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The System Which Prevents Representative Government in New Jersey, Exposed on Page 23.

(Methods Laid Bare on Pages 77 to 84.)

Alden Freeman is a source of more worry and vexation to political party bosses and machine politicians than any other man in Essex County.
BLOOMFIELD CITIZEN.

The work Alden Freeman did in the Colby campaign was more telling than that of any other one man. His sturdy opposition to legislation for the few against the many has become a factor in county and State affairs This is the day when Right is beginning to reverse the old adage and make unto itself the Might.
ORANGE CHRONICLE.

I never shall forget the earnest sincerity and open-minded modesty of Freeman's talk about what he was doing, what he hopes to do, and why.
LINCOLN STEFFENS.

A Year in Politics

A RECORD WITH SUGGESTIONS TO CIVIC WORKERS

BY

ALDEN FREEMAN

Illustrated with over Fifty Portraits and Cartoons

The man who doubts Mr. Freeman's sincerity, intelligence and versatility does not know him.
EAST ORANGE GAZETTE.

Mr. Freeman was a member of the Grand Jury that indicted the directors of the trolley railway for the death of the nine High School children in the Newark collision on February 19, 1903, and served on the business committee. In 1902 he compassed the defeat of Major Carl Lentz when the latter ran for Sheriff of Essex county.
NEW YORK PRESS.

Alden Freeman undoubtedly has the support of the public in his protests against the schemes in East Orange to reduce the fire limits, and in his energetic opposition to the payment of money to depress the Lackawanna tracks.
NEWARK SUNDAY CALL.

Call ♠ **a Spade** } **The Trump Cards to use against "The Big Four"** { **At Primaries Use Ballot as** ♣ **Tuesday, Sept. 25.**

A Square Deal Between the Corporations and the People.

THE GOLDEN RULE

of Mayor Jones, of Toledo, and Mayor Fagan, of Jersey City:

Do unto others as you would
That others should do unto you.

If you remember to do your part at the Primaries this year, the Bosses, as well as their financial Masters and legislative Puppets, will never forget Tuesday, the Twenty-fifth Day of September, 1906.

THE STRENGTH OF GIBRALTAR.

Before the monstrous wrong he sits him down—
One man against a stone-walled citadel of sin.
For centuries those walls have been a-building;
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass
The flying storm and wheeling sun. No chink,
No crevice, lets the thinnest arrow in.
He fights alone, and from the cloudy ramparts
A thousand evil faces jibe and jeer him.
Let him lie down and die; what is the right,
And where is justice in a world like this?
But by and by, earth shakes herself, impatient;
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watch-tower and citadel and battlements.

From "The Reformer" by EDWARD ROWLAND SILL.

Tuesday, September 25, is Political Independence Day.

If the Government does not own the Monopolies, the Monopolies will own the Government. JESSIE LYNCH WILLIAMS, in the March Outlook, 1906.

Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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A Year in Politics

A RECORD WITH SUGGESTIONS TO CIVIC WORKERS

BY

ALDEN FREEMAN

Liber et Audax

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The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I shall make it my task to expose the abuses that are about to ruin the country, and that your honesty alone can correct.—MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.

NOTE.

I particularly desire that no other person or group of persons may be in any way embarassed or by any possibility included in possible criticism to which I lay myself open on account of the frankness and freedom with which I have expressed myself regarding men and measures in this pamphlet. I therefore state that the views expressed in the following pages are opinions personal to myself and that they neither involve nor commit anyone else. I protest against having my views attributed to any other man or men without their consent and endorsement.

Alden Freeman

The strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone—HENRIK IBSEN.

Insurance companies do not fail because a majority of their subjects do.—PALMIERI.

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We mean to organize all our great industries more and more so that they shall not be used to make individuals rich, but every advantage of cheaper service or cheaper products shall go at once to the whole body of the prople.—Member of the New Zealand government, quoted by John Graham Brooks in "The Social Unrest."

The institution of private property rests only upon the general advantage.
LORD COLERIDGE, Chief Justice of England.

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Fraternity.

A great spirit is breathing upon the world, portending wondrous things, and deep is calling unto deep in the souls of men. Men and women throughout the world are oo longer content that little ones shall starve in a world of wealth and splendor; and they are getting ready to throw away their lives with a song on their lips that such things shall not be. The spirit of Brotherhood, of a Fraternity that includes all mankind, blocks the wheels of war, and the tyrant quakes lest in this new time tlee soldier shall refuse to do his will.—FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

IMMORTALITY.

There is no element of uncertainty about the Future Life described in the following lines by George Santayana. Any man who devotes himself to the uplifting of humanity is sure of an Hereafter in the lives of all who follow him on this planet. As President Roosevelt said on July 4, 1906, "any work done by any man must largely have its influence, not upon the life of that man, but upon the lives of those coming after him."

Since the ideal has this perpetual pertinence to mortal struggles, he who lives in the ideal and leaves it expressed in society or in art enjoys a double immortality. The eternal has absorbed him while he lived, and when he is dead his influence brings others to the same absorption, making them, through that ideal identity with the best in him, reincarnations and perennial seats of all in him which he could rationally hope to rescue from oblivion. He can say, without any subterfuge or desire to delude himself, that he shall not wholly die, for he will have a better notion than the rest of the world of what constitutes his being. By becoming the spectator and confessor of his own death and of universal mutation he will have identified himself with what is spiritual in all spirits and masterful in all apprehension, and, so conceiving himself, he may truly feel and know that he is eternal.

Abou Ben Adhem.

"What writest thou?"
"The names of those who love the Lord,"
"And is mine one?" said Abou.
"Nay, not so," replied the angel.
"I pray thee, then, write me as one that loves his fellow men."

LEIGH HUNT

A PROPHECY BY LINCOLN STEFFENS.

[From a private letter to the writer, which is printed with the kind permission of Mr. Steffens.]

What delights me most is the way you have got hold of the issue, the real issue. You represent to my mind the best people we have, the uncompromising "kickers." Some people object to them, but I know what good they do. I know that they do good even if they appear to kick on issues that are side issues to the men on the firing line.

But you never do that. For you see the bull's eye. You see that we have got to use our human tools as God makes them and the business of the critic is to jolly them along or whale away at them, simply to make them go in the right direction.

Let me make a prediction based upon my reading of you and of your writings. **New Jersey will be one of the first three States to get out of the hole.**

I can't be with you on February 5th, but I can shake your hand, and I do. God bless you, Alden Freeman, for being and seeing so straight!

Please remember me to the good fellows that are working with you in the Oranges.

Sincerely yours,

J. LINCOLN STEFFENS.

Washington, D. C.,
January 29, 1906.

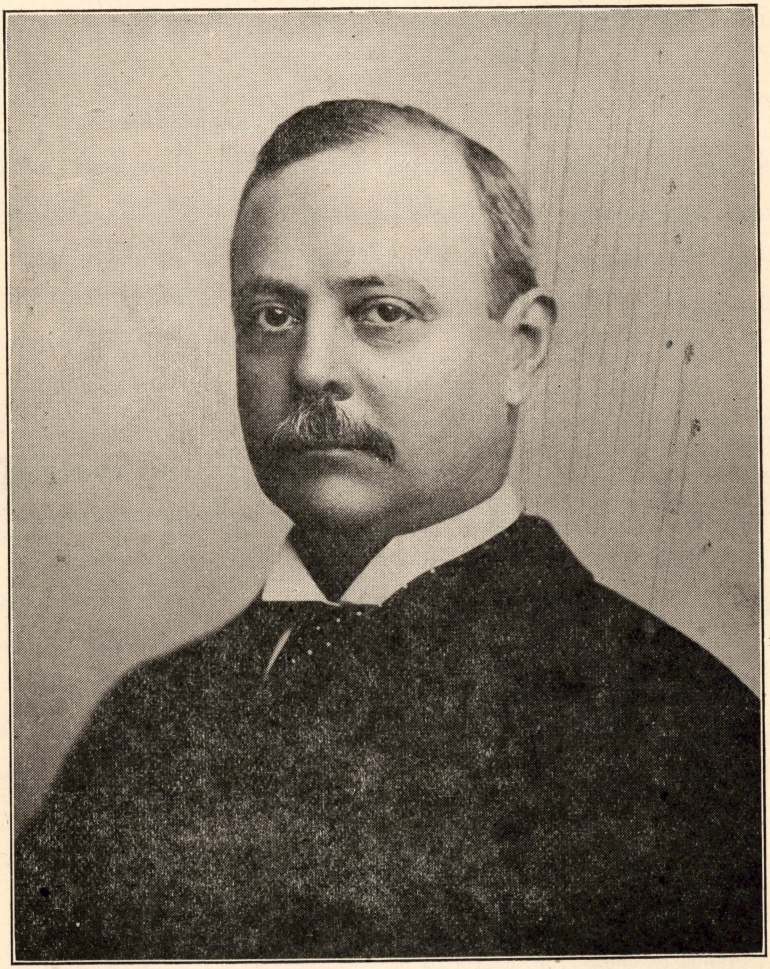
The remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy.—De Tocqueville.

Neither this people nor any other free people will permanently tolerate the use of the vast power conferred by vast wealth, and especially wealth in its corporate form, without lodging somewhere in the government the still higher power of seeing that this power, in addition to being used in the interest of the individual or individuals possessing it, is used for and not against the interests of the people as a whole.—Theodore Roosevelt.

The political issue in this country for the next ten or fifteen years will be between government for the special interests and government for the people. The issue is plutocracy or democracy, and we will settle it and settle it right.

Robert M. La Follette.

The people will come to their own at last; God is not mocked forever.—JOHN HAY.



HENRY G. ATWATER.

The country is full of winners; what we want is the good loser.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.

The apathy of the people causes the degeneracy of the government.
CHARLES B. YARDLEY, JR.

INSCRIBED

IN MEMORY OF MY BELOVED

MASTER IN POLITICS

HENRY G. ATWATER

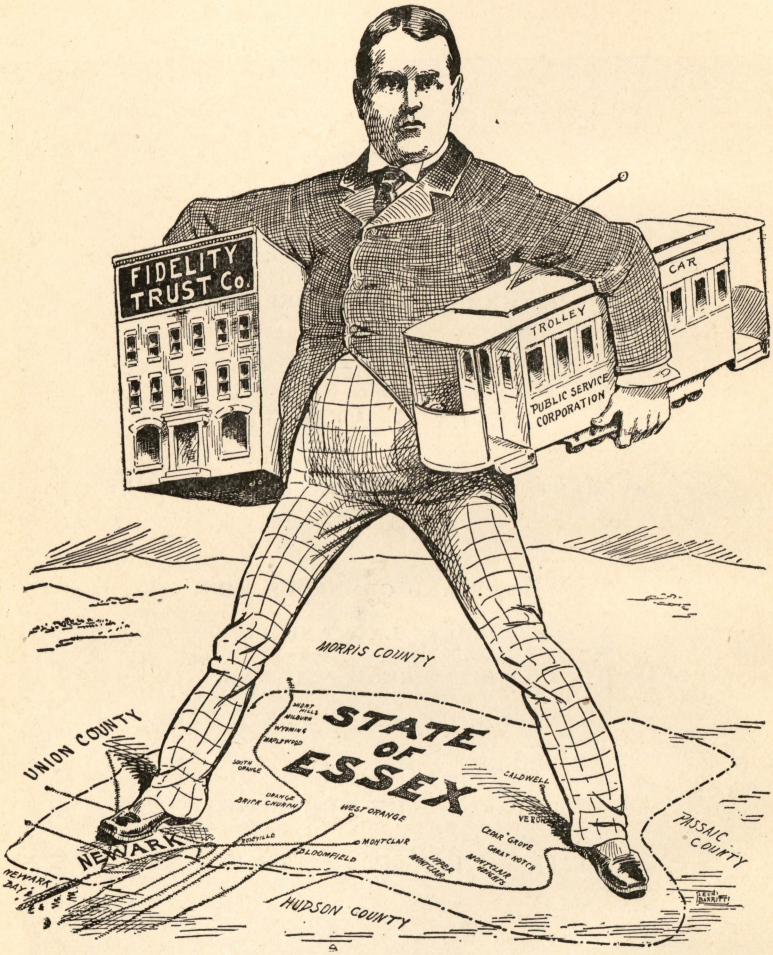
MY MENTOR AND GUIDE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

A PURE AND GENEROUS MIND
LEARNED IN LAW AND LIFE
A SPIRIT SERENE AND WISE
A SOUL INCORRUPTIBLE
FRIEND OF MANKIND
LOVER OF THE HUMANITIES

THE SCHOLAR IN POLITICS

The things one has an opportunity to DO are the substance; the things one tries to GET are the shadow.—ELIHU ROOT.

We shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Minneapolis, September, 1901.



"THE STATE OF ESSEX."

Reproduced from Newark TRUTH of June 6, 1903.

Among these boys were some who now shine in fame. Mr. Thomas McCarter, for instance, who no doubt gained in this school much of the knowledge which enables him to run with ease both the State and the trolleys.

The Newark Aster for December, 1905.

To work for the people—this is the great and urgent need.

The human soul has greater need of the ideal than of the real.

It is by the real that we exist; it is by the ideal that we live. Would you realize the difference?

Animals exist; man lives.—VICTOR HUGO.

Duty to others is the force that has organized this civilization of ours.

The people are ceasing to envy riches, and are beginning to ask rich men embarrassing questions.

The Golden Rule.—WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, in Atlantic Monthly for October, 1905.

I shall make it my task to expose the abuses that are about to ruin the country, and that your honesty alone can correct.—Last speech of MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.

FOREWORD.

This sketch will strike the reader as egotistical. This is inevitable in the preparation of such a pamphlet, as my work has been largely by way of example and my method is that of Symbolism.

My idea is similar to that of Mr. Hughes in the Insurance Inquiry. He has sought to convict financial crooks out of their own mouths. I have sought to expose both political and financial crooks out of their own mouths and through their own actions, so that the public may see them as they really are. Show our people that an evil really exists and they will find the remedy. I quote so largely from journalistic friends and foes, because they so fully understand my method and appreciate the objects I have in view.

In October, 1904, while in Vienna, I learned that the Citizens Union of East Orange, had nominated for Mayor, my closest friend in work for political reform, Julian A. Gregory. I at once abandoned my tour and returned by the first steamer to take part in the the third campaign for a non-partisan city government in East Orange.



Courtesy of Newark Advertiser.

The original drawing of this picture was exhibited by Alden Freeman at the Morris Canal hearing in the State House at Trenton, on March 8, 1905. The cartoon is by Leon Barritt and first appeared in Newark Truth on December 19, 1903, with the title "A Story Without Words." It appeared in the Orange Chronicle on March 11, 1905, under the caption "What Are We Coming To."

I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree.—Psalm xxxvii. 35.

Representative bodies commonly proceed from, always tend toward and can only vigorously coexist with plutocracy.—HILAIRE BELLOC.

WITH THE LEGISLATORS AT TRENTON.

During the 1905 session of the State legislature, I seconded the efforts of Assemblyman Everett Colby for Limited Franchises and took so aggressive a stand for Equal Taxation and against the Morris Canal Bill that I was twice threatened with ejection from the State House by the custodian. The New York "Press" spoke as follows concerning my remarks on Taxation, on March 7, 1905:

On these bills the most earnest address was made by Alden Freeman, secretary of the Citizens Union of East Orange, who said in part:

"I wish to tell you of the effect of the conduct of the present Legislature upon the growth of the Civics Club of the Oranges, of which I have the honor to be president. Since Everett Colby's Twenty-Five-Year-Franchise bill was turned down forty new members have joined our association.

