold.		
513 1/2	"	" " "	Miss Maggie. }		
515	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
517	"	" " "	.....	Gerado Nugliore... }	Gerado Nugliore, 519 Clark-st.
519	"	" " "	.....	Gerado Nugliore... }	
523	"	Saloon	Marcus & Leis.	Herman H. Gage, sold	to A. Gage.
525	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
527	"	" " "	H. Johm..... }		
529	"	Saloon .....	.....	
531	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	Roger Plant, Jr	Roger Plant, 531 S. Clark-st.
533	"	" " "	{ M. Hilderbrand. }	{ Roger Plant, Jr }	{ May Hilderbrand, Santa Monica California. }
535	"	{ House of ill-fame below level of street. A den of thieves. }	Clifford Moody.	Edwin O. Gale, Sr. }	Churchill C. Clarke, Hotel Metropole.
537	"	" " "	Jennie Love. }	Edwin O. Gale, Sr. }	Churchill C. Clarke, Hotel Metropole.
539	"	" " "	Belle Taylor. }		
541	"	" " "	Miss Davis..... }	Ambolena Jones et al.	A. M. Wells, Quincy, Ill.
547	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	.....	Martha E. Bucking- ham	C. L. Jenks, 100 Washington-st.
549	"	Saloon (below street).	.....	.....	.....
549	"	{ House of ill-fame, 2d floor. }	{ Lena Chris- tianson. }	Eva C. Reker.....	Eva C. Reker, 5124 Halsted-st.
553	"	Saloon (below street).	.....	No record	No record.

No.	STREET.	DESCRIPTION.	KEEPER.	OWNER.	TAXES PAID BY
555	Clark St....	{ House of ill-fame and den of colored thieves. }	{ Sallie White (a notorious thief). }	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
561	"	House of ill-fame	Miss Amanda	Bldg., W. M. Jenks. } Lse., L. Friedberg.. }	J. Lafe. Curtis, 69 Dearborn-st.
54	Taylor St...	House of ill-fame	N. Campbell		
52	"	" "	Mrs. Jordan .	Chancellor L. Jenks.	Chancellor L. Jenks.*
51	"	{ Saloon and house of ill-fame. }	A. Prato.....		
53	"	Saloon	Roger Plant .		
76	Cust. H. Pl. (Fourth Ave.)	Saloon	J. Monahan....	Isaac Atkinson estate.	Mead & Co.
78	" "	House of ill-fame	Miss Davis... }	C. E. Robinson estate.	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
80	" "	" "	Maggie Moore }		
82	" "	" "	Mrs. Mitchell }	Samuel L. Alexander.	S. L. Alexander, 905 Jackson-bl.
84	" "	" "	Mrs. Ellison. }		
86	" "	Saloon	C. C. Salvator }	Mary L. & Andrew } J. Scott..... }	Mary L. & Andrew J. Scott, 86 Custom House-pl.
86	" "	{ Gambling den, 2d floor. }	A. J. Scott... }		
88	" "	House of ill-fame	J. Goodrich ...	Jennie Tompkins, sold	to E. Lowery.
90	" "	" "	Ida Moss.....	Mrs. Emily Barkers..	Mrs. E. Barkers, 1332 Wash'n-bl.
92	" "	" "	Jennie Letang.	E. Alice Miller.....	E. A. Miller, 6218 Michigan-av.
94	" "	" "	Blanch D'Ory..	Jennie Phillips.....	Eugenia Phillips, 13 W. Park-av.
110	" "	" "	Nellie Dillon. }	Fred R. Otis..... }	F. R. Otis, 236 State-st.
112	" "	" "	Madam Theo... }			Annie Conway..... }
114	" "	" "	Nellie Dihville.	Mary O'Day.....	E. A. Cummings & Co. Mary O'Day, 132 Dearborn-st.
122	" "	" "	E. Ritchie....	E. Ritchie.....	E. Ritchie, 122 Custom Hse.-pl.
124	" "	" "	Miss Monroe... }	Abraham Wilkins.... }	Abraham Wilkins, 124 4th-av. Chas. A. Roggio, 3219 S. Park-av.
126	" "	" "	Miss Shakes... }			Chas. A. Roggio..... }
128	" "	" "	Miss Andrea. }	Lot 21, blk. 125, add to Town of South Chicago..... }	Bernard Mahon, 1355 State-st.
130	" "	" "	Belle Smith... }			Bernard Mahon..... }
132	" "	House of ill-fame	Mad. Cloquette.	V. Fields, 138-40C.H.P.	J. W. Thomas, 144 Clark-st.
134	" "	" "	Lucy Celorime.	Dora Goldstine.....	Stein Bros.

*Mr. Chancellor L. Jenks wishes me to deny that he owns any property that is used as a house of prostitution.

138 } Cust. H. Pl.	House of ill-fame	Vina Fields..	John G. Mott.....	John G. Mott, 206 LaSalle-st.
140 } (Fourth Ave.)	" "	" "	Sarah O'Hanna.....	D. W. Mitchell, 45 Macalister-pl.
142	" "	" "	Zyulica Mercier.....	P. Brown, 126 Dearborn-st.
144	" "	" "	Mary Hastings.....	No Record.....
146	" "	" "	Mad. Andrea..	Catherine Hull.....
148	" "	" "	Miss Ritta.....	Chas. Metyner.....
150	" "	" "	Miss Masker...	Gastain Ailara.....
152	" "	" "	Miss Masker...	Jane Barnet.....
154	" "	" "	Madame Flora.	Jno B. Grossett... }
156	" "	" "	Madame Flora.	Chas. D. W. Crocker }
158	" "	" "	Mme. Carmen.....	.....
160	" "	" "	Margueritta....	Chas. Metyner.....
164	" "	" "	Miss Lillie.....	Morris Eisenberg.....
168	" "	{ Saloon and As- signation house. }	Geo. Bower....	Morris Eisenberg....
131	" "	House of ill-fame	Lizzie Payton..	No Record.....
133	" "	" "	Miss J. Clyde. }	No Record.....
137	" "	" "	EmmaHarper }	Joel Bigelow, 2449 Prairie-av.
141	" "	" "	Clara Ferris...	Han. W. Jennings.. }
176	" "	" "	Minnie White..	Leased to L. Olcese. }
178	" "	" "	May Willard...	W. C. S. R. R. Co ...
180	" "	" "	Dora Lyons....	Geo. Heath.....
182	" "	" "	M. A. Monroe..	Mary A. Monroe.....
117	Plymouth Pl	House of ill-fame	Mrs. Morris....	Jane S. Haven.....
119	" "	" "	Zoe Owens	Mary A. Monroe.....
125 }	" "	" "	Mary Woodson.	Jno. B. Baxter.....
127 }	" "	" "	Mrs. E. W. Knights..	Mrs. E. W. Knights..
Anchorage Mission for Fallen Women.				

*Mr. Olcese informs me that these premises are held under a lease which expressly provides they shall not be used for any immoral or illegal purpose or in contravention of the ordinances of Chicago or the statutes of Illinois. Neither he nor his agent had ever visited the premises since the lease was granted. "Acting upon information acquired since receiving your communication, I have this day instructed my attorney to cancel the lease and institute proper proceedings to obtain possession of the premises."

No.	STREET.	DESCRIPTION.	KEEPER.	OWNER.	TAXES PAID BY.
145	Plymouth Pl	House of ill-fame	Josie Burnham.	Gataina Ailara.....	Barnes & Parish.
153	" "	" "	Miss Frankie ..	A. E. Kent	A. E. Kent.
173	" "	" "	Nellie Michell.	Sophie Miller.....	H. Miller, 58 Evergreen-av.
175	" "	" "	Mrs. H. Skinner	A. E. Kent	A. E. Kent.
177	" "	" "	Dora Clafin...	Mrs. Bertha Pollak..	Mrs. B. Pollak, 2714 Indiana-av.
181	" "	" "	Eva Little....	John Koch.....	John Koch, 385 Evanston-av.
183	" "	" "	Annie Huff....	Rudolph Weber.....	Mrs. H. Weber, 451 State-st.
189	" "	" "	Ollie Prosser...	Catherine Buckley...	W. Buckley, 5300 Lexington-av.
191	" "	" "	Mrs. Parker ...	B. & P. Mahone.....	B. & P. Mahone, 1355 State-st.
193	" "	" "	S. Washington.	Edward Fox.....	Sold to R. Fuller.
197	" "	" "	{ Colored } { Prostitutes. }	{ C. S. Frank. { A. T. & S. F. R. R	
205 } to }	" "	" "	{ Colored } { Prostitutes. }	{ No. 205-7-9-13, A. { T. S. F. R. R., 211	
213 } to }	" "	" "	{ Colored } { Prostitutes. }	{ Jno. Johnson, Jr. { No. 215, F. Knoe- pffe. Nos. 217-18 & 221, no record.	A. T. & S. Fe R. R. Co.
223 } 225 }	" "	" "	Nannie Powers.	C. S. French. No.	
227	" "	" "	Nannie Powers.	223, A. T. & S. F. R.	
2006	Dearborn St.	House of ill-fame	Cora Campbell.	Kate Hastings	G. W. Crawford, 1444 Unity blg.
2014	" "	" "	Nellie Tuttle ..	Emanuel Pilser	E. Pilser, 34 Randolph-st.
2016	" "	" "	Clara Dinnick ..	Mary J. Robbins.....	M. J. Robbins, 2016 Dearborn-st.
2018	" "	" "	May Wilson ...	C. E. Robinson estate	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
2020	" "	" "	Minnie Ross. }	E. Ritchie.....	Bayley & Waldo, Borden blk.
2024	" "	" "	E. Ritchie.... }	Jennie B. Walker....	D. F. Flannery, 100 Wash't'n-st.
2034	" "	" "	Mrs. C. Hastings	No record	S. Chadwick, 3010 Wabash-av.
2108	" "	" "	Ellen Sherman.	John J. DeLacy, }	Clara Weber, 2913 Dearborn-st.
2110	" "	" "	L. Manning . }	2222 Dearborn-st. }	J. J. DeLacy, 2222 Dearborn-st.
2112	" "	" "	Ollie Lavan. }	Matt. Melwery, et al.	Libby P. Hardy, 3123 Rhodes-av.
2116	" "	" "	Jessie Martin ..	Emma Leronx.....	Emma Leronx, 2124 Dearb'n-st.
2118	" "	" "	Madame Lulu...	No record	Sold to W. H. Johnson.
2120	" "	" " ....	.....	Emma Leronx.....	Emma Leronx, 2124 Dearb'n-st.
2124	" "	" "	Annie Honore.	.....	.....

