

Of the broad blessed light and perfect air, with meadows, rippling tides, and trees
and flowers and grass,

And the low hum of living breeze—and in the midst God's beautiful eternal right
hand,

Thee, holiest minister of Heaven—thee, envoy, usherer, guide at last of all,
Rich, florid, loosener of the stricture-knot call'd life,
Sweet, peaceful, welcome Death.

WESTERN MODES OF CITY MANAGEMENT.

BY JULIAN RALPH.

ONE has a feeling that the young Lochinvar of perfected city government may yet come out of the West. That is where the loves of men for the cities they live in pass the understanding of us Easterners. That is where old traditions count for the least, and enterprise and progress mark most of the affairs of man. There are signs of the advent, though they are small and weak thus far. A study of the subject in Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Paul is a revelation of a movement like that of a band-master's bâton along the sides of a triangle, from mayoral supremacy to diluted control by commissions, and from these to vicarious government by State Legislatures. But the more their cases are pondered, the more the wonder grows that those communities should be governed as well as they are. We shall see that they offer rich ground for the good seed that is to come; that the weeds there are fewer and less vicious than those that beset our own municipal fields.

In the unrest and striving of the Western people is found the hope that the mark will yet be reached by them. When we consider how very sharp the struggle has been to meet the business demands of a rapid national development; when we realize how nearly completely that struggle has monopolized every individual's attention; when we remember the poor and mortgaged beginnings of all the Western districts, and realize that where the debts have disappeared, the recollection of them is yet vivid—then the story of Western experiments in city government will find very lenient and charitable readers.

I see in Chicago two communities, we will say—one composed of twelve hundred thousand persons in the city at large, and one of four thousand men and women in the office building called "the Rookery." One body of persons has its wants

attended to by officers they elect for the purpose; the other body relies on a syndicate of speculators to manage the building in which they pay rent, and in which they spend as many hours as they give to their life in their homes. Why should there be any difference in the temper and spirit in which these two communities are managed? Each set of governors has the same duties to perform. Each must provide protection, drainage, cleaning, lighting, and varying conveniences and forms of attendance. We say that there is a difference—that one is a city, and the other is a business. The very devil must have invented the difference, or put the notion of it in our heads, for it has no substance; it does not appear unless we put it there before we go to search for it. The syndicate of business men who manage the Rookery bend every effort to make money. And how? By providing every improvement and attraction which, when economically obtained, will leave a fair and legitimate margin of profit out of receipts that are governed by the charges for like service in other buildings. These receipts are what would be the taxes if the Rookery were a city; the profits would take the form of a surplus in the treasury—at least until they were wisely spent. The analogy never falters, however far we pursue it. The Rookery managers gladden the eye with onyx, marble, and bronze, as the city fathers treat their tenants with parks and lakes and fountains. The Rookery managers give to their tenants the best elevator service ever yet devised in the world, batteries of the swiftest cars, some of which run as express trains, while others stop at every floor. They control these, and see that they are the best, as the city fathers should control their street railways, if they should not own them. The street-cleaning department of the Rookery is

composed of a corps of orderly, respectful, hard-working, faithful men, who keep the dozen corridors and storiesful of offices as neat as the domain of a Dutch housewife. The air is not tainted; the litter and rubbish are whisked out of sight with due regard for decency; the corridors are never torn up with pits and trenches at times when they are in use. Alterations in the building are made at night, when the work will annoy and inconvenience the fewest tenants. The Rookery water supply and that which corresponds to its sewage system are the best that can be provided; in some cities out West I found office buildings where the landlords had sunk artesian wells for pure water—because they believed the water provided for the people generally was unfit to drink in one case; because it cost too much in another. In both instances the people of those cities were scandalously wronged, of course. To return to the Rookery, the building is policed efficiently without the creation of a uniformed class of bullies. In short, it is a pleasure to visit such a building, where every official and servant constantly exhibits a desire to do his duty and to give satisfaction.

In instance the Rookery building merely for convenience. I might as well have spoken of any of the great office buildings of any of the great cities. They are all subject to the same rivalry toward providing the most modern conveniences and the most attractive and well-managed interiors. I have yet to hear of one in the management of which politics plays the slightest part. The owners do not throw away money to pay salaries to men who do not earn them; they do not make rules to please the German tenants, and then wink at the violation of them to tickle the Irish or any other persons; they do not permit their servants to steal a little of every sum of money that passes through their hands; they do not allow rubbish and filth to collect in the thoroughfares; they do not recruit their forces of servants with the ne'er-do-well or disreputable friends of men who send tenants to their buildings; they do not discharge all their trained help and drill in a new force biennially; in fact, they never discharge a good servant or keep an incompetent one. Since the management of a lot of daytime tenements is a business by itself, and has no connection with

the Bering Sea question or the policy of trade relations with Australia, they do not feel obliged to buy Democratic brooms, or Republican coal, or Tammany soap, unless those happen to be the best and most economical wares. In one respect they enjoy an immense advantage over every city government in this country. They are permitted to manage their own businesses. No State Legislatures are continually changing their modes of conducting their affairs.

Chicago does not yet manage its district of homes as the landlords manage their districts of offices, but I do not believe that any good reason can be given why it should not try to do so, or be permitted to try to. Nor do I believe there is an intelligent man who honestly thinks the business plan cannot be adopted with as close an approach to business results as is possible where the selfish and personal incentive to success is lacking. And for that may be substituted the desire for honor and public approbation—powerful forces which have wrought wonders in the governments of Glasgow, Birmingham, Sheffield, and other Old World cities.

