

whole force, therefore, of the Merchants' Club's energy is devoted to diverting attention from the true issue. When the Teachers' Federation uncovered some of the grafters and brought an additional \$250,000 a year into the school treasury, the Merchants' Club staid in its lair, silent and grumpy. Now it comes out, not to help the Teachers' Federation in its efforts to uncover more tax dodging, but to denounce the Teachers' Federation for existing. And in this undertaking it naturally has the co-operation of the Chicago Tribune and its journalistic coadjutors, who share with it a goodly part of the plunder of the school land income. These papers had column upon column to give to the novel banquet of the Merchants' Club, where the Teachers' Federation was roundly denounced, but not a word to give to the meeting of the Teachers' Federation held on the same day, at which undisputed and indisputable robbery of the school children was made public in plain facts and figures.

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These two meetings mark a lining up of hostile forces in Chicago; and it remains to be seen whether in the coming conflict the winner will be the Merchants' Club, representing in this connection the great plutocratic interests of Chicago which rob the school children, or the Teachers' Federation, which in behalf of the school children has already added \$250,000 a year to the school fund and is disturbing the Merchants' Club with its programme for getting more. Much is said by men of the Merchants' Club of Chicago and of similar clubs in other plutocratic centers, and by educators of the "administrative" variety and the plutocratic taint throughout the United States, in deprecation of the work of this Federation as a raising by the working class of class questions. But class questions are in reality raised not by the working class, whether teachers or mechanics. These ugly questions are really raised by steel trusts, merchants' clubs, Union League clubs and other business combines and social coteries whose members imagine themselves to be of a better class than the body of the people. Never was this genesis of class questions better described than by John Boyle O'Reilly when he wrote:

But alien is one—of class, not race—he has drawn the line for himself;

His roots drink life from inhuman soil, from garbage of pomp and pelf:

His heart beats not with the common beat, he has changed his life-stream's hue;

He deems his flesh to be finer flesh, he boasts that his blood is blue:

Patrician, aristocrat, tory—whatever his age or name,
To the people's rights and liberties, a traitor ever the same.

The natural crowd is a mob to him, their prayer a vulgar rhyme;

The freeman's speech is sedition, and the patriot's deed a crime.

Wherever the race, the law, the land,—whatever the time or throne,

The tory is always a traitor to every class but his own.

It was in that same tory spirit that the steel trust brought to Chicago the president of an aristocratic university of the East, himself a bounty-dispenser in educational circles of John D. Rockefeller's largess, to tell the people of Chicago what their school trustees ought to do, and to excoriate as enemies of their city school trustees who had guilelessly accepted the Merchants' Club's invitation to sit at a banquet board which turned out to have been prepared expressly for their humiliation.

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FREDERIC C. HOWE.

The author of "The Confessions of a Monopolist,"* that brilliant portrayal of the modern type of the "successful" man in business and politics, had won his spurs both in authorship and in practical affairs before the "Confessions" came from his pen. Through Thomas Crowell & Sons he had published an historical review of the Internal Revenue System under the title of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States"; and he had contributed to Scribner's Monthly, the Atlantic, the Cosmopolitan, the Outlook, the World's Work and other high grade periodicals, articles on social and political subjects, including a series of articles on English cities at work entitled "The City of Glasgow" and "London a Municipal Democracy." The Bureau of Commerce and Labor having employed him in 1905 to investigate municipal ownership in Great Britain, his instructive report upon that subject appeared in the Bulletin of Labor for January, 1906. He had served with distinguished independence and ability in the City Council of Cleveland and in the Senate of Ohio. And he had made a distinct mark as author of "The City the Hope of Democracy," a profound yet intensely interesting book, which reverses the notion that democracy is inevitably a failure in city life, and which has had a wide sale abroad as well as in this country. He

*Frederic C. Howe, whose portrait is presented as a supplement to this week's issue of The Public, and whose "Confessions of a Monopolist" recently appeared serially in the same periodical.

now has in preparation a book entitled "The English City, the Beginning of Democracy."

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Frederic C. Howe was born in Meadville, Pa., November 21, 1867. His ancestry is Irish and Scotch of the Quaker mould. On his father's side it is American for three generations; it goes back on his mother's to the founding of Delaware in 1635. He spent his early years when out of school, working in his father's store and factory at Meadville; but at the age of seventeen he began to forge for himself independently of his father who soon afterward moved to Omaha. Yet he made his desultory labor, which ranged from clerking at Summer hotels to reporting for newspapers, serve him in getting an education.

Having passed through the Meadville common schools and graduated from the high school, he entered Allegheny College at Meadville in 1885. From this institution he graduated four years later, though without distinction, and immediately afterward entered Johns-Hopkins University at Baltimore. As a student here of political economy, history and municipal administration, he came under the direction of Richard T. Ely, whose economic books and essays had by their ethical coloring first excited Mr. Howe's interest in the social and economic problems which now concern him deeply. He supported himself during his course at the university by newspaper work, for which he had always had a passion, and upon graduation he received the degree of Ph. D. for original economic work.