2109	Dearborn St.	House of ill-fame...	Mrs. King	Mrs. Cath. A. Duffey	Mrs. C.A. Duffey, 2109 Dearb'n-st.
2113	" "	" "	Mrs. Hatfield } Mrs. Johnson ..	James A. Ryan	Jas. A. Ryan, 469 S. Clark-st.
2119	" "	" "	May Myers ..	Olof Rudbeck	D. F. Crilly, 167 Dearborn-st.
2121	" "	" "	..... Mrs. Slater	Cornelia A. Miller. }	Mrs. Stanton, 2121 Dearborn-st.
2127	" "	" "	..... Clara Hudson ..	Mrs. P. A. Stanton...	L. Brennan, 2127 Dearborn-st.
2129	" "	" "	..... Emma Rose ...	Lucretia Brennan ...	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
2131	" "	" "	..... Mrs. Allen	C. E. Robinson estate	E. Williams, 2131 Dearborn-st.
2133	" "	" "	..... M. Blanchard..	Ellen Williams	W H.. Wilson, 209 36 LaSalle-st.
2108	Armour Ave.	" "	..... Mrs. S. Stewart.	J. F. Primky	D. J. Hamilton, 11 Reaper blk.
2106	" "	" "	..... Miss Robinson.	Jos. Lavin	C. D. Doran, 2107 Clark-st.
2117	" "	" "	..... (col) Maggie Jones..	No record	A. Ponsely, 2117 Armour-av.
2115	" "	" "	..... Madame Brown	No record	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
2111	" "	" "	..... Miss Lulu	Mary F. Wells	Dan Scott, 3647 Armour-av.
2107	" "	" "	..... Allon White...	No record	S. Chadwick, 3010 Wabash-av.
2103	" "	" "	..... Grace St. Clair.	No record	J. H. Lyman, 2103 Armour-av.
2028	" "	" "	..... Millie Stern ...	Harriet F. Storey ...	J. M. Cliver, 84 LaSalle-st.
2026	" "	" "	(Jap) Minnie Shima }	John E. Oehman	John E. Oehman, 2247 Wentworth-av.
2022	" "	" "	..... Nellie Woods }	Edward J. Fisher	Edward J. Fisher, 2015 Clark-st.
2014	" "	" "	..... Kate Edwards..	Arthur Meyer	J. Thomas, 2006 Armour-av.
2008	" "	" "	..... Fannie Edwards }	Wm. E. Wicker.... }	W. J. Maynard by E. Goodrich & Co., 125 LaSalle-st.
2031 }	" "	" "	..... May Harrison..	John D. Ryan	John D. Ryan, 469 S. Clark-st.
2033 }	" "	" "	..... Minnie Harlan.	No record	F. Heldebrand, 2026 Dearborn-st.
2029	" "	" "	..... Lizzie Crane ..	C. E. Robinson estate	T. H. Schintz, 81 Clark-st.
2027	" "	" "	..... IreneOakland }	Mrs. Wilson ..	
2017	" "	" "	..... Mrs. Wilson ..	Miss Stewart ..	Catherine Foley, 2007 Armour-av.
2015	" "	" "	..... Miss Stewart.	Miss Rogers ..	
2011	" "	" "	..... Mrs. Wilson ..	Catherine Norton ..	
2009	" "	" "	..... Miss Stewart.		
2007	" "	" "	..... Miss Rogers .		

It is only just to remember that persons who pay taxes as agents for property have often no means of controlling the disposition of that property. It is also well to state that in many cases the owners of the houses are only owners of the ground on which the houses stand, with next to no power of control over the tenants of the houses built on their land. In other cases they have inherited the property and do not know what to do with it.

It is possible to cancel a lease under the law of the State of Illinois if the tenant uses the premises for immoral purposes, but the difficulty of obtaining legal evidence sufficient to convict is an obstacle in the way of speedy and effective action.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
 CHICAGO, COUNTY OF COOK. } ss

NORMAN A. LEES, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that the annexed sheets attached to and forming part of this affidavit, have been compiled by him, and that the description of the property duly numbered and tabulated thereon, is to the best of his belief true.

NORMAN A. LEES.
 Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Justice of the Peace, for the Town of South Chicago, County of Cook, State of Illinois, this 3d day of January, A. D. 1894.
 D. J. LYON, Justice of the Peace.

The foregoing list, as will be seen, does not attempt to include all the houses used for this purpose in Chicago. The field is too wide. I selected two districts, Armour Avenue and the Levee, and instructed a detective and police reporter to make an exhaustive return of the houses used for purposes of prostitution in those districts. When he had done so, I sent another person around to check his information as to names, etc. I then submitted the return so obtained to a competent real estate agent, with instructions to obtain from the official records the name of the owner and the name and address of the tax-payer. In order to avoid any mistake or injustice, inadvertently committed through an error in the returns, I sent notice in the following form to all the tax-payers named in the list.

M.....

January 12, 1894.

Sir: I find your name in a return prepared for me as paying taxes on premises situate.....on behalf of the owner.....

As these premises are described on affidavit in the same return as being openly used as a House of Prostitution, in contravention of Articles 1602-5 of the Municipal Code, I write to ask whether you are aware of the fact, or whether you have any explanations to offer, or corrections to make, before I publish the said list of owners of Houses of Ill Fame in the book on Chicago which I am preparing for the press.

I am your obedient servant,

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

One of the tax-payers informed me that I had rendered myself liable to fine and imprisonment by the mere fact of issuing this circular. It may be so, but I think it would not have been just to have risked including any name in the list without giving ample opportunity for correction and explanation. The list is as precedes, after emendations made in consequence of the issue of this circular.

The foregoing list of houses of ill fame, their keepers, owners, agents, etc., has only been compiled after a very careful inquiry into the matter by a fully competent investigator and a real estate expert. Owing, however, to the constant change of residence on the one hand, and the frequent sale of property on the other, it may not be exactly correct when it meets the eye of the reader. The list *was* correct on Jan. 1st of this year (1894), and it therefore fulfills the purpose for which it was compiled.

Chapter 38, Section 97, of the Criminal Code of the State of Illinois, says:

Whoever keeps or maintains a house of ill fame or place for the practice of prostitution or lewdness, or whoever patronizes the same, or lets any house, room, or other premises for any such purpose, or shall keep a common, ill-governed and disorderly house, to the encouragement of idleness, gaming, drinking, fornication or other misbehavior, shall be fined not exceeding \$200. * * * * And whoever shall lease to another any house, room, or other premises, in whole or in part, for any of the uses or purposes finable under this section, or knowingly permits the same to be so used or occupied, shall be fined not exceeding \$200, and the house or premises so leased, occupied or used, shall be held liable for and may be sold for any judgment obtained under this section. * * * *

EXTRACT FROM MUNICIPAL CODE OF CHICAGO.

No person shall keep or maintain or be an inmate of, or in any way connected with or in any way contribute to the support of any house of ill fame or assignation, under a penalty of not less than ten dollars for each offense, and the further penalty of one hundred dollars for every twenty-four hours such person shall keep or maintain said house after the first conviction, or after any such person shall have been ordered by any member of the police force to discontinue the same.

Every person found in any house of ill fame or assignation, shall be considered an inmate within the meaning of Section 1602 of this Article.

Every house of ill fame or house of assignation, where men and women resort for the purpose of prostitution, is hereby ordered to be a nuisance.

APPENDIX B.

THE CHICAGO CENTRAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

The following are particulars of the Constitution and Objects of the Central Relief Association, formed in December at a conference summoned by the Civic Federation:

President—T. W. Harvey.

Vice-Chairman Executive Committee—C. S. H. Mixer.

Treasurer—Lyman J. Gage.

Chairman Finance Committee—John J. Mitchell.

Auditor—Andrew McLeish.

The Executive Committee is composed exclusively of the chairmen of the various Standing Committees, as follows :

On Finance—J. J. Mitchell.

On City, County and State Relations—Alderman Madden.

On Provisions of Supplies in Food, Fuel, etc. and Storage—C. S. H. Mixer.

On Distribution of Supplies in Kind—Otis S. Favor.

On Transportation—R. A. Waller.

On Shelter of Men—D. J. Harris.

On Shelter and Employment of Women—Dr. Sarah H. Stevenson.

On Hospitals and Homes—Mrs. Potter Palmer.

On Children's Homes—Mrs. J. M. Flower.

On Medical Aid—Dr. Frank S. Johnson.

On Visitation—Professor C. R. Henderson and Professor A. W. Small, Vice Chairman.

On Organization and Co-operation with Charitable Institutions—T. W. Harvey.

On Co-operation with Social Organizations and Clubs—John W. Brooks, Jr.

On Co-operation with Churches and Religious Organizations—P. F. Pettibone.

On Publications and Press—R. A. Waller.

On Auditing—A. McLeish.

On Legal Action—H. B. Hurd.

To the Public: All who give money to men on the streets or at the door are doing harm. They are increasing pauperism, and doing a wrong to the individual and to the State.

Do not give tickets that will entitle the recipient to food or lodging without investigation, or without an equivalent in work.

It is just as harmful to give food, shelter or clothing to the unworthy as it is to give them money, since the one as well as the other gives support to lazy and dishonest people.

Give only such tickets as are provided by reputable institutions, and which refer families or single persons to the various institutions where their case will be investigated, work provided for those who are able, hospitals for those who are sick; fuel, food or money to families who are in distress.