The city government of Chicago recalls that garment of which a humble poet has written,

"His coat so large dat he couldn't pay de tailor,
And it won't go half-way round."

It is a Josephian coat of many colors, made up of patches of county methods on top of city rule. And the patches are, some of them, far from neatly joined. Like the immortal Topsy, it has "just growed." It discloses at once the worst and the best examples of management, the one being so very bad as to seem like a caricature on the most vicious systems elsewhere, while the other extreme copies that which is the essence of the good work in the best-governed city in the world. Chicago therefore offers an extremely valuable opportunity for the study and comparison of municipal methods in general.

The worst feature, that which seems almost to caricature the worst products of partisan politics, is seen in the Mayor's office. The Mayor of Chicago has to hide behind a series of locked doors, and it is almost as difficult to see him as it would be to visit the Prefect of Police in Paris.

When he leaves his office he slips out of a side door—the same by which he seeks his desk. The charm that the door possesses for his eyes is that it is at a distance from the public antechamber of his suite of offices. When he goes to luncheon he takes a closed cab, and is driven to some place a mile or more away, in order that he may eat in peace. The reason for this extraordinary and undemocratic condition of affairs is that the Mayor of Chicago is the worst victim of the spoils system that has yet been created in America. The chase for patronage fetches up at his door, and all the avenues employed in it end at his person. He is almost the sole source and dispenser of public place of every grade.

The system was established a great many years ago, and they say in Chicago that it "worked well enough" under Carter Harrison, because after he got his municipal organization complete he was elected and re-elected several times, and had little difficulty in keeping the machinery of government in smooth running order. It was a city of only 400,000 population in those days, but the conditions were the same. The experience of a succeeding and very recent Mayor was needed to demonstrate the possibilities of an office so constituted. He spent the first year at his desk in handling patronage. He could do nothing else because he undertook to do that. He made it his rule that there should be no appointments that were not approved by him. The present Mayor is of the opposite mind. He has found that if he manages the patronage he cannot perform the other duties of his office. He has inaugurated a new departure, and seeks to make the heads of the subordinate departments responsible for their own appointments. This works only partially, because the place-hunters are not to be deceived. They know what his powers are as well as he does, and if they do not get what they want from his deputies, they fall back upon him. He orders them back again to the deputies, and so the game goes on. By setting apart one day in the week for the scramble, and by locking himself up like a watchman in a safe-deposit vault, he manages to serve as Mayor. But he finds the nuisance very great, and says so. When told that it seemed singular to find a Mayor behind bolts and locks, and accessible only to those who

"get the combination," as the safe-makers would say, he replied that only by such a plan was he able to do any work. Mr. Washburne, the present Mayor, is a square-headed, strong-jawed, forcible-looking man, who gives his visitors the impression that he will leave as good a record as the system can be forced to afford.

Chicago is a Republican city, but is rapidly becoming Democratic. There are no "bosses" or "machines" there. Western soil does not seem suitable for those growths. The Democrats have been trying to effect an organization like that of Tammany Hall, but they are divided into two factions, and the plan has fallen between the two. The Republicans have recently recovered from a mild attempt at bossism. They are also divided, and only unite under favorable circumstances. The assessment evil is said not to be very great. Candidates or their friends contribute toward the cost of election contests, and public employes are assessed for the same purpose, but these outrageous taxes seem to be laid on lightly. It's your machine that always calls for excessive oiling, and it is noticeable that the chief engineers nearly always grow mysteriously rich.

In the city government there are four charter officers who are elected by the people—the Mayor, the City Treasurer, the City Attorney, and the City Clerk. Each is independent of the other, and the Mayor is not vested with power to remove the others. The City Attorney is in charge of the litigations into which the corporation is drawn; but the more important legal officer is the Corporation Counsel, who acts as adviser to the government, and is appointed by the Mayor. The manner in which this office came to be created is peculiar. It is said that a score or more years ago there was elected to the City Attorney's place a man who knew no law, and proved worse than no attorney at all. A competent adviser was needed, and so the new office was created, and has ever since remained a feature of the government.

We still find justices of the peace in Chicago, and in great force of numbers. They are county officers. They have jurisdiction everywhere, as they please to exercise it, and live upon their fees—a plan that works no better there than elsewhere, that causes rivalry and confusion where there should be only the dignity of

law, and that creates courts which are inclined to rule against the defendants, and to extort money from all from whom it can be got. These justices are named by the judges of record of the county, and the list is sent to the Legislature for approval and appointment. From the lot the police magistrates are selected by the Mayor. There are ten police courts and twelve magistrates, and the reason there are two more judges than courts lets in a flood of light upon the situation. There are two very busy courts, and in order to share their business it became the custom for other judges than those appointed by the Mayor to hire apartments next door to these courts, and in them to hold courts of their own. These piratical justices inspired the lawyers and prisoners appearing before the regular courts to demand a change of venue and bring their causes next door, the incentive being a promise of more satisfactory treatment than the regular courts would be likely to vouchsafe—lighter fines, for instance, or other perversions of justice. It became, and it remains to-day, a custom for these motions for a change of venue to be offered in the most commonplace and perfunctory manner, the magistrates administering the oath, and the others solemnly swearing that they ask a change of venue because they are of the opinion that they cannot get justice in the court in question. To break this custom at its strongest points the Mayor has appointed additional magistrates for the principal police courts, and they hold court in rooms adjoining those of their associates, so that those who insist upon a change of venue are taken one door away to obtain the same quality of justice which they would have obtained in the first court. The justices who may be called the Mayor's magistrates are salaried. The busy ones get \$5000 a year, the others less.