"For years beyond the memory of man the railways of New Jersey have been 'doing' the people of New Jersey.

"We do not ask for radical legislation. The people of this State ask only for a 'square' deal. They are more generous than the railways. They show no disposition to retaliate. As yet they do not seek to 'do' the railways, as the railways have 'done' them. As yet they do not demand that the railways disgorge. The plain people of New Jersey are still willing to forgive the past misdeeds of the railways, but they will not condone the fault much longer. I caution our legislators to read the signs of the times and not to try the temper of the people past endurance. We are determined. This agitation will not cease until we get a square deal between the people and the railways."

The lobby and gallery were crowded with delegations from Hudson County who favor the higher taxation of railways. George L. Record, Corporation Counsel of Jersey City, made an extensive speech, in which he claimed that the Duffield bill did not go far enough and that the problem of taxation of railroad properties would never be settled to the satisfaction of the people of New Jersey until all railroad property was taxed the same as property of individuals.

Others who made speeches along the same line were Mayor Fagan, Jersey City; Mayor Lankering, Hoboken; Mayor Kenny, East Newark; former Assemblyman J. J. Tracy, of Jersey City; former Corporation Attorney Herbert Boggs, of Newark, and Henry V Condict, president of the Board of Trade, Jersey City.

Alan H. Strong, representing the Pennsylvania Railroad, asked to be heard in opposition to the measure.

On September 13, 1905, at the Krueger Auditorium in Newark, I had the satisfaction of hearing an Equal Taxation plank, which I had a share in drafting, unanimously adopted by the County Convention as the chief article of the platform of the Republican Party of Essex County, while beside my chair stood the man who six months previously at Trenton had repeatedly called me a "crank," and twice threatened personal violence because of my utterance of the very words now incorporated in the platform of that man's party. This remarkable change in New Jersey politics was brought about by the Colby movement.



EVERETT COLBY, STATE SENATOR FROM ESSEX COUNTY.

LEGISLATION THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION IS FIGHTING FOR.

FIRST—A State law prohibiting municipalities from granting franchises to public utility corporations for a longer period of time than twenty-five years in cities of the first and second class, and thirty-five years in all other localities, if so decided by vote of the people.

SECOND—A law providing for the annual assessment of the value of the franchises of the public utility companies in the streets, and the taxation of the same at the local rates.

THIRD—A law taxing all railroad real estate, including the main stem, at local rates.

FOURTH—A law affording the members of each party the opportunity at the general election of expressing their choice for the party candidates for United States Senator.

The most unique political campaign in this country.
ORANGE CHRONICLE, January 6, 1906.

It wasn't the politicians that sent Colby to Trenton, and elected Jerome, and voted Roosevelt into office. It was the other people.—LEONARD H. ROBBINS.

America has no use for kings of any sort. They will be dethroned as were the hereditary kings of old. The political kings (or Bosses) must go to work and earn their living with the rest.—MAYOR JONES, of Toledo.

The political boss is nothing but an agent of the business bosses back of him. Colby is one of those that can see beyond the Boss.—LINCOLN STEFFENS

Washington founded the Republic, Lincoln saved the Republic; let every true American stand by President Roosevelt in his noble effort to preserve the Republic.

Chapter I.

The Colby Campaign.

An Estimate of the Methods that Figured in It and a Word in Regard to the Principals.

On March 1, 1905, I arranged a complimentary dinner in Commonwealth Hall, East Orange, in honor of two members of the Citizens Union who had completed two years of faithful and uncommonly efficient service in the city government of East Orange. They were Julian A. Gregory and Willis L. Brownell.

The feature of the occasion was a speech on "The Grasp of the Corporations," by Assemblyman Everett Colby, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. This admirable address has since been looked upon as inaugurating Mr. Colby's campaign for the State Senatorship. I was myself so greatly impressed by the speech that on March 5 I wrote to the New York Evening Mail in part as follows:

"Here, in Essex County, in New Jersey, independence in politics has been blighted. So long have we dwelt in the shadow of the Great Rock in Newark that we have lost hope that any good thing could come out of this weary land. But now our people seem to be in the throes of a great upheaval. They are ready to throw off the yoke and 'shackle the cunning.' A man of the Roosevelt type was revealed in the self-contained, statesman-like address of Everett Colby, of West Orange, on 'Limited Franchises,' at East Orange on March 1. The citizens of New Jersey believe that they have found a leader at last around whom they may rally in the great struggle which shall eventually 'shackle cunning,' strongly entrenched though it may be in corporation-ridden New Jersey."

On March 18, at a meeting of the executive committee of the Citizens Union of East Orange, held at the home of the president, Henry H. Hall, the East Orange reformers put themselves on record in regard to Mr. Colby and his course by passing the following resolution, which was given to the press and had wide publicity:

"Whereas, Everett Colby, Assemblyman from Essex County, by his courageous act in the Legislature in respect to the limiting of public utility franchises, has presented to the citizens of this State an issue of paramount importance, thus giving leadership to a movement which must re-

main a vital issue until properly settled;

"Resolved, That we tender to Mr. Colby our heartiest commendation and support. which we guarantee to him in the future as it has been given in the past."

Committee's Action Confirmed.

Popular approval of our action was soon evidenced by an increase of 100 per cent. in the enrolled membership of the union. The fourth annual meeting, held in Lang's hall, on April 10, was one of the most largely attended in the history of the union. The members enthusiastically confirmed the action of the executive committee in pledging the support of the union to Mr. Colby, and passed resolutions requesting Governor Stokes to sign the bill providing for the appointment of a commission to consider the limitation and taxation of franchises. President Hall made a powerful address along the lines of his famous speech on "Domination of Corporations Through Control of Party Machinery," delivered in Commonwealth Hall, East Orange, on October 18, 1902. In commenting upon Mr. Hall's remarks the newspapers generally referred to him as the "Father of the Limited Franchise Movement in Essex County."

On April 13, George S. Hulbert, who was the leader in the final effort made in the City Council of East Orange, in the spring of 1904, to prevent the free gift of a perpetual franchise for a trolley on Central avenue being made to the Public Service Corporation, offered resolutions favoring limited franchises at the annual meeting of the Republican Club of East Orange, in order, as he explained, to give Mr. Colby the benefit of the "commanding influence" of the club. The president refused to entertain any one of the three resolutions relating to franchises upon which Mr. Hulbert desired to have the vote of the members of the club.

"This club is a closer 'corporation' than I thought it was," said Mr. Hulbert in his dry way, and with a twinkle in his eye.

On May 6 at the regular monthly meeting of the New England Society of Orange a letter from Everett Colby was read expressing his appreciation of the stand taken by the society during the 1905 session of the Legislature in opposition to the granting of franchises in perpetuity.

"I had the pleasure," he wrote, "of supporting in the Assembly the movement started by your society."

Lobbyists Condemned.

On May 11 following, I arranged for Mr. Colby's appearance at the dinner of the Colonial Wars at Lakewood, at which the State treasurer, Frank O. Briggs, presided. Mr. Colby spoke on "Graft and the Trenton Lobby." His reference to the bribery charged in connection with the passage of the Morris Canal bill by the Assembly was most pointed. It was a dramatic moment when, with pointed finger, he said of the lobbyists in the State house, "They are stamped as crooks, known as crooks, act like crooks, look like crooks and are crooks."

With the story current on every lip that a certain high State official paid out the "boodle" for the Lehigh Valley Railway Company to certain Assemblymen in the Supreme Court chamber at the State capitol, the situation may well be left to the imagination of the reader. I had in the mean time been actively at work promoting the campaign for limited franchises and equal taxation, and when the executive committee was organized I had the honor of naming William P. Martin for chairman, and Gardner Colby for treasurer. With John S. Gibson and Frank H. Sommer I formed the committee which drafted the Colby platform. Up to September 13, when Mr. Colby was unanimously nominated for State Senator, I acted as chairman of the press and printing committees. I personally conducted the press bureau of the entire primary campaign and acted also as secretary of the committee on literature. I prepared almost all of the literature circulated, with the exception of the textbook and the pamphlet comparing the Colby platform with that of Lentz's county committee. I wrote many of the interviews given by the committee to the press and much of the correspondence, owing to the absence abroad of Frank H. Sommer, chairman of the literature committee. I also attended to all the adver-

The REASONS
The HOUR
and the MAN

Purposes of the Colby Campaign.

1. To absolutely **Prohibit** the further granting of **Perpetual Franchises** to Public Service Corporations.

2. To **Reduce your Taxes** by Taxing the Franchises of Public Service Corporations at their True Value and at the local rates.

3. To **Reduce your Taxes** by Taxing the Railroads on their Main Trunk or Stem at the Same Rate which you pay.

These Main Stems, valued at $99,000,000 are now taxed at $5.00 per $1,000, while YOU PAY $22.00 per $1,000 on all your property.

The recommended platform of the County Committee does not add one dollar from corporation coffers to relieve the taxpayer from the present heavy burden which he is carrying.

4. To enable **Each Voter** to voice his preference for U. S. Senator.

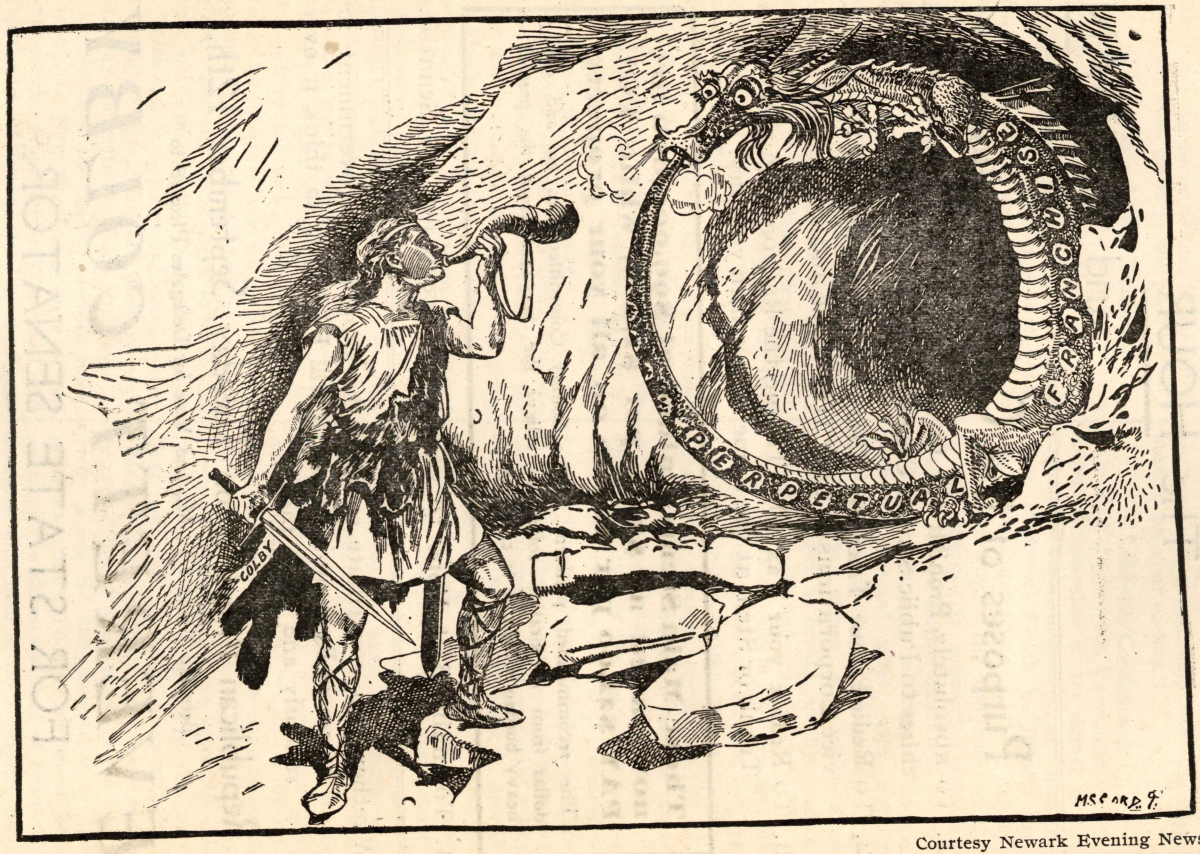
Whether you contribute toward the support of government in **Taxes, in Rent or in Board, it will PAY you to think it over seriously and go to the**

Republican Primaries on Tuesday, September 12th,

Between 1 and 9 P. M., and Vote for Delegates Pledged to

EVERETT COLBY
FOR STATE SENATOR.

A successful piece of advertising in the Colby Campaign.



Courtesy Newark Evening News

Siegfried Challenging the Dragon.

tising in newspapers, on billboards and on transparencies. It devolved upon me likewise to visit every newspaper office in Essex County as well as several in New York City frequently throughout the strenuous midsummer campaign of 1905, which is probably without a parallel in American politics, for the amount of work done and the public sentiment aroused in so short a time by so few workers as were actually engaged in the Colby movement during the heat of June, July, August and September. The burden of the arrangements for the great Newark Theatre meeting on June 27, when Mr. Colby made the chief speech of the campaign, fell upon me.

Attacks Made by Lentz.

The savage personal attacks in which the long-time boss of Essex County, Major Carl Lentz, has from time to time permitted himself to indulge against me and others who have not feared to oppose his methods and to thwart his purposes, were a factor which contributed to the success of the Colby movement in no small measure. The climax was reached when this agent of the corporations caused the funds of the Republican county committee to be used to distribute through the mails to half the voters in Essex County thousands of copies of the vulgar and bitter, though coarsely humorous, diatribe in which the major gave vent to his ruffled feelings before the county committee on April 28, and wherein he assailed Harrison Van Duyne, William C. Nicoll, Rev. Adolph Roeder, George L. Record, Frederick W. Kelsey and Thomas A. Davis with an ardor and a venom little less bitter than that reserved for me.

COST OF "A FEW REMARKS."

"A Few Remarks by Carl Lentz," as the large four-page circular was entitled, cost the treasury of the County Committee of the Republican Party in Essex County, probably not less than $1,000. Here are the principal items of the cost of this futile gratification of personal animosity at the expense of the party.

Printing 60,000 circulars (estimate of two leading printing houses in Newark) not less than	$200.00
Postage on 30,000 circulars mailed to every voter in the 8th and 9th Wards of Newark, and to every voter in Essex County outside of Newark, each envelope bearing a 2-cent stamp.	600.00
30,000 envelopes (minimum cost $1.50 per 1,000)	45.00
Wages of 2 men addressing envelopes for 2 weeks of 6 days each, @ $2.00 per day	48.00
Wages of 2 men, ditto for 3 weeks	72.00
Total	$965.00

These men addressed the envelopes at the Essex County Republican Committee Headquarters in Halsey street, Newark. They were paid each Saturday in cash by Mr. Flavell, Secretary of the County Committee, who procured the money regularly on Saturday of each week from Mayor Henry M. Doremus, treasurer of the Republican County Committee, at the City Hall in Newark.

Half of the 60,000 circulars have not been used. It is said they are being carefully preserved among the archives in Halsey street. The Major changed his mind about sending them out as campaign documents to influence votes on November 7, as "A Few Remarks" overshot the mark, proved a boomerang and confirmed the popular belief that a masterly silence is characteristic of a wise Boss.

Major Lentz is the rare, almost extinct type of the elemental man. He has fine—indeed, some splendid—qualities, but he is not a leader; he is rather a "driver" of men, against their wills, against their convictions, by sheer force of his wonderful will power. He reminds me of Jack London's "Sea Wolf," save that the "boss" is always a land shark.