Most of the following institutions issue such tickets either to their members or to the public at large, viz.:

The County Agent, No. 107 South Clinton Street, who cares for permanent paupers or families in which there is no probability of their bettering their condition.

The Chicago Relief and Aid Society, that investigates and cares for families who are usually self-supporting, at its central office, Nos. 51 and 53 La Salle Street, and its various branch offices, as follows: No. 420 Lincoln Avenue, No. 1105 Milwaukee Avenue, No. 529 West Monroe Street, No. 317 West Polk Street, No. 380 South Halsted Street, No. 3101 Wabash Avenue, No. 5433 Lake Avenue, No. 395 North Clark Street. Work for married men at their woodyard.

The United Hebrew Charities, No. 223 Twenty-Sixth Street, that relieve suffering and prevent pauperism among the Jewish poor of the city.

The German Relief and Aid Society, at No. 49 La Salle Street, that gives aid to Germans who have been in the city less than three years.

St. Andrew's Society, at No. 1341 Fulton Street, that relieves all deserving Scotchmen.

St. George's Society, at No. 195 Washington Street, grants relief to persons of English parentage.

Danish Relief Society, No. 249 West Chicago Avenue, assists worthy Danish people.

Polish National Alliance, No. 574 Noble Street. This is a National organization holding beneficiary funds, and for the present emergency a general relief committee has been formed, which gives food, fuel and money for rent, to worthy resident Polish families.

Scandinavian Relief Society, at No. 133 North Peoria Street, that aids Swedish, Norwegian and Danish worthy poor. They give relief in the form of provisions and lodgings.

Norwegian Society, corner Peoria and Indiana Streets, that gives immediate temporary relief to all Norwegians.

Bohemian Society, No. 776 West Twelfth Street, that aids all worthy Bohemians. The society has visitors and all worthy cases receive food, coal and clothing, but no money.

Swiss Benevolent Society, No. 49 La Salle Street, to assist indigent Swiss people with pecuniary relief or hospital care.

Soldiers' Home in Chicago, Nos. 51 and 53 La Salle Street, devotes the income from its investments toward relieving indigent soldiers, their widows and children.

The G. A. R., that gives relief to needy soldiers and their widows.

The Brotherhood Employment Bureau, at No. 37 Michigan Street, that gives work to able-bodied men.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society, which has a bureau of relief in every Catholic parish in the city.

The Visiting Nurses' Association, Room 1116 Masonic Temple, furnishes nurses and promotes cleanliness and procures proper care for the sick.

The Young Women's Christian Association, with their various homes and offices, as follows: Home, No. 228 Michigan Avenue; transient homes, No. 367 Jackson Boulevard, No. 3528 Wentworth Avenue, No. 6307 Stewart Boulevard; Rosalie Court Home, No. 583 Rosalie Court; employment bureau, No. 243 Wabash Avenue; travelers' aid department, Englewood branch.

Woman's Club Emergency Bureau, Room 29 Athenæum Building, gets situations and gives work and shelter to women.

Minnetonka Workingwoman's Home, No. 21 South Peoria Street, which is a home for self-supporting women, \$2.50 per week.

Home for Friendless, No. 1920 Wabash Avenue, free for women and children.

St. Joseph's Home for the Friendless (Catholic), free and pay, No. 409 South May Street.

Home of Providence for Unemployed Girls, Calumet Avenue and Twenty-Sixth Street, Catholic, free and pay.

Adelphia Industrial Home, Austin, Ill., for girls, free.

Workingwoman's Home, No. 529 Monroe Street, free and pay.

Anchorage Mission, No. 125 Plymouth Place, free, for women.

W. C. T. U. Home, No. 870 West Madison Street.

Woman's Shelter, corner Polk and Halsted Streets.

Chicago Exchange for Woman's Work, No. 130 Wabash Avenue, provides a

depot for the reception and sale of any marketable article which a woman can make in her own home, or any valuable article which her necessities oblige her to dispose of.

Masonic, Odd Fellows, and other brotherhood organizations care for their own members.

The various free dispensaries, of which there are twenty-two in the city.

Bureau of Justice to assist in securing legal protection against injustice for those who are unable to protect themselves.

For information concerning applicants for relief of which you are in doubt as to the proper reference, apply to No. 82 Market Street, to the Central Relief Association.

For information concerning the work of societies doing relief work in Chicago apply to the Central Relief Association, No. 1015 The Rookery. They refer to all the various institutions to which any applicant may properly belong. They are now preparing an alphabetical list by names and street numbers, in which all those who are receiving aid will be recorded, and which can be examined by any citizen who desires to know what any society may be doing, thereby preventing fraud and duplication, and also furthering the work of properly aiding the worthy poor.

There are many hospitals and homes which are known to our citizens generally, for men, women and children, and there are various reformatory institutions of which information may be had at the office of the Central Relief Association, No. 1015 Rookery Building.

Information concerning other relief societies will be published as soon as the committee on co-operation have the facts ready for publication.

By order of Executive Committee.

T. W. HARVEY, Chairman.

APPENDIX C.

SOME CURIOSITIES OF CHICAGO ASSESSMENTS.

The present system of assessing real and personal property in Chicago has been denounced as scandalous and unjust, iniquitous and contrary to sound policy by the Mayor of Chicago, by successive Comptrollers, and by the Finance Committee of the City Council. It has been vehemently assailed by the *Chicago Times*, which has published a series of articles commenting in the strongest terms upon the injustice and the disparity of the taxes levied upon the poor property owner, who pays through the nose while his rich neighbor goes comparatively scot free. The facts, however, are so startling and the figures so strong that it is impossible to frame a statement which is more damning than a few extracts from the tax books. In order to see how things stood I instructed a real estate agent to go through the official returns and extract from them the assessments of real and personal property made in the cases of most prominent people in Chicago, including the millionaires, the aldermen, the members of the Civic Federation and the newspapers, etc. I also instructed him to obtain the assessments of the more notable buildings in the city, and for the purpose of comparison to obtain the assessed value of various smaller premises owned by wage workers and others. The returns which he has made will be scrutinized with keen interest in Chicago, and they will afford much matter for curious comment elsewhere. The returns would have been much more complete if it would have been possible to have employed a real estate valuer to have made a really fair valuation, but this is difficult, especially in the case of personalty. I could not send a valuer into the stables of a millionaire, nor could I introduce a competent assessor into the domesticities of Mr. Yerkes. There seems to be no reason to doubt the general correctness of the statement that taking the city all around the assessed value is

only one-eighth of the real value. The owners of small houses are often assessed at one-fourth, one-third, and even one-half of their real value, while the owners of the mansions and the sky-scrapers escape with one-tenth, one-twentieth, or even one-thirtieth of their real value. The following is a table of some of the curiosities of Chicago assessments. Personalty to the amount of \$500 to \$1,000 is exempt from taxation.

SOME CURIOSITIES.

Owners, Clinton J. Warren and Adolphus W. Maltby, Lots 82, 83, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94, 95, 98, except east 49 feet of lots 91, 94, 95 and 98, Burton's subdivision of lot 14, Boonson's addition to Chicago. \$95,000.
 "Plaza." Seven-story apartment. South-east corner Clark and North Avenue. 1892 assessed value \$10,000. Taxes paid, \$982.80. 1893 assessed value \$30,060.
 U. S. Brewing Co. (4824 Cook Street.) 1893 returned personal property at \$50.00.
 Union Rendering Company, Stockyards. 1893 returned the following personal property: 25 horses, \$250; 11 wagons, \$110; one safe, \$15.00. Total \$390.
 Four-story brick building, Milwaukee and North Avenue. (Stores below and hall on top.) Worth at least \$20,000, assessed in 1893 at \$1,830, or one-eleventh.
 Owned by Joseph Sokup, formerly West Town Assessor.
 West Chicago Street Railroad Company personalty is assessed at \$275,000.
 Chicago City Railway Company is assessed \$260,000 for personalty. 180 horses assessed at \$8,000; 500 cars, at \$50,000; machinery, etc., at \$100,000, and money at \$100,000.
 North Chicago Street Railroad Company returns \$65,500 personalty, of which the following are some of the items; 200 horses, \$2,800; 220 cars, \$20,000; machinery, \$25,000.

ALDERMEN.

Ward.		Personal.
1st.	John J. Coughlin, 145 E. Madison-st.	Nothing.
	Louis I. Epstean, 113 E. Randolph-st.	"
2d.	Daniel J. Horan, 169 Eighteenth-st.	"
	Martin Best, 1429 Michigan-av.	"
3d.	Edward Marrener, 3227 Groveland-av.	\$100.00
	Eli Smith, 3147 Vernon-av.	Nothing.
4th.	John W. Hepburn, 3633 Ellis-av.	"
	Martin B. Madden, 3563 Forest-av.	"
5th.	John Vogt, 448 Twenty-sixth-st.	"
	Patrick J. Wall, 605 Twenty-seventh-st.	"
6th.	Henry Stuckart, 2519 Archer-av., 3 horses, \$300; 3 cows, \$400.	\$800.00
	Thomas Reed, 2500 Main-st.	Nothing.
7th.	John A. Cook, 624 S. Halsted-st.	"
	William J. O'Neill, 547 S. Halsted-st.	"
8th.	William Loeffler, 369 Johnson-st.	"
	Martin Morrison, 362 Blue Island-av.	"
9th.	Frederick Rohde, 278 Washburne-av.	"
	Joseph E. Bidwell, 736 W. Twelfth-st.	"
10th.	Charles C. Schumacher, 266 Blue Island-av.	"
	John F. Dorman, 971 Twenty-second-st.	"
11th.	George B. Swift, 52 Loomis-st.	"
	William D. Kent, 450 W. Congress-st.	\$200.00
12th.	Robert L. Martin, 719 W. Van Buren-st.	Nothing.
	James L. Campbell, 99 DeKalb-st.	"
13th.	Charles F. Swigart, 280 Park-av.	"
	Martin Knowles, 337 Walnut-st.	"
14th.	James Keats, 225 W. Chicago-av.	"
	William L. Kamerling, 339 Glenwood-av.	"
15th.	James Reddick, 143 Perry-av.	"
	Michael Ryan, 601 W. North-av.	"
16th.	Peter J. Ellert, 482 N. Ashland-av.	Nothing.
	Stanley H. Kunz, 685 W. North-av.	"
17th.	J. N. Mulvihill, 118 Austin-av.	"
	Stephen M. Gosselin, 182 N. Green-st.	"
18th.	William F. Mahony, 74 Center-av.	"
	John J. Brennan, 15 S. Carpenter-st.	"
19th.	John Powers, 243 S. Canal and 170 Madison-sts., saloons.	"
	Thomas Gallagher, 256 S. Halsted-st.	"