The saloon license system is another village development. The regular fee is \$500, and there are only 5000 licenses, but any man of what is called "good character" may get a license on his own application, and the license is then issued to *the person*. He may sell his liquors anywhere that he pleases within the city limits. The law declares that the drinking saloons shall be closed at midnight. It has proved extremely difficult to enforce this ordinance, but the

present Mayor has been making a brave battle toward that end. He is of those who believe that all evils which seem either necessary or ineradicable should be regulated, and his idea was to enforce the law for closing the saloons, and to issue licenses to sell liquor in the restaurants which keep open all night, the drinks to be sold only with food. He found, what was no new discovery, that the reform was loudly opposed by the worst element in the business, who said that they could and did sell liquor in their restaurants, anyway, and that there was no need for licenses. He also found that the ultra-temperance folk took sides with these defiers of order by opposing the reform on the usual ground that licensing liquor-selling was recognizing and authorizing the evil. As late as the end of last autumn the Mayor was manfully holding to his determination to enforce the midnight closing law, and it was said by all with whom I spoke that it was extremely difficult to obtain even a glass of beer after twelve o'clock, and that no saloons displayed lights or open doors after hours.

He was able to enforce his orders and perform this function of his office for a reason that points a moral for every student of the subject to remember. He holds the power to dismiss those who disobey him. He promised to discharge any policeman upon whose post a drink was sold or a saloon was kept open after hours. He could discharge every policeman, from the Chief down, and they all knew it. It will be remembered that almost similar authority is vested in the police magistrates in the most progressive English cities. The result is wholesome everywhere.

Some past work of the Chicago police has made the force famous. The World's Fair commissioners who went abroad to urge foreign participation in the exposition found their way paved before them by the good opinion of Chicago that had been aroused by her treatment of the anarchists. But the force has deteriorated. It looks as if it had run down at the heels and needed a soldier in command to discipline it and develop among its members an *esprit de corps*. The almost all-powerful Mayor recognizes this, and has appointed Major R. W. McLaughry to the chieftaincy on account of that gentleman's reputation for administrative

ability and for disciplinary force. As warden of Joliet (Illinois) Penitentiary, and later of a reformatory at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, he caused these qualities to attract attention. The Chicago police force had become a hospital for the political toughs of the city, and any man could join it provided only that he had "influence." He might be a man just out of State-prison, or only thirty days in America, but if he was the protégé of a politician he was made a policeman. There were regulations as to fitness, both mental, moral, and physical, but they were disregarded. The plan for rehabilitating the force is an adaptation of civil service methods. The men are cross-questioned like school-boys at a quarterly examination. Their moral character is looked into less sharply than their ability to comprehend the true nature of a policeman's duties and relation to the people. Politics are not shown the door. The wards and "heelers" of the politicians are the candidates as before, but after a man is admitted to be examined it is asserted that his political backing ceases to affect his fate. He must obtain a grade of seventy in a possible one hundred, and when twelve candidates have passed the examination, if only six are needed, the best six are taken.

But even before this reform began, the Western habit of experimenting with new ideas had led to the introduction of features of police service which we in New York could have copied with advantage, and must copy sooner or later. On that corner of Clark Street where the Grand Pacific Hotel stands, one day toward the middle of last October, I saw a policeman try to arrest a maniacal victim of delirium tremens. It was at six o'clock, and the streets were crowded. Had the case occurred in New York, our public would have witnessed a brutal and sickening "clubbing match," for in no other way than by stunning the man could one of our officers have handled him. If the policeman would have preferred help, he would have beaten the sidewalk with his club and waited, while the maniac fought like a tiger, until another policeman arrived. Ringing a club on a pavement is better than springing a rattle, as our police did a century ago—but that is not saying much in its favor. However, this was in Chicago.

There they have discovered the advan-

tages of a perfected electrical system of communication between the police stations and the patrolmen on duty. In this case the policeman stepped to one of those patrol boxes that are so numerous as to seem always at hand, and flashed a signal to the nearest station for help. In a jiffy a wagon-load of policemen dashed up to the spot, the men leaped out, the runcrazed offender was bundled into the wagon, and it was driven back to the station. A neater, cleaner, more admirable bit of police work I never saw; but the frequent sight of these wagons flying through the streets assured me that such work, in such cases, is the rule with that force.

It is not the purpose here to describe other than what may be called the peculiarities of these city governments, and of the general plan of Chicago's management there is little more to say. After the Mayor has appointed his heads of departments (and all the 8000 or 9000 "feet," if he chooses), he divides his farther powers with the Common Council, which has been but little shorn of its inherited functions. Its committees follow the more important divisions of the government, and one of them, the finance committee, acting like New York's Board of Estimate and Apportionment, determines the cost of each year's undertakings. The Council is a very large body, and contains two members from each of the thirty-four wards of the city, one being elected from each ward every year. They are paid on the *per diem* plan for actual service, and, like almost all the officers of the government, are moderately recompensed. The city has experimented with bureaus headed by commissions and with intrusting the patronage to the Common Council. It has now had for years what is popularly known as "one-man power." It is often said that this is whatever the one man proves himself, but the experience of the present time in Chicago is that if the Mayor were a saint, so long as the spoils system obtains, he would find it difficult to succeed in dispensing the patronage and attending to his duties, at least during the first year of his two-year term.