Most inexcusable of all his attacks was that upon that "divinely gifted man," the almost inspired seer and philosopher, Rev. Adolph Roeder. When this exalted character, so just, so unimpassioned, always so serene and wise, has passed from among us, we shall understand that a man like unto Emerson has dwelt among us and at last realize what opportunities of enlightenment we have neglected in not sitting at the feet of this great teacher to learn wisdom.

The treatment of Mr. Davis was more generous, although the sarcasms were in the major's smartest vein. In a way he did justice to the versatility of the young leader of the new Democracy of Essex County, whose common sense, well-balanced mind, devotion to duty and frequent

sacrifices of partizan advantage to principle have won the esteem and love of all who know him, in addition to their admiration for his legal attainments, which learned justices say already place him among the leaders of the New Jersey bar. Not the least bitter of his attacks was upon Mr. Kelsey, a conspicuous example of the fearless, independent, public-spirited American citizen, who is the chief stumbling block in the path of the political boss. He is especially deserving of public gratitude as the "Father of the Essex County Park System," which he strove so valorously and for so many years to preserve from mutilation—a thing that was finally accomplished through the greed of the Public Service (?) Corporation.

A Result of Lentz's Tactics.

One of the results of the savage onslaught upon Mr. Kelsey was the invitation from the Newark EVENING NEWS to prepare a series of articles upon the Essex County Parks, which grew into the comprehensive and valuable work, "The First County Park System," recently published in book form. This volume will profoundly influence the future policy and personnel of the Park Board, for Mr. Kelsey recommends as remedies for the abuses of the present system that the commissioners be elected by the people and that their meetings be open to the public. With its unpleasant record of securing the vote of the people in favor of appropriations which it fails to expend according to announced and specific pledges, the present appointive Park Commission will find it difficult to obtain further grants of money. Henceforth I believe the people will refuse to vote funds for park purposes except to elective commissioners, responsible directly to themselves and who are neither subservient to corporations nor fearful of their power.

I write so fully concerning these three gentlemen, specially singled out as objects of the major's wrath, because the boss clearly discerned in them the chief actors in the movement which prevented the stealing from the people of a free and perpetual trolley franchise on Central avenue, in the city of Orange. All honor I say to these tribunes of the people—Roeder, Davis and Kelsey! To them should be awarded the credit for setting in motion the wave of popular feeling upon which these pioneers persuaded Everett Colby to launch his limited franchise bark.

What Lentz Did For Me.

"Make enemies and they will make you," or, better still, make your cause. I regard myself, in a political sense, as very largely not the "creature" but the "creation" of Major Lentz. Since his defeat for sheriff he has so frequently and conspicuously singled me out for attacks so personal and virulent in character that I have been given an importance and brought into a prominence quite out of proportion either to my influence or to my merits. The boss's attacks have proved an introduction of incalculable value to me in going up and down the county on behalf of Mr. Colby and on other errands connected with political reform. I have had only to mention my name to be at once welcomed by all men of independence and character, regardless of party. They seem to cherish me for the enemy I have made. Therefore, as chief among the negative forces which have contributed to the success of the Colby movement, I regard the ever-increasing popular hatred and distrust of Boss Lentz.

The Business Bosses Behind the Political Bosses.

Second only to this popular abhorrence, and of course closely allied to it, is the strong and ever-growing popular resentment against the Public Service Corporation, the Pennsylvania Railway Company, and the other great trunk lines of railways which traverse the State and have so long controlled New Jersey, like a pocket borough. It is gradually dawning upon the people that the serious menace to democratic institutions lies deeper than the political boss. In the unscrupulous captain of industry who rules both the boss and the great corporations is found the great danger which threatens our national life.

Work of the Press.

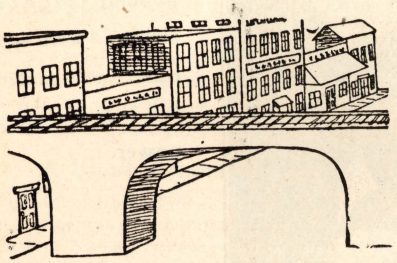
Easily first among positive forces exerted in behalf of the revolt against boss rule and corporate domination I place the influence of the principal journal in the State, the Newark EVENING NEWS. Its support was generous and untiring

Republican Committee for Limited Franchises and Equal Taxation,

Scheuer Building, opp. Postoffice, Tel. 4256. 738 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

Below is advertisement refused by "Montclair Times." Our "ads" are also refused a place in the cars of the Public Service (?) Corporation.

WM P. MARTIN, Chairman.



This Railroad Main Stem

Was elevated at a cost to Newark of

$1,500,000

and the taxpayers will have to raise

$75,000 a Year for Thirty Years,

To Pay the Principal and Interest on This Debt.

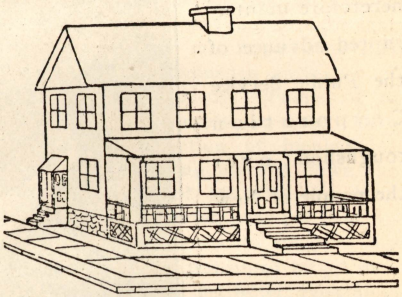
This Property

Improved by the Taxpayers, Pays Tax at the Rate of

$5 PER $1,000.

of Valuation.

Major Lentz And the County Committee Indorse the Law Which Fixes this Rate.



This Taxpayer's House

Was Erected With

The Money of the Owner.

The City of Newark Contributed

NOT ONE CENT

To the Erection of This House.

This Property

Improved by the Owner, Pays Tax at the Rate of

$22.70 PER $1,000

of Valuation.

Everett Colby Favors a Law to Compel Railroads to Pay the Same Rate that the Citizen pays

A Square Deal Between the Corporations and the People.

The best advertisement used in the Colby Campaign, prepared by Mr. Gibson.

POSTAL CARDS, ORIGINAL AND FORGED, RECEIVED BY EAST ORANGE COUNCILMAN

Vote { ~~FOR~~ / AGAINST } a

PERPETUAL FRANCHISE

ON CENTRAL AVENUE.

Cross out either the word FOR or AGAINST.

GENUINE POSTAL CARD

Vote { FOR / ~~AGAINST~~ } a

PERPETUAL FRANCHISE

ON CENTRAL AVENUE.

Cross out either the word FOR or AGAINST.

FORGED POSTAL SHOWING TAIL ON LETTER R IN WORDS "PERPETUAL FRANCHISE."

A Specimen of What the Plain People are Up Against in the Public Service (?) Corporation and its Friends.

make way for the tribunes of representative government. Then there was the incisive brain, intellectual grasp and unwavering character of Frank H. Sommer, whose personality will, I believe, prove to be the compelling force for popular rights in many a council of State in New Jersey in the days to come. The wise saws and maxims of ancient flavor which fell so easily from his lips during the summer campaign made me think of the sayings of Franklin's "Poor Richard." Mr. Sommer's years of labor in behalf of the people's rights in their own highways will presently bear fruit. I congratulate the people of Essex County that a man who says, and a man who believes, that "the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy," sits in the sheriff's chair coveted by the Boss.

Record and Fagan.

I should not forget the help given us by the reform Mayor of Jersey City, Mark M. Fagan, a man who in his profound sympathy for the workingman and the workingman's wife and child, reminds me of the great heart that beat in the breast of Abraham Lincoln. Speaking of Mayor Fagan, I come, last, but far from least, to the Frank Sommer of Hudson County. I mean George L. Record, with his splendid equipment of intellect, learning and insight into human nature, a profound student of politics and a natural leader of men. Much is to be hoped for from his untiring energy and powerful brain.

When I reported at 3 A. M. on September 13 that we had carried the Fourth Ward of East Orange (which had been given up by the East Orange chairman, Colonel Henry A. Potter) for Colby, I felt fully repaid for my efforts by the generous tribute from my fellow-committeemen that I had not made a single "break" in the conduct of my end of the campaign.

If every citizen would go to the primaries and vote for the men and principles which he thinks the best, we would soon destroy the power of the bosses and the power of the corporations as well. I hear so much about municipal ownership. Don't you think it better to secure ownership of our public officials instead of our public utilities? If we get our officials the ownership of utilities will follow.—MARK M. FAGAN.

Jersey's real fight has just begun. Your machine and your corrupt special interests are not thoroughly aroused yet, but they will be awakened to a true sense of the situation this winter.

I am glad you are with Colby. I believe in him. I had some pretty searching talks with him and I satisfied myself.

J. LINCOLN STEFFENS.

New York, December 26, 1905.

[From a private letter to the writer, printed with the consent of Mr. Steffens.]

If there be any one that makes makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth.—OLIVER CROMWELL.

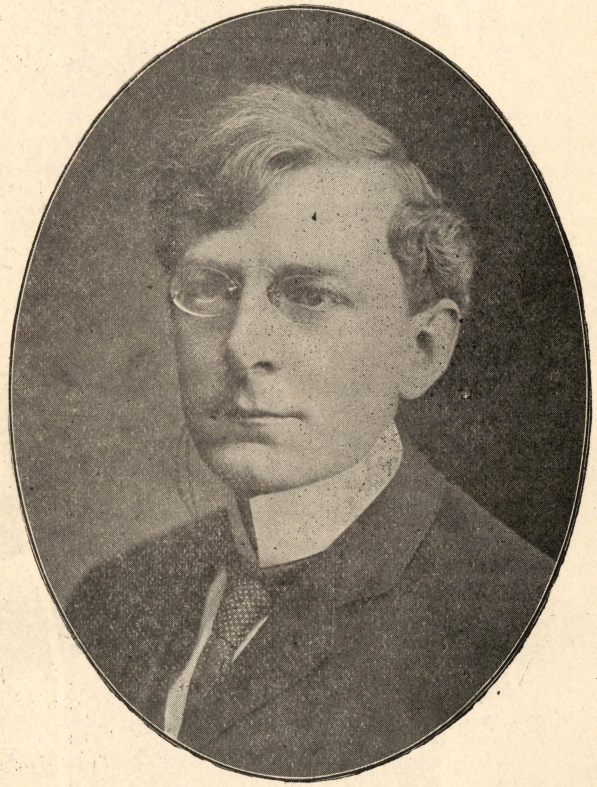
SOMMER'S MAXIMS.

Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts and of Corporations bearing Limited Franchise and Equal Taxation plans.

It is a wise child that knows its own father; and it is a wise franchise ordinance that recognizes its parent outside the office of counsel of a Public Service Corporation.

Two pieces of coin in a bag makes more noise than a hundred; two flat-wheel cars on an unlimited franchise line make more noise than a hundred cars properly equipped and have the added advantage of subduing the cry for more.

The combine of combines shown on the opposite page, is what the Plain People of New Jersey are up against in their struggles with the Public Service Corporation.



Until July 14, 1789, the Plain People of France believed that the Bastile, depository of so many State secrets, had "the Strength of Gibraltar."

FRANK H. SOMMER,
Sheriff of Essex County.

A Public Service Company, though supported by "the Strength of Gibraltar," must give way before the assaults of Public Opinion.

The State created the public utility corporations, not they the State; notwithstanding the impression to the contrary that prevails in some quarters.

The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE.

CONSCIENCE IN BUSINESS.

Editorial New York Evening Mail, March 3, 1905.

Two phrases of President Roosevelt's, one uttered in Minneapolis in September, 1901, the other in Philadelphia, in January, 1905, come very near defining a whole political philosophy. In the first address he said, "We shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force." In the second he urged the desirability of laws that shall remove a condition under which "in the sharp competition of the business world, the conscientious man is put at a disadvantage by his less scrupulous fellows."

To make it unsafe for business cunning to cheat the laws, to make honesty as good policy for the management of a corporation as it is deemed to be for its clerks—these are the principles that underlie most of the public action in which the American people of today have either concern or interest. They know that the great trusts and very many of the great fortunes are due not only to exceptional ability and initiative, but to unshackled cunning, successful evasion of the laws. The edifice of corporation power has been constructed on a pedestal of illegal rebates, bribery of State and city legislatures, and systematized tax-dodging. The concern that has not extorted illegitimate favors from the railroads which shipped its products, that has not secured charters and franchises by private bargain with lawmakers, and that has not dodged its just share of taxes, has often seen itself driven to the wall by concerns that did not scruple to be "practical," as Standard Oil was practical.

Political bribery, railroad rate legislation, the taxation problem, all can be pretty nearly simmered down to the simple proposition of removing the handicap from the man who is determined to be as honest in his business as he is outside of it. If America means opportunity, it should mean more than anything else, opportunity for every man to be honest without being considered "unpractical." That is the most primitive sort of a "square deal." It will at least gratify the sense of justice in conscientious but none too successful men, when they see the law moving punitively against successful but none too conscientious men. And it will conduce to a better tone in business when the ability of the state shall be increased to shackle cunning before the event, as well as punish it afterward.

CONSCIENCE IN POLITICS.

The Jersey Movement to "Shackle Cunning" at Home.

To the Editor of the Evening Mail:

Sir:—The editorial on "Conscience in Business" in your issue of March 3 should be blazoned in letters of gold and hung in every business office in the United States. It is the finest tribute that has been paid to President Roosevelt, and it is based on his own words. That wise philosopher and seer, the Rev. Adolph Roeder, in his address at the Citizens Union banquet in East Orange on March 1, charged his hearers to eliminate the gambler from the great corporations, and argued that the corporations would then become the beneficient servants of the people.

We have Whitaker Wrights and Jabez Balfours in America today of vastly greater power than those cunning rascals who, under British law, were cast into prison. The church is much to blame in America for the malign influence of such men, for "whited sepulchres," known and execrated in the market place, and pillars obviously rotten at the core, are accepted without a blush and honored as the chief supporters of things spiritual.

Here, in Essex County, in New Jersey, independence in politics has been blighted. So long have we dwelt in the shadow of the Great Rock in Newark, that we have lost hope that any good thing could come out of this weary land. But now our people seem to be in the throes of a great upheaval They are ready to throw off the yoke and "shackle the cunning." A man of the Roosevelt type was revealed in the self-contained, statesman-like address of Everett Colby, of West Orange, on "Limited Franchises," at East Orange, on March 1. The citizens of New Jersey believe that they have found a leader at last around whom they may rally in the great struggle which shall eventually "shackle cunning," strongly entrenched though it may be in corporation-ridden New Jersey.

ALDEN FREEMAN,
East Orange, March 5, 1905.

GOVERNOR MURPHY AND THE "TRUST" MESSAGE.

(Newark Truth, Sept. 12, 1903.)

Franklin Murphy obtained his ideas and opinions from headquarters. Just ask him to describe the scene in the office at Broad and Wall streets (J. P. Morgan & Co.,) when he read a draft of his message to George W. Perkins and what Perkins said to him and what he said to Perkins. It's a mighty interesting and convincing story.

THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES?

(Newark Truth, Sept. 5, 1903.)

Why don't you ask Joseph Coult to show you a nice little slip of paper which now reposes in his safe? It is a note originally made out for six hundred dollars, but the Person to whom it was given playfully added the letters "ty" to "six" and then proceeded to collect the sixty hundred dollars on it. A young legal friend of mine saw the note not long since and I presume that it is still in Mr. Coult's safe. If you get possession of the note, or a copy of it, perhaps the sight of the document might tempt Mr. Elisha B. Gaddis to some interesting reminiscenses. Any lawyer or business man in Broad or Market street, Newark, can tell you who this Playful Person is, what great power is his and how he spreadeth himself like a green bay tree on nothing a year. They will probably also tell of a note for seven hundred to which he did the "ty" trick with equal success and of various other friends upon whose accounts he has "drawn" without advising them until after the fact.

Soiled by the Fingers of Lentz.

A Warning to the Voters of East Orange.

(Reprinted from the New York Tribune, of Nov. 2, 1903.)