Ward.		Personal.
20th.	Albert Potthoff, 97 Willow-st.	Nothing.
	Otto Hage, 185 Southport-av.	"
21st.	Joseph H. Ernst, 271 E. North-av.	"
	John McGillen, 967 N. Halsted-st.	"
22d.	Arnold Tripp, 596 Dearborn-av.	"
	Edward Muelhoeffer, 112 Clybourn-av.	\$200.00
23d.	John A. Larson, 305 N. Wells-st.	Nothing.
	William J. Kelly, 168 Oak-st.	"
24th.	Louis L. Wadsworth, 252 Michigan-st.	\$100.00
	Zara C. Peck, 238 E. Huron	Nothing.
25th.	Austin O. Sexton, 1457 Wrightwood-av.	"
	Albert H. Kleinecke, 914 Racine-av.	"
26th.	Henry N. Lutter, Perry-av. and Wellington-st.	"
	William Finkler, 843 Perry-av.	"
27th.	Frederick F. Hanssen, 15 W. Huron-st.	"
	M. J. Conway, Hermosa	"
28th.	Daniel W. Ackerman	"
	Thomas Sayle	Nothing.
29th.	Robert Mulcahy, 4335 Wentworth-av.	"
	Thomas Carey, 4304 S. Wood-st.	"
30th.	John F. Kenny, 5205 State-st.	"
	John W. Utesch, 4836 S. Ashland-av.	"
31st.	Edwin J. Noble, 6621 Harvard-st.	"
	James L. Francis, 7757 Sherman-st.	"
32d.	James R. Mann, 334 Oakwood-bd.	\$100.00
	William R. Kerr, 5126 Washington-av.	\$200.00
33d.	Cyrus H. Howell, 7828 Edwards-av.	\$ 50.00
	George H. Shepherd, 9151 Commercial-av.	Nothing.
34th.	John A. Bartine, Roseland	"
	John O'Neill, 5900 Wabash-av.	"
	Sixty-eight Aldermen, \$1,700. Average personal property, \$26.	

THE MONOPOLIES.

The Railroads (1892)	\$16,698,589
City Railway Co., (1893)	1,350,000
West Chicago Railway Co., (1893)	1,000,000
North Chicago Railway Co., (1893)	500,000
Chicago Gas Light and Coke Company	700,000
Consumers Gas Company	250,000
People's Gas Light and Coke Company	250,000
Hyde Park Gas Company	5,000
Lake Gas Company	5,000
Telephone Company	2,100,000

THE NEWSPAPERS.

Name.	Personalty. 1893.	Realty 1892.	Taxes on Realty.
Record and Daily News	\$15,000	\$ 8,700	\$ 742.
Herald	18,000	49,800	4,250
Tribune	18,000	35,000	2,987
Inter Ocean	11,000	76,000	6,486
Times		7,500	
Evening Post	7,500	25,200	2,150
Evening Journal	7,000	12,000	1,024
Mail	2,600		
Dispatch	300		
Staats Zeitung	6,000	32,400	2,765

NAME.	HORSES.		CAR-RIAGES.		PIANOS.		TOTAL.		TAXES ON REALTY, 1892.
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	Per-sonal. 1893.	Realty. 1892.	
NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS—EDITORS.									
Joseph Medill, 101 Cass-st.....	2	\$200	2	\$500	1	\$100	\$2,600	\$11,130	\$1,093
H. H. Kohlsaat, 2978 Prairie-ave.....	3	60	1	30	.....	.....	1,500	13,760	1,174
Wm. Penn Nixon, 743 N. Clark-st.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	300	.....	.....
*Carter H. Harrison, 231 Ashland-bd..	2	50	2	50	1	25	300	30,000	2,695
J. W. Scott, 184 Pine-st.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	100	300	.....	.....
John R. Walsh, 2133 Calumet-av.....	1	20	1	30	1	50	1,000	9,800	836
Victor F. Lawson, 317 La Salle-av....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	100	300	.....	.....
R. W. Patterson, Astor-st & Burton-pl.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	.....	.....
MILLIONAIRES AND OTHERS.									
Marshall Field, 1905 Prairie-ave.....	6	\$120	6	180	1	180	20,000	.....	.....
Marshall Field, Jr., 1919 Prairie-av...	2	40	2	60	.....	.....	2,000	.....	.....
P. D. Armour, 2115 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	3	90	.....	.....	5,000	.....	.....
G. M. Pullman, 1729 Prairie-av.....	10	200	6	180	1	150	12,000	36,000	3,072
Potter Palmer, 100 Lake Shore-dr.....	10	600	6	600	1	125	15,000	51,220	5,033
H. N. Higinbotham, 2838 Michigan-av	10	200	5	150	2	100	2,000	32,420	2,767
J. W. Doane, 1827 Prairie-av.....	5	100	5	140	1	150	10,000	.....	.....
Mrs. Wm. Armour, 2017 Prairie-av.....	4	100	3	100	1	50	7,500	12,500	1,066
*C. H. McCormick, 321 Huron-st.....	1	50	2	200	.....	.....	10,650	42,580	4,184
C. T. Yerkes, 3201 Michigan-av.....	2	300	1	1,000	1	1,700	4,000	.....	.....
Lambert Tree, 94 Cass-st.....	3	300	2	300	1	100	2,000	27,910	2,742
Edward S. Isham, 1 Tower-pl.....	5	250	2	250	.....	.....	2,000	13,450	1,321
Wm. G. Hibbard, 1701 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,500	18,500	1,579
C. M. Henderson, 1816 Prairie-av.....	6	120	2	60	.....	.....	3,000	11,900	1,015
T. W. Harvey, 1702 Prairie-av.....	2	40	2	60	.....	.....	3,000	17,680	1,508
*Frank'n MacVeagh, 103 Lake Shore-dr	5	500	4	1,000	1	200	2,500	16,750	1,646
O. W. Potter, 130 Lake Shore-dr.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,500	12,030	1,182
Volney C. Turner, 112 Lake Shore-dr..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,500	15,900	1,562
E. W. Blatchford, 375 La Salle-av....	2	200	2	200	1	200	3,300	20,280	1,903
Lyman J. Gage, 470 N. State-st.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	100	1,000	9,610	944
Henry Keith, 3360 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	.....
W. W. Kimball, 1801 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,100	.....	.....
Elbridge G. Keith, 1900 Prairie-av....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,000	.....	.....
Edson Keith, 1906 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000	.....	.....
Mrs. C. P. Kellogg, 1923 Prairie-av....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000	.....	.....
Fernando Jones, 1834 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,200	.....	.....
Mrs. H. O. Stone, 2035 Prairie-av.....	2	40	3	90	1	40	1,100	.....	.....
S. W. Allerton, 1936 Prairie-av.....	5	150	5	150	1	50	8,000	41,600	3,550
Chas. D. Hamill, 2126 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,250	7,620	650
Henry C. Rew, 2619 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	3	100	.....	.....	1,500	7,500	640
Noble B. Judah, 2701 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	300	3,600	312
Marvin Hughitt, 2828 Prairie-av.....	2	100	1	100	.....	.....	300	5,500	469
John G. Shortall, 1600 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,000	5,300	452
P. E. Studebaker, 1612 Prairie-av.....	4	40	3	90	1	50	1,500	4,050	345
Granger Farwell, 1623 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	3,040	259
Mrs. Wirt Dexter, 1721 Prairie-av.....	3	60	3	90	1	50	3,750	1,350	1,152
Richard T. Crane, 2541 Michigan-av....	5	250	3	150	1	100	3,000	22,900	1,954
Warren Springer, 1635 Prairie-av.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	4,550	388
John Mason Loomis, 55 Lake Shore-dr	6	300	6	300	1	100	2,500	9,980	980
Henry J. Willing, 110 Rush-st.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	200	2,000	8,870	871
Henry W. Bishop, 167 Rush-st.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	100	600	3,420	336
†John P. Hopkins, 2813 Calumet-av....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	20	150	.....	.....
Hempstead Washburne, 154 Astor-st..	2	100	2	100	.....	500	500	2,800	275
Dewitt C. Cregier, 418 Chicago-av....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	1,180	115
*Judge C. C. Kohlsaat, 239 Ashland-av	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	3,400	305
Richard Prendergast, 534 Jackson-bd..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	1,320	118

NAME.	HORSES.		CAR-RIAGES.		PIANOS.		TOTAL.		TAXES ON REALTY, 1892.
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	Per-sonal, 1893.	Realty, 1892.	
*Judge R. Tuthill, 532 W. Jackson-bl.	1	50	1	50	1	50	100	.....	.....
*Charles H. Case, 201 Ashland-av.	2	50	2	50	1	25	500	9,100	817
*Wm. A. Pinkerton, 196 Ashland-av.	2	50	2	50	1	50	400	4,400	395
Mrs. Owsley, 245 Ashland-av.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	9,000	868
*George R. Davis, 692 Washington-bd	1	25	1	25	1	25	100	2,520	226
J. B. Hobbs, 343 La Salle-av.	1	50	1	50	1	100	550	3,900	383
Robert Lindblom, 678 La Salle-av	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	600	.....	.....
Malcolm McNeill, 448 La Salle-av.	3	90	2	80	1	30	400	4,140	406
Harry Rubens, 581 La Salle-av.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	2,140	210
John DeKoven, 402 Dearborn-av.	5	200	2	100	1	50	950	8,170	802
A. A. Munger, 308 E. Ohio-st.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	2,100	206
John M. Smyth, 300 W. Adams-st.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	4,250	382
Peter Schuttler, 289 W. Adams-st.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nothing.	23,900	2,147
Carrie V. Watson, 441 S. Clark-st.	4	500	2	700	2	300	4,000	4,300	367
Vina Fields, 138 Custom House-pl.	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	200	400	.....	.....
*J. J. Badenoch, 391 W. Randolph-st.	4	100	2	50	.....	.....	200	.....	.....
*W. P. Rend, 153 Ashland-av.	2	100	1	100	.....	.....	500	.....	.....
Louis Wolff, 1319 Washington-bd.	3	75	2	50	1	50	500	.....	.....
*Daniel W. Mills, 1510 Washington-bd	4	100	2	100	1	50	350	.....	.....
†L. Z. Leiter, 4 Tower-pl.	2	100	3	150	.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....