But there are other municipal corporations in Chicago with which the Mayor has nothing to do. They are the park boards. It is a strange thing about Chicago that those monuments of her public spirit, enterprise, and taste which are at once her glory and her pride are out of

the control of her city government. It is to the management of them that I have referred as exemplifying the very best method of the administration of local affairs. They do not do this in their origin because they are the creatures of either the courts or the State government, whereas to be as they should they must be the products of popular and home rule. But in the methods and work of the boards is seen that which produces the best government. There seem to be no "politics" about them. They appear to be doing business on business principles. They have produced one of the notable park systems of the world by methods so wise and economical that the people have witnessed the spectacle of a wondrous and beautiful park development without feeling the tax by which the cost has been met. The park commissioners serve without pay and in the belief that their duties bring honor with them. They are inspired to give the public their best service by the consciousness that when the plans for the pleasure-grounds have been executed, it will be worth as much as a monument to any man to have been concerned in the work.

Even in the City Hall and among the politicians students of the city government are referred to the parks as examples of the best public work that has been performed in Chicago. And in the City Hall I was told that the reason for this is that the Park Commissioners are unhampered by political obligations.

There are three of these corporations—the South Park, the Lincoln Park, and the West Park commissioners, and they not only are independent of the city government, but they have jurisdiction over all the parkways and boulevards, at least one of which reaches to the very heart of the business quarter in the thick of the town. They enact their own ordinances, and maintain police to enforce them. They build, repair, clean, and police the parks and boulevards in their charge; and have been, by the courts, declared to be quasi-municipal corporations in themselves. Each commission is maintained by a direct tax upon the district or division of the city which it benefits.

It will not be profitable to study all the commissions: one does not differ materially from another. The South Side Commission, headed by President William Best, consists of five members, who are

appointed for five-year terms by the judges of the Circuit Court. When the majority of the judges are Democrats, they appoint Democrats; and Republican majorities appoint Republican commissioners; but beyond that point I am assured that politics cut no figure in the case. At present there are three Democrats and two Republicans on the board. One member is a real-estate dealer, one is vice-president of the stock-yards, one is a tobacco merchant, one is a coal-dealer, and one is an editor. All are well-to-do and middle-aged men. One has served fifteen years, another twelve years, and another, ten years. Mr. H. W. Harmon, the secretary, has held that place nineteen years; and Mr. Foster, the Superintendent, has filled that position seventeen years.

This commission performed its functions for three towns originally—South Chicago, Hyde Park, and Lake. They now comprise a part of the city. They are assessed for \$300,000 annually, South Chicago paying 80 per cent., and the other towns 10 per cent. each. In addition, a tax of one mill is levied on the taxable valuation of the district, because the fixed sum of \$300,000 proved insufficient. The additional tax is to be imposed as long as the commission has any bonds outstanding. The weight of the total tax upon the community is $2\frac{2}{3}$ mills, and is presumably an unfelt burden. For this the commission maintains Michigan Avenue, the boulevard that leads into the heart of the city; Drexel Boulevard, modelled after one of the noblest avenues in Paris; the Grand Boulevard, a splendid thoroughfare; Washington Park, which is one of the most grand and beautiful breathing-spots in the city; Jackson Park, where the Columbian Exposition is to be held; and many other boulevards and park extensions. Lakes, notable floral collections, boats, restaurants, picnic and play grounds, park phaetons, a zoological collection, sprinkling-carts, police, laborers, a nursery for trees, and a score of other sources of expense or attractions are thus provided for. The commission employs a force that is mainly composed of Swedes and Germans. The same men are retained year after year. They are skilled in their several lines of work; they own their little homes, and feel secure in their places; they are not told how to vote, nor are they watched at the

polls. The work of the commission embraces several sources of income, but no effort is made to force profits out of the conveniences and playthings provided for the people.

Lincoln Park is the one that all visitors to Chicago are certain to be advised to see. It is only 250 acres in extent, but it lies along the curving shore of Lake Michigan, a fringe of sward and shade beside a sheet of turquoise. We in New York waited until we were 200 years old before we built such parks. Chicago waited only forty years. Already statues, fountains, and a conservatory are ornaments piled on ornament in Lincoln Park. A lake a mile long is being added for aquatic sports, and the noble Lake Shore Drive, which is a part of the park, is to be faced with a paved beach and a sea-wall, and is to connect with the drive to Fort Sheridan, distant twenty-five miles northward on the lake front. There are five commissioners in charge of this park and the boulevarded streets that approach it. They are appointed by the Governor of Illinois, with the approval of the Senate, and serve five years. Three are Democrats and two are Republicans, but their employés are chosen for fitness as workmen, and the trust is managed practically and economically.

William C. Goudy, the president, was counsel to the commission for fifteen years before he was chosen president. General Joseph Stockton has been a commissioner twenty-two years, and E. S. Taylor has been the secretary since the organization of the board in 1869. The commission bought its land for only \$900,000, and in five years will have extinguished that debt. Now it is borrowing half a million to meet the cost of reclaiming from the lake land that will be worth millions as soon as it is made. The tax rate last year was eight mills on the low assessed valuation that prevails in Chicago. During the twenty-two years of existence of the commission there never has been the slightest taint or suspicion of jobbery or impropriety of any sort in its relation to its work, its employés, or the people.

