

## CHAPTER IX.

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### SHOULD A CITY OWN ITSELF?

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IT has been popularly believed in days gone by, that a serious menace to the perpetuity of our institutions was to be found in municipal ownership. I do not remember ever having heard any one specifically locate the danger, but I am well aware that I, in common with thousands of others, once accepted it as a settled conclusion that the municipality or the government, either state or national, should keep its hands off from business, business being something that only individuals or corporations had a right to engage in. If we define business to be merely making money in order to enrich an individual or set of individuals, I think the point is well taken. Such business should be the prerogative of individuals and private corporations, if of anybody. But when it comes to a question of adding to the Commonwealth, then every consideration, both of selfishness and morals, will agree that it is the business of all the people, whether represented by municipality, state or general government.

No circumstance justifies the granting of franchises. No one wants a franchise but for profit, and if there is a profit in it, the city ought to keep it for the benefit of the people. This sums up the whole franchise question.

Any system of leasing for a percentage of the receipts, or providing checks to keep the corporation regulated, is simply a com-

promise with the crime. The city should own all values created by society, and use them for public improvements.

A city should have the same privilege with regard to doing work of public improvement that an individual has with respect to erecting a house, building a bridge, digging a sewer, or constructing a highway.

To say that a private corporation can operate a function of this kind and serve the people better than they can serve themselves, is an unwarranted assumption of superiority on the part of those who make the claim. It is a flagrant manifestation of a lack of the spirit of patriotism, for no man who is truly patriotic will be willing to confess to a desire to use the people of his city simply for what he can make out of them. The city and the city government are here for the benefit of all of the people, and the patriots who love the city will be quite as ready to manifest that love and show their patriotism by serving the city in those fields where they possess superiority, whether it be in making gas, operating a public lighting plant, looking after the interests of the library or the public schools, as were the patriots who went to Cuba and gave up their lives in front of Santiago, because they loved their country.

#### PRIVATE OWNERSHIP A PUBLIC IMMORALITY.

All natural monopolies should be publicly owned, because, in the first place, they cover a class of necessities that are common to all of the people. It may be urged that the poor do not need gas, electric lighting or telephones, etc., but in the most just order of society, into which we are coming, these utilities will be as accessible to the poor as they now are to the rich. It is no stretch of imagination to say that many a poor person has died simply for want of a telephone to reach a doctor quickly, and the only substantial reason why the poor should not have telephones and other things that are now considered luxuries

is found in the fact that they cannot have them. Unjust economic conditions have placed them beyond their reach. I fancy that the time will come when the social needs of a city will be so perfectly understood that the telephone will not only be publicly owned, but publicly paid for, and will be as freely used by all classes of citizens as are now the streets, street lighting, the protection of fire and police departments, and public-school education. Man is a social being. We have not yet begun to take in the profound philosophy of the statement that "no man liveth to himself." If we have prosperity that is real, we all share it; in like manner, whether we will or not, we all share in the adversity which to our short-sighted eyes may seem to affect only a few.

A second and perhaps the best reason why these monopolies should be publicly owned is found in the fact that private ownership of a public utility is a public immorality. No legislative body has a moral right to farm out a privilege granting certain individuals the right to rob the people while pretending to serve them. Perhaps the word "rob" may be extravagant in this sense; but I mean to say that no moral right is lodged in any legislative body to grant a privilege to a corporation to make profit from the people by providing a social necessity, when this class of service is the manifest duty of the people. According to any just conception of democracy, it is one of the imperative functions of government. To evade it or avoid it by granting franchises or leases of privileges of that kind is a shirking of responsibility on the part of the leaders amounting to nothing less than a crime against the people.

#### THE STREETS THE COMMON PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

I believe that we are in the beginning of a time when, through the administration of love as law, we are to realize in a larger degree the kind of liberty that Lincoln believed in and died for.

I believe that the wealth created by the people should be used for the people's benefit. The streets are the common property of all of the people. Every wire, every pole, every conduit, every rail — everything permanently in or on the streets should be for the common benefit of all of the people, not for the private benefit of a few.

In his address before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York City, November 11, 1897, Governor Pingree said:

Good municipal government is an impossibility while valuable franchises are to be had and can be obtained by corrupt use of money in bribing public servants. I believe the time has come for municipal ownership of street railway lines, water, gas, electric lighting, telephone, and other necessary public conveniences, which, by their nature, are monopolies.

The whole idea of granting special privileges to a few people so that they can make profit from the labor of the rest of the people is undemocratic. It prevents the realization of one of our loftiest ideals — the equality of all men before the law. It is contrary to the spirit of republican institutions. It is the same thing as the granting of titles in monarchical countries. It creates gas barons, electric-light earls, and street-car dukes.

A few financiers are given a permit to enrich themselves at the expense of those who do the actual work of the city. Generally their wealth comes from the poorer classes. The hard-earned nickle of the washerwoman and the seamstress go to make up the profits of the street-railway magnate.

Let all those who share this sort of profit understand the source of their wealth. The ladies who wear sealskins and diamonds, and the men who give thousands to colleges and churches and foreign missions, should remember in what way their wealth has been heaped together.

In granting or selling a franchise, the city becomes a party to the crime, and becomes responsible for the misery and wretchedness of the submerged tenth.

## EVERY MAN THE SERVITOR OF SOCIETY.

The fundamental idea of democracy is not that every individual shall be free to seek his own good or to pursue his own ends. You cannot build up a society on those lines. "Every man for himself" is treason to humanity. When men co-operate and build cities, a new set of social duties is created, which men must obey if they wish co-operation to continue. We have been trying as individuals to get all the benefits of co-operation without performing any of the duties.

The moral code of gypsies may do for the woods, but it will not do for a highly organized civilization like ours. We need a new definition of freedom and independence which will harmonize them with co-operation and brotherhood.

The merit of the idea of democracy lies in the assumption that every man will sink his own interest in order to serve his fellow-men. This is by the very law of our being — our only possible chance for permanent peace and happiness. And yet so very dimly is this principle understood that it is the commonest kind of an occurrence to hear a man say that he "cannot afford to take public office" — that he is "too busy with his own affairs."

This assumption is a denial of democracy, and until, through a more advanced system of education, we shall come to understand that the city and nation have the first claims upon our affection and service, in peace as well as in war, we shall not begin to realize the glorious possibilities of collective effort. The evasion of responsibility in public matters is civic treason, and it is by no means a rare crime. It arises from a lack of social consciousness. There are not many as yet who have consciences delicate enough to detect the suicidal nature of selfishness.

Democracy is based on the present-day fact that society is like a human body. Every part, by being the servant of every other part, is initiated into the higher freedom which co-operation alone can bring.

How absurd it would be to grant a special franchise to the left hand, freeing it from the necessity of being useful, and giving it four times its usual supply of blood for remaining idle! It would not only be injurious to the rest of the body, but to the left hand as well. Active service is the price of health. No man or class of men can long escape a share of the common burden. All the laws of nature are against them. "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

Our Constitution rightly prohibits any American citizen from bearing a foreign title. We have abolished at least that kind of aristocracy. Our next task is to make it impossible for any citizen to hold a public franchise. Our system of industry should be as free from aristocratic elements as our politics. The kings of commerce must be dethroned, else they will establish a profit-mongering feudalism which will bring the Dark Ages upon us again.

#### PROF. PARSONS' VIEW.

As to the legal aspects of this question, Prof. Frank Parsons says:

The truth is that decisions sustaining grants of franchises or other monopolistic privileges are *contrary to the fundamental principles of free institutions, democratic government, and Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence*. No legislature or Congress ever had a right to grant a monopoly or a franchise that practically amounts to a monopoly.

What the sovereign power of Queen Elizabeth could not accomplish against the people's interests is surely beyond the rightful power of legislators elected to serve the people's interest. A private monopoly is just as much against public policy when formed by grant as when formed by combination — more so, if anything, because of the corruption of the government so often incident to such grants. The result is that justice, public policy, and the established principles of our jurisprudence, permit no private monopoly, either by combination or by grant; wherefore, monopoly, wherever necessary in the nature of the case, or for the sake of economy, must be public and not private. That every water, gas, electric light, transit, telegraph and telephone franchise should

be owned and operated by the public is a clear deduction from principles of justice and public policy firmly established in our law for the last 500 years.

A franchise establishing a virtual monopoly, and relating to a practical necessity of civilized life, like transportation, light, water, means of communication, etc., involves a power to exact tribute from the community, a power substantially equivalent to the privilege of levying taxes for private purposes, which is beyond the authority of any legislative body in a free country.

The legislature cannot delegate a power it does not possess, cannot do indirectly through a corporate franchise what it has no right to do directly; wherefore, on the clearest principles of law, every monopolistic franchise our legislators have granted should have been held absolutely void.

Such franchises not only involve taxation for private purposes, but taxation without representation—the people who pay tribute to the street railway, gas, and electric companies are not represented in the deliberation of those bodies.

It is a curious spectacle this, of a government choking monopolies with one hand and granting them in lavish abundance with the other, declaring all the while that monopolies are contrary to public policy, and passing laws to destroy them, while in the very same hall, and, perhaps, in the very same hour, still other laws are passed to create them.

#### THE ROOT OF MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION.

In reply to the popular criticism of public ownership, on the ground that our civil service is so bad that to do further service would tempt to corruption, the answer is simply that experience proves this charge to be wrong.

Bad as the civil service may be, we seldom hear of any corruption in the post-office department. Our public-school system is surely more free from corruption than our street-railway corporations.

Traveling men who sell supplies to private corporations and to municipal departments tell me that their experience proves almost uniformly that the purchasing agent of a corporation is more easily corrupted than a public official.