*Returned personal property.

†In the name of Mary Hopkins.

‡In the name of Joseph Leiter.

Potter Palmer returns 5 watches, \$100; one billiard table, \$100; one sewing machine, \$25.

E. W. Blatchford returns gold and silver worth \$300, diamonds worth \$400.

John Mason Loomis returned gold and silver worth \$100, diamonds worth \$200, one sewing machine, \$10.

John DeKoven returned 2 watches worth \$100.

Henry J. Willing returned gold and silver to the amount of \$200, and diamonds valued at \$600.

Lyman J. Gage has one watch, \$100, gold and silver, \$100, and diamonds, \$100.

SKYSCRAPERS.

Building.	Assessed.	Equal-ized.	Taxes.	Paid by.	Per Cent.
Masonic Temple	\$284,700	\$350,181	\$24,299	Masonic Temple Assoc.	1-13
Tacoma Building	93,000	114,390	7,987	Wirt de Walker	1-14
Unity Building	161,800	199,014	13,809	John W. Lachard (Agt.)	1-14
Auditorium Building	305,500	375,765	26,074	Chicago Auditorium Co.	1-14
Siegel, Cooper & Co.	254,000	312,420	21,678	{ L. Z. Leiter and Siegel, } { Cooper & Co. }	1-14
Monadnock Building	300,500	368,615	25,647	Owen F. Aldis	1-14
Palmer House	40,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

THE RICH AND THE POOR.

The following comparative figures are extracted from the *Chicago Times*, which has addressed itself to this subject with great energy and perseverance :

	Actual Value.	Assessed Value.	Per Cent.
Pullman Building, Michigan-av. and Adams-st.	\$1,200,000	\$ 85,000	1-14
Title and Trust Building, 100 Washington-st.	1,500,000	158,000	1-10
Ashland Block, Clark and Randolph-sts.	1,800,000	153,000	1-8
Woman's Temple, Monroe and LaSalle-sts	1,800,000	230,000	1-8
Chamber of Commerce Bldg, LaSalle and Wash'gn-sts.	2,225,000	225,000	1-10

	Actual Value.	Assessed Value.	Per Cent.
Hartford Building, Madison and Dearborn-sts.....	\$1,000,000	\$110,000	1-9
Rand-McNally Building, Adams and Quincy-sts.....	1,600,000	160,000	1-10
Rookery Building, LaSalle and Adams-sts.....	1,600,000	200,000	1-8
Security Building, Fifth-av. and Madison-st.....	750,000	75,800	1-10
Manhattan Building, 307-321 Dearborn-st.....	1,800,000	90,000	1-20
Monon Building, 320-326 Dearborn-st.....	800,000	37,700	1-21
Edward Morgan's cottage, 3141 Dearborn-st.....	1,700	527	1-2
W. J. Miesler's store, 587 Sedgwick-st.....	3,500	1,109	1-3
Mathias Boesen's building, 300 Mohawk-st.....	4,500	1,100	1-4
C. E. Carlstrom's building, 190 Milton-av.....	1,600	400	1-4
James McCombie's store, Twenty-fifth and State-sts....	2,500	1,743	3-5
R. W. Lemke's building, 167 Wells-st.....	4,000	900	1-4
P. D. Lynch's residence, W. 47th and Monroe-sts.....	2,000	500	1-4
Fred G. Libke's shop, 248 Milwaukee-av.....	2,200	1,100	1-2
David Kahn's store, 114 Chicago-av.....	8,000	2,000	1-4
F. A. Ruck's store, 273 Wells-st.....	7,200	1,800	1-4
M. McNulty's residence, 138 Seminary-av.....	-2,000	517	1-4
C. L. Young's residence, 613 Melrose-st.....	4,000	1,600	2-5
Robert Berndt's building.....	2,000	1,050	1-2

THE FAIR SELLING VALUE OF COOK COUNTY.

Statement of property assessed for the year 1892 in Cook County (including the city of Chicago), as returned to the Auditor's office:

Description.	No.	Value.	Average.
Horses.....	37,216	\$879,335	\$ 23.63
Cattle.....	35,303	241,852	6.85
Mules and asses.....	245	4,588	18.73
Sheep.....	1,453	1,479	1.02
Hogs.....	7,674	8,616	1.12
Steam engines including boilers.....	593	156,410	277.82
Fire and burglar proof safes.....	432	15,885	36.77
Billiard, pigeonhole, etc., tables.....	169	5,074	30.02
Carriages and wagons.....	25,068	586,474	23.40
Watches and clocks.....	5,989	28,113	4.69
Sewing and knitting machines.....	4,266	24,326	5.70
Pianos.....	11,066	373,896	23.79
Melodeons and organs.....	439	4,510	10.27
Franchises.....	10	50,463	6.30
Annuities and royalties.....			5.04
Patent rights.....			
Steamboats, sailing vessels.....	239	52,010	217.61
Materials and manufacturing articles.....			1,157,743
Manufacturers' tools, implements and machinery.....			1,181,838
Agricultural tools, implements and machinery.....			61,911
Gold and silver plate and plated ware.....			16,460
Diamonds and jewelry.....			21,000
Moneys of bank, banker, broker, etc.....			1,097,755
Credits of bank, broker, etc.....			8,200
Moneys of other than banker, etc.....			970,129
Credits of other than banker, etc.....			123,605
Bonds and stocks.....			6,670
Shares of capital stock of companies not of this State.....			500
Pawnbroker's property.....			5,350
Property of corporations not before enumerated.....			1,776,213
Bridge property.....			710
Property of saloons and eating houses.....			15,625
Household and office furniture.....			3,090,975
Investments in real estate and improvements thereon.....			14,845
Grain of all kinds.....			2,625
Shares of stock of State and National banks.....			5,903,550
All other property.....			489,123
Total value of unenumerated property.....			27,974,158
Total value of personal property.....			30,407,189

REAL ESTATE—LANDS

	Number of Acres.	Value.	Average Value per Acre.
Improved.....	362,729	\$7,777,776	\$21.44
Unimproved.....	97,040	6,702,363	69.07

REAL ESTATE—TOWN AND CITY LOTS.

Description.	No. of Lots.	Value.	Average Value.
Improved town and city lots.....	167,094	\$126,394,249	\$756.43
Unimproved lots.....	470,822	31,052,151	66.00

APPENDIX D.

THE FEDERATION OF MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

The Executive Committee of the Federation of the Ministers of Religion in Chicago is one of the many signs indicating a desire on the part of the ministers to exercise a more effective influence upon the affairs of the city by means of co-operative action. The question as to whether or not the Ministers of Religion could come together as a body had been discussed, but it was not until the 11th of December that any actual step was taken towards bringing the subject to a test. On that day I summoned a conference in the Willard Hall for the purpose, which was defined as follows: "To take counsel as to the best means of convincing the masses that the Church of God is the agency which can best help them to redress their grievances and realize their aspirations for a better social condition." A copy of the circular summoning the conference was sent to every minister of religion designated as such in the Chicago directory. The conference thus summoned was influentially attended, and after a meeting lasting about two hours, it was resolved to form a committee representing the churches of all denominations to convey the greetings of the Ministers of Religion to the American Federation of Labor, which was then meeting in Chicago. The same committee was also instructed to attend the conference summoned by the American Federation to discuss the question of the relief of the unemployed. This committee was to report to the adjourned conference which was held a week later. The representatives named by the conference attended the Federation of Labor and expressed their hearty sympathy with the object of the labor unions. They were very courteously received by the President, and there was a feeling on both sides that the visit was timely and useful. The committee also attended the conference summoned by the Civic Federation, at which the Central Relief Association was founded.

On December 18, the adjourned conference met in order to discuss the question as to how the Church of God in Chicago could best be organized as a unit for the relief of the poor and for the realization in Chicago of the prayer: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Accompanying the circular summoning the conference there was appended a schedule of information which it was suggested would facilitate the work of the conference if it were filled in by each minister of religion.

If Christ Came to Chicago.

As a number of inquiries have been made as to this schedule, it may be well to reprint it here.

Ward No. Precinct No.

IF THE CHURCH OF CHICAGO WERE ORGANIZED AS A UNIT.

I would undertake to be responsible in the name of my church and congregation for the district lying between on the north, and on the south, and between on the east, and on the west.

Estimated population ; of above are church goers, and non-English speaking.

Our church building seats persons, and is occupied days in the week. We have rooms available for social or civic service, seating persons. Of these are occupied days in the week.

We have enrolled members of above. are engaged more or less actively in church work. In the Sunday School children are on the books and teachers, with an average attendance of

In connection with our church we have the following branches of social work in progress:

- Temperance
Purity
Economics
Civic Duties
Education
Philanthropy
Music
Sanitation
Recreation

The capital invested in our church buildings, etc. is about Dollars and we raise annually for all purposes Dollars.

In the district for which my church is responsible, the following are among the influences detrimental to the social welfare: We have places of business open on Sunday, which deprive employes of their weekly rest from labor.