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I wish to thank you for publishing the suppressed Smith-Williams letters. The people of East Orange have been asking for a sign, for proof of the political influences which thwart the will of the people, and you have given it to them. We shall now learn, by the manner in which this exposure is received, whether those who stand for honesty in public affairs are more than those who contend that political influence is a commodity which may legitimately be bartered for a monetary consideration. Theodore Roosevelt on Sunday last, in his Washington speech on "Militant Honesty," named the greatest danger which threatens this country. It is that weakened moral sense which sees no wrong in the bartering between Smith and Williams save in the one particular of the deal becoming known. As the President says, we need more than the honesty which is merely self-righteous and is content so long as its own skirts remain unsoiled. We need the honesty which will cry out and proclaim on the housetops the wrongdoing which makes sick the hearts of good men; the wrongdoing which is rampant in the State of New Jersey, corporation-ridden and given over to an orgy of franchise stealing. We need the honesty which will not alone be satisfied to prevent a man like Boss Lentz from holding public office himself, but will have the courage to vote for none of the

creatures whom he brings forth to do the will of the corporations, whose pliant tool he is.

The Tribune stands for the virile honesty which our President proclaims. There are thousands of good men here in Essex County who believe in Theodore Roosevelt and desire to vote the Republican ticket, but cannot vote that ticket so long as the Republican ballot is soiled by the fingers of Lentz. When we inspect the Democratic ticket, do we find the Boss less potent there? Alas, no! Both parties are alike discredited in New Jersey, and are alike the instruments of that insolent combination of corporate combines which like some loathsome spider has settled down upon the infected banks of the Passaic, to fatten upon such spoils as it may suck from the public treasury and such privileges as it may wrest from a people indifferent and unalarmed. When this piratical band of the newly rich has seized all the public utilities of New Jersey our people will at last awake and find themselves bound like Gulliver.

But The Tribune, the standard bearer of the Republican party, by printing the correspondence which the machine politicians of East Orange made so desperate an attempt to suppress at the meeting of the Board of Education on Monday evening, has given unto us a sign, and if the citizens associations of Newark, of Harrison, of the Oranges and other New Jersey towns will put their own municipal houses in order, beginning thus in the bottom story of the body politic, may we not hope that the sweetness and light below will spread to the upper stories in the House Politic? If government of the people, by the people and for the people is not to perish from the earth in these United States, the knife must be unflinchingly applied to the rule of parties by bosses for the benefit of corporations.

In response to the communication of Mr. F. H. Smith, Jr., in your issue of this date, I inclose the following sworn statement:

"On Wednesday, October 21, 1903, Frederick H. Smith, Jr., directed me, without reservation or restrictions, to deliver to Julian A. Gregory, member of the Board of Education of East Orange, the correspondence between Mr. Smith, owner of property on Central avenue, East Orange, and Edgar Williams, chairman of the Republican Executive Committee of East Orange, relating to the purchase of said property for school purposes by the city authorities of East Orange. On Monday, October 26, 1903, Mr. Smith stated to me that he would attend the meeting of the Board of Education that evening and would himself read the letters to the board. At the same time he said that he was willing that the letters should be spread upon the minutes of the Board of Education.

"At both of these interviews Mr. Smith said to me that Mr. Williams had recently said to him (Smith) that the reason why he (Williams) had not put through the purchase of the school lot by the City Council was because his action in the matter was controlled by an influence the identity of which he was not at liberty to disclose, but would reveal to him at some future time.

ALDEN FREEMAN.

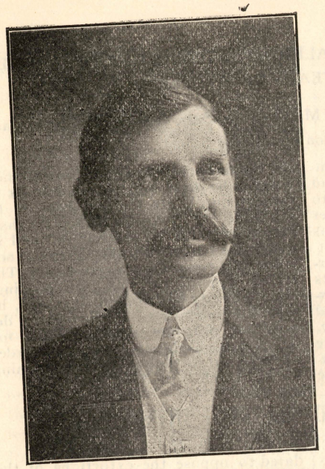
"Sworn and subscribed to before me this thirtieth day of October, 1903.

STEPHEN M. LONG,
Notary Public."

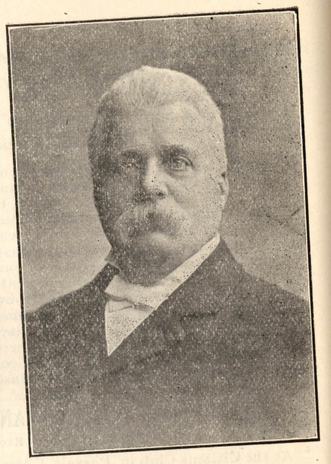
I consider that the letters were published by the action of Mr. Smith, when he directed me to deliver the correspondence to a school commissioner. The fact of placing the letters in the hands of a public official constitutes a publication.

East Orange, Oct. 31, 1903.

ALDEN FREEMAN.



Charles A. Lindsley, Second Ward.



Charles Stillwell, First Ward.



Wilber R. Crane, Fifth Ward.



Alden Freeman, Fourth Ward.

CITIZENS UNION CANDIDATES FOR COUNCILMEN
EAST ORANGE, 1905

The strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone.—HENRIK IBSEN.

Every inch of progress that has been made toward political liberty in this country has been and is due to the work of the independent voter, the self-owning, free man.—SAMUEL MILTON JONES, "the man without a party."

If this Republic is saved it must be saved by individual effort.
"The Lone Fighter," by RAY STANNARD BAKER.

The worst evils that affect our local government arise from and are the inevitable result of the mixing up of the city affairs with the party politics of the Nation and the State. The lines upon which National parties divide have no necessary connection with the business of the city. Such connections open the way to countless schemes of public plunder and civic corruption.
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

The country is full of winners; what we need now is the good loser, and that Freeman is.
LINCOLN STEFFENS.

Chapter II.

The Citizens Union Campaign.

"The East Orange Plan." The Drama in Politics. Ibsen and Wagner Illustrate Misdeeds of Orange Water Company and Essex County Park Commission.

While in the thick of the county fight I was urged by Charles B. Yardley, Jr., treasurer and most active member of the Citizens' Union, of East Orange, not to neglect the cause of non-partisanship in my home town. Believing , as I do, that true political reform must begin at the foundations of the House Politic, I could not ignore the appeal. We called a meeting of the subscribers to the Citizens' Union at my home, on August 26, when I outlined what has since been known as "The East Orange Plan." The idea is to break down party lines in municipal politics by running independent candidates in the primaries of both of the chief political parties, in addition to nominating these candidates by petition at the election. Where the membership in the chief parties is somewhat evenly divided, I believe this plan ought to work with marked success. In East Orange, which is everwhelmingly Republican, the plan has its extreme test, but on the first trial it proved feasible and we met with success in one of the four wards in which the experiment was tried.



CHARLES B. YARDLEY, JR.
Treasurer of the Citizens Union of East Orange.

"THE EAST ORANGE PLAN."

The plan is carried out by inviting all men of good will to a town meeting, whereat they divide themselves according to wards, and if possible unite upon suitable candidates for the ward and city offices. The names chosen are then presented to the general meeting. Having agreed upon candidates, nominating petitions are in readiness for the signatures of those present, made out for election day for the candidates of the Citizens' Union. There are also nominating petitions for each of the candidates, which enable them to contest in both of the regular party primaries. While this is a novel method of procedure, its efficacy in breaking down the barriers of partisanship in local elections was immediately recognized, unanimously approved, and recommended for adoption to the general meeting which it was decided to call at Lang's Hall, on August 30.

On August 29, my friend and neighbor, Leonard H. Robbins, who writes "In the Air," for the Newark Evening News, and was an interested spectator at the gathering on August 26, called attention to our public meeting in his column with this cartoon:

IN THE AIR.

The good of the comic post card in politics has yet to be demonstrated. We offer the suggestion to the Citizens' Union of East Orange and similar organizations of honest men in politics, in the firm belief that it would be found worth trying. L. H. R.

The exposure of the forged postal cards on September 11, brought this cartoon vividly to mind and on September 12, the day of the primary election the following appeared in, "In the Air:"

"As we said a fortnight ago, the Citizens' Union of East Orange can use postal cards in this campaign to good advantage.

"A prominent member of our street railway set sent our 300 souvenir postal cards one day not long ago. R there.

"Of course it cannot be stated who had those fake cards printed. But there is reason to believe—

Think of the howl Public Service makes when people ring in bogus transfer slips."

On the night of the meeting Mr. Robbins published one of his cleverest stories, "Trolley Tales for the Young, No. I" quite worthy to my mind of Mark Twain himself. It is the story of Tommy Gesundheit, who having lost his leg through the carelessness of a chi-ro-pod-



Courtesy Newark Evening News

3415.

Capital $ 500000. Surplus $ 100000.

UNITED STATES DEPOSITORY.

The Seaboard National Bank
of the City of New York
18 Broadway

W. A. Pullman, President
S. G. Bayne, Vice President
S. G. Nelson, Cashier
J. F. Thompson, Asst Cashier

New York, Febry 6 1888

My Dear Sir:-

Allow me to say in reference to your connection with the Seaboard Bank that for nearly four years you held the responsible position of Loan Clerk, in charge of all securities, faithfully performing the duties of your trust in a manner satisfactory to the Bank, and I am sure in a way pleasing to its customers.

You voluntarily resigned to engage in other business. I hope that you may meet with that high degree of success, which your ability, sterling honesty, and excellent moral principle so richly deserve.

I shall be pleased to do you any service in my power.

Yours Very Truly

W. A. Pullman

To

Alden Freeman Esq.

taking a hand in a fight that would give him an opportunity of downing his relentless and persistent enemy, the man whom he credits with having defeated him when he was a candidate for sheriff.

"Mr. Freeman is not a man to be easily downed, however, and the prospects are excellent that the hottest political contest ever waged in East Orange will take place in the Fourth ward."

On September 7, the ever-in-dead-earnest East Orange Gazette, taken in by Mr. Robbins's fooling, solemnly quoted him as follows:

HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.

The most impossible candidate for public office in New Jersey is Alden Freeman, choice of the Citizens Union of East Orange for the councilmanic nomination in the Fourth Ward. Mr. Freeman is undoubtedly the underest dog in politics anywhere. Here is what he is up against.

never known the necessity to soil his hands with toil or vex his soul with business." Is that any argument? Are not most public offices in this broad land held by town loafers?

But Mr. Freeman is not a town loafer, if that is what The Gazette would have us infer. He was loan clerk in the Seaboard National Bank three years, and for three years thereafter was salesman for a coal company. If it had been any other kind of a company the fact of his employment there might be a better plea for him now; but he worked, at any rate, and he soiled his hands with tainted banknotes and Pennsylvania coal. Let The Gazette eat its words!

* * * * * *

A man buys a political "honor" outright, and nobody cares. If he enters public affairs to pull a perpetual franchise whenever he wants one the "discriminating voters" don't complain very much. But if he says, "I have the time to spare, and I'll devote myself to the cause of the people," what a howl goes up from the regulars.

"He's rich," they say. "He doesn't need the money. Let him stay out and leave the place to some other fellow"—the other fellow too often being a man who needs the money to the extent that he will sell his sacred trust to anybody with the price, or will dumbly allow his office to be used to the profit of the machine boss.

"This man has never worked," the party men say. "He is not a fit man to look after our business interests"—the business interests that need looking after being usually those that require unlawful advantages.

A community served in office by men of the Colby-Freeman stamp would have no public abuses. So, at least, it seems to us as we hasten to press.

L. H. R.

This same issue of the Newark News on September 11, also contained the fac-similes of the famous forged postal cards shown on page 18. The display heads of a news article on the first page began with "Bogus Postals Are Shown Up." The leading editorial was entitled "Forged Public Sentiment." There was also a report by Councilman Harris on salaries paid to City Councilmen throughout the country, which shows that the total amount paid out last year by East Orange exceeded that of any other city of equal size in the United States. This report also shows thatt the $300 salary proposed by Mr. Harris was above the average paid in cities of the population of East Orange.

DULLNESS OF THE MACHINE.

Notwithstanding such a battery of arguments against the machine, its methods and its allies, later in the campaign this very issue of the News was blue-pencilled and mailed to every voter in Hyde Park in the interest of my opponent because it contained (although on the same page with the pictures of the forged postal cards) a letter feebly attacking me for undemocratic sentiments which I never entertained and criticising me for remarks I never made. The arguments advanced were so trivial that I ignored the attack and only mention the incident now because it is a characteristic example of the lack of intelligence displayed by machine politicians.

THE RESULT AT THE PRIMARIES.

I was beaten by seventy-one votes in the Republican primary, although I received 258 votes, which was a surprise to everybody, myself included. I carried the Democratic primary, receiving nine votes to my opponent's one. My Republican supporters thereupon drew up still another nominating petition, in addition to that of the Citizens' Union, which they designated by the name, "Independent Republican."

The campaign which we carried on after the primaries is well described in

he will feel he has the support of more people who want that kind of goods. He has also pledged himself not to join either the Democratic or Republican organizations if he is elected.

The East Orange Republican Executive Committee on Thursday night, tried to depose Edward S. Crain from membership in the committee because Mr. Crain is supporting Freeman. The attempt was frustrated by a motion to adjourn at the critical moment, and Mr. Crain is stlll enthusiastic in his support of Mr. Freeman.

John P. Dengler stirred the matter up at the meeting by stating he thought Crain ought to resign. Mr. Crain stated that it was quite true that he was supporting Mr. Freeman, and if the members of the Republican City Committee thought it was a breach of trust for him to support a Republican who did not belong to the machine he would be proud to resign. Mr. Dengler said Crain ought to resign or be expelled. Mr. Crain said that the mere fact that Freeman had been indorsed by the Democrats did not make him a member of that party. At this juncture the motion to adjourn was made and carried.

Yesterday Edward Mullen, a Democratic county committeeman, formally repudiated Mr. Freeman because he is not a Democrat. However, Freeman has a tremendous independent following, and his chances seem to be particularly bright.

With reference to the same peculiar situation the following appeared on November 2, in "In the Air" in the Newark Evening News:

"In the Air:"

Sir—I am ten years old and I live in East Orange and I am sending you a cartoon it shows Alden Freeman driving the two headed political serpent into the tall grass. Yours truely,

Willie.

The Stage as a Political Weapon.

As the production of the Ibsen play by Ben Greet's company of players, at Commonwealth Hall, in East Orange, on October 4, was probably the first time when the drama has been deliberately and openly employed for political purposes in this country, the incident was widely commented upon.

On September 20, this editorial appeared in the Newark Advertiser:

THE DRAMA IN POLITICS.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, had a political motive. It was intended to portray to the American people the evils of the institution of slavery, Sermons and speeches and pamphlets galore had failed to arouse the conscience of the nation, and Mrs. Stowe sought to produce that effect through the medium of the novel and the drama. The influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was immense. The book and the play founded upon it appealed to the imagination and sympathies of a multitude of people, who could not be reached by logic and reason. It was a potent means of abolishing slavery.

The novel and the drama have been employed with powerful effect in European politics since the days of Rousseau. A play by Beaumarchais in the reign of Louis XVI, was one of the great incitements of the great French Revolution. French writers since have frequently produced political plays. Victor Hugo wrote nearly all his great works with a social or political motive. French literature has, in fact, given shape to French politics. Count Tolstoi is a conspicuous example of the writer with a political motive and his works have exercised a powerful influence on the popular thought in Russia.