It is true that these park boards are the products of the organization of Cook County, which extends around and beyond Chicago. The absurd justices of the peace are the old village squires of the county system also. Though there

are only about 100,000 persons in the county outside the city, the Cook County Board of Commissioners exercises an authority that is perfectly independent of the City Council. The parks are therefore managed by the State, and not the city, and this is cause for offence to all who hold that perfected city government must be complete self-government. The argument is too solid to be broken down by any exception, and yet these commissions are singular in presenting the spectacle of State organizations freed from politics in a city where the local organization is poisoned to the core with partisan allegiance and spoils-grabbing. But beyond that is the renewed proof that local government succeeds best when administered by non-politicians working in no interest but that of the public.

That is what the Chicago park managers newly demonstrate. Call them county officers, as they are, yet they are of and for Chicago. They are Chicago business men, and they have been induced to give up what time they can spare from private business because they feel it a distinction and an honor to be intrusted with the execution of what every man in Chicago thinks is to become the greatest and most beautiful park system in the world. They are anxious to prove that no mistake was made in choosing them as men of business ability. The instant politicians are chosen they begin to pay off their debts to the party with which they have bargained for a living. They pay their debts with the valuables that belong to the people. Their constant thoughts and best efforts are put forth to strengthen their party and to please its managers. The non-politician in office has no one to please but the public.

In Minneapolis, a city of 164,000 population, the striking feature of the city government is the system of licensing saloons. Of the government in general there is little more to be said than that it appears to be reasonably satisfactory to the people, and businesslike in its general plan and results. There are no bosses, "halls," or other organizations among the politicians. Here the Mayor becomes a figure-head, and the Chicago plan is diametrically reversed. A recent Mayor made this public comment on the case: "The Mayor has but little authority; he has hardly more than an advisory power in any department." The government is by the

Common Council, and the most important official is the City Engineer. His salary is \$4500; the Mayor's is \$2000. The Mayor appoints his Chief of Police, and may appoint the policemen. He also appoints his own secretary. The other officials, high and low, are the appointees of the Council. This consists of two Aldermen from each of thirteen wards, who also order all public improvements and repairs and grant all licenses. Politically the present Council consists of sixteen Republicans and ten Democrats, and the membership is principally American, something like twenty of the twenty-six having been born in this country. That important bureau the Board of Tax Levy consists of the City Auditor, the Comptroller, the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, the president of the Board of Education, and the chairman of the committee of ways and means of the City Council. It fixes the maximum limit of city expenditures; and the Council, in consultation with the various local boards, may determine upon any sum of outlay within but not above the levy. The assessed valuation on which the levy is based is thought to be a liberal one (50 to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the actual value), and the tax is 21.4 mills, but nine wards pay an added tax of two mills for street extension and improvements, or 23.4 mills in all.

But the noticeable and most admirable single feature of the government is the licensing plan. Dram-selling is kept away from the residence portions of the town, and is confined to the business and manufacturing districts. As we have seen in a previous paper on the cities of the Northwest, Minneapolis is distinctively and peculiarly a city of homes. It spreads itself, with elbow-room for nearly every dwelling, over fifty-three square miles of territory. The entire city area is very park-like in its appearance and surroundings, and up and down its beautiful residence avenues and along its scores of semi-rural streets the home atmosphere and influence are unbroken by the presence of saloons. They are relegated and confined to a comparatively small fraction of the space covered by the town. This is called "the patrol district," and the plan is named, after it, "the patrol limit system." It is not easy to understand why it is so called, since the whole city is patrolled, but a study of the map

shows that the territory in which the licenses are granted is mainly in two narrow belts along the river, in the more thickly built, older parts of the two towns that have since become one city. As it is a city of superb area, most of the dwellings are at a distance from the outer edges of the saloon districts. The electric-car lines are numerous, and the cars are swift, but those who feel that peculiar thirst which can only be quenched while the sufferer leans against a bar must make a long journey and pay ten cents car fare to obtain relief.

Minnesota is a high-license State, and the fee for a permit to maintain a saloon or hotel bar in cities of more than 100,000 population is \$1000. To obtain a permit in Minneapolis the applicant must be twenty-one years of age, and must not have had a previous license revoked, or been convicted of an offence against the liquor laws or ordinances within a year of the date of his application. The applicant must manage his place himself and for himself. He may not have more than one license. He may not sell liquor in or next door to any theatre, or within 400 feet of a public school, or within 200 feet of a park or parkway. All this he must swear to, and agree that if he has sworn falsely in any particular in his affidavit his license may be revoked. He must, together with his application and affidavit, also file a bond in \$4000, with two sureties, who shall not be on any other similar bond.

The license is for a fixed place as well as for a person, and carries farther conditions against Sunday selling, gambling, and disorderly conduct on the premises, as well as against selling to minors or to public-school pupils or drunkards. The applicant goes before the City Clerk, pays a fee of one dollar, and registers his application and bond. If it appears that his case comes within the requirements, and his proposed saloon is to be within the patrol district, the application is published once a week for two weeks in the official newspaper of the city. If any citizen then protests against the granting of the license, a hearing is had before the City Council. If the license is granted, it is not assignable to any other person, though the executor or administrator of a deceased licensee may carry on the business under the license. It is not transferable to any other place, though the al-

teration of the neighborhood around the saloon may make it necessary for the city to grant a permit for removal. In case a license is revoked by the Mayor or City Council "for reasons authorized or required by the laws of the State," then the liquor-seller shall have refunded to him "a sum proportional to one-half the sum paid for such license for the unexpired term thereof." But if the courts order the license revoked, the dealer loses all that he has paid. The courts may order a license revoked on the first conviction for a breach of the law. On a second conviction they must revoke it.