We have saloons and houses for the sale of intoxicants. Of these are of average character, are bad, and are very bad.

We have notorious houses of ill fame, containing inmates. There are massage houses with inmates, and other resorts maintained for purposes of immorality.

We have gaming houses and resorts of betting men. We have sweating shops, or factories, where men, women and children work in conditions of labor which render it impossible for them to be either happy, healthy or human.

Among the agencies of service in the district in all of which my church is more or less actively interested are the following:

- Police station with policemen, schools with scholars, school attendance officers and teachers, playgrounds for children, covered playrooms, Happy Evenings Associations, gymnasia Recreative Evenings Associations for youths, technical classes, cooking classes, university extension lectures, public reading room, people's institutes, temperance saloons, drinking fountains temperance societies, night refuges, good lodging houses, labor registries, labor unions' offices, thrift agencies, relief agencies, maternity homes, homes for deserted children, societies for crippled and blind, hospitals, convalescent homes, sick nurses, visitors of sick, fresh air fund, flower mission, early closing associations, Sunday rest associations, societies for prevention of cruelty to animals.

(Signed) Minister.
Address
Of the Church
Address

DENOMINATION

The attempt was nearly shipwrecked by objections taken to the admission of Catholics, Jews and Unitarians. Were they Ministers of Religion? What was Religion? I answered, "Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

The objectors collapsed, and after a somewhat desultory discussion a committee of organization was appointed with instructions to meet as soon as possible and to report what should be done, both in relation to the relief of the poor, and for the effective realization of the force of the Church of God in the cause of righteousness. This committee decided to put itself in communication with the Relief Association, and to undertake what could be done in the way of districting the city, and organizing a house to house visitation which was necessitated by existing distress. They further determined to constitute an Executive Committee which would represent all denominations, including the Catholics and the Jews, for the purpose of carrying out the rest of the programme. This Executive Committee, which met for the first time on January 15, had before it the question of securing one day's rest in seven for the Retail Clerks. Mr. O'Brien of the Retail Clerks' Association attended and made a statement, calling attention to the extent to which the action of three individuals in the various districts of the town impeded the closing of stores in the evening, and also made a statement as to the reasons which induced the Retail Clerks to appeal to the City Council for the purpose of securing legal protection for one day's rest in seven. The Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones was appointed to see the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to which the ordinance had been referred by the Council. On January 22, the committee met and passed a resolution assuring Mayor Hopkins of the support of the churches if his administration would keep the gaming houses closed. On January 29, it was decided to hold a conference at some future date at the Willard Hall, for the purpose of uniting all the churches in the campaign for honesty and pure government at the aldermanic elections.

The Executive Committee represents all the churches, as will be seen from the following list:

- Baptist—Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D., 4543 Greenwood Avenue.
- Independent—Prof. David Swing, D. D., 66 Lake Shore Drive.
- Jewish—Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, D. D., 3612 Grand Boulevard.
- Reformed Episcopal—Bishop Samuel Fallows, D. D., 967 West Monroe Street.
- Unitarian—Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, D. D., 3939 Langley Avenue.
- Episcopal—Rev. Floyd Tomkins, D. D., 310 Superior St.
- Methodist—Rev. Arthur Edwards, D. D., 57 Washington Street.
- Rev. R. S. Martin, D. D., 142 Locust Street.
- Prof. A. W. Small, Ph. D., Chicago University.
- Prof. Graham Taylor, D. D., West Side Theological Seminary.
- Lutheran—Prof. R. F. Weidner, D. D., 1311 Sheffield Avenue.
- Presbyterian—Rev. J. G. Inglis, D. D., 6518 Woodlawn Park.
- Congregational—Rev. J. G. Johnson, D. D., 7 Ritchie Place.
- Rev. R. A. Torrey, D. D., Moody's Bible Institute.
- Presbyterian—Rev. Thomas C. Hall, D. D., 425 North State Street.

WM. A. BURCH, Secretary, Argyle Park

But before long it is hoped that a Catholic priest may be found who will be willing to serve side by side with his brethren outside the Roman fire in the interest of the city.

It was not intended to have any elaborate organization but it was proposed that the committee should meet fortnightly and on occasion

when questions arose of sufficient importance they would summon all the Ministers of Religion in Chicago to a conference to concert action and to consider what should be done.

The task of organizing the ministers of religion as a whole has been made in several towns in the United Kingdom and has been partially successful in some towns in the United States. One of the earliest efforts made in the United Kingdom was made at Newcastle-on-Tyne and in Liverpool, where representative conferences were called consisting of representatives of all the churches for purposes of discussing such questions as gambling, the social evil, drunkenness, the treatment of the poor and so forth. In England the concerted action of ministers of religion has been for the most part upon less broad lines than those laid down in Chicago. In Bradford, Birmingham, Halifax and Leeds, and other similar towns where the ministers have met together and have undertaken a house to house visitation for the purpose of making a census of church attendants and a list of all children of school age in the Sunday Schools, there has been an attempt to exclude the Unitarians and neither the Catholics nor the Episcopalians have taken part in the work. It is thought possible that in Chicago where the differences are not so marked as in the Old World ministers of all religions and all creeds may unite in common effort in order to survey the city as a whole from the point of view of the Church of God in order to ascertain what districts remain to be occupied and what work there is which they can better undertake collectively than otherwise.

The questions raised at the Central Music Hall meeting seem to have made a deep impression upon one of the papers, where it least might have been expected. The *Chicago Mail* ever since the Music Hall meetings has been publishing articles more or less avowedly suggested by the discussion on that occasion. Its first series was in reference to the vices of the city to which reference has been made in the text of this book. The second was an attempt to ascertain the amount of capital locked up in church buildings in Chicago, the number of church members and the total annual revenue raised by them from all sources. The *Mail* set out with a thesis of its own to prove, its object being to impress upon the minds of the public that the millions sunk in church property were more or less wasted and that the amount spent in running the churches of Chicago was far in excess of what was justifiable considering the hardship of the times and the ideal poverty of primitive Christianity. Suppose, said the *Mail*, with all reverence and love, the Man of Nazareth were to come to Chicago to-day and survey the work of the churches, what would He think of it all? The leaven seems to be working although in strange places. We may not agree with all the answers made to the question but the fact that it is being asked on all sides is a hopeful sign for the future spiritual and social life of Chicago.

The following is a table summarizing the results of the *Mail's* uncritical inquiry :

DENOMINATIONS.	Number of Members.	Church Expenses.	Missions, etc.	Value of Property.
Congregational.....	10,890	\$103,328	\$168,623	\$1,069,500
Methodist Episcopal.....	15,703	170,824	38,205	2,378,600
Presbyterian.....	12,941	267,637	107,071	1,910,000
Episcopal.....	23,247	357,907	47,351	3,000,000
Baptist.....	12,228	178,072	41,971	1,233,000
Universalist.....	900	39,200	1,750	256,000
Unitarian.....	1,200	34,000	2,000	485,000
Jewish.....	1,115	82,000	49,700	435,000
Reformed Episcopal.....	1,108	23,530	9,364	231,000
Lutheran.....	58,000	188,500	.....	1,550,000
Outside Lutheran.....	50,000	85,000	.....	1,000,000
Roman Catholic.....	500,000	635,900	.....	9,220,000
Total.....	687,341	\$2,055,897	\$466,035	\$22,679,100

APPENDIX E.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF CHICAGO.

At the Conference which I held in Central Music Hall in November, 1893, I had an opportunity of setting forth the idea of a Civic Church or Federation of all good citizens, in the hearing of a large and representative audience. After some discussion it was unanimously decided to choose a committee of nominators who should call together a representative committee of leading citizens for the purpose of discussing the question with a view to action. That committee was chosen and in due course of time it evolved the body known as the Civic Federation of Chicago.

The following is the Chronology of the foundation of the Civic Federation of Chicago, the text of the Constitution and the names of the members and officers:

Nov. 12, 1893.—Formation of Civic Federation suggested and approved at meeting at Central Music Hall and committee of nominators of a temporary committee of inquiry appointed: Mr. T. W. Harvey (Business), Miss Addams (Philanthropy), Rev. Dr. Thomas (Religion), Professor Bemis (Education), and Mr. O'Brien (Labor.)

Nov. 17. —The following was the form of notice sent out by T. W. Harvey, as the Chairman of the Committee of Nomination, to those nominated to serve on the Joint Executive Committee:

The committee named at the Central Music Hall meeting Sunday night to appoint an Executive Committee to take in charge the establishment of the proposed Civic Federation in this city, begs leave to inform you of your appointment as a member of the committee.

The object of this organization, briefly and in general terms, is the concentration into one potential, non-political, non-sectarian center all the forces that are now laboring to advance our municipal, philanthropic, industrial and religious interests, and to accomplish all that is possible towards energizing and giving effect to the public conscience of Chicago

If Christ Came to Chicago.

It is not expected to accomplish all this in one day, but all great movements must have a beginning, and a consultation with a great many of our leading citizens of all classes who desire to see Chicago one of the best governed, the healthiest and cleanest city in this country, leads us to believe that now is the time to begin. Especially do we believe it opportune that such a movement should begin while our people are yet filled with the new ideas, new ambitions and inspirations drawn from the great Exposition and its most valuable adjunct, the World's Congresses. An early acceptance of this appointment is earnestly desired.

- Dec. —Committee nominates a provisional committee.
 First meeting at the Palmer House.
 Conference summoned on the condition of unemployed.
 Central Relief Association formed.
- Jan. —Committee appointed on organization, Judge Collins, Dr. Hirsch, Prof. Small and Mr. Easley.
- Feb. 3, 1894.—Civic Federation incorporated at Springfield.

INCORPORATORS.

T. W. Harvey,	J. J. McGrath,	Lyman J. Gage,
A. C. Bartlett,	Ada C. Sweet,	M. J. Carroll,
Bertha H. Palmer,	Emil G. Hirsch,	O. P. Gifford,
James W. Scott,	L. C. Collins,	Jane Addams,
Sarah Hackett Stevenson,	F. MacVeagh,	W. P. Nixon.