As Henry D. Lloyd says, "Our problem is a paradox: we must municipalize in order to have good government; and we must have good government in order to municipalize."

Prof. Bemis says:

The greatest advantage of municipal ownership is its tendency to relieve communities from corrupting relations with men of wealth.

Some believe that merely the form of corruption would be changed thereby; that, instead of the corruption of the city council by franchise-seeking corporations, there would come the corruption of the spoils system. Even if this should at first prove true, the spoilsmen can be cuffed and kicked about in the gutter ad libitum, without the slightest danger to one's social or business position. In fact, it is becoming almost the fashionable thing to express disgust at the political office-seeker. With the growing need of civil service reform, which the increase of public activities is sure to force upon public attention, the spoils system is likely to die unhonored and despised.

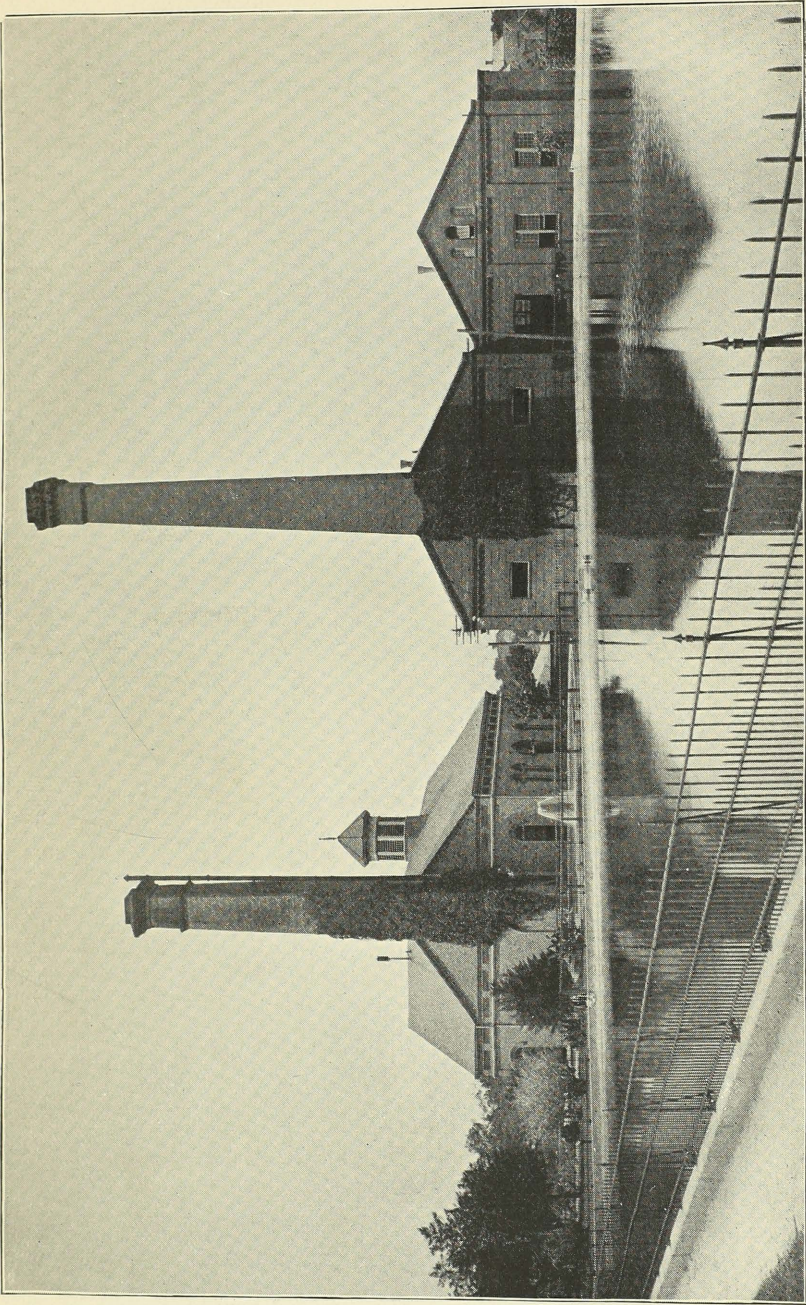
Our rich and influential citizens, whose financial interests, as investors in franchises, now prompt them to desire weak or corrupt government, would, under public operation, have no financial interests at stake, except as taxpayers, and in that capacity would desire efficient administration.

To attempt reform to-day in public regulation of private ownership is to endanger one's position as editor, professor, preacher, attorney, or man of affairs, since the men who gain by existing corruption and degradation of government are the leading supporters of our churches, our colleges, and our business. Against such people reform has hard sledding.

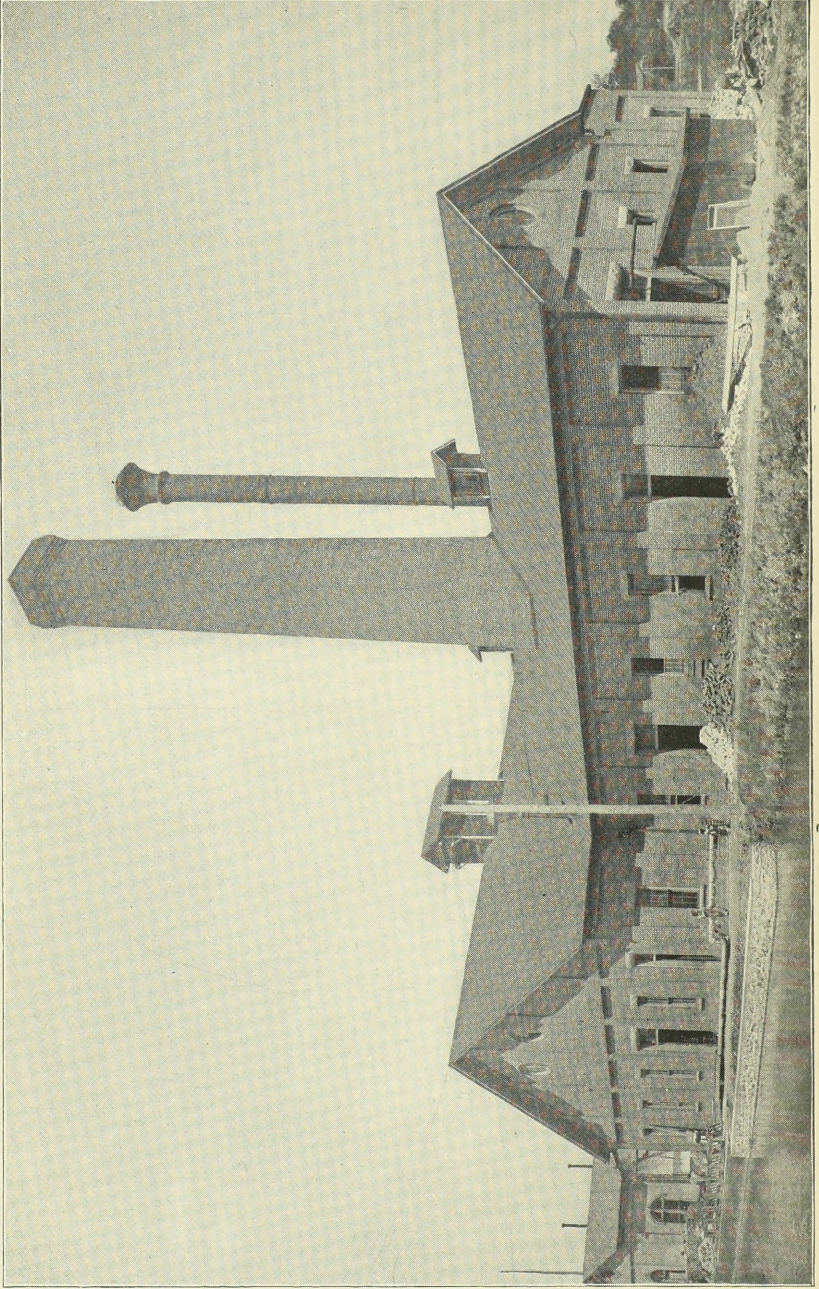
Prof. John R. Commons says:

The great majority of the 300 cities and villages now furnishing light are actually getting better service at less cost than those which depend upon private companies. It is objected that such cannot be the case, especially in our large cities, because of the flagrant municipal corruption and inefficiency. Business ability and integrity, it is said, are excluded from municipal office, appointments are made as a reward of political service, and the municipal plant soon becomes burdened with barnacles who draw pay without work. I do not deny that such is often the case. But I maintain that nine-tenths of the existing municipal corruption and inefficiency result from the policy of leaving municipal functions to private parties; and that an essential part of the present unparalleled awakening of civic conscience on the part of all classes of the people is the desire for municipal ownership of franchises. As the people become aroused to the degradation of their politics and to the need of reform, their attention is concentrated on the chief source of that degradation, the underhanded and often highhanded domination of city officials and machine politics by the corporations whose life is maintained by city franchises.





**MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC LIGHT PLANT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.**  
(Conspicuous example of success in municipal ownership.)



MUNICIPAL LIGHT PLANT, LOGANSPORT, IND.  
(Affords the lowest meter rate in the world.)

UNREASON OF CONTINUING PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF ANY  
PUBLIC UTILITY.