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While still at Johns-Hopkins University Mr. Howe was appointed secretary of the Pennsylvania Tax Conference, where he served irregularly but usefully by making special studies of State and local taxation. It was while in this service that he became interested in the problems of local taxation and acquired familiarity with the methods whereby large financial interests control taxing machinery. His practical education in this respect has been of immense use to him, both in his shrewd satire upon the monopolist in politics and in his more serious forms of literary work.

Upon leaving Johns-Hopkins in 1892, he was appointed assistant secretary of the American Economic Association, and, soon afterward, obtaining employment on New York papers, he worked his way through the New York Law School. Upon leaving there in 1894, he went to Cleveland where he joined the law firm of the late President Garfield's sons, Garfield and Garfield.

Subsequently he became a member of this firm, and he still remains a partner in the reorganized firm of Garfield, Howe and Westenhaver.

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From the beginning of his residence in Cleveland, Mr. Howe took an active interest in local civic affairs. His first service in this connection was as a member of the Municipal Association. He was one of the ten men who formed the executive committee of that body, which maintained a vigorous agitation for the election of honest men to city, county and State positions. In 1896 he helped organize a delegation to the State capitol to defeat the odious "Rogers bill," which granted a fifty year franchise to street car corporations. For this public duty Mr. Howe had qualified himself not only by the character of his university education but also by his local investigations. As a result of the latter he had written a pamphlet on the street car question in Cleveland. His pamphlet opposed a twenty-five year ordinance which the companies were then seeking. The Municipal Association adopted and published this pamphlet, and it is believed to have defeated the ordinance.

Doubtless Mr. Howe's influence was enhanced by the fact that he was a Republican in party politics. For both the ordinances he helped defeat and the "Rogers bill" which was enacted in spite of him and his associates, were Republican measures—forced upon the party by the corporation ring.

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Mr. Howe found it difficult to remain a Republican in 1896. As his Republicanism had always been democratic, and he realized that the silver question of 1896 was only a surface question, his economic belief in the gold standard was a slender strand to hold him to his party, especially as he felt that the silver question was a mere temporary shibboleth of the rising democratic impulse among the people. So he was drawn strongly toward Bryan. But the pro-slavery record of traditional Democracy repelled him, as it has many a Republican like him, and he held back.

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In 1901 he was elected to the City Council of Cleveland as a Republican, in the face of bitter and probably not altogether immaculate opposition from the street railway companies. He came into the Council when Tom L. Johnson came into the mayor's office for his first term. Naturally, from his education and local experience, he joined Mayor Johnson in his street car politics. In this

course he was supported by William Springborn, also a Republican councilman at that time, and now president of the Board of Public Service by Democratic election. Both were criticized by their Republican leaders for co-operating with Mayor Johnson to resist the aggressions of the street car interests, which Senator Hanna is reported to have regarded as his savings bank. Yet Mr. Howe was offered by the McKinley administration the position of secretary of the treasury at Porto Rico, which, however, he declined, preferring to remain in Cleveland for the purpose of continuing the struggle for the improvement of local conditions.

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Identified with the first Johnson administration in many ways in the interest of good local government, Mr. Howe was especially concerned with Johnson's street car policy, and he introduced the first three-cent fare ordinance in the Council. It was he, also, who while in the Council started the legislation for small parks and playgrounds, with which the city is now dotted. He secured, too, the passage of legislation for the construction of public bath houses and the development of the parks into popular pleasure resorts. Through his efforts the first appropriation for public band concerts was made, which now amounts to \$15,000 a year. He drafted the bill which established the first juvenile court in the State and introduced the legislation which led to the opening of the boys' farm school, known as Boyville and located at Hudson, Ohio.

Mr. Howe also pressed the legislation for the grouping of the public buildings along the lake front and the employment of a commission of eminent non-resident architects to carry out the plan. This work is now assured and it promises to make of Cleveland one of the most beautiful cities in America. The motive of all these measures was the belief that the city should serve the people in the broadest possible way and that a city which did big things and many things for its people would receive a like service and affection in return. During the intervening years these beginnings have been developed into a comprehensive policy of city making. Cleveland is almost alone among American cities in having a definite ideal and a conscious program.

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At the municipal election in 1903, when Mayor Johnson won his second victory, the Democrats offered Councilman Howe a nomination on that ticket, but this Mr. Howe declined. Under Johnson's influence, however, no Demo-

crat was nominated against him when he ran as an independent candidate. He was nevertheless defeated by the regular Republican candidate, and for nearly three years he held no public office except that of president of the Board of Sinking Fund Trustees of Cleveland, to which Mayor Johnson appointed him.

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During this interval in his more active public career, Mr. Howe married Marie H. Jenney, of Syracuse, New York. Miss Jenney, a Unitarian clergyman by profession, had served in pulpits at Sioux City and Des Moines, Ia. Her views on public matters are similar to Mr. Howe's, and she continues active interest in public movements, especially such as affect the civic obligations of women and the protection and education of children.