CONSTITUTION.

The text of the Constitution of the Federation is as follows :

Name—This corporation shall be called The Civic Federation of Chicago.

Purpose—The purpose of this Federation shall be :

1. The concentration into one potential, non-political, non-sectarian center of all the forces that are now laboring to advance our municipal, philanthropic, industrial and moral interests, and to accomplish all that is possible towards energizing and giving effect to the public conscience of Chicago.
2. To serve as a medium of acquaintance and sympathy between persons who reside in the different parts of the city, who pursue different vocations, who are by birth of different nationalities, who profess different creeds or no creed, who for any of these reasons are unknown to each other, who nevertheless have similar interests in the well being of Chicago and who agree in the wish to promote every kind of municipal welfare.
3. To place municipal administration on a purely business basis, by securing the utmost practicable separation of municipal issues from state and national politics.

Methods—The means employed by the Federation will be investigation, publication, agitation and organization, together with the exercise of every moral influence needed to carry into effect the purpose of the Federation.

MANAGEMENT OF THE FEDERATION.

Management—There shall be a central council, consisting of one hundred members, the Mayor of Chicago being ex-officio a member. The incorporators shall constitute the council until the first annual meeting. At the first annual meeting the incorporators shall appoint ninety-nine councilors, to be divided by lot into three equal groups, the same to hold office for one, two and three years respectively. At each subsequent annual meeting the vacancies in the council, occasioned by the expiration of terms of office, shall be filled by vote of the remaining council. The membership of the central council may be increased by the addition of one delegate from each ward organization. As soon as practicable, branch ward organizations shall be formed, and each of these branches may elect annually a representative to the council, to serve one year. The council shall elect annually from its own members the board of trustees, to consist of a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, a legal adviser, a general organizer and eight other members. The Board of Trustees shall also be the executive committee of the council. The officers of the Board of Trustees shall be the officers of the council. They shall hold office for one year, or until their successors have qualified.

DIVISIONS INTO DEPARTMENTS.

Departments—The work of the Federation shall be divided into the following departments:

- Municipal.
- Philanthropic.
- Industrial.
- Educational and Social.
- Moral Reform.

Departments may be subdivided as the council may from time to time determine.

Amendments—The purpose and methods herein indicated may be modified or extended, as occasion may demand, by a two-thirds vote of those present at any regularly called meeting of the council.

Branch Organization—Twenty-five or more citizens, who are residents of a ward in which there is no branch organization, may at any time form a branch of the Federation. No organization shall be deemed a ward branch of the Federation until it has been recognized as such by the council. Said council shall always have power to pass upon the regularity and good faith of any ward organization, and upon the qualifications of any person claiming to represent, or be a candidate of, or a delegate from such an organization. There shall not be more than one ward organization in any ward, but there may be as many precinct councils as the ward may deem expedient to authorize in its respective precincts.

Feb. 5, 1894.—First meeting of the council at the Palmer House.

Feb. 15. —Meeting of Council at Commerce Club to elect officers.

OFFICERS.

President—Lyman J. Gage.

First Vice-President—Mrs. Potter Palmer.

Second Vice-President—J. J. McGrath.

Secretary—R. M. Easley.

Treasurer—E. S. Dreyer.

Trustees—J. J. Linehan, M. J. Carroll, T. W. Harvey, L. C. Collins, Jane Addams, Ada C. Sweet, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Franklin MacVeagh, G. E. Adams, E. B. Butler.

In the absence of President Lyman J. Gage Mrs. Potter Palmer, First Vice-President of the Civic Federation, called a meeting of the trustees on February 20, at the Palmer House, to appoint the standing committees required by the by-laws of the Federation:

Political—L. C. Collins, John J. McGrath, E. S. Dreyer, John F. Scanlan, George E. Adams, J. W. Ela, Victor F. Lawson, Franklin MacVeagh, R. W. Patterson, Jr., Wm. Penn Nixon, Carter Harrison, S. S. Thompson, J. W. Scott, A. C. Hesing. The seven representatives of the press in the Federation will also be asked to co-operate with all the department committees.

Ways and Means—T. W. Harvey, Arthur Ryerson, George E. Adams, Wm. Penn Nixon, E. S. Dreyer, Z. S. Holbrook, A. C. Honore, E. B. Butler, J. Irving Pearce.

Municipal—Professor John Gray, W. A. Giles, W. J. Onahan, Marshall Field, Professor E. W. Bemis, M. J. Carroll, Ada C. Sweet, Mrs. H. W. Duncanson, J. W. Ela.

Industrial—James J. Linehan, M. H. Madden, August Jacobson, Mrs. Potter Palmer, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, W. J. Niestadt, Frank Sweeney, Jane Addams, Dr. H. W. Thomas.

Philanthropic—Mrs. J. M. Flower, T. W. Harvey, Professor Albion W. Small, Professor Graham Taylor, J. J. Ryan, Mrs. W. J. Chalmers, H. N. Higinbotham, Dr. Sarah H. Stevenson, C. S. H. Mixer.

Morals—Rev. O. P. Gifford, Edwin D. Wheelock, Cyrus H. McCormick, L. T. O'Brien, H. H. Van Meter, Rev. Frank M. Bristol, Rev. M. C. Ranssen, Rev. Floyd Tomkins, Dr. Arthur Edwards.

Educational and Social—Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth, Mrs. Marion F. Washburn, John McLaren, Emil G. Hirsch, William C. Ames, M. R. Grady, G. Fred Rush, Professor Bamberger, Bishop Fallows.

By vote Mrs. Palmer was requested to call a special meeting of the general council of one hundred for Tuesday evening, February 27, to receive the recommendation of the committee on political action, and to decide how the Federation can be the most effective in the coming campaign.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE FEDERATION UP TO FEBRUARY.

Geo. R. Peck.....	611 Monadnock.
Frank Sweeney.....	Commerce Building.
John J. McGrath, Pres't Trades Assembly.....	394 South Paulina Street.
L. T. O'Brien.....	214 Washington Boulevard.
M. J. Carroll.....	148 Monroe Street.
T. J. Griffin.....	177 North Lawndale Avenue.
Frank Kidd.....	185 Barclay Street.
M. H. Madden, Pres't State Fed. of Labor.....	86 Eda Street.
Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson.....	322 North State Street.
Mrs. Marion Foster Washburn.....	555 West Jackson Street.
T. W. Harvey.....	825 Rookery.
Lyman J. Gage.....	First National Bank.
J. Irving Pearce.....	Proprietor Sherman House.
Franklin MacVeagh.....	Lake and Wabash Avenue.
Rev. E. G. Hirsch.....	3612 Grand Boulevard.
Rev. O. P. Gifford.....	4543 Greenwood Avenue.
Mrs. W. J. Chalmers.....	234 Ashland Boulevard.
Bishop Fallows.....	967 West Monroe Street.
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.....	3939 Langley Avenue.
W. J. Niestadt.....	14 Tell Place.
Rev. Dr. Thomas.....	536 West Monroe Street.
Prof. Edward W. Bemis.....	Chicago University.
Prof. Albion Small.....	Chicago University.
R. M. Easley.....	Inter Ocean.
J. W. Scott.....	Chicago Herald.
Melville E. Stone.....	Globe National Bank.
Dr. Bayard Holmes.....	36 Washington Street, Room 914.
A. C. Hesing.....	Pres't Staats Zeitung Co.
Prof. R. D. Sheppard.....	Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Prof. Graham Taylor.....	Chicago Theological Seminary.
Mrs. J. M. Flower.....	Ontario House.
Mrs. Potter Palmer.....	100 Lake Shore Drive.
Mrs. Charles Henrotin.....	Walton Flats, Walton Place.
Miss Ada Sweet.....	175 Dearborn Street, Room 82.
Miss Jane Addams.....	335 South Halsted Street.
John J. Mitchell.....	Illinois Trust and Savings Bank.
Rev. P. J. Muldoon.....	311 Superior Street.
Wm. Penn Nixon.....	Inter Ocean.
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers.....	Evanston, Ill.
C. S. H. Mixer.....	Woodruff Hotel.
A. C. Bartlett.....	32 Lake Street.
Prof. Gray.....	Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Judge L. C. Collins.....	Rookery.
Azel F. Hatch.....	Title and Trust Bdg., 100 Washington St.
Wm. Crear.....	263 South Washtenaw Avenue.
J. J. Ryan, Pres't Building Trades Council.....	199 Randolph Street.
M. R. Grady.....	478 Marshfield Avenue.
John Anderson.....	185 North Peoria Street.
L. W. Kadlec.....	179 West 12th Street.
Lloyd G. Wheeler.....	119 Dearborn Street.
Mr. Barnett.....	184 Dearborn Street.
Edwin D. Wheelock.....	99 Washington Street.
W. H. Tatge.....	79 Dearborn Street, Room 644.
Charles J. Holmes.....	91 Dearborn Street, Room 601.
Rev. M. C. Ranseen.....	79 West Huron Street.
Rev. T. F. Cashman.....	653 West Jackson Street.
Rev. E. D. Kelly.....	West 12th Street, corner May Street.