*I am unable to see why it is not just as reasonable to undertake to make a plan for providing individuals or corporations franchises to build and take care of the city streets, letting them collect their pay by the old-fashioned method of the toll-gate, as to grant franchises to people to furnish us with light. I believe that plenty of corporations can be found who will agree to furnish this or any other social service cheaper than the city can do it through municipal ownership. They will agree to police our cities, put out our fires, carry on our schools, take care of our poor as they used to do in days gone by, and proclaim that they can save money for the tax-payer; and to my mind it is just as reasonable in these closing years of the nineteenth century for thoughtful men to set about devising a system of checks and balances that will compel corporations to do as they agree in the management of any one of these privileges as it is in the management of a street railway, an electric-lighting plant, a water plant, or any other public interest of the city. There is no difference. The streets, the schools, the bridges, the fire department, the police department, are pretty generally emancipated from the grasp of the money getter. They have passed beyond his reach; they are now in the domain of the municipally owned and conducted things, where eventually we shall find all such things as water-works, lighting plants, heating plants, telephones, telegraphs, messenger service, city directory, and, in fact, every form of public utility which can be operated by the people for the benefit of all the people, better than an individual or private corporation can serve them.*

Through the work that has already been done to control street railroads and electric lighting, thousands of dollars monthly of the people's money that were being heaped up as private wealth are now saved to the people. Selfishness has made and will continue to make every conceivable effort to keep the people from

taking what belongs to them, but we are rapidly approaching a period where history, not less than theory, is coming to our aid. Public ownership is only another name for co-operation, and in Great Britain and Europe, where they are older than we, they have come to understand that the good of the individual can only be found and conserved by seeking the good of all. When Glasgow, Leeds and Plymouth adopted public ownership of the street railways, they bettered the service, reduced fares, shortened the hours of labor and raised the wages of the men.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The man who prides himself on being "practical" is constantly asserting that public ownership is an untried and risky experiment, whereas the evidence of its success is on every side of him. As Sidney Webb says in his "Socialism in England" (page 65):

The individualist city councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas and cleaned by municipal brooms, with municipal water, and, seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading room, by the municipal art gallery, museum and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications, in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall, in favor of the nationalization of canals and the increase of the government control over the railway system. "Socialism, Sir," he will say, "don't waste the time of a practical man by your fantastic absurdities. Self-help, Sir, individual self-help, that's what has made our city what it is."

I do not believe that statistics are the best arguments. *Right is right, whether it "pays" or not.* We should have public ownership because it is the fair and natural way for business to be done among friends.

But for the sake of those who demand figures and facts, the

following are submitted, the authority for them being Prof. E. W. Bemis and Dr. Milo Roy Maltbie:

The city of Watervliet, N. Y., has for seven years furnished its 115 arc lamps at a cost of \$75 each, including depreciation, but not interest. Its neighbor, Troy, has paid a private company, during the same time, \$146 for like service. Watervliet's plant cost \$26,000, but was paid for in two assessments, without the issue of bonds. Distributed over the entire period, this investment would have been equivalent to \$31 per lamp-year, making the total expense to the taxpayers \$106, against \$146 paid by Troy.

Lansing, Mich., bought out the private plant, and reduced rates at once from twenty cents per kw. to eighteen cents, and again to twelve cents, in two years. The city pays its municipal plant \$10,000 yearly for 117 2,000 candle-power lamps, moonlight schedule, and the plant receives also \$15,000 for private lighting, making a profit for the plant of \$7,000 yearly above operating expenses and interest. The rates are twelve cents per kw., being a reduction of eight cents below the rates charged by the private company whose plant the city purchased. The saving to the citizens on commercial lighting is, therefore, approximately \$10,000 per year.

Logansport, Ind., established a municipal plant in 1894, at a cost of \$90,000. The expenditures in 1897 were \$18,946.75, of which \$13,206.60 were for operation, and \$5,740.15 for new construction. The commercial receipts were \$17,442.53, or \$4,235.93 in excess of operating expenses, and within \$1,504.22 of the total expenditures. Adding \$13,442.35, for lighting streets and public buildings, to the commercial receipts, and the income of the taxpayers for the year was \$30,884.88 against an expenditure of \$13,206.60. Depreciation would increase this to \$15,900, leaving a profit of \$15,000. The success of the plant has been so great that the rate for incandescent lighting has just been reduced to five cents per kw., probably the lowest meter rate in the world.

Elgin, Ill., prior to city ownership in 1890, was paying \$8,000 for thirty-three arcs running till midnight, or \$242.42 per arc; but in 1891 the city ran seventy-seven arcs all night on the moonlight schedule, or over one-third more hours, for \$4,800 for operating expenses, or \$62.34 each, plus, say 10 per cent. of the amount then invested, \$17,900, for interest and depreciation. This would make the total cost at that time from \$84 to \$90, or about one-third of what the city had been paying; while the cost in 1896, even with interest and depreciation, was only about \$72.

The oldest electric-light plant in this country, probably in the world, is in Fairfield, Ia. It originally cost \$6,000. It was built by a private company in 1880, and was purchased by the city in 1882. No commercial lighting

is done. There are six arc lights on a tower, and twelve others which are operated in connection with the city water-works, but the cost is kept separate. For light all night on dark nights, with coal at about \$2 a ton, these few lights have cost the city on an average only \$64 yearly per lamp, including the average expense of all renewals, but not the fixed charges.

Jacksonville, Fla., is one of the most conspicuous examples of success in municipal ownership. Not only is the net cost of its 122 public arc lights reduced by good management and by the receipts from commercial lighting to less than one-fourth of what the city had been paying a private company, but the commercial rates of the public plant have been reduced one-half, forcing a considerable reduction in the prices of two private electric-light plants in the city, and of gas. These reductions alone are officially estimated to equal a yearly profit to the consumers of light of two-thirds the cost of the public plant.

A decided movement has set in toward municipal ownership of electric light plants in some sections of the country. In 1897, there were five cities of over 100,000 population and fifty-three smaller municipalities with municipal works. The largest city is Chicago, which became owner of an electric-lighting system in 1897. Other cities of importance with municipal plants are Detroit, Allegheny, Columbus, St. Joseph, Bay City, Little Rock, Taunton, Dunkirk, Topeka, Tacoma, Jacksonville, Fla., and South Norwalk, Conn. In nearly every case, however, there are also private companies operating electric-light works in the same town; and in St. Joseph, Mo., the municipal plant alone supplies street lighting.

The recent movement toward municipal ownership has been most active in Massachusetts, where there are now fourteen municipalities which own their electric-light plants. Most of these are small places, but three (Taunton, Chicopee and Peabody) have over 10,000 population each. In addition, some 200 cities and towns in that State are considering the question of municipalizing the local lighting service, and many have taken the first steps in the process. The next few years may, therefore, show a large increase in the number of municipal electric plants, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the United States.

Of the fifty largest cities in the United States, forty-one have public water-works, nineteen of these have changed from private ownership, while only one large city, New Orleans, has changed from public to private management. In England and Wales, forty-five of the sixty-four great towns and county boroughs own their water-works, as do all the large towns in Scotland, and Dublin, Belfast and Cork in Ireland.

Some years ago, the sprinkling of St. Louis streets was done by private contract. Some frontages would subscribe, others not. Vacant lots and cross

streets were left unsprinkled. The air was laden with dust. An ordinance was passed providing for sprinkling by general contract and assessing the cost on abutting property. The result has been that the city got rid of all dust, and the cost to those who formerly subscribed has been less than half. St. Louis has always owned its water-works. The rates have been as low as those charged by private companies in other places. Out of these rates it has built new and enlarged works several times, until now the value is at least \$30,000,000. All of this value has been made out of the profits of the business which otherwise would have gone to private owners. It is commonly believed that it costs the government more to construct works and operate them than private proprietors. Experience proves otherwise. The contracts for building new water-works at St. Louis have each time been taken so low that the contractors were bankrupted. The governments are always favored customers and usually get lower prices than the largest private buyers. In St. Louis there has never been any scandal or corruption in connection with the publicly owned works, such as the water supply, parks, hospitals, fire department, streets and sewers; but its privately owned works, such as gas, electric lighting, and the street railways, have been never-ending sources of corruption and scandal. They have been the forces that have controlled local politics. They have debauched the municipal administration. In the management of the public schools, that part which is actually managed by the public servants has been well done and free from scandal. That part which has been let out to private contractors has been badly done, expensive and corrupt.

The municipal markets in the United States are neither few nor insignificant. The largest are those of New York city, which yield a gross revenue of nearly \$300,000. Considering the size of the city, those of New Orleans are most important; the principal ones being leased for \$186,000 a year, and an additional \$40,000 which the city must use for repairs to the buildings. The municipality also operates directly four markets, which yield a revenue of \$10,000 a year. In this instance, the city possesses a market monopoly, and the few private enterprises are carried on under the right of reversion to the city. The Quincy market of Boston is valued at \$1,250,000, and produces an annual revenue of \$72,000, of which \$60,000 is net profit. Baltimore has a revenue of \$48,000 from markets, and St. Louis of \$28,000. The municipal market buildings of Pittsburgh are valued at \$350,000; those of St. Paul at \$250,000; and those of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Nashville, Mobile, and Savannah, at over \$100,000 each. Three-fourths of the cities with 100,000 population have municipal markets, the exceptions being San Francisco, Minneapolis, Jersey City, Louisville, Rochester and Providence.

Public baths have been established by very few American cities. It is only

about thirty years since Boston established the first municipal summer baths in America, and even this line of action has not been very largely followed. There are now free floating baths under municipal management at New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Newark, Hartford, Des Moines, Lawrence, Springfield, Mass., and a few smaller cities. Municipal baths after the British models have been established in the United States only within the present decade. The first was erected by the city of Yonkers, N. Y. In 1894, Chicago opened the Carter Harrison bath. Two years later, Boston made public the baths at the Charles Bank gymnasium and commenced the erection of new bathhouses. In 1897, Buffalo erected public spray baths, and Brookline, Mass., opened a fully equipped bathing establishment, with plunge, shower and slipper baths. During 1898 municipal baths were opened in Providence and Worcester. In nearly every case the American cities have abandoned the fee system, and made the municipal bath free. The most important municipal baths in the United States are those of Boston, where there are twenty-four establishments, including both inclosed and open-air baths, with an aggregate attendance in 1898 of 1,915,000.