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Although he had not severed his relations with the Republican party otherwise than by acting independently when his party supported the franchise corporations, Mr. Howe was nominated by the Democrats for State senator in 1903. But the Democratic legislative ticket was defeated that year and he with it. In 1905, however, he was again nominated by the Democrats, and this time he was elected by 1,000 votes more than the rest of his legislative ticket received.

In the Ohio senate last year he introduced the resolution for a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum. Although strenuously opposed by the corporate interests of both parties, this resolution carried in the Senate and will come up for passage in the House at the next session. Another of his measures, was a bill for the taxation of public service franchises at their face value, as measured by their stock quotations. The bill provided for additional revenues of from three to four million dollars and would have relieved the people of all direct taxes for State purposes. It was opposed by the corporation lobby by means of dilatory tactics. Some Democrats, though pledged to the measure by their party platform, aided in this indirect opposition, and the bill was not reached for passage even in the Senate. Its passage is again demanded by the Democratic platform of the present year. Among the other bills introduced by Senator Howe, all of which were defeated either in committee or on the floor, were a civil service reform bill; a bill for a quadrennial valuation of land and improvements separately and the publication of the same in each county; a bill for the creation

of municipal boards of review to be appointed by the mayors of the respective municipalities; a pure alphabetical Australian ballot bill, and a bill to prevent corrupt practices at elections.

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Mr. Howe is now vice-president of the Municipal Traction Company of Cleveland, the "holding" company by means of which Mayor Johnson is seeking to establish municipal ownership and operation and remove corporation influences from politics. The duties of this position are in line with Mr. Howe's whole career with reference to the question of municipal ownership, for which he has constantly agitated for ten years past and which he has efficiently served in both public and private life.

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Mr. Howe's life is a worthy example of young Americanism. A man of exalted political ideals, he has had the will, the discernment, the ability and the courage to depart from old models and to defy accustomed influences in order to give to his ideals practical form and dynamic force.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1906.

The Congo Free State an International Problem.

For some years Christendom has been shocked by stories of the horrible exploitation of the native inhabitants of the Congo Independent or Free State. This country lies in the heart of equatorial Africa, covering a region of about 900,000 square miles. Through it runs the Congo river, and the State includes a strip of territory reaching out to the coast where the river empties into the South Atlantic. It has a population of about 30,000,000 Negroes of Bantu origin, speaking many dialects. Its great product is rubber, and it has been in respect to the methods by which the natives have been compelled to bring to the white exploiters of the country never-ceasing supplies of crude rubber, that the civilized world has been shocked. Naturally the first stories, mostly from missionaries, were denied. Then came more positive stories, supported by various kinds of proof, including photographs of dismembered bodies and of living mutilated men, women and children, for it seems that

the tribute of rubber has been most commonly enforced by cutting off the hands of those who have failed to make good the quantity required of them—even to the point of cutting off the hands of very little children. The photographs showed this. But the atrocities are still denied by the exploiters of the unhappy country.

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The Congo Free State is under the sovereignty of Leopold II., King of the Belgians (vol. vii, p. 441), who has bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights in the State. King Leopold holds in succession to the Congo International Association, which he himself founded in 1882, and the sovereignty of which received international recognition. At the Berlin conference of 1884 the Congo Independent (or Free) State was established and internationally safeguarded; and further efforts at protecting the State were given shape at an international conference at Brussels in 1889. Nevertheless the situation has become increasingly intolerable.

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English associations for the amelioration of the situation have been in existence for years, and are now becoming insistent. At the present moment the Belgian parliament is considering the conditions under which King Leopold is bequeathing the State to Belgium. The terms apparently impose a minimum of parliamentary control, entirely exclude the crown lands (consisting largely of the great rubber forests) from supervision, and leave the rights of the monopolist companies intact for all time. That Belgium will agree to accept and perpetuate so gigantic a monopolization of a nation and so atrocious an exploitation of a people, seems unlikely, but it is to be noted that the King has known how to surround his iniquitous system with a complicated network of defences. As the London Tribune says, "he has distributed the wealth wrung from the Congo very widely in Belgium, partly by corruption, partly by lavish expenditure, most subtly of all by splitting up into fractions the shares of the companies which thrive on the rubber trade. He has on his side a solid and loyal clerical majority in the Chamber, and behind that a legal system based on the theory that the Congo is his private estate." Moreover, late news in the United States credits him with having succeeded in drawing into his Congo business relationships the Standard Oil connection, which interests will, of course, add to his invulnerability. Most recent news in regard to the situation is that on the 8th Prince Albert of Flanders, King Leopold's nephew and the heir apparent to the Belgian throne, was proclaimed heir apparent to the Congo Free State, so that whether Belgium annexes the State (as she has a right to do under international agreement, paying due regard to Leopold's rights of sovereignty), and whether she receives the sovereignty as a bequest from King Leopold, or not, Prince Albert will in any case be its next ruler. The existence of an expensive lobby maintained at Washington by King Leopold for the prevention of the passage by Congress of resolutions unfavorable to the exploitation of the Congo, was made known with detailed particularity in the American press of the 10th. And on the same day