E. F. Rennacker.....	185 West Madison Street.
Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth.....	Auditorium Annex.
C. A. Mair.....	169 Jackson Street, Room 212.
Mrs. G. W. Huddleston.....	903 West Adams Street.
Mrs. Celia Parker Wooley.....	Geneva, Ill.
Mrs. Henry L. Frank.....	1608 Prairie Avenue.
Mrs. Henry Solomon.....	4060 Lake Avenue.
Mrs. H. W. Duncanson.....	190 Warren Avenue.
Miss Hattie A. Shinn.....	115 Monroe Street.
W. J. Onahan.....	37 Macalister Place.
John F. Scanlan.....	Postoffice Building.
Z S. Holbrook.....	475 Dearborn Avenue.
E. B. Butler.....	230 Adams Street.
John H. Hamline.....	The Temple, Room 500.
Wm. Vocke.....	520 LaSalle Avenue.
Luther L. Mills.....	122 LaSalle Street.
John W. Ela.....	1331 Unity Building.
Dr. W. R. Harper.....	University of Chicago.
Henry Wade Rogers.....	Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
O. S. A. Sprague.....	2700 Prairie Avenue.
Chas. L. Raymond.....	2239 Calumet Avenue.
H. N. Higinbotham.....	29th Street and Michigan Avenue.
A. C. Honore.....	2103 Michigan Avenue.
Prof. Bamberger.....	Jewish Manual Training School.
C. U. Gordon.....	115 Dearborn Street.
Arthur Ryerson.....	59 Bellevue Place.
Rev. J. H. Barrows.....	2957 Indiana Avenue.
Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus.....	Armour Avenue and 33d Street.
Rev. Frank Bristol.....	Evanston, Ill.
Rev. Floyd Tomkins.....	310 Superior Street.
Dr. Arthur Edwards.....	2816 Indiana Avenue.
Augustus Jacobson.....	1416—100 Washington Street.
Geo. E. Adams.....	The Temple, Room 914.
E. S. Dreyer.....	99 Dearborn Street.
Willis G. Jackson.....	59 Dearborn Street, Room 403.
F. M. Atwood.....	Clark, N. W. Corner Madison Street.
A. H. Revell.....	Wabash Avenue.
John McLaren.....	2 Franklin Street.
Cyrus H. McCormick, Jr.....	329 Wabash Avenue.
Marshall Field.....	Washington Street & Wabash Avenue.
Phillip Henrici.....	175 Madison Street.
H. H. Van Meter.....	21 Groveland Park.
Wm. C. Hollister.....	148 Monroe Street.

The Federation was organized in accordance with ideas of leading citizens irrespective of party. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed as to the best method of constituting such an organization, but the principle of Tammany Hall ultimately prevailed. That principle is organization from above downwards instead of what naturally seems to an Englishman the natural organization from the bottom upwards.

Tammany Hall, however, is undoubtedly an organization distinctly American. It has at least vindicated its capacity to survive and it is probably, notwithstanding some temporary reverses, one of the most powerful political organizations in the United States.

Down the levee on Clark Street there is to be found a saloon keeper who for twenty years was a Tammany captain in New York. He keeps a saloon and a house of ill fame in Chicago, but he still keeps up his connection in New York, where he is the proprietor of a house of ill-fame, which will entitle him, no doubt, should he return to the East, to resume his political captaincy in the ranks under the command of Boss Croker. I saw him the night after Dr. Parkhurst had scored his first great success over the politicians of New York. The ex-Tammany Captain shook his head when I asked him what he

thought of Dr. Parkhurst's campaign. He had no use for Dr. Parkhurst. For a time, he thought, he might advertise himself, which was no doubt his object, but after that everything would go on as before. The one permanent institution in New York was Tammany.

I asked him to explain its secret. "Suppose," said I, "that I am a newly arrived citizen in your precinct, and come to you and wish to join Tammany, what would be required of me?"

"Sir," said he, "before anything would be required of you we would find out all about you. I would size you up myself and then after I had formed my own judgment I would send two or three trusty men to find out all about you. Find out, for instance, whether you really meant to work and serve Tammany or whether you were only getting in to find out all about it. If the inquiries were satisfactory then you would be admitted to the ranks of Tammany and would stand in with the rest."

"What should I have to do?"

"Your first duty," said he, "would be to vote the Tammany ticket whenever an election was on, and then to hustle around and make every other person whom you could get hold of vote the same ticket."

"And what would I get for my trouble?" I asked.

"Nothing," said he, "unless you needed it. I was twenty years captain and I never got anything for myself, but if you needed anything you would get whatever was going. It might be a job that would give you employment under the city, it might be a pull that you might have with the aldermen in case you got into trouble, whatever it was you would be entitled to your share. If you get into trouble, Tammany will help you out. If you are out of a job Tammany will see that you have the first chance at whatever is going. It is a great power, is Tammany. Whether it is with the police, or in the court or in the City Hall you will find Tammany men everywhere and they will stick together. There is nothing sticks so tight as Tammany."

Therein, no doubt, this worthy ex-captain revealed the secret of Tammany's success. Tammany is a brotherhood. Tammany men stick together, and help each other.

Their members may be corrupt, their methods indefensible, but the question for Chicago is whether or not the Civic Federation can organize a brotherhood that will work as hard to make Chicago the ideal city of the world as Tammany has been successful in organizing a party which practically holds New York in the hollow of its hand. In other words, are there as many men and women in Chicago who will work as hard for the Kingdom of the Lord in Chicago as there are men who will work for the rule of Tammany in New York?

Tammany has not only organization; it has spoils and power. Power the Civic Federation may have and will have if its operations are directed with energy and discretion, but there are no spoils. Still, if anything is to be done in practical politics the sinews of war must not be wanting. Many of the members of the Federation are wealthy enough to meet the running expenses of such an organization. But if the Federation is to root itself deeply in every ward in the city it will have to democratize its finances.

There are many persons who wish well to the work of political and social reform in the city who cannot render much active service, but

who would be able and willing to contribute say a dime a week for the coming of the Kingdom. If there are 10,000 men and women in Chicago who are sufficiently in earnest about the regeneration of the city to subscribe the cost of a cigar a week for the attainment of their ideal the war chest of the Civic Federation would be able to command \$50,000 a year. With that sum a great deal might be done.

APPENDIX F.

WHAT THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL HAS DONE
FOR LABOR.

The following brief outline of the way in which the labor unions of London have used the London City Council for the purpose of improving the condition of the wage-earners may not be without interest to the unionists of Chicago. By means of a hearty working alliance with the non-conformist churches and the temperance and other societies, the trades unions of London succeeded in 1889 in electing a majority of representatives on the Council, pledged to do what they could to improve the condition of labor in London. John Burns, the engineer, who was the hero of the great dock strike, was elected as a representative of labor to the Council, and from the first sittings his genius, his eloquence and business capacity, his absolute honesty and transparent sincerity, made him one of the most influential members. The labor policy of the London Council was largely dictated by him, and it has become a model for the most democratic municipalities in the kingdom.

The following is a brief summary of what the London County Council, under the leadership of John Burns, has succeeded in doing for labor:

- "Fair" wages established in all cases.
- Sub-letting and sub-contracting abolished except for work that contractors could not do in ordinary manner.
- Practical clerk of works employed in each case where work of any trade is undertaken.
- A maximum week of fifty-four hours established.
- No man to work more than six days.
- Where continuous working goes on, and two twelve-hour shifts were the rule, three shifts of eight hours are now observed.
- Overtime abolished.
- Contract labor abolished.
- In works of maintenance connected with parks, bridges, highways, all classes of men—such as painters, laborers, engineers, scavengers, carpenters, etc.—employed direct.
- Firemen, extra holidays.

Pensions are now granted to all retiring employes instead of as formerly only to the higher officials. The wages of the employes of the Council have been raised by \$250,000 a year.

All the foregoing relates to what the Council has done when it directly employs labor. The police force in London is not under the control of the Council. Neither are the school teachers; they are controlled by a School Board, not by the Council. None of the employes of the London Council are engaged for political reasons, nor are any dismissed on account of politics. But, not reckoning the police and the teachers, the London Council is one of the largest em-

ployers of labor in the kingdom. It sets an example in insisting upon human conditions of service for its workmen and in doing so has done an incalculable amount of good.

But, great as this is, it is less far-reaching than the action which the Council took in deciding that no contracts shall be let to contractors who keep sweat shops or refuse to concede to their workmen the union rates of wages and hours of labor. This step was taken in 1889 when the following resolution was passed which struck at the root of the system which had previously prevailed of accepting the lowest tender without any regard to the conditions which the contractors exacted from their workmen:

That the Council shall require from any persons formally tendering for any contract to the Council a declaration that they will pay such rate of wages and observe such hours of labor as are generally accepted as fair in their trade, and in the event of any charges to the contrary being established against them, the tender should not be accepted.

Mr. H. M. Massingham, one of the ablest of English journalists, writing in the *Daily Chronicle* upon this charter of London labor, says:

Here, then, was a direct blow at the sweating system, at which the pulpit, the press, and politicians had been hammering blows for half a century without ever substantially impairing its direful sway. In other words, the great moral problem of the treatment of labor was placed in the hands of the workmen's organizations as the only bodies capable of guaranteeing a righteous system. The Council's resolution has been carried out with unflinching sternness, and its result has been to mitigate in favor of the workers of London the whole system of accepting the lowest tender. Under it the employer who cuts his estimate for public work in the hope of sweating his profit out of ill-paid and ill-organized labor finds to-day his occupation gone. Linked with this reform was another of equal importance. The Council decided that it would be impossible to allow the contractor to slip out of his engagements to his workmen by letting out his business to another man. They therefore decided to forbid sub-letting and sub-contracting, save in those cases where work lay outside the ordinary scope of the contractor's trade. This regulation has not only been laid down, but enforced; and one fine of £500 was inflicted as a warning, which it has not been found necessary to repeat. The petty sweating jobmaster has thus been eliminated, for the good of every creature except himself.

In other directions the same beneficent spirit is manifested. It has established bands in the parks, laid out and beautified hundreds of acres of common lands, has made playgrounds for children and has enormously raised the standard of the music hall entertainments in London. It has established a municipal lodging house for single men, and is steadily working to acquire possession of the street railways, the water and gas works, and the markets, in order that it may use all these monopolies of service to cheapen the cost of living for the poor, and to remove the obstacles which at present stand in the way of their leading a human life. The policy of the Council has been strongly in favor of temperance. The chairman of the Council is a strong temperance man, and the majority of the members are deadly enemies of the saloon. I need hardly say that no saloon keeper was brought forward on either side as a candidate at the last election, nor if any had been would he have had the remotest chance of being elected. If these things can be done in London, why cannot they be done in Chicago by the labor unions acting together with the other moral and religious forces of the town?