There are in the large continental cities, a goodly number of municipal botanical gardens. At Paris, in addition to the "Jardin des Plantes," there are the noted municipal nurseries and greenhouses in the Bois de Boulogne. Municipal botanical gardens are also maintained at Lyons, Marseilles, Lille, Rouen, Rheims and some other large French towns. In Germany, there are municipal establishments at Munich, Cologne, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Hanover, Hamburg, Brunswick, Stettin, Aachen, Essen, Cassell and other cities. Nearly every Belgian and Dutch city has a municipal botanical garden, as at Brussels, Ghent, The Hague, Liège, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In Italy, most of the large cities — Rome, Milan, Turin, Palermo, Leghorn and Venice — have botanical gardens. The other larger European cities have also in most cases supplied this combined recreative and educational provision, as for example, Trieste, Lisbon and Stockholm.

In England, municipal botanical gardens are reported only from Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, Nottingham and Cardiff. Those in Regent's Park, London, belong to the Royal Historical Society; and the more important exhibitions at Kew, Edinburgh and Dublin are maintained by the central government. In the United States, the only instance of scientific botanical gardens maintained by municipal authorities is at Buffalo and Pittsburgh; but there are important floricultural and horticultural displays in the public parks of New York city, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and other cities. New York city has also furnished 250 acres of land in Bronx Park for botanical gardens, which have been placed under the management of the private society



controlling the endowment funds. The Arnold Arboretum, at Boston, owned by Harvard University, is administered as part of the municipal park system. The other botanical gardens in America are those at Washington, D. C., owned by the Federal government; at St. Louis, privately endowed and managed; and at Montreal, owned by McGill University.

Public eating-houses are established in a number of German cities, to provide meals for workmen at cheap prices, so as to do away with the evil effects of the dinner pail. Those in Chemnitz, during 1893, sold 435,000 dinners; receipts were \$17,500, and expenditures \$15,500. The city of Grenoble, France, also maintains a municipal restaurant, at which about 1,200 meals a day are served. At the outset, the enterprise needed municipal aid, but it is now self-supporting. The municipality owns the property used, for which it receives a nominal rent; and the accounts are reported in the books of the municipality. Any surplus is deposited in the city treasury, as a reserve to draw from when prices of provisions are high. There are also other instances throughout France of similar institutions without municipal aid; several establishments being in operation at Paris, Lyons and Bordeaux.

Somewhat akin to such institutions are municipal bakeries, which are to be found at Rome and at Kovno, in Russia. Stockholm owns municipal liquor stores for the working classes, who cannot obtain drink without ordering food.

The first public open-air gymnasium in the world was that maintained by the city of Boston at one of its small parks, known as the Charles River Embankment. A more complete model playground for children has since been established at Philadelphia; and many other playgrounds have recently been provided (largely through the initiative of private philanthropic organizations) in several American cities,—notably Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, New York, Providence, Worcester and Baltimore. In New York city, a number of the schoolhouses are used for playrooms during the summer months. Boston has recently been presented with a large and well-equipped indoor gymnasium in East Boston, which is maintained by the park commission free to the public. The London county council has six open-air gymnasia for adults and twelve for children.

In the countries of continental Europe many of the municipalities give substantial aid to theaters and opera houses. The German cities have, perhaps, done most in this direction. Besides state-supported opera-houses in Berlin, Dresden, Hanover, Brunswick, Mannheim and most of the ducal capitals, there are nearly forty municipal theaters in Germany. Fifteen of these are in cities over 50,000 population, including Breslau, Cologne, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Magdeburg, Düsseldorf and Nuremberg. In France, Belgium and Austria, most of the large cities own theaters and opera-houses,

as do also Rome, Milan, Bologna, Messina and other Italian cities, Geneva, Basle, Lisbon, Athens and even small Greek cities, such as Patras and Corfu. Paris owns several theaters in addition to the Grand Opera House. Municipal theaters also exist in most of the provincial cities of Russia, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw having imperial theaters. In North and South America, the only instances of municipal theaters are reported from Para and Maracaibo.

As a rule, these municipal theaters are leased to a company or director, often for a nominal rent, while the city either guarantees a minimum profit or pays a fixed annual subvention. In many towns where there is no municipal theater, and occasionally even where there is one, the city subsidizes private establishments. This is the case at Florence, Barmen, Crefeld, Christiana and Bergen. As a result of this municipal aid, prices are usually fixed so low as to place the performances within the reach of all. Thus, at Marseilles, the prices for the opera fixed by the city council are from fourteen cents to \$1.50. Hon. Robert P. Skinner, the United States Consul at that point, writes: "The wealthy do not patronize the opera so much as the comparatively poor, and the keenest enthusiasm comes from the cheapest seats." At Nice, the prices for ordinary performances are from ten cents to \$1.60, and on Sundays these are reduced by one-half. On certain holidays, free performances are given at the municipal theaters of Paris, Brussels and other large cities, the expenses being borne by the city.

In addition to the various industrial functions described above, which have been assumed by some considerable number of cities, there remain some exceptional instances where other functions, also of an industrial nature, have been undertaken by a few municipalities.

The ownership of the Cincinnati Southern railway by the city of Cincinnati presents an interesting case of municipal activity. The construction of the road was authorized by a vote of the electors of the city in 1869. It was built at a cost of \$18,000,000, and in 1898 the bonds are still outstanding. In 1896, a popular vote was taken on the question of selling the road, which resulted in a small majority against the sale in a vote of less than half the usual vote of the city. Somewhat analogous, but on a much smaller scale, are the cases of Kingston-upon-Hull, which has invested \$100,000 in the Hull and Barnsley railroad, and Glasgow, which owns \$60,000 of Caledonian railway 4 per cent. debentures. The city of Galveston, Tex., owns stock in the local street railway company.

Los Angeles, Cal., has a public irrigation system to supply water to neighboring farmers, which yields a revenue of about \$20,000.

Municipal provisions for sports and games, which afford physical exercise to the general public, such as football, baseball, cricket, tennis, golf, bicycling

and skating are general. Nearly all the large cities of Great Britain and the United States have fields in the municipal parks for such of these games as are locally most popular. The county council of London has 284 cricket pitches, 334 tennis courts, 45 skating ponds, 4 golf links, 4 lacrosse fields and 3 bowling greens.

Public pawnshops are operated in France, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. The first one was established in Perugia, Italy, in 1462, by the monks of that place. It was designed to liberate the poor from the oppressions of the usurers by accommodating them with loans at moderate rates of interest, or without interest at all.

Those who understand how the needy are obliged to submit to extortion in the private pawnshops in American cities will at once see the benefit of municipal loan offices, where no advantage is taken of the necessities of the poor.

Hartford, Conn., Halifax, England, and Odessa, Russia, each own a municipal quarry, from which stone for street paving and other purposes is obtained. The output at Hartford is about 20,000 cubic yards a year; and the cost of the stone delivered on the streets in 1896 was \$1.98 per square yard.

Several English towns take some active part in the chief industries of the locality. Bradford, the center of woolen manufacture, has a conditioning house for testing woolen goods, which, during 1897, made 64,435 tests of goods, weighing over 24,000,000 pounds. The municipality of Manchester has erected a cold-storage plant and warehouse for frozen meats and other perishable goods, which arrive by the ship canal. Oyster beds and herring fisheries are owned by several towns, the Colchester corporation receiving a revenue of \$16,000 from its interest in the Colne Fishing Board.

Boston, Mass., has had, since 1897, a municipal printing office, at which municipal printing is done, and which made a clear profit the first year of \$8,000.

### A MOVEMENT SCARCELY BEGUN.

As Dr. Milo Roy Maltbie says, in "Municipal Affairs:"

Whither is all this tending? Whatever a few years since may have been the answer suggested by conservatism, there is to-day but one — and that so obvious as scarcely to be questioned. The extension of municipal functions in the directions in which the city is to act as the servant of the individual has barely begun; and its scope, certain to be indefinitely increased in a comparatively near future, is to be measured only by the resources of developing invention and enterprise, so rapidly developing of late that their early realiza-

tion will be such as to be unthinkable now. The individual will have cheap facilities for transport and communication. The product of his labor will be multiplied in advantage to him by the co-operation for which cities alone give a chance. He will not be left to the hard paths which chance may afford for education of his mind and his senses, but have this facilitated by every device of civilization. It is, therefore, natural — inevitable indeed — that there should be provided for him, first, water, the prime essential of life and health; next, the first of its conveniences — artificial light; later, those universal incidents of its growth — highway facilities (including power supply as well as a clear path); and, finally, education and recreation.

Another question, however, is coming to the front, in form well calculated to startle even the most radical and enterprising: How far and how rapidly are city services to be offered the individual without condition and without price? Throughout the civilized world, it is now admitted that each citizen should have an abundant supply of water — free, so far as affecting his personal use of it. Of urban aggregations of a million of inhabitants each, one is actually furnishing and others are preparing to furnish free light, not merely for all public places but for private dwellings, whenever a certain degree of aggregation in occupancy has been reached. Turnpikes are rapidly becoming a memory; tolls are steadily dropping from our bridges and canals; and avowedly unremunerative rates of street-car fare for workingmen and students are favored on every hand. The education that used to be charily sold is now not merely free, but compulsory; while, by public funds supporting scholarships and fellowships, the highest and most technical education possible is offered to all under conditions which are scarcely more than tests of capacity freely to improve it. Free libraries and museums, art and musical education are becoming common. In every direction, recreation is being provided free as fast as the public can be taught to use it. The New York Court of Appeals has squarely taken the ground that should invention make it possible, the city might provide its people with improved air.