Last year 274 persons took out licenses, and there is a liquor-seller to every 675 inhabitants, as against one to every 177 persons in New York city. But the fee of \$1000 makes the liquor-dealers pay into the Minneapolis treasury \$274,000, or about \$52,000 more than the cost of the police force of the city. This Minneapolis plan speaks for itself. It does not easily lend itself to a city like New York, where the population is squeezed into a narrow space, and there is no broad division of the city into a residence and a business part. But it will be seen that it could be applied to most of the cities of the country, especially when it is noted that even in Minneapolis there are irregularities in the patrol district to meet each eccentricity of the city's growth. The more worldly-wise the reader is, the more likely he will be to ask at once whether the law is enforced, and whether the druggists (who are everywhere the "silent partners" in the liquor trade) are not, as usual, violating it wherever the people have sought to make it prohibitory. The answers to these questions are that the appearances and general testimony go to show that the law is absolutely enforced as to the liquor saloons, but that there is some illicit drinking in many of the apothecary shops. These are popularly known as "blind pigs" in Minneapolis, a term that is not so happily chosen as that adopted by the good citizens of Asbury Park, New Jersey, who call such illicit grogeries their "speak-easies." It is said that it would be impossible for a stranger in Minneapolis to get a drink in a drug store. Even if the authorities do not wage war on such druggists as violate the law, one would think that where such a high fee as \$1000 is paid for the right to sell liquor, the licensed traders

would take measures against drug-store abuses. The fact that the saloon-keepers are not complaining in Minneapolis seems proof to me that the abuse is not considerable or general.

In an earlier article in this series I dwelt on the beauty and original character of the Minneapolis parks, and only need to say further that the city finds within its limits a number of pretty little lakes, incidents in that natural arrangement which renders all the surroundings of Lake Superior a great sponge-like territory, and which gives to Minnesota alone no less than 7000 lakes. Each little body of water in Minneapolis is made the central feature of a park or the ornament of a parkway. But while there are half a dozen such bodies of water, there are thirty-four parks under the control of the Park Board, and those which are joined by the eighteen miles of boulevards that have been laid out now form a beautiful cordon around two sides of the town. The city's parks comprise 1469 acres, and are valued at \$3,918,000, yet so wisely was the land purchased that it cost the city only \$80,000 to acquire it. That certainly appears to have been a bit of honest, businesslike governmental work.

It was in St. Paul that a leading official confided to me his observation that "the better a municipal commission is, the worse for the tax-payers." He argued that in howsoever great a degree the head of a department evinces a desire to distinguish himself by his work, in just that degree he will increase the cost of his department. That is true; but whether that will prove the worse for the tax-payers depends entirely upon whether the money spent is wisely put out. A very thoughtful friend of mine is in the habit of saying that "the greater the tax is, the less will be the burden." He finds property values and the general comfort so increased by wise public expenditures that the people in progressive communities feel the benefits more than they feel the taxes. It is in the out-of-the-way and backward rural districts, where very inferior roads and schools are the only visible returns, that the people complain aloud against having to pay taxes whose sum totals seem to others ridiculously small. What might seem a great deal of money has been spent in Minneapolis in developing the tracts that have been set aside for parks (something like a million

and a half of dollars since 1883). The method of raising the money for new work is to issue bonds for ten years, payable one-tenth annually by assessment on adjacent property. Yet a tax-payer there, in speaking of park improvements that had been made near various plots of his real estate, declared that the increase in values had been so great in each case that he never felt like complaining of the heightened taxes he had been called upon to pay.

The Minneapolis Park Board consists of twelve members, who are elected by the people, and of three *ex officio* members—the Mayor, the chairman of the Council Committee on Roads and Bridges, and the chairman of the Council Committee on Public Grounds and Buildings. It is politically partisan, and much of the lesser patronage changes with changes of political complexion. The board gets authority from the Legislature to issue bonds when it wishes to purchase land, but all such issues are subject to a charter limitation of the bonded indebtedness of the city to five per cent. of the assessed valuation of the taxable property. The regular assessment is less than one mill. Under the circumstances the good work of the board must be credited to the enthusiastic and watchful interest the people have taken in the work. In Mr. Charles M. Loring, a wealthy miller and extra public-spirited citizen, they found a practical business man to direct their enterprises. He was able and willing to travel abroad for the purpose of studying the notable park systems elsewhere. It is only fair to say that other excellent men were found to work with him.

In making the short journey to St. Paul we pass to still another experiment in city government. There they enjoy the same very excellent system of liquor-licensing. In confining the saloons to the business and manufacturing precincts, whole wards where the dwellings are found are under the taboo. They issue about 390 licenses a year in St. Paul, at \$1000 each, and keep a license-inspector at \$1500 a year and the cost of a horse and buggy, to protect the licensees and the city. The officials boasted to me that there is not one unlicensed saloon in St. Paul. As was the case in Minneapolis, they said that strangers could not procure liquor to be drunk on the premises in those drug stores which violate the law. But while, in the main,

the same excellent method of liquor-licensing obtains in both towns, I was permitted to gather the notion that in St. Paul there is a looseness about minor details of the superintendence which does not exist in Minneapolis. For instance, it is found impossible to close the saloons at eleven o'clock at night or on Sundays, as the law commands. They keep open until midnight, or even later, and on Sunday follow the New York device of closing the front doors and opening those side or rear doors which for some hidden reason are in New York called "family entrances."