East Orange politics are to witness an experiment of this kind in the production

that in many cases, where the themes exploited threatened to disturb the established order of things or to discredit those occupying the seats of the mighty in political and social life, the productions of the disturbing dramas have been prevented. So fearful of possible harm being done to monarchical rule in Italy by the manner in which royalty was arraigned in the original libretto of Verdi's opera "Ernani" was the reigning authority that the great composer was compelled to change the personages and scenes in the book of his work before he would be allowed to present it. Other instances of the power of the stage to work mischief to selfish interests could be cited from the theatrical records of France, Germany, Russia, Austria, England, Norway, Sweden and Spain.

Knowing how useful the stage is as a means of communicating with the people Alden Freeman, of East Orange, and other scholars in politics who are keenly concerned in the civic affairs of the Oranges and their municipal well being, are about to make an interesting experiment that is very pertinent to the political developments and situation there. They have arranged for a series of performances of so-called problem plays that have a bearing on politics, and much significance for all who believe that the voice and the will of the people should be heard and felt in the conduct of government. They hope to do an educational work in an agreeable manner, and they will begin their operations by staging Henry Ibsen's play, "An Enemy of the People."

In addition to being one of the greatest dramatists of the age, when his plays are considered from the viewpoint of technical construction, literary finish, skill in the drawing of character and remarkable subtlety in the denotement of cause and effect, the great Norwegian expounds truth as he sees it in a naked and forceful manner that has caused him to be sharply criticised by many who contend that unpleasant facts should not be exploited behind the footlights, but should be discussed only in hospitals or libraries. In "An Enemy of the People" he depicts certain evils resulting from political corruption, such as most American communities are familar with, in a powerful and absorbing manner. The municipal problem dealt with in this case is similar to those constantly arising in the Oranges and other cities that suffer from the failure of office-holders to give their constituents the best possible administration of public affairs. In "An Enemy of the People," the story of the polluted water supply and the successful concealment of the fact by the wealthy stockholders is related so vividly that the characters implicated in it immediately suggest to auditors familiar with political deals numerous counterparts in actual life. Seldom in serious drama has the mirror been held up to nature in a light so convincing. As a reflection of a situation that too often develops in our cities, the play should interest every one yearning for more light on political problems as they confront our voting population and desirous of improving hurtful conditions in civic life.

The production will be made under the direction of Julius Hopp, president of the Progressive Stage Society of New York, under whose management several performances of the play were given in the Berkeley Lyceum, New York, last winter. Charles James. who made a notable success in the role of Dr. Stockman when the piece was presented in Manhattan, again will assume the character, and, by the kind permission of Ben Greet, the rest of the cast will be made up wholly of members of his talented company, who earned so much praise for their artistic work in "Everyman," and in "Twelfth Night," "Much Ado About Nothing" and other Shakesperian plays. The mob entering into the public meet-

very aggressive manner in which Mr. Freeman carried on the campaign of 1902, and which nearly carried the city for the Citizens' Union, and it is freely predicted that Mr. Freeman will make a great success of his new and novel venture.

On October 2, the New York Tribune printed a story about the production from which I quote a few passages:

IBSEN SCARES THE RING.

Dismay has entered the hearts of the members of the Republican city machine. Mr. Freeman expects the play will in a measure reflect the conditions in East Orange. In his prospectus he says that those who go to see the play will undoubtedly be able to pick from among the cast, characters which correspond to men in East Orange public life. It is this which has aroused apprehension in the breasts of local officeholders.

With the courtesy which has marked all his political work Mr. Freeman has sent to various city officials free tickets to the show. He has received replies from some of these officials, who express their appreciation of Mr. Freeman's courtesy, and the hope that they will not be "drawn into the play." The impression on the part of these officials, who, it is admitted, are a little rusty on their Ibsen, is that the play is a burlesque on themselves.

"This man Freeman," said a ring politician today, "has got so bold he thinks he can spring near anything he likes on us. I want to tell you there's such things as libel laws; yes, sir, libel laws. He'll be warned, and if this play attacks us, you can say he'll be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

This air of confidence does not possess all the machine politicians. Some of them are truly worried, and think they are going to be ridiculed and their official acts held up to the public in a most unfavorable light.

The corporation in the play is a water corporation, and by a singular coincidence it will be given in Commonwealth Hall; the same building in which is the office of the Orange Water Company, which has a strong influence in the municipal life of East Orange.

To one unfamiliar with the quaint simplicity of life in East Orange much of the above would pass for burlesque, but I assure the reader that as I write I have before me the beautifully written letter of a city official of East Orange, dated Sept. 25, 1905, which reads as follows:

"Please accept my thanks for the tickets to 'An Enemy of Society.' I hope it will be possible for me to be present and enjoy the play. I hope also, that I will not be brought into it in any way."

This capital account of the performance from the pen of my friend, Wilson J. Vance, city editor of the Newark Advertiser, appeared in that paper on October 5:

MR. FREEMAN'S PLAY TO WIN BALLOTS.

East Orange Political Conditions Criticised Through Ibsen Drama.

With politics in the drama the average theatregoer is familiar. Now it is the drama in politics with which the officeholders and party leaders may have to reckon.

How deeply the moral lesson taught by "An Enemy of Society" shall strike the consciences of the voters of East Orange, is a matter of conjecture. But if Alden Freeman can get the male citizens of the Fourth Ward to turn out at the polls for him on election day as he got the residents, male and female, to flock to Commonwealth Hall last night, when he put Charles James and Ben Greet's company on the boards with Ibsen's play, he will be sure of a seat in the Council of "Spotless Town" next winter.

Mr. Freeman's purpose, it can be assumed, was to show the analogy between the conditions in East Orange, where unlimited trolley grants are blithely voted at times, and where there is sometimes evinced a disposition to deprecate criticism of those high in authority, and the relations one to another of the inhabitants of the unnamed and perhaps imaginary Norway town in which the scene of Ibsen's play is laid. The story is based on the discovery made by Dr. Thomas Stockman that the water of the baths, which have given the town its reputation as a health resort, and from which its prosperity is chiefly derived, comes from a foul sewerage-impregnated

The following editorial appeared in the Bloomfield Citizen on October 7:

Alden Freeman of East Orange, who is a source of more worry and vexation to political party bosses and machine politicians than any other man in Essex county, tried a new experiment in campaign work Wednesday night, when through his instrumentality Henrik Ibsen's play "An Enemy of Society" was presented in Commonwealth Hall, East Orange, before a large audience. Judging from the conventional theatrical standpoint, there was perhaps considerable to criticise about the play, but mostly in regard to defects in presentation. But in bringing out the object Mr. Freeman had in view, the experiment was a success.

The moral application of this well-known political satire is general, and given under ordinary theatrical auspices would perhaps excite but little attention beyond the passing sigh that the lesson depicted was alas too true, but the hero was only treading the conventional path of the reformer, and while society might deplore it was helpless to act. But Mr. Freeman shrewdly chose an opportune time for presenting the Ibsen play to the people, and he doubtless purposely divested it of much of the theatrical display in order to give conspicuousness to the political and moral features of the drama.

In using the dramatic stage for political campaign purposes Mr. Freeman is wielding a powerful weapon, and there is no limit to the political possibilities arising from the skillful use of the drama in politics. Mr. Freeman as a theatrical manager will be dreaded more than ever by the local and county political bosses and their henchmen.

To accuse without proof is a crime, but to excuse when you have proof is likewise a crime.—IDA M. TARBELL.

NO REAL HARM IN EXPOSURE.

One of the impediments in representative government through the law is the idea that some have that it injures a State or city or nation to have exposures of wrongdoing. No nation can be hurt by exposing wrongdoing, either public or private; and if any business is hurt by an investigation it shows that something has been wrong, and that it should be hurt. There is no secret remedy for evils of this character. They can not be cured by hiding them. The disgrace is in submitting to them by indifference, not in their correction. Graft can not be exterminated fully until special privileges are done away with, and the doctrine of equal rights is recognized.—Joseph W. Folk, Boston, January 20, 1906.

It is only by bringing things to light, by disgusting people with themselves and their surroundings, that there will be a possibility of remedying the many evils which prey upon the community at large.—EMILE ZOLA.

Why the Ibsen Play was Apropos.

[Wherein is first introduced the "Water" Motive. Note the curious resemblance to the "Fire" Motive of Chapter III. The master shows refinement of method here that is wholly lacking when he employs the bolder "fire" motive with its coarse blare. It is said that in the "fire" motive he first shows evidences of the waning of his powers of invention. The Interlude with its frequent use of the bassoon shows the decline of the master's heretofore delicate preceptions of beauty. To the writer the Interlude suggests a Highland Fling or a concert by Kilkenny cats, but it is

generally believed that it will prove more popular than the subtler "water" motive with its more refined suggestions of danger. The lurking sense of impending evil in the "Water" Motive brings up Machiavellian pictures of slow death by poison in the 16th century Age of Despots.]

Why the Ibsen Play Was Apropos.

The audacity of my undertaking lay in the fact that "The Enemy of the People" was performed in Commonwealth Hall, belonging to and occupied by the Orange Water Company, a corporation which successfully concealed the dangerous condition of the water which it was selling to the city of East Orange. The words, "but liable to become polluted at any time," following the statement that it was then a potable water, were suppressed by the water company in a report of a scientific test of the water, through connivance with a city councilman, then chairman of the water committee. This subsequently came to light in a legal inquiry before a commission which was appointed to set a price upon the pipe system of the water company. The exorbitant price named by this commission was materially reduced in consequence of the agitation of the Citizens' Union in its campaign in 1902.

Since this statement was printed in The Orange Chronicle I have been requested by Mr. Frederick M. Shepard to call attention to the fact that, after the Orange Water Company had stopped furnishing water to the city, the city government itself continued to furnish the citizens with the same water. The weakness of this defence of the Orange Water Company lies in the fact that the East Orange water was by that time so diminished in quantity that the major part of the supply had to be obtained from the city of Newark. Frequent tests made of the mixture of the two waters by the same expert, Professor Stillman of Stevens Institute, showed that it was then a safe water for the use of the citizens. These tests were regularly made public and not suppressed, either wholly or in part.

Just previous to the production of the play the Y. M. C. A., in Orange, had been advertising its two kinds of membership by mysterious signs reading, "Two of a Kind.".

We took advantage of the curiosity aroused and sent out a dodger reading:

"There are two kinds of men,—on the square, and on the boulevard; two kinds of franchises; two kinds of councilmen, but there is just one play, and that covers a multitude of sins."

This was headed with an adaptation of Hamlet's remark when planning to trap his stepfather by presenting in a play the scene of that stepfather's murder of the late king, Hamlet's father: "The play's the thing, wherein to catch the conscience of the ring."

"On the Boulevard" is a slang phrase in East Orange meaning, "On the Parkway" and having reference to the president of this same Orange Water Company, who as park commissioner, caused a parkway or boulevard to be laid out almost entirely through his own low, swampy lands and those of his relatives and business associates. After this gentleman's own property was drained, bridged, macadamized and planted with trees, the improvement, although the park board had pledged itself to extensions, both north and south, abruptly stopped. As the general public doesn't see where they come in except to pay the taxes whereby these private estates are improved and brought into the market, the transaction is known in popular parlance as a performance "On the Boulevard," and not "On the Square." For full particulars of the transaction, feet frontage improved, list of property owners benefited, etc., see page 278 of Kelsey's "History of the Essex County Parks." Mr. Kelsey states that this boulevard, "the shortest and smallest of all the acquirements now in the control of the Park Commission, has been proportionately the most expensive," and that the expense of the costly stone bridge for elevating the railroad

over the parkway was borne entirely by the Park Commissioners, in other words by the taxpayers of Essex county.

Mr. Shepard has also requested me to insert at this point the statement that the Park Commission began the Cross-town Boulevard after a petition had been presented by many citizens of East Orange, including the Township Committee and the Improvement Society. In fairness to Mr. Shepard I am glad to make this statement and also to add that I myself signed the petition asking the Park Commission to lay out a north and south boulevard. I believe that we cannot have too many such breathing places for our crowded population.

The cause of complaint lies in the fact that the Park Commissioners fail to continue the Parkway either to the north or to the south in accordance with the published plans on which they based their appeals for the appropriations voted by the people. As it stands, the boulevard is a bobtail affair, extending for only about three blocks and serving no apparent purpose except the improvement of a few private properties.

It is in sorrow, rather than in anger, however righteous such anger might be, that I have here set down, alongside the story of the great combine in Newark, these examples of the cunning of a local corporation and the greed of an appointive public official, which bear so close a resemblance to the chief motives in the plot of Ibsen's wonderful picture of municipal life. This sad story of greed and craft is the world-old tale of the struggle between the one and the many, between king and barons, between baron and vassals, between special privilege and the rights of the people. And the fruit of power, or privilege, or wealth, which the man strong in muscle or subtle in guile seizes from the multitude,—is it not as ashes to his taste when the "successful man" is ready to enjoy the product of his strength or cunning?

As if to confirm these words, soon after they were written I found, in the New York Sun of January 30, the following letter:

To the Editor of the Sun: Many years ago I came here from a country town, poor as any boy could well be; found employment in a large concern, bettered my position year after year; became a partner, then the head of the concern. Made my fortune, a large one; now retired.

When I die I shall leave my children each a fortune, but when I think it over day after day I can only be ashamed of it all. I suppose I was no worse than the others; I know some were worse than I. I could always say, "It's good business," but I forgot that there was such a thing as a square deal. If I could get the better of an associate or a customer or an employee, I did. Anything that I could do to attain my own success was good business, and I did it.

I have given to charity, headed subscriptions, but it doesn't satisfy me. I know what I have done wasn't manly. Last night I sat with other so-called successful men. I studied them. When they can't help thinking, they think just as I do.

The modern success is rank failure. It has made this country rich; it has made it great; it has made its people selfish and unprincipled. I would give all I possesse tonight if I could say; "I have given every one a square deal. I have done no man a wrong."

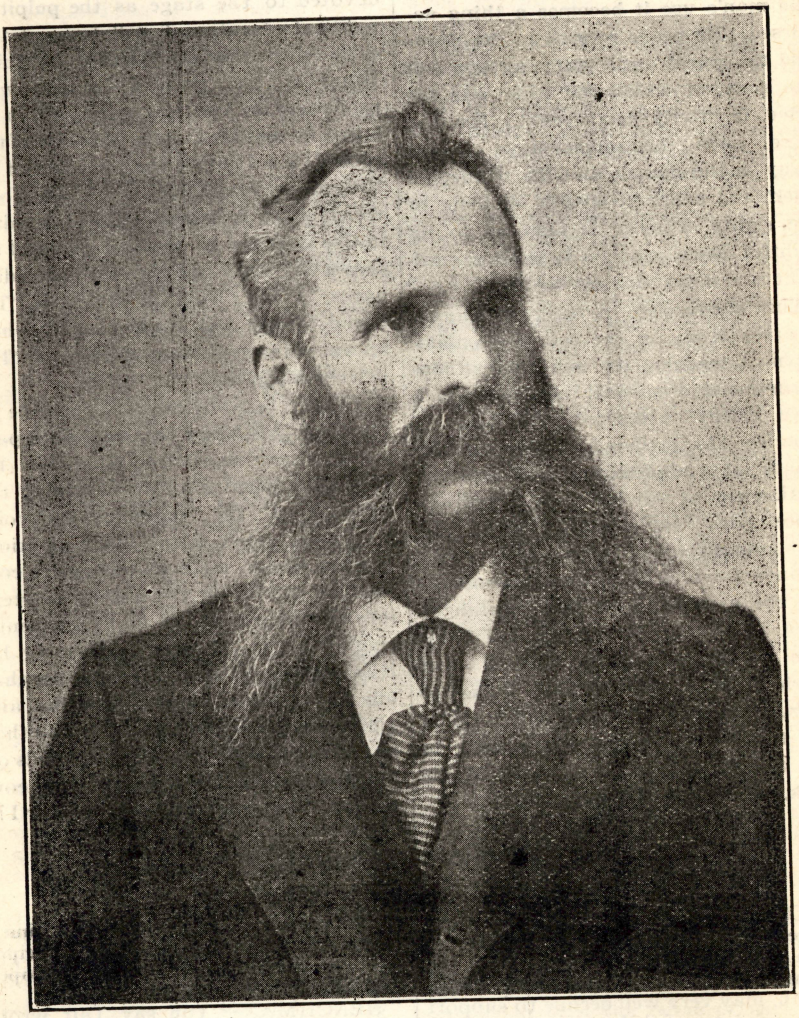
Think it over; it will mean a lot to you some day.