There seems, therefore, but one answer to the question proposed. Free supply or facilitated provision for each of the more important daily wants of its citizens will be within the functions of the future city. In the concrete, what does this mean? Not necessarily that the city will or should attempt to meet the unlimited want of every citizen for every facility which it might supply him, but rather that to the extent that the resultant of his needs and the ability of the city may determine, it shall offer in every direction a constantly increasing minimum.

Similarly as to street car and rapid transit facilities. The principle of favoring an unremunerative rate for long distance in order to facilitate the settle-

ment in more healthful living conditions of those who must otherwise add to the congestion at our city centers has already been accepted. In this regard, every factor is rapidly becoming more marked, so that the day is close at hand when in each of our leading cities conditions, not merely of health but of business convenience and profit, will demand that what are now largely residential quarters be given over to more and more intense occupation by business structures; and room elsewhere found, even though it involve transport cost, for the multiplying myriads that are still to do their daily work where their homes lately were. Ten years hence, it may seem as ridiculous that free transportation should not be furnished to secure the full use of recreation facilities by our city population, as it would be now to stop the free access to municipal parks and buildings.

Glasgow leads the cities of Great Britain and the world in ministering to the social needs of her people through the medium of collective ownership. Glasgow owns, not only the water-works, lighting plant, street railway, and parks, but, in addition, public baths, wash-houses, lodging-houses, model homes for widows, model homes for widowers. Tumbled-down rookeries and filthy and disease-breeding haunts for vice and crime were purchased by the municipality, torn down, and in their places beautiful buildings were erected to minister to the social needs of the people in the many ways indicated, the great municipality of Glasgow bringing light, air and sunshine to the downcast men and women who before, on account of their poverty, were compelled to live in the foul tenements that disgraced the city. Public wash-houses for the poor are a public benefaction. The poor woman, living with her children in a rented room, perhaps with no conveniences for washing and drying her clothes, goes to a public wash-house, and for a penny, is furnished with a tub, mangle, wringer, steam dryer, and in an hour's time is back home with her washing nicely done, and for less expense than the cost of fuel that would have been necessary in her own crowded quarters. Workmen unable to find respectable quarters for a lodging, can now go to a lodging-house provided by their mother,

the municipality, a beautiful stone building four stories high, where they have bath, laundry, lavatories, library and game-rooms, and all of this at the minimum cost, with no thought of making profit to enrich some individual, but with the thought uppermost in the mind of the municipality of making men, to enrich all and thus enrich the municipality.

#### PATRIOTISM IN TIME OF PEACE.

The League of American Municipalities has brought out the fact that hundreds of cities now operating their own public utilities in one form or another, proves that the question of the wisdom of municipal ownership has passed out of the domain of the problems. The question that the people are now considering is how to get selfishness to release its grasp upon these valuable heritages of the people. I confess I know no better way than to appeal to the patriotism of every loyal citizen. Patriotism calls men to leave home and family or school or shop or farm to go at their country's call, heedless of the weary march and rusting idleness of the camp, the carnage and terrors of battle, and he who shuns his country's call is counted as an ingrate and his name is held in everlasting odium and contempt. And upon the patriots who so nobly responded to their country's call to go and fight for the relief of the Cuban reconcentrados a grateful people is now lavishing its wealth of love and affection. *But why does not patriotism call for service in time of peace as well as war?* Why should the soldier go out to face pestilence, danger and death in order that the good of all may be conserved, while the financier is honored and counted great for remaining at home amidst the luxurious appointments of a comfortable office, seeking to conserve his own good? Why, if we truly love our country, should not our hearts be moved to pity as we contemplate our own great army of disinherited, of disheartened, discouraged, hopeless ones, beaten in the race of life? Why should not our enthusiasm be

aroused for them? *And why should not the patriotism of the financiers who have shown conspicuous and marked ability in providing for themselves, so inspire them to come forward in the hour of the city's peril and offer their services for the good of all of the people in the ministry of social need in building a public lighting plant, managing a street railway, or financing any work of improvement for the benefit of all of the people?* I confess that I can see no good reason why. I confess that I cannot see how a man can love his country or love his state, *who uses the people of his city, his state, his country, merely for what he can get out of them.* I believe the time is coming, and may God hasten the day, when our eyes shall be opened to the iniquity of this sort of a life, and we shall make clear distinctions between respectability and righteousness.

Statistics are abundant and easy of access to prove that there is hardly a city in America to-day but has given away franchises for nothing, that would, if now owned by that city, *pay its entire debt*, and, in many cases, place the city beyond the need of levying taxation upon its citizens. We have been in the habit of condoning on the ground that the franchise manipulators "furnished the capital," but we have learned that the people are the capital and that what the franchise-taker usually furnishes is not capital, but cunning.

#### A METHOD OF EXPRESSING LOVE.

*Through public ownership the municipality, the state, and the nation may find a means of expressing its love for the people, and the people — THE GREAT COMMON PEOPLE — are never wanting, never have been wanting or lacking in appreciation for any sacrifice of service that may be rendered to them.* This is shown clearly in the love we have for such service as is now administered by our municipalities and our state and our national government. The state points with just pride to the paternal care exercised over the dependent classes — the aged, the infirm, the blind, the

deaf, the insane and afflicted in every class. We have a conscious and just pride in the social service administered by the general government in the post-office department, despite our grief because of the fact that the railroads charge the general government eight cents a pound for carrying the mail, when they perform a similar service for the express companies for about one-seventh of the price, and thus saddle the deficit on the people.

#### THE GREAT QUESTION.

The question that is rapidly forging to the front to-day in this country is, "*Shall the municipality own or be owned? Shall the general government own the telegraph and railroads, or shall these corporations own the general government?*" We have had a striking example of the lawlessness of capital in the experience of the government in attempting to tax corporations to raise revenue for the war. The government said, "We will tax the telegraph companies so much for each message sent." It would have been easy enough for the framers of the law, if they desired to tax the individuals direct, to say that each person sending a message should pay so much, but they had no such purpose. Their purpose was to tax the telegraph companies, as they plainly stated in as plain language as can be chosen, but what do these anarchists and law-breakers do? The government says "we will tax the telegraph companies," but, "no, you don't," says the telegraph company, "we will tax the people," and immediately an order is issued that every patron of that company shall contribute his mite to relieve the corporation of a share of the burden that the government sought to impose upon it. Identically the same thing is true of the express companies.

#### IMPROVING CITIZENSHIP.

But the greatest good to be realized through municipal ownership will be found in the improved quality of our citizenship,



because of the family feeling, the truly patriotic sentiment, the *love of country which is love of our fellow-men, that will be awakened in the man's breast by the contemplation of the fact that he is a member of a family which owns its own streets, which owns its own bridges, which owns its own water-works, which owns its own electric-lighting plants, which owns its own telephone and express and messenger services; a member of a family which owns and does everything for the family that can, by any possibility, be better done by collective than by private effort.* And whenever the feeling is once awakened that this is our city, this is our country, then a man becomes in the best sense of the word a citizen who loves his country. This feeling will be wonderfully enhanced as the city goes forward in the work of municipal ownership. *The people will learn that they can serve themselves better without profit than any private corporation can serve them with profit as the only incentive for their effort.*

In the parks and public playgrounds in Glasgow I saw neat porcelain signs with the inscription: "CITIZENS, PROTECT YOUR PROPERTY," and when my eyes first fell upon that inscription I confess to such a feeling of delight as I had never before experienced through looking at a dumb sign board. It was in such striking contrast to the "boss" idea expressed in the order, "Keep off the grass," a thing that never should be used except by the man who hangs up on his premises that other iniquity, "Beware of the dog." The policeman's "move on" is another atrocity I should like to see linked to the two I have just mentioned and the hideous trio consigned to eternal oblivion.