When I was first told that the law could not be enforced, it occurred to me that perhaps the impossibility was like that which defeated the better impulses of a little child of my acquaintance when he ate an apple which he was carrying to his sister. He explained that he "truly could not help eating it; it really would be eaten, and he could not stop it." But I found afterwards that the law was an enactment of the State Legislature and not of the local authorities, and that the city is different from Minneapolis in that it possesses a very much more mixed population of transplanted Europeans. The failure to enforce the law therefore emphasized two well-established points: first, that cities should govern themselves; and second, that laws which reflect the prejudices or peculiar tenets of a class or race are extremely difficult to enforce in a mixed community. Yet it is always a pity when they are loosely administered and disobeyed. Such a condition is a grave misfortune, for nothing but harm can come of permitting any community to witness the contemptuous treatment of any law. Would that all officials charged with carrying out the statutes were of General Grant's mind, to insist upon the enforcement of mistaken as well as wise laws, that the first sort might the sooner be repealed! The city of St. Paul is said to contain fully 65 persons of foreign birth in every 100 of its population. It has one saloon to every 370 inhabitants.

I found St. Paul undergoing a governmental revolution, owing to a gift of a new charter from the Legislature. Again the Mayor here rose to importance, and divided honors and work with the Common Council—he making half the appointments, and they administering the more important trusts. But it is a dual Coun-

cil—a double-bârrelled board of supervisors—called Aldermen and Assemblymen. Each ward elects one Alderman, and there are eleven in all, while the nine Assemblymen are elected at large from all over the city. Both serve two years and receive \$100 a year, presumably for car fares. They meet on alternate Tuesdays. The majority of the members of the two houses are Irish or Irish Americans. The city is Democratic. The Mayor appoints the Chief of Police and the policemen under him, and has the power to remove as well as to appoint. He does so with the advice and consent of the Council; but it is said that no conflicts have arisen in the matter of removals, either under this or the former charter. The Mayor's salary has been raised from \$1000 to \$2500. The judges of the municipal court are elected; they receive \$4000 a year, and have civil jurisdiction where the sum at issue is under \$500. A feature that would seem to be the outcome of sage reflection is the Conference Committee. It is composed of the Mayor, president of the Assembly, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Aldermen, the Comptroller, Treasurer, Engineer, and the heads of nearly all the bureaus of the city government. They come together once a month to confer upon the work each has in hand.

I asked a high official of the city government, who is a "practical" Democratic politician, why the new charter had established a return to the old plan of a double legislative body. He said that it was a Republican effort to put a check to Democratic expenditure. When I asked if it would have that effect, he dropped in my ear this astonishing reflection, which I will set down without any further comment than that it appears to possess the quality of frankness in a marked degree.

"Among politicians," said he, "*all legislation is trading*. You know that as well as I do. We all use our opportunities and influence to help those who have been of service to us. That is the main consideration in politics. Every Alderman who is elected is indebted to certain influential men in his ward, and he expects to legislate to pay his debts. It cannot be so easy to do this if the legislation must afterward pass a body of men elected at large, and not indebted to the same persons for their election."

If the government of St. Paul has been

slow in providing parks, it remains to be said that the lack has been little felt amid environs that offer many of the best advantages of cultivated pleasure-grounds. And the city government has been so far from idle as to have produced by prodigious energy within the past few years public works which have raised its conditions from those of a village to those which entitle it to rank with the most progressive cities of its size in the country. Its streets, sewers, railroad crossings, fire-defence, public buildings, water-supply plant, and half a dozen other important features of the public service have taken on a first-class character, and in some of these developments no city of the first grade surpasses it. A quicker, longer leap from haphazard to perfected conditions is not recorded anywhere in the West.

The machinery of government by which this was effected has been changed, but we know that there was nothing novel about it, and that the change has brought nothing novel to it. The credit lies with the public-spirited, enterprising people behind the government, and it is a pity that they cannot be left alone to work out their own administrative methods with the same forehandedness they exhibit despite the interference of the State Legislature.

And now, to end this glance at the more striking features of the management of the public business in this group of cities, I come to a subject which has been taken up with hesitation because I know that it is fashionable and popular to hold but one opinion with regard to it—that is, the public-school management. It seems to me that nothing in the West—not even the strides she is making in population, wealth, and power—is so remarkable as the footing upon which the common schools are maintained.

The last Mayor of Chicago uses these words in his second annual message: "It is gratifying that the public-school system of our city receives that generous support and attention to which its magnitude and importance entitle it. In 1887 the amount appropriated and otherwise available for educational purposes was nearly \$2,250,000; in 1888, nearly \$2,500,000; in 1889, about the same amount; in 1890, nearly \$4,750,000; and the present year, over \$5,500,000. Thus it will be seen that over \$17,250,000 have been ap-

propriated during the past five years for the construction and maintenance of our schools. About eighty-six per cent. of this amount is from taxation; the balance, the revenue from school property.... The total enrolment of pupils for the school year reaches nearly 139,000.... Night schools cost the city nearly \$77,000 during the year; the compulsory feature, about \$15,000; deaf-and-dumb tuition, \$5000; manual training, \$10,000; music, nearly \$13,000; drawing, over \$17,500; physical culture, about \$15,500; foreign languages, over \$115,000. It is estimated that the average pupil leaves the public schools about the age of twelve to fourteen years." At \$5,500,000, the cost *per capita* of 139,000 school-children is a little more than \$39.