SUCCESS.

Love of Money Root of All Evil.

How wonderfully Richard Wagner has pictured this struggle in his Nibelungen Ring! The Rhinegold, which is the light and warmth and joy of all who dwell in the watery world of the river Rhine, is seized by one man and appropriated to his sole use. Darkness falls upon a waste of waters and there is lamentation because the common light, the common joy, the common wealth, is taken away. Then follows the struggle for the possession of the ring into which the Nibelungs have welded the stolen gold. The Rhinegold becomes in turn the curse of each of its possessors, whether won by craft or force. Its possession, so prized, so plotted and schemed for, costs so many lives and causes so much misery that we see Wagner's meaning clearly. The coveted treasure proves Dead Sea fruit and death is the result to each who tastes of the fruit of a tree forbidden

It isn't the Muck-Raker whose work threatens the safety and prosperity of the country, but the Muck-Maker.—HERMAN B. WALKER.



ANDREW W. BAIGRIE.

Member of Township Committee and Councilman of East Orange since April, 1897.

Term of office expires January 1, 1907.

Mr. Baigrie has repeatedly advocated and voted for Perpetual Franchises to trolley companies. He was the introducer of both ordinances changing the Fire Limits of East Orange so as to permit Park Commissioner Shepard to build wooden houses alongside the railway tracks.

The Primaries will be held this year on Tuesday, September 25.

park commissioners of Essex county, unless the city fathers of Orange and East Orange prove sufficiently far-sighted to do away with this chief obstacle in the way of track depression, a bridge which is a "white elephant," serving no useful public purpose and ludicrous in its ponderous size, as a feature of a "bobtail boulevard," only three blocks in length.

Shrewd Railway Game?

I ask the citizens of the Oranges to seriously consider whether the insistence of the Lackawanna railway officials upon elevation of the railroad tracks may not be a shrewd device on their part to induce the citizens to finally consent to a bargain, whereby the various municipalities shall share in the cost of depression rather than submit to the disfigurement accompanying elevation of the tracks.

Advantages to Railway.

It should not be forgotten in this matter, that the citizens secure only the abolition of grade crossings, which it is always in their power through the Legislature, to enforce without cost to the tax-payer, while for the railway it means the doing away with the expense of gates and gatemen and the saving in damage suits arising from loss of life and limb and property destroyed at grade crossings, in addition to the chief gains of all, which are unimpeded traffic, high-speed and easier grades.

Railway Tax Exemptions.

Further, I would urge our citizens not to be troubled concerning the matter of expense to the railroad company. For years beyond the memory of this generation the railways of New Jersey have enjoyed practical tax exemption. The Lackawanna is still paying only $5 per $1,000 of valuation on their main stem through the Oranges, while the rest of us pay $22 and upward per $1,000 on all of our property. The Lackawanna can well afford to disgorge and give back that mere pittance out of the hoarded millions of tax exemptions which will be required to pay for the cost of track depression through the Oranges.

Playing With Fire.

The proposition to change the fire limits in the Fifth ward of East Orange, came, not from the councilmen of that ward, but from Andrew W. Baigrie, member from the Third ward. Mr. Baigrie is the type of workingman, unfortunately too common among us, who, when they enter politics and secure public office, cease from labor and become the most ardent supporters of the vested rights of capital. I have sincere respect for the working man who is loyal to his fellow working man. Men like John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers command our admiration by their devotion to the cause of the laboring man and his uplift and advancement. But while we condemn the working man who becomes the tool of greedy and scheming capitalists, it is not right to criticise him so severely as we do the rich man who induces him to work for special interests against the common welfare. The tempter is certainly more worthy of condemnation than the tempted, though both may be guilty.

Serving the "Public Service."

Mr. Baigrie was the chief shouter for the Public Service Corporation when it sought to obtain a perpetual franchise grant through East Orange, and it was in his ward that the three hundred forged postal cards were used to mislead his colleagues in the City Council. It was Mr. Baigrie, who introduced the ordinance to change the fire limits between Arlington and Maple avenues, north of the railroad tracks, from 100 to sixty feet. This measure bade fair to pass until public disapproval, voiced in the City Council by Councilmen Yardley and Lindsley, caused its defeat on second reading. In many communities the incident would have been regarded as closed, but not so in East Orange.

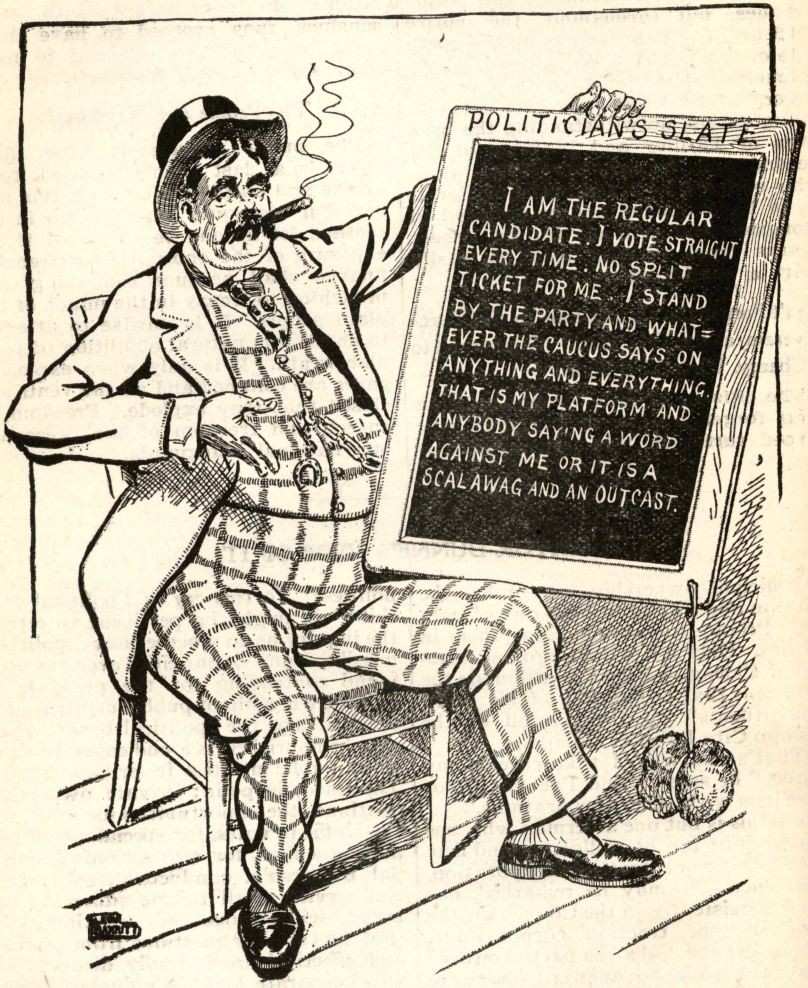
Predestined to Go Through on "The East Orange Plan" With Bells On. For Once the Bells Jangled Out of Tune. Was it the "Fire" Alarm?

I was informed on Monday morning, March 26, by an authority, which the sequel proved reliable, that an ordinance to change the fire limits in the in-

REMEMBER PHILADELPHIA.

If I were a resident of your City I should vote against the Machine and for the ticket of the City party. Moreover, I would do everything I could to support Mayor Weaver in his work of reform.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States.



Is This Your Style of Candidate?

These cartoons are reproduced from NEWARK TRUTH of August 15, 1903. The New Jersey press generally credited TRUTH with the defeat of the Constitutional Amendments by which the great corporations sought in 1903 to increase their power over the Courts of the State. TRUTH and its editor, James Martin, have also been potent factors in preserving the people's rights from confiscation by the Lehigh Valley Railway Company, the East Jersey Water Company and the Public Service Corporation.

The Pen is mightier than the Sword.—BULWER-LYTTON.



—Courtesy of The Fourth Estate

JAMES MARTIN.

Editor and Manager NEWARK TRUTH, 1903-4.
Managing Editor THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.
Member Executive Committee, Citizens Union, East Orange.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MUNICIPAL REFORM.

(Prepared by Mr. Martin for the Citizens Union.)

The government of a City is purely a business matter.

The discussion and settlement of municipal affairs should be in no way intermixed with political questions.

The selection of City officials should be made solely on the grounds of fitness and character.

certain sturdy young fellows who were ready to fight any one who dared to so much as breathe the thought that I might not be elected.

Once a week—on a different night each week—we held public meetings, and had speeches. Almost every night one or two or three of my new friends in the Third district would take me to call upon their neighbors, visiting a different street each night. The kindly welcome, the little hospitalities and the good will that were everywhere shown, were very pleasant things.

Many a bright glimpse of happy home life I had, and it occurred to me then that one of the most encouraging signs of the times is the interest taken by the women in municipal government.

To each voter in my ward I mailed a copy of my platform, instructions as to the use of the voting machine, ballots for use in case the voting machines should break down and the following:

Letter to the Voters of the 4th Ward.

I ask your votes as an INDEPENDENT, free from all party ties and bound by no party allegiance. If elected, I shall be answerable only to you and to my conscience.

I pledge to each citizen, whether he shall vote for me or not, the same degree of "pull" with me that every other citizen shall have, no more and no less. If you are looking for special favors for yourself I am not your man. I believe literally and absolutely in equal rights to all, and special privileges to none.

I am not a "practical" man in politics. I am not ready to "compromise" with what I believe to be wrong or unjust. I do not believe the end justifies the means. I am no respecter of persons. What a man IS counts with me more than what he HAS.

Whether you choose me to do your work in the City Council or I am elected to continue my own work for civic betterment as a private citizen, I shall always fight the unjust man, the oppressor of the poor, the man who seeks to get something for nothing.

If you honestly believe me to be the sort of man you want to represent you in the City Council, I shall feel it a duty and an honor to serve as the "hired man" of the Fourth Ward with all that the word "service" implies.

Parties the Tools of Corporations.

It is for the interest of those corrupt and corrupting financial combinations, which rule our country, to divide the good people everywhere into the warring camps of political parties. We are told that the government of the United States is a government by party. The Insurance Inquiry has lifted the veil and revealed the real masters of both political parties. Party government has be-

The dilemma in which he finds himself does indeed create a situation very embarrassing to his friends, if not to himself. With all his brightness and astuteness as a self-made politician—a calling he might pursue with credit and usefulness if he would but really adhere to something—it would seem he might have discovered a way to extricate himself from the necessity of solving this triple paradox. But as it has not occurred to his ingenious mind how to work this problem he can hardly expect his friends to find, at this late date, but one way out.

The press outside of East Orange gave me most generous support. As I said in the interview given to the Newark Sunday Call on August 27, when asking for funds for the Colby primary campaign:

"An unsubsidized press is our national safeguard against corruption. When independent of corporate control, the press 'sizes up' men and measures with almost unfailing accuracy. Today the press is the real court of last resort, which daily sits in judgment upon the acts of us all. Hearing both sides as in the privacy of the confessional, its verdict carries tremendous weight, where the journals are known to be unbiased and uncontrolled."

Justice Fitzgerald endorsed this view of the mission of the press and the pamphleteer when he charged the jury in the libel suit of Judge Deuel against Norman Hapgood, editor of the Collier's Weekly, as follows: "The newspapers frequently constitute the only weapons with which odious tyranny can be assailed."

We are now passing through a momentous revolution, which is gradually assuming the proportions of a Reign of Terror for the dishonest rich. Scarcely a day passess that some notorious financial crook is not led forth into the tumbril of public opinion and hurried to the place of public execution, where the Press has taken the place of the Guillotine.

The following, from the pen of a staunch and faithful friend, James Martin, with whom I was associated in 1903-4 in the publication of the independent Newark weekly *Truth* and who is now the managing editor of *The New York Tribune*, appeared in the latter journal the day before election, and shows how it is possible to call a man a "crank" without hurting his feelings.

An Idealist in Politics.

"Even beyond the confines of East Orange, or Essex County, for that matter, there is a great deal of curiosity as to whether or no Alden Freeman will be elected an alderman in his home town. He probably comes nearer being a pure idealist than any other man in the State. He will fight to the last ditch for a principle, regardless of the personal sacrifices involved and heedless of the abuse of his enemies. Compromise, concession—he knows nothing of these things, and so most people say he is impracticable and impossible as a factor in public affairs. Yet he keeps right on fighting and smiling, and if any glory or rewards appear on the horizon he cheerfully steps aside so that others may take them."

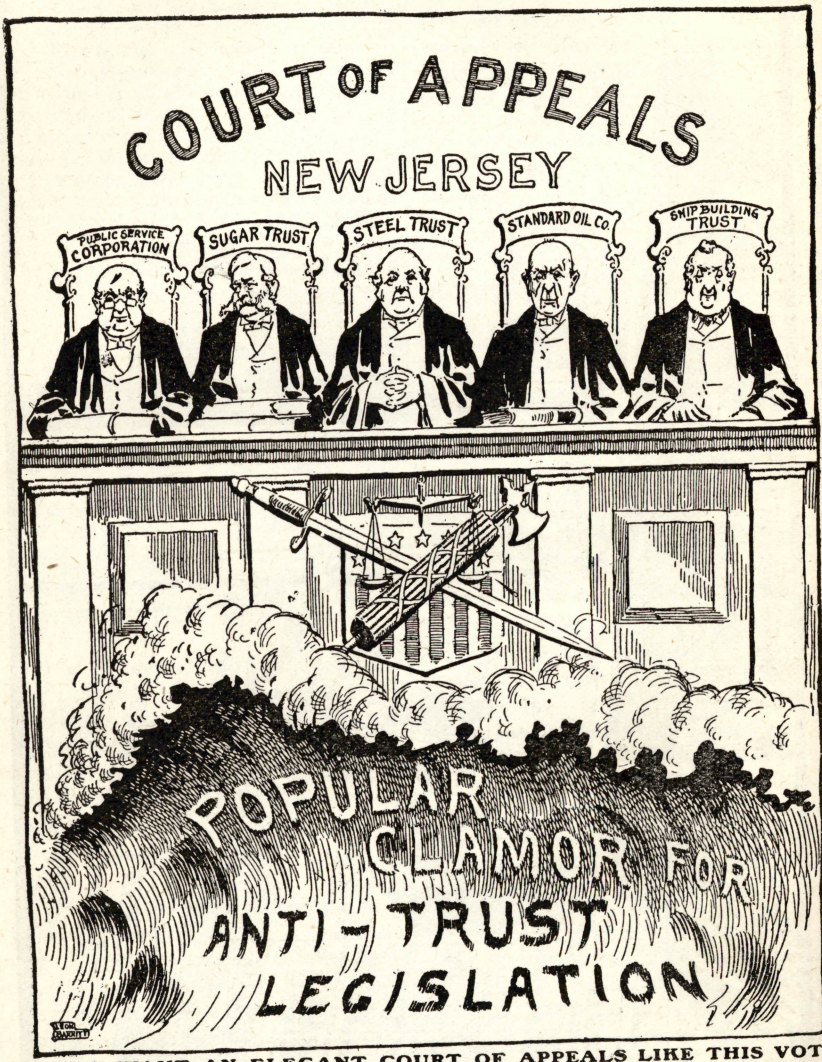
The Vote in the Fourth Ward.