#### AN UNWISE JUDGE.

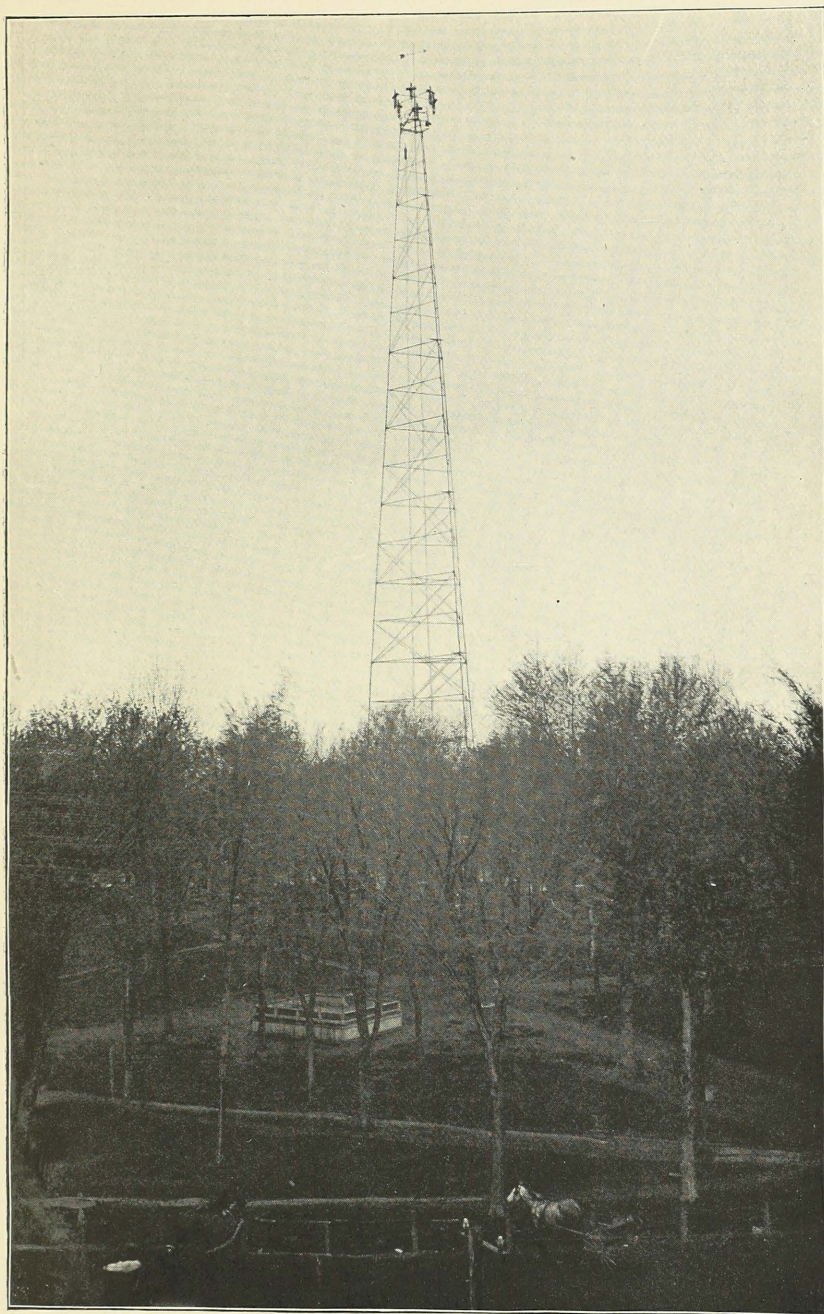
"Municipal ownership is all right with regard to water-works, but not as to street railways," said a learned judge to me recently. If I were a young man who had been trained to a proper respect for the bench, I presume I should have accepted this declaration as final, because of the learning of the judge; but had this judge

used his reason instead of accepting the reasoning of some hired man employed by the corporations, he would have known that the same principle applies to both classes of service, and that if it is good for a city to own its own water-works, it is good that every utility that ministers to all of the people shall be owned in the same way.

The only danger that I can see in the growth of sentiment in favor of collective ownership is the threatened doom of those who seek individual gain at the expense of the people. *Free gifts of franchises worth millions are not as common as they once were*; the people are coming to realize that the source of their wealth is through labor — hard, sweating labor — and with this realization comes a revelation of the truth that those who do not labor do not produce wealth, all the fine-spun theories about brain work and capital to the contrary notwithstanding.

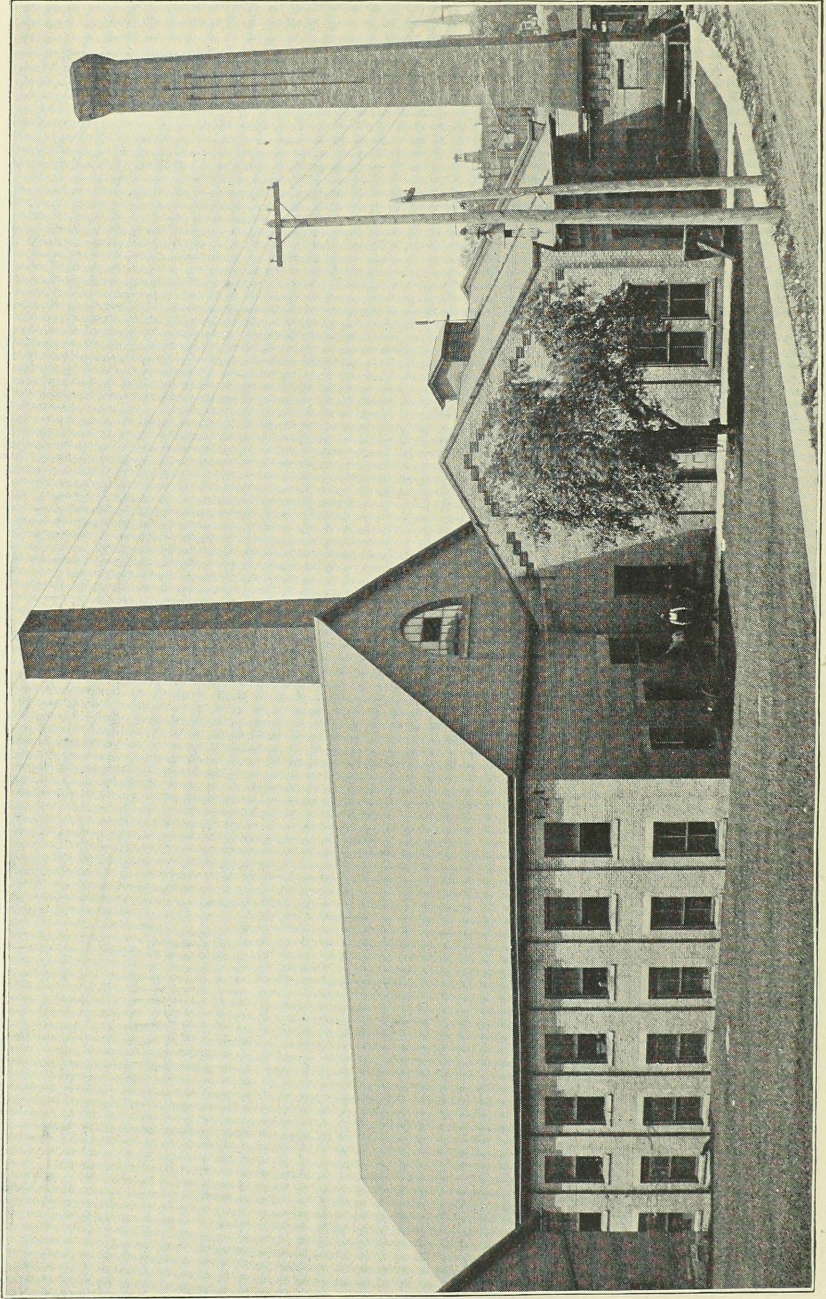
#### SAVE THE LITTLE CHILDREN.

The little children must be rescued from our factories and sweat-shops no less than from the slums and saloons, if they are to grow up to an appreciation of their responsibility as citizens. All the horrors of our present day industrialism must be changed. Patriotic men and women must no longer be willing to live by robbing children of their childhood and young girls of their maidenhood through taking their toil in stores and factories at \$2.50 to \$5.00 a week; and the fact that the children and young girls may be hidden from our gaze, or the profit we make come to our hands through the thin gauze of a corporation, should never for one moment hide the wrong from the quickened social conscience of the man or woman who truly loves his country. I deny the right of any man or woman living by such means to claim to be patriotic. It is true there are thousands whose attention has never been called to this wrong, but those of us who have had our eyes opened to this iniquity are nothing less than



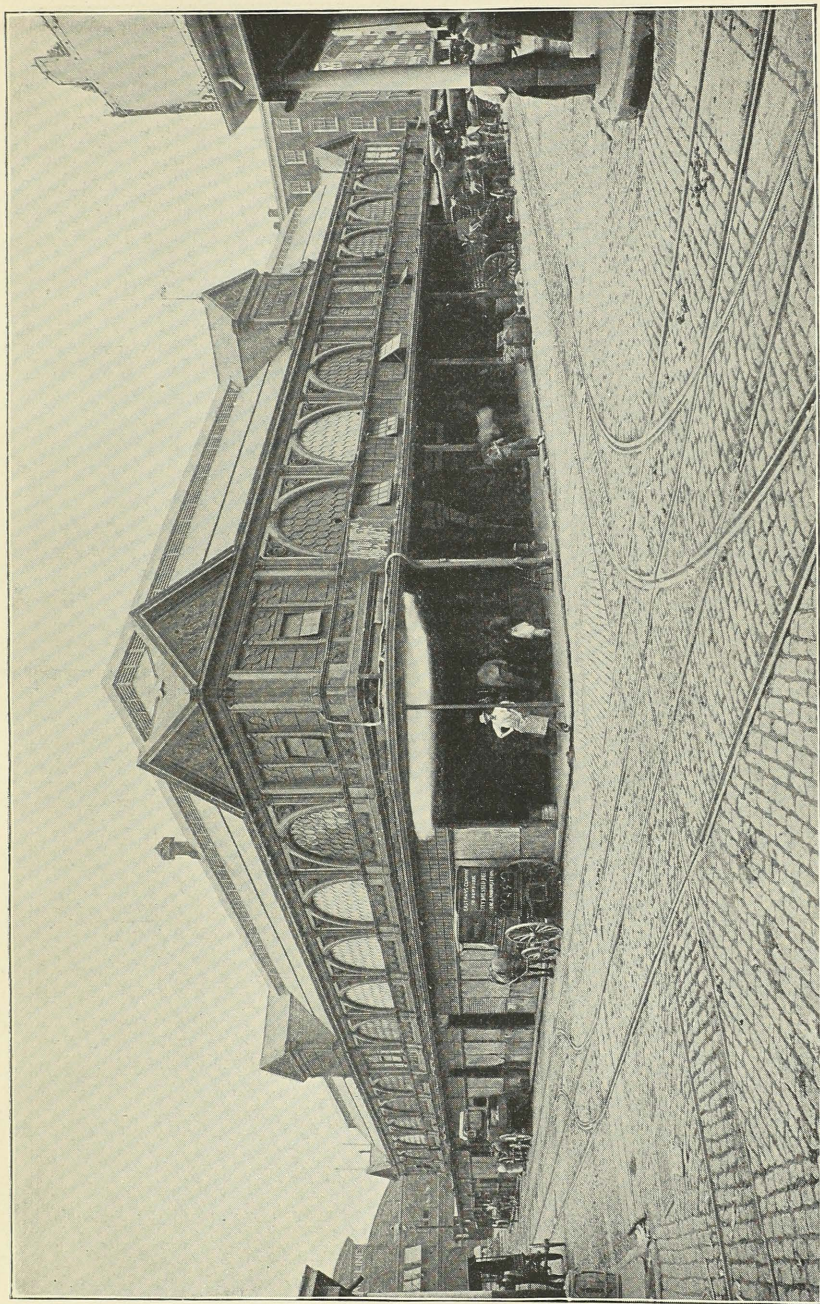
ELECTRIC LIGHT TOWER, FAIRFIELD, IOWA.