The Comptroller of the city of Minneapolis in his last report places the disbursements for schools at \$923,619. The secretary of the Board of Education of that city reports the supervision of the studies of 20,000 children. The cost *per capita* is, therefore, more than \$46 a year. All allusions to the city's school work in the official reports are enthusiastic, and it appears that a high rank has been accorded the Minneapolis schools by those engaged in public educational work throughout the country. The Mayor, in his reference to the schools in a recent message, notes the fact that the manual-training branch of the teaching operates to retain an increased number of pupils in the high schools. This discovery of a means for lessening the disproportion usually noticeable between the number of high-school pupils and the numbers in the lower schools will doubtless be hailed with joy by those who find the system generally and greatly underbalanced all over the country.

The 17,227 pupils in the schools of St. Paul enjoyed the benefits of an expenditure of \$1,205,000 last year. This is practically at the rate of \$70 *per capita*. (The total cost is as above in the Comptroller's report; the Treasurer places the disbursement at \$1,310,000.) The Superintendent of Schools reports that the city maintains a carefully graded course of tuition, covering a *period of eight years!* It includes tuition in civil government, physics, hygiene, manual training, Greek, Latin, French, German, political economy, common law, zoology, astronomy, chemistry, and English literature.

Here I note the first attempt to curb these expenses. The St. Paul School Board possessed almost complete legislative powers to raise and to spend what money it pleased. The Council was obliged to grant its demands; in addition the Board issued bonds and certificates of indebtedness. "It was like sacrilege to complain," an official told me. Now the new charter subordinates the school inspectors. Their pay-rolls and bills must be approved by the Council, which may reduce salaries. Moreover, another board of city officials buys all the supplies for the schools.

But in no city in the West is there a sign that public education will not remain the most costly branch of government. There are two ways to look at such a condition, but, in my opinion, the two ways are not what they are commonly supposed to be. One way should be to look with envy on the rich, who thus may send their children to school for eight years, while the poor, who must put their little ones to work at tender ages, foot the greater part of the cost. The other way might well be to commiserate the poor who are deceived by sentimental clap-trap into inflating the common-school system in such a manner that at last their share in its benefits becomes microscopic.

Two things that are novel to a visitor attract attention in all the far Western towns and cities. Neither is a branch of government, yet both affect it. The first is the stand-point from which vice is regarded as a factor in public affairs, especially in the smaller cities. It is a trick of the popular mind where I have been (between Chicago and the Pacific coast) to gauge the vitality and prosperity of a town by the showing it makes in what may be called its "night side." It is part of the quality of hospitality, and is born of the desire to entertain all comers as they would wish to be entertained. These cities are far apart, and are the centres of great regions. It is understood that those who visit them come to spend money not only upon necessaries and luxuries, but at drinking and gaming, in concert-halls, dance-houses, and the like. If a large and lively section of a town ministers to these appetites, visitors are taken to see it. If such a quarter languishes, good citizens apologize, and seek to show that the city is not

backward in other respects. In discussing this subject, a very pushing Western man of national and honorable reputation said: "There is wisdom and experience behind all that. If I am asked to buy lots or to locate in a city, I would visit the place, and if I didn't see a good lively 'after-dark quarter,' and didn't hear chips rattling and corks popping, there would be no need to tell me about the geographical position of the town or its jobbing trade or banking capital; I would have none of it."

The other novelty in Western town life is the inevitable combination of leading citizens pledged to promote the best interests of their town. Such a body is variously called a Board of Trade, a Chamber of Commerce, or a Commercial Club. It is the burning-glass which focusses the public spirit of the community. Its most competent officer is usually the highly salaried secretary. He does for his town what a railroad passenger agent or a commercial traveller does for his employers, that is to say, he secures business. He invites manufacturers to set

up workshops in his city, offering a gift of land, or of land and money, or of exemption from taxation for a term of years. The merchants, and perhaps the city officials also, support his promises. In a South Dakota city I have known a fine brick warehouse to be built and given, with the land under it, to a wholesale grocery firm for doing business there. In a far North western city there was talk during last winter of sending a man East on salary to stay away until he could bring back capital to found a smeltery. These boards of trade often organize local companies to give a city what it needs. They urge the people to subscribe for stock in associations that are to build electric railways, opera-houses, hotels, convention halls, water supply, and illuminating companies, often dividing an acknowledged financial loss for the sake of a public gain. Thus these boards provide the machinery by which the most ambitious, forward, and enterprising communities in the world expend and utilize their energy.

IN A LONDON STREET.

BY LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY.

THO' sea and mount have beauty, and this but what it can,
 Thrice fairer than their light the light here battling in the van,
 The tragic light, the din and grime,
 The dread endearing stain of time,
 The beating heart of man.

I know the sun at boldest a bubble in the sky,
 That where he dare not enter steals in shrouded passion by;
 I know the river sails, the bridge;
 The plane-trees, each a greener ridge
 To rest an urban eye;

The bells in dripping steeples; the tavern's corner glare;
 The cabs like glowworms darting forth; the barrel-organ's air;
 And one by one, and two by two,
 The hatless urchins waltzing thro'
 The level-paven square.

Not on the Grecian headlands of song and old desire
 My spirit chose her pleasure-house, but in the London mire:
 Long, long alone she loves to pace,
 And find a music in this place
 As in a minster choir.

O things of awe and rapture! O names of legendry!
 Still is it most of joy within your saddest town to be,
 Whose very griefs I fain would slake
 Mine angels are, and help to make
 In hell a heaven for me.