Viewed from any standpoint, it was a lively, interesting campaign. It was a case of work right up to the last minute.

When the voting machines were opened at 7 o'clock on November 7, it was found that I had only 422 votes and that my opponent had 485. I had, however, the satisfaction of carrying the district in which I lived by a majority of 85. This reduced my opponent's majority from 221 in 1903, to 63 in 1905.

Stillwell and Crane.

My companions in defeat, Charles Stillwell, in the First Ward, and Wilber R. Crane, in the Fifth Ward, each made a gallant contest as a "Lone Fighter" for non-partizanship and independence. Such unselfish, courageous efforts as these two men put forth, almost unaided, and without public recognition, simply asserting their manhood as plain American citizens, reveal character and are of inestimable value in a community.



IF YOU WANT AN ELEGANT COURT OF APPEALS LIKE THIS VOTE FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

(Reproduced from Newark Truth of July 18, 1903.)

This is the cartoon which had so much to do with the defeat of the Constitutional Amendments by which corporate interests sought to increase their control over the judiciary of the State.

The best is yet to be.—Motto of the WOMAN'S CLUB of Orange.
To work for the people—this is the great and urgent need.—VICTOR HUGO.



FARNHAM YARDLEY.
Nunquam non Fidelis.
City Councilman, East Orange, since 1902. Chairman of the Water Committee.

(See page 66.)

Good Work of William B. Lloyd.

East Orange owes a large debt of gratitude to the retiring councilman from the Second Ward, William B. Lloyd, for his admirable conduct of the financial affairs of the city and particularly for instituting much needed reforms in the keeping of accounts.

Require Public Service to Live Up to Agreement.

7. While there is scanty prospect of economy in the conduct of the city government, still less is to be hoped for respecting the provisions of my plank demanding "The strict enforcement of the terms of the franchises granted to the Public Service Corporations, which shall result in abolishing the flat-wheel, explosive equipment and antique car nuisances, and in providing cheaper and better gas, telephone and electric light services." While it is true that East Orange has actually squeezed out of the Public Service Corporation one $50 fine for a single one of its many flat-wheeled cars, this advantage has not been followed up as it ought to be and the flat wheels still limp and hop at their own sweet will up and down Central avenue. The flat wheel is the only thing that is "on the square" about the Public Service Corporation.

Municipal Farming.

Farnham Yardley, now entering upon his fourth year of public service in the City Council, is the chief hope and reliance of the reform element in East Orange. His quiet, unassuming manner, his judicial mind, his calm, deliberate way of doing things, have all contributed to inspire confidence in the minds of the most conservative of our fellow-citizens. His record as the chairman of the water committee in installing and managing the new water system has confirmed the good opinion of his executive ability. That he is not afraid to take the initiative in carrying out new ideas has likewise been shown by his unique plan for "municipal farming," which is just beginning to attract the attention of civic and reform workers all over the country. We have a practical reformer here in East Orange, so modest and so averse to the sound of praise of himself that many of his fellow-townsmen are probably still unaware that in the first year of the working of the farming experiment on the waterworks land, sufficient hay was raised to supply the horses of the fire department as well as those in the road and sewer departments, besides supplying the horses on the farm with oats as well as hay. The hay and oats raised on the farm, figured at market rates, showed a saving to the city of $2,000 during 1904. During 1905 the saving was greater. Rye was planted to make straw for bedding for the horses, and corn and carrots were added to the fodder crop. Each week these supplies are brought from over the mountain, and the wagons return from the engine-houses and stables laden with manure to be used in fertilizing the municipal farm lands in Millburn township.

Another very practical use for the farm is as a haven for the horses of the fire department. When they are no longer able to race to fires they are retired to the banks of Canoe Brook, where they end their days in quiet farm work.

Nursery for Shade Trees.

The water committee has now under discussion the matter of securing legislation which will permit the use of the water system lands at White Oak Ridge for various other purposes besides those allowed under the present laws. For example, Mr. Yardley desires to establish a nursery for supplying the Shade Tree Commission with trees; he wishes also to secure the cooperation of the State Forestry Commission in tree

in its essential and vital characteristic when he declared in favor of secret sessions of the Board of Education.

Open School Meetings at Last.

I am happy to state that since the paragraph above was printed in the Newark and Orange papers the meetings of the School Board have been opened to the public. This is the result of ten years of agitation and should encourage reformers to persist in their efforts. Perhaps after a time even the meetings of the Essex County Park Commission will be opened to the public.

Another matter connected with the public schools is the singular impropriety on the part of the principal of one of the schools in acting as editor of a partisan local paper. That any man whose salary is paid out of the money of all the taxpayers should indulge in polemical discussions, partisan criticism and personal ridicule of citizens who contribute to his support seems like the act of the dog that bites the hand that feeds him. It seems almost a truism to say that every public official ought to realize that he represents all the people and not merely those whose views appear to him to be orthodox, but the statement is in reality a truth which cannot be too often or too strongly asserted.

I take pleasure in stating that since the publication of the preceding paragraph the impropriety complained of has been rectified by the retirement from the editorship of the school official criticised.

Street Sprinkling.

I cannot close this summary of a year's doings in the civic life of East Orange without a word in favor of the systematic sprinkling of the streets by the city. Road builders and engineers all agree that with telford and macadam roads regular sprinkling is an economy. The sprinkling pays for itself in reducing the expenses for repairing the roadbed. But I urge a general system for sprinkling all our streets, chiefly on the ground of the health of the community. The dust in the streets is conceded to be the chief agent in the spread of disease germs.

I believe the decrease in pulmonary and throat affections would be decidedly marked through systematic sprinkling, not to mention that East Orange would be a delightful residence in July and August instead of a place to be shunned, as it is now during those months. Lay the dust in our streets and landlords will rejoice that the summer tenant seeks the cool, shady and dustless retreat of East Orange, while the storekeeper will find his summer trade revived and his goods no longer defiled.

It is encouraging to note that, the week following the publication of this last paragraph in the Newark News, Mayor Cardwell in his annual message expressed himself in exact accord with these views regarding the sprinkling of the streets, and offered the same reasons for his recommendation to the City Council.

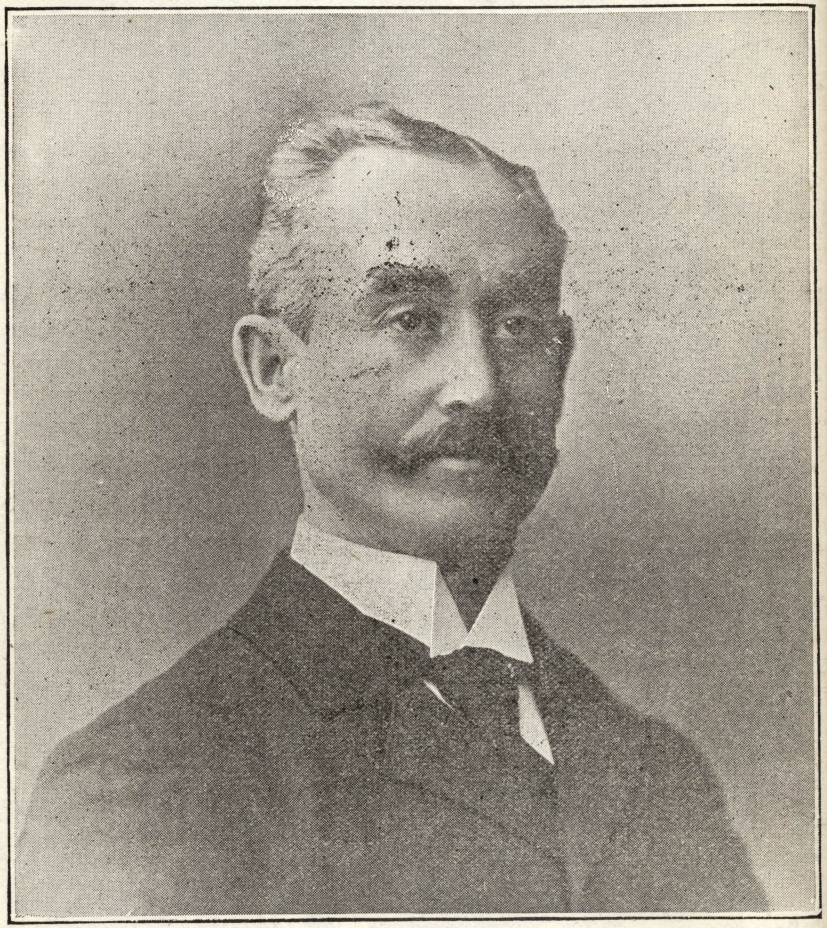
Brookline, Massachusetts, a city similar in many respects to East Orange, sets a good example in these matters. In Brookline the city does all the street sprinkling. The horses employed in this work in the summer remove the snow from the sidewalks during the winter, in fact the municipality takes entire care and charge of the streets outside of the fence lines and the landlord or tenant's duties end at the fence line.

A NOTABLE SUCCESS.

The dinner at the Woman's Club in East Orange last Monday night was one of the most notable affairs ever given in New Jersey. Of those present half were women, and it was probably the first occasion in New Jersey where they were admitted to a full equality with the men. In the speechmaking, too, women did their share, and did it splendidly. In following the speakers and catching their points the women showed themselves to be at least as keen as the men.

JAMES MARTIN in New York Tribune.

Perhaps it is not suitable for women to hold muck rakes; neither is it wise for them to wear blinders as they walk through life. If there be things to the right and left of us which might alarm us, let us, instead of wearing blinders, put on strong glasses and try to penetrate the apparent mystery, learn the cause and effect, and then attempt to find a remedy.—MAUD NATHAN at Lloyd-Harris Dinner.



WILLIAM CARDWELL.

Mayor of East Orange.

Term of office expires January 1, 1907.

As chairman of the City Council Mr. Cardwell refused a hearing to the citizens who desired to protest against the granting of a Perpetual Franchise to a trolley company in East Orange. His vote has always been recorded in favor of Perpetual Franchises.

The Primaries will be held this year on Tuesday, September 25.

ence for the private interests of a few leading citizens above the general interests of the citizens at large, with which the East Orange machine had yet defied public opinion.

City Attorney Jerome D. Gedney reported a good case against the negligent commissioners, in which view Richard V. Lindabury, one of the leading lawyers of the State, concurred. The commissioners defiantly announced their intention to "fight" the suit, without, however, resigning from their positions before engaging in a contest with those whose interests they are supposed to serve and safeguard. For many years certain of these commissioners had the prestige and political advantage which pertain to those who have the saloons of a municipality in their power.

The Mayor put the pocketbooks of these gentlemen and their favor first, and the unfortunate taxpayer sees the possibility of recovering the $7,625 disappear, as well as the much more important opportunity to hold the commissioners to a sense of their duty and responsibility as servants of the public. This veto is such a brazen defiance of the many, such a scandalous disregard of the rights and interests of the taxpayers, that words fail to express the popular indignation which such a flaunting of ring power and machine arrogance arouses.

But the final touch was given when the Mayor also vetoed Councilman Rowley's resolution for the appointment of a committee to continue the investigation. The case is closed, the public is told, but let the offenders remember that Truth crushed to earth will rise again, and also, to put the case delicately, that though you may shatter the vase, the scent of the roses will cling to it still.

No Politics in Excise Board?

On March 23, when this criticism of the Excise Commission appeared over my name in *The Newark Evening News*, one of the commissioners reproached me with some vigor for what he termed my insinuations. I told him that I made it a rule to make no assertions which I could not prove and he challenged me to produce an instance of "politics" in the Excise Board of East Orange. Although it will be seen that I had insinuated nothing in the preceding passage, still I am glad to gratify the gentleman's curiosity by printing the following story, which is a portion of an editorial in *The East Orange Record* of March 25, 1905, entitled:

Board of Excise Ideals.

What do you think of an Excise Board that will grant a former Bowery saloonkeeper a license to sell liquor in East Orange?

A license was granted on February 8, 1905, to Samuel Denkleblum, who for years kept a place at 199-201 Bowery, New York. The Chairman of the Police Committee heard so many complaints

Excise Board they are still unanswered. The story will however answer the challenge put to me by the commissioner, and his resignation after challenging me is in itself an answer.

THE WATER COMMISSION.

Before leaving the subject of commissions I wish to record a word of protest against saddling East Orange with any more appointive bodies of this sort. Prominent citizens who could never be elected if they appealed to the suffrages of the people are placed in positions of honor and trust which they have neither the courage nor the public spirit to contest at the polls. Such men are willing to accept appointive honors but too often they shirk the responsibilities of the position. Why anyone should advocate more appointive commissions for East Orange at a time when the Excise Commission has broken down so lamentably and through its carelessness and the subservience of the Mayor bids fair to cost the city $7,625, passes comprehension. To suggest Water Commissioners as a good thing for East Orange at the moment when the Excise Commissioners lost their heads and threatened to fight the city is worthy of Mr. Pickwick.

Was Temperance Crusade a Plot?

Local Church Publication Intimates That Movement Had Politics Behind It.

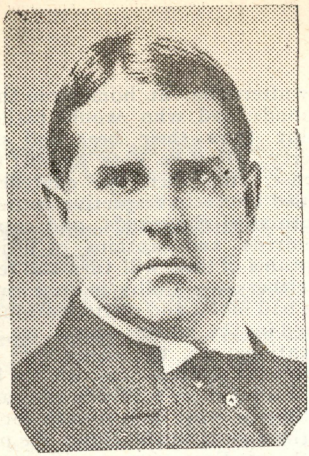
Contention Made That Corporations and Machine Sought to Divide Forces of Reform and Thus Defeat Them at the Polls. Sons of Belial Charged With Fooling the Clergy.

(From "The Crown," Parish Paper of St. Steven's Church, Newark.)

An explanation of this current Temperance Crusade in city and State is being whispered about, and it has every indication of being correct. It answers the hitherto unanswered question why this agitation was taken up at the present time. There is nothing particular to account for this fierce outburst of zeal at this particular time. Why was it not stirred up last year, or the year before? Or why was it not allowed to slumber for another year or two? Certainly there is nothing in the saloon conditions to account for it; for the saloons are just about what they have been for several years, possibly a little better. There has been no special outburst of crime emanating from them; nor has there been any single heinous crime to excite the passions or conscience of the "peepul." Why, then, all this hullabaloo just now? Why just now? Things don't happen—especially in politics—fortuitously. There are reasons for everything, if you can find them out. Now why has this fearful roar about the saloons been reserved for this year of grace 1906? What is there about this combination of figures, 1906, to excite the men of God? Tantaene animis caelestibus irae? And why in 1906?

To answer that question, we ought to ask another: Whose interest, whose worldly, secular, material, this-worldly interest, is being served by this great excitement? And to answer that question we ask still another. Whose interests, of said character, were in jeopardy?

Answer.—The interests of great corporations and of some big men with political interests and ambitions were in grave jeopardy through the movement led by Mr. Colby and Mr. Fagan. The corporations were alarmed. One political boss had been scotched, though not destroyed. A big man was threatened with political extinction in a year or two. The common-place weapons of



Copyright by C. Durand Chapman.

THOMAS N. McCARTER.
President Public Service Corporation,
ex-Judge, ex-State Senator,
ex-Attorney-General.

[For further particulars about the Newark Combine see page 23.]