(Here is located the oldest electric light plant in this country — owned by city.)

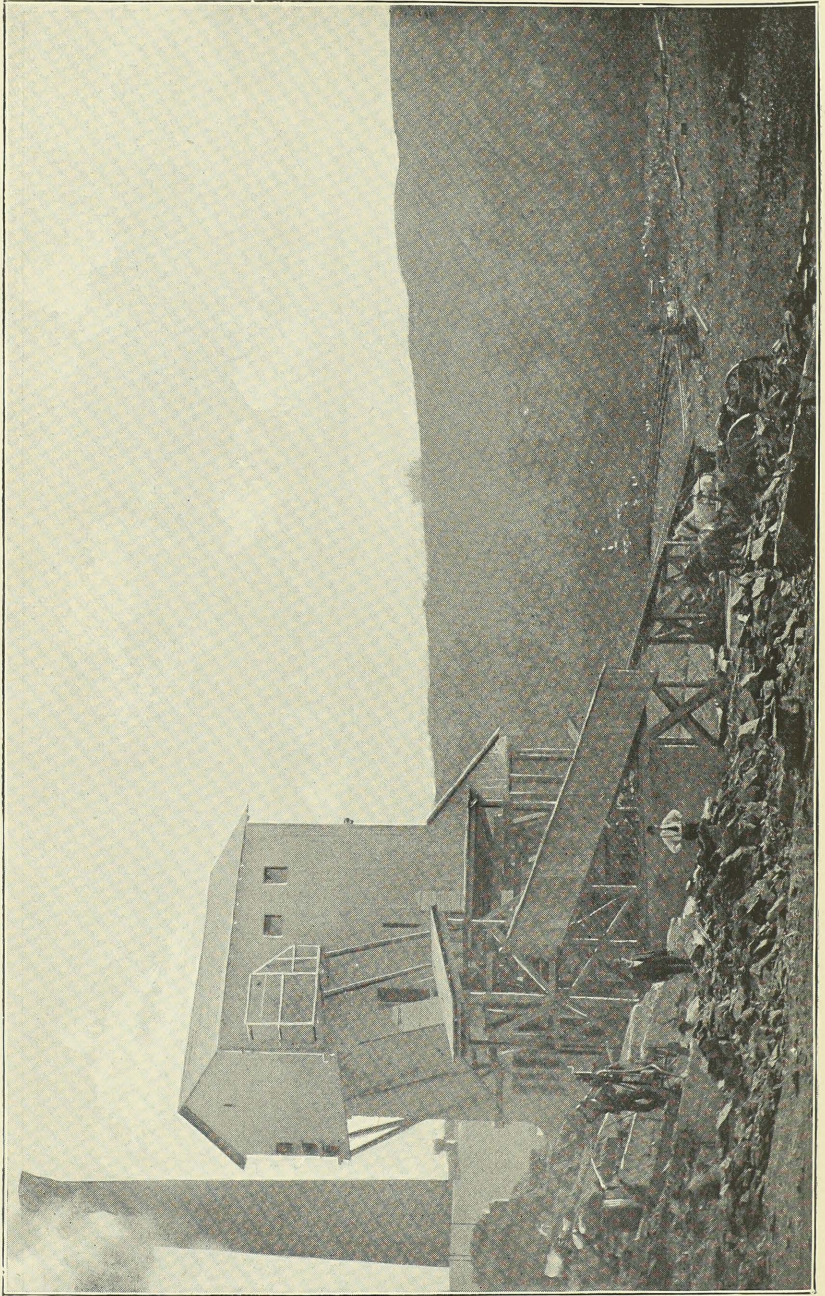


MUNICIPAL LIGHT PLANT, LANSING, MICH.

(Bought out the private plant, and reduced the rates from twenty cents per kw. to twelve cents, and still yields \$7,000 yearly profit.)



MUNICIPAL MARKET, NEW YORK.



MUNICIPAL QUARRY, HARTFORD, CONN.

*particeps criminis* unless we cry out against this spoliation of our people for the sake of private profit. When we shall have realized the perfected republic, then we shall find the good of the individual only in the good of all.

Play is the normal condition for the healthy child as work is for the healthy adult; it is necessary for its well-being and proper development, and really another part of its education; and to provide satisfactorily equipped play-grounds for the children is, in my opinion, to minister in a most substantial manner towards the building up of the future citizenship of our city. Give the children play-grounds and lots of them. It will be money well spent, and, without a doubt, in many instances will result in saving children from falling into vice and possibly crime, by providing them a place to go where they can be engaged in healthful recreation; whereas otherwise they might be wandering aimlessly about the streets and demonstrating in their lives the truth of the adage that the "idle brain is the devil's workshop." Keep the children at play and the men at work.

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is the injunction of Solomon the Wise.

All educators now agree that very much is lost to the work of true education unless it is begun with the child. It is said that the seeds of fundamental truth that form the character of the future citizen must be planted in the child before he reaches the age of seven years. There can be no question but that the thing of greatest importance to a city is the character of its citizens; it then becomes the clear duty of a city to contribute in every possible way to character building, and, to act intelligently, it is important that the contribution should be made at the time when the "apprentice citizen" is most ready and likely to receive correct impressions. This the city can do in one way and no other, and that is by establishing *free kindergartens*; in other words, making the kindergarten a part of the public-school system.

History as well as theory can be cited to prove the correctness of this proposition, and in those cities where the kindergartens have been established long enough to begin to show the fruit of proper training in early years, a canvass of the records of the courts shows most conclusive evidence of the wisdom of thus exercising care over the very young children. Children who have had kindergarten training do not grow up into men and women of criminal character of either high or low class. The way to a good citizenship, without criminal tendencies, is to plant the seed of it in all children through the kindergarten system before they arrive at the age when they are admitted to the public school.

Let us have the kindergartens. "Give the babies a chance." Let them have the right to choose whether they will do right or wrong. It is cheaper to establish kindergartens than to maintain courts and build jails, workhouses and prisons. Give all the children proper kindergarten training, and the supply of bad citizens for our prisons, jails and workhouses will be exhausted in a generation.

#### ASSAULT UPON DEMOCRACY.

Nothing that I have yet heard has brought me to see that the policy of granting or selling franchises is anything other than an assault upon the very foundations of democratic government itself; and, as a matter of fact, it is only when we are sunk so low in public morals as to be almost unworthy to be called citizens, that we are willing to make profit at the expense of the comfort and even the lives of our fellows. I have already pointed to the fact that the profits of the street-railway magnates, the silks and satins and lace curtains and lambrequins and the multiplicity of sofa pillows of their wives and daughters, are purchased with the hard-earned nickels of the toiling washerwoman, and certainly any intelligent conception of right social relations would lead every one of these to spurn the thought of living in luxury



purchased at such a price. But our attention has not been called to these things; our attention has been centered on the "successful man." Press and pulpit, public school and college throughout the land have sounded the praise of the individual whose only claim to distinction lies in the fact that he has placed a city, state or nation under tribute to himself; and this man, who has been changed from a being created in the image of God into a monster of greed and rapacity, is just what we have made him by the processes I have just described.

#### BRIBED BY THE RICH.

*The movement for public ownership is government seeking the good of all as against the individual who seeks only his own good. It is a recognition of the fundamental fact that the humblest citizen is entitled to the greatest degree of comfort that associated effort can provide. It is organized love, manifesting itself in service. It is patriotism of the highest and purest type. It is the casting down of idols and the lifting up of ideals. It is dethroning the millionaires and exalting the millions. Happily, we are passing away from the abject worship of mere dollars to a realization of the truth so tersely stated by the simple Nazarene nearly nineteen hundred years ago: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." And we are coming to measure men not by their ability to organize industry and use their fellow-men simply as profit-making machines, but by their ability to organize industry and serve their fellow-men; and where can we look for nobler examples of patriotism, or love of country, than to the men and women whose lives have been devoted to the service of their fellow-men rather than to mere sordid worship of wealth, rather than to debauching the machinery of justice and the people's legislators in order to serve their own purposes? "BRIBED BY THE RICH TO ROB THE POOR," was the scathing verdict pronounced by the Honorable Wayne McVeagh upon the legislators of Philadelphia, who leased the gas-works created by*

the vote of the people, without any resort to the vote of the people; and in the address at the commencement exercises of the University of Pennsylvania last year, the same honored gentleman said to the students of that institution, that the "black flag of the corruptionist is more to be feared than the red flag of the Anarchist."

#### THE BRIBER AND HIS VICTIM.

It is short-sighted and idle to sneer at bribe-takers without visiting the same condemnation upon those who offer bribes, but the facts are that the men who send their agents out to purchase votes of legislators are our wealthy men who live on the avenues in the big houses and ride behind horses with short tails, while the man whose vote they seek to purchase lives in the narrow street and small house, and probably serves the city without a salary, and frequently finds himself without salary from any source or other visible means of support, when the poison of the briber is offered to him.

Such a system is not worthy of an intelligent people. Yet, you are well aware that I am painting no fancy picture, but that in many of our municipalities to-day we are electing men to positions of trust and responsibility to serve without pay, men who have to confess themselves beaten in the game of life and who have not only failed in the warfare of business, but have even failed to secure a salaried position to provide them and their families with the necessaries of life. In this condition, with the poison of the briber in the air, what hope is there for the man who realizes the need he is in, who realizes the distress that stares his wife and little ones in the face? He is like unto one weakened and emaciated with long fasting, who should suddenly be thrust into a fever-laden atmosphere. Of course, such a man will take the fever. And in the other case, unless a man has in him the blood of the martyrs who suffered death for the truth, of course

he will take the bribe. Not long ago the city of Chicago furnished a valuable object lesson, showing the evil of granting municipal franchises, and the resolutions passed at the great Music Hall meeting, condemning the officers and directors of the street-railway companies, placing those leading citizens in the same class with the aldermen whom they proposed to bribe, shows that the people are beginning to see where the real fault lies. *It is idle to talk about "electing honest men" while continuing a dishonest system.* We pray "lead us not into temptation," and yet elect men to serve us, often without compensation, in a position where our leading business men tempt them with an offer of a single bribe that is a fortune in itself. What do we expect them to do while the scramble of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is our ruling passion? Take the bribe, or die for the truth? Municipal ownership settles these questions once for all by removing the opportunity for bribery, and there is no other final solution.

#### NO WAR ON WEALTH.

*I am not indulging in a phillippic against rich men, against trusts, combines or monopolies. I point to all of these as legitimate products of our economic system. The folly of legislating against them may be easily understood when we reflect that, almost without exception, our antagonisms against trusts, combines or monopolies lie in the thought that we ourselves are not in them; once let us become sharers or partakers in the plunder and our opposition vanishes. The reason for this is found in the fact that our opposition does not rest upon a pure basis of morality. But the people are rapidly coming to see that the chances for the many to become partakers in this sort of wealth are so very limited that the great masses are made moral perforce — moral because of the absolute inability to be immoral, or to become partakers of the fruits of other people's toil.*

Let none seek to befog the real question by saying that I am

enlarge the functions of government in ministering to the social necessities of the people; and as we have long since recognized the importance of one part of the thing called education — what is taught from books — and have practically made that as free as the air we breathe, so I believe we shall enlarge our conceptions of what really constitutes education, and make such things as baths, gymnasia, play-grounds, music, lectures, etc., as free to all as the common school now is.

#### THE SYSTEM TO BLAME, NOT INDIVIDUALS.

The trouble is not so much with the individuals that compose our social structure as with the structure itself. In the scramble for individual wealth, we have fallen into a frightful state of public and private immorality. Everything has been made subservient to the money-getting craze. Social standing, friends, family, home — yes, even life itself, are sacrificed in the hope of private gain. This applies to rich and poor alike. We have yet to learn that life does not consist in things, but we can only learn it through an acknowledgment of our social dependence upon one another, through an acknowledgment of brotherhood.

*A scientific engineer understands how to raise one of our largest brick blocks twenty feet into the air and never crack the plaster or interfere with the daily use of the building, but he will not attempt the work piece-meal; he will apply the lifting power of men's hands to hundreds of jackscrews equally to every part of the structure. In like manner, we who have received the illumination of an awakened social conscience may, through the sacrifice of service, apply the lifting power of love to the social structure; but like the building, we must all rise together.*

#### PUBLIC MIND CHANGING.

The growth of sentiment in favor of public ownership indicates that the mind of the people is rapidly clarifying on this question.

*The people are beginning to see that no good reason exists why all the people in the city shall say to a few of the people,— the lighting company, the water-works company, the street-railway company, “ Now, all of us will give you (a few of us) the right to get rich from the rest of us.” Large numbers of the people are beginning to see that the only wealth that is in any sense theirs is the Commonwealth, and with instincts that are perfectly natural, they are striving to regain possessions that have passed out of their hands, usually through the practice of deception and fraud. Though men tramp thousands of miles daily through the streets of our cities, either because they have not or cannot afford to spend the precious nickel to ride, they are still able to understand that the public streets are theirs, are common property; they may walk in them in their weary and hopeless search for the right that is inherent in every man, but which we are to-day denying to millions — that is the right to work, the right to share in the creative effort going on about them, the right to participate in building and making a country that they are asked and expected and want to love. These millions are coming to understand the source of their misery, the cause of their distress. They are coming to see that our policy of granting special privileges in the way of public franchises, contracts and unusual opportunities for profit-getting to a few, is invariably making paupers of the many, and our only salvation from the strain of the present hour is to cease our policy of exploiting all of the people for the sake of enriching the few, and to establish in its stead the purely democratic policy in government of considering the interest of all of the people as always ahead of, and superior to, the rights of any individual or set of individuals.*

#### HOW TO DIMINISH THE JAIL POPULATION.

There is no room to doubt that 50 per cent. of the sum now expended in so-called restraining and charity methods, would, if

expended in any reasonable way along socialistic lines, so as to enlarge the privileges of the people, and to provide opportunities for them — within twenty-five years place our almshouses, jails, penitentiaries and prisons very largely in the domain of the relics of a hideous past. To appreciate this truth, we first have to understand that the source of our wealth is in “hard bone labor,” all fine-spun theories about brain-work and capital to the contrary notwithstanding. Let me illustrate: We might wipe off from the face of the earth all created wealth, all property, manufactured goods of every description, and if we have a healthy, educated and socialized people, ready to work for the good of all, we may reasonably expect to restore, in a short time, all of these material things. I think this will help us to see the relative importance of wealth and health, and along with it, the necessity and duty of providing opportunities for people to be healthy. Then when with our socialized energy we shall provide opportunities for them to work, it will follow as a perfectly natural consequence that they will be wealthy.

It is most assuredly the sacred duty of the state to promote habits of industry and to maintain self-respecting manhood, and the imperative necessity of this hour is that the city, state and nation shall organize in its collective capacity so that the citizens of this growing Commonwealth may live self-respecting lives.

We provide for free education through the manual-training schools; we even teach our children how to work, and then we turn them out into a scrambling, fighting, quarrelling mob (the competitive system), where every man is struggling for himself, in a “grab-all,” “catch-as-catch-can,” “devil-take-the-hindmost-one” game, foolishly expecting that they will win success; they are helpless babes, pitted against trained fighters. After having taught them in the art and beauty of work, and how to work and how to make beautiful things, we fail to give them an opportunity to work.

We deny them the right to share in making and building a country that we ask them to love, a country that they want to love, and this is where the colossal failure of the present system reveals itself in its most hideous proportions — in the ever-increasing army of the workless, in the growing numbers of those who bear the curse of the wandering foot, and go from place to place vainly seeking and begging and pleading for the right to stand upon the earth, and the right to participate and share in the glory of the work that is going on about them. But all this is to be changed; this air is filled with signs of promise. The manifest destiny of these United States is to save the great peoples from the impending doom that the narrowness of a few would bring down upon them.

Our future is to be heroic, spiritual. We are to be a great people — great in quality, not in mere bigness. We are to manifest our greatness by our love for one another, and in a recognition of the rights of our fellow-men in providing opportunities for every man, for even the weakest child, to live the best possible life that is in him.

Ruskin has said that “the wealth of a nation may be estimated by the number of happy people that are kept employed in making useful things.” Some day we shall take account of stock in that way. We shall not go to Lombard street or Wall street; but pointing to the happy people, who are constantly employed in making useful and beautiful things, we shall say, like the mother of the Gracchi, “These are my jewels.”

#### RAINBOW OF PROMISE IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

*It is because I see the rainbow of promise in public ownership that shall secure for us, as a people, a larger realization of liberty, that I plead for it. It is because I know that only in the good of all is the real good of the individual to be found, that I plead for collective work. It is because I stand, like many of you, day after day, with*

*hopeless and hungry men, pleading that they may be allowed to work, that I raise my voice in their behalf.* It is not because I would stir up dissension or cause trouble; it is because I would avoid trouble, and point the way to the smooth sea of prosperity, that I speak for these men.

Is true freedom but to break  
 Fetters for our own dear sake?  
 And with leathern hearts forget  
 That we owe mankind a debt?  
 No; true freedom is to share  
 All the chains our brothers wear,  
 And with heart and hand to be  
 Earnest to make others free.

Democracy has not failed. Like Christianity, it has not yet been tried. Thus far we have only dimly understood the meaning of either word. Hear Walt Whitman sing of Democracy:

I speak the password primeval,  
 I give the sign of Democracy.  
 By God, I will have nothing that all cannot  
 have their counterpart of  
 On equal terms.

When this kind of an ideal inspires us, the perfected republic, the Co-operative Commonwealth, will no longer be a dream, but a realized possibility. The municipality is the nucleus of government. The state and the nation look to the municipality for their ideal. Let those of us who have a conception of a loftier and better patriotism sound the keynote of a new municipal programme, that shall proclaim emancipation to the enslaved people *who are to-day the mere tools of the profit-gatherers.* Let us announce the purpose of municipal government to be that of ministering in every possible way to the social need of the people of the municipality, and let us proclaim as an unalterable principle toward that end: *Public ownership of all public utilities. No grant or extension of municipal franchises. No special privilege to any man or set of men to exploit the people for the sake of enriching the few.*