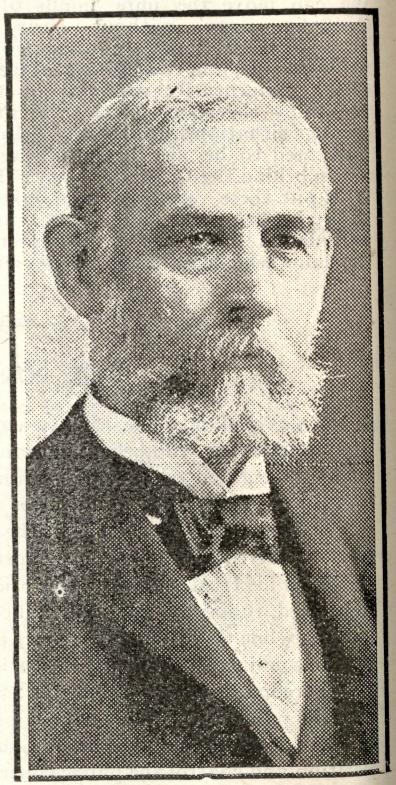
President Fidelity Trust Company.
ex-President Essex County
Country Club.

We shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.



DR. LESLIE D. WARD

Vice-President Prudential Insurance Co.
Director "Public Service," Fidelity Trust
Co. and Union National Bank.



JOHN F. DRYDEN,
President Prudential Insurance Co.
United States Senator.

"THE BIG FOUR" OF
"The Insurance Banking Trolley Trust Big Four."

Courtesy Newark Evening News.

New York Herald, March 5, 1906.

of the despotic power of those prominent in "Public Service." "I'm in their power" they say; "if I should come out openly against them they would call my loans and ruin me."

The Social End of the Game.

In society and club life one hears again of this powerful organization. There are stories of men blackballed at the Essex County Country Club because they opposed Public Service.

"The Big Four" within "The Big Four."

The offices of the three companies, the Prudential, the Fidelity Trust Co., and the Public Service, are all in the Prudential Building. The Union National Bank, across Broad street, is also owned and controlled by these allied interests.

Thomas McCarter was Attorney-General of the State, an office now held by his brother Robert. He was a State Senator. He directed the campaign which landed John F. Dryden in the United States Senate, and, by that work, placed the Senator under obligations since recognized in many ways. His "personal and political friendship" with Major Lentz and Colonel Dickinson, the Republican bosses of northern New Jersey, is of long standing.

Outside Insurance and Gas Interests Dominate the State.

The Prudential shares the control of the Public Service Corporation with the Equitable Life, of New York, and with the United Gas Improvement, of Philadelphia, the latter, perhaps, better known as the "Philadelphia Gas Ring," which has lately received the attentions of Mayor Weaver and the decent citizens of that city. Three of the United Gas Improvement directors, Randal Morgan, Samuel J. Bodine, and Thomas Dolan, are on the directorate of Public Service. John F. Dryden and Leslie D. Ward, respectively president and vice-president of the Prudential, are Public Service directors, as is, also, Mr. Dryden's son-in-law, Anthony R. Kuser. Uzal H. McCarter, who presides over the destinies of the Fidelity Trust Co. is also on this list. The Equitable interests appear, not in the directorate of Public Service proper, but in that of the Fidelity and that of the Union National Bank.

New York and Philadelphia join Hands in Newark.

Thus we see that three great financial institutions in New York, Philadelphia and Newark come together in the latter city for the control, through the Public Service Corporation, of practically all the public utilities of that city and the State. It has come to be axiomatic that such a company must control the politics of its city or State, or of both. So in this very interesting list of directors (see page 23) we find the names of Senator Dryden; of E. F. C. Young, banker and Democratic boss in Jersey City; of Thomas McCarter himself, who, also, represents the alliance of business and politics; and of David Baird, who is generally known as the boss of South Jersey, *and who is president of the State Board of Assessors.*

Another name which is significant of the sad ethical muddle is that of George R. Gray, *a Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals.*

The most important boss of all is not, so President McCarter informs me, even a stockholder. This is Major Carl Lentz, Republican boss of Essex County. Major Lentz is too openly the corporation's political executive man to be admitted into its operation. His pay seems to take the form of friendly tips on the market. When the Union National Bank was organized he was let in among those who cut "cut the pie," and his profits from the deal were published

"Yes."

"Take it out!—You have a savings account here?"

"Yes."

"Take it out!"

"Yes."

"Take it out!—Your business account is in the Union National Bank?"

"Yes."

"Take it out!"

Here we have the president of one bank ordering a citizen, whose dealings with the banks have always been satisfactory, —the president of the Union National himself told me so,—*to take his account out of another bank!*

Threat of Publicity Was the Only Weapon that Ever Frightened the Corporation.

Prieth, unlike nearly every other responsible man in Newark, was full of fight. He went to William Scheerer and asked him what McCarter had to do with the Union National Bank. Scheerer said if Uzal said Prieth's account must go, he was afraid that there was no way out of it.

At this the young editor went home and wrote a blazing article, into which he poured something of his long-suppressed knowledge of the high-handed acts of the Public Service Corporation, which he laid before Scheerer.

"You aren't going to print this, Ben?" he said.

Prieth replied that he was certainly going to print it.

"Wait," said Scheerer,—"don't do anything to-day." Before the day was gone he told Prieth that he could leave his account in the bank. The editor had won his battle with the only weapon of which the Public Service crowd is afraid, —the threat of publicity. The "light cure" is not popular in Newark.

This story is so important that it seemed advisable to lay it before the other side; so, with Prieth's permission, I called on Uzal McCarter at his office in the Prudential Building and repeated it to him. He said:

"That is not true."

"Very well, Mr. McCarter," I replied, "if you deny it in those terms, so that it becomes a question of veracity, I will not use it."

"We Had Done the Same Thing with Fifty Others and Nobody Else Objected"

"There is a certain amount of fact underlying that story," he said, "just enough to color it. What happened was this,"—and then he repeated the story substantially as I had repeated it, except that in his version Prieth had given Egner permission to make the change. "We were wrong," he went on. "We had no business to do it in that loose way. We had nothing from Prieth to show for it, so it was just our word against his. But we had done the same thing with forty or fifty others and nobody else objected. When Prieth insisted on getting back his original shares he thought he had us,—he thought he was demanding the impossible, but through my connections here I was able to get them for him."

"Prieth says, Mr. McCarter, that you ordered him to take his account out of the Union National Bank."

Mr. McCarter waved his hand. "There is nothing in that," he replied, "nothing at all." Then he again qualified his denial. "The facts were these: Prieth had tried to trip us up, and, when I closed the incident, I was angry. I told him I was through with him and that we couldn't do business with him any more."

Then, when I rose to go, President McCarter followed me to the door and took me by the elbow. "Prieth thought he had us," he said, with a sudden mirthless chuckle; "he thought he had us,—and he came mighty close to it!"

men who talk about rights and duties are either fools or 'strikers." They do not understand it at all. It annoys them. They see no ultimate fact except the cold dollar.

The City Hall Trolley Loop.

When Alderman, now Assemblyman, William P. Martin, protested at a public hearing before the Board of Works against the petition of Thomas N. McCarter to build a loop around the new City Hall and to take for his tracks, *for nothing and forever*, the plot of ground which the city had bought, Mr. Martin looked down into the face of Uzal McCarter, who was sitting in the front row, *and Uzal McCarter laughed!* One of the most puzzling and saddening features of the business is that both Thomas McCarter, who introduced the amazing petition, and his brother Uzal, the man who laughed, are graduates of Princeton University. (Yale University also has graduates, like Senator Depew for example, for whom its alumni blush.)

Thomas McCarter went before the Board and reminded the commissioners that he was a large contributor to the Republican campaign fund. He felt, he said, that he had a right to ask a "favor" now and then; and he finally intimated that, if the Board should see fit to deny him his "favor," his campaign contributions would cease.

Here we have the president of "Public Service" uttering a deliberate threat to a governing body.

There were men on the Board of Works who had meekly worn the "Public Service" collar, but who felt that McCarter's activity had passed all "reasonable" bounds. They dropped a hint to the effect that it is not good business to make the long-suffering public too angry. Thomas McCarter withdrew his petition. He did not add that the Mayor was a large stockholder in the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, nor did he state that one of the City Hall Commissioners, an architect, had been heard to boast casually that he had done $400,000 worth of work for "Public Service."

"Public Service" Purely Mercenary.

The Public Service Corporation exists solely for the purpose of extracting as much money as possible from the people of Newark and of New Jersey. The "service" given in all departments is wretched. The ordinances which were devised to compel the corporation to run modern, well-heated cars on reasonably short headway and to put its wires underground, are held in derision by the corporation. "Public Service" is not interested in doing these things well. What it *is* interested in is simply getting the maximum of money with the minimum of effort.

Sample Interview with Thomas McCarter.

We discussed the attempt of the corporation to grab one of Orange's boulevards, Central avenue, under a perpetual franchise, which was defeated through the vigorous opposition of the citizens led by Thomas A. Davis.

Mr. McCarter had said, in answer to the charge that "Public Service" has made it a practice to "quiet" leading citizens by gifts or "easy" bargains in stocks: "The stock of these companies is scattered very widely. It would be hard to find a prominent citizen—oh, there *are* some, of course, but it would be hard,—who doesn't hold shares in one or another of the companies."

(At the Memorial Service in honor of the late Henry H. Hall, Rev. John M. Thomas shed light upon this subject when he said of Mr. Hall: "He would not make an investment whose value depended partly upon a municipal franchise, that he might keep himself as a citizen absolutely disinterested. No

thing besides dollars. Their platform was very moderate, nothing more than "Equal Taxation and Limited Franchises." The story of the opposition of "Public Service" to this movement is interesting. Forged post cards were sent to one alderman who had endeavored to get the opinion of his constituents on the perpetual franchise question. The campaign advertisements were barred from all the street cars. Every conceivable attempt was made to call off the abler of the "reformers," from political allurements offered by the machine to tips on the market that "easy" money was to be had. Yet this handful of men, Everett Colby, William P. Martin, Frank H. Sommer, Alden Freeman, F. W. Kelsey, Lathrop Anderson, John S. Gibson, Harrison Van Duyne, and a very few more—this little band, in its first fight against the money power and the political machines of Essex County, won.

Why did Colby, Martin and Sommer win?

Until Frank Sommer and "The Roseville Committee" began issuing their little pamphlets, and sending them at their own expense to every city officer and to every leading citizen, and until Martin and Sommer found a way to fight, almost single-handed, almost back to back, the "city hall grab," "Public Service" had done as it liked with the board of works.

Those leaflets of Frank Sommer's were a force in themselves. The keen young lawyer managed to make the people sit up and think. Once, when he asked one of the street and water commissioners to do a certain thing, the official replied, "I'll do anything, Sommer, if you'll quit sending in those plasters!"

Until "Tom" Davis exposed the corruption of the Orange council, and with that magnificent body, the New England Society, behind him stopped the outrageous attempt to steal a boulevard, "Public Service" and its predecessors had done as they liked in Orange.

Why did the voters go quietly to the polls and elect the whole ticket by a bigger majority than the machine has commanded?

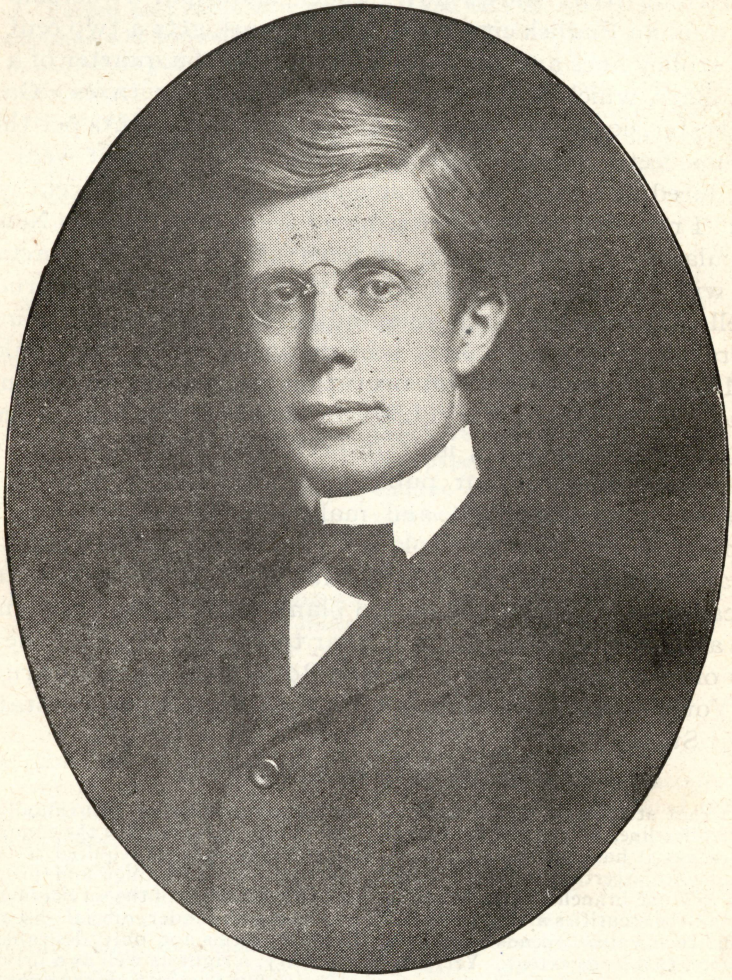
The big business men have corrupted our governments because it paid. They have juggled bosses, machines and party platforms. They have either backed "reform" campaigns or else turned them to ridicule; and the rest of us, misled, bewildered and beaten, have fallen into the habit of believing that really good, really representative government is impossible. The big business men have encouraged us in this belief. When we have wavered—have so much as glanced at the possibility of municipal ownership,—they have shouted at us through their newspapers that we are too dishonest and too low of spirit to conduct our own utilities. Then they have chuckled among themselves and have gone on charging us five cents for car fare, and ten cents for a telephone call, and $1.00 to $1.35 a thousand for gas, and outrageous prices for insurance. And we have submitted. But now, in a corporation-ridden city like Newark, where men go about breathing their dread in whispers, let half a dozen clean, honest young men take up their lances and fight the dragon; let the bewildered multitude once clearly know, unmistakably know, that these young men are really courageous and that they really think one's community is worth fighting for; then what do we see? Why, the people rise *en masse* and the dreaded monster trembles and shrinks back. Said Prieth to me, "I begin to think that "Public Service" is a big idol with clay feet."

The whole of this chapter is from the pen of Samuel Merwin, editor of the "Success Magazine," and has been condensed from

Nothing human is foreign to me.—TERENCE.

Equal opportunity to all, special privileges to none.

A government really representative of the individual citizen, whose rights shall be safeguarded by the initiative, referendum and recall.



ALDEN FREEMAN.

President of the Civics Club of the Oranges.

Secretary of the Citizens Union of East Orange.

Chairman of the Lecture Committee, New England Society of Orange.

Chairman of the Literature Committee, Republican League for Limited Franchises and Equal Taxation.

side. By this arrangement we would vote for men, measures and principles, rather than for party slogans.

Party Emblem Omitted.

The Massachusetts ballot omits the party emblem, but, at this stage of our political development, in the interest of fair play, and a square deal for all, I believe the party emblems should be retained for the benefit of the man who cannot read, if for no other reason. Otherwise the illiterate man would be disfranchised, or at any rate deprived of a secret ballot if he has to be assisted in voting.

Much as he may differ with the extreme partizan, the reformer is also in duty bound to consider the man who does not care for whom he is voting or for what principles the candidates stand. This man also has his rights equally with those of every other citizen. By the arrangement proposed the most hidebound partizan will be able to readily distinguish his party's candidate by the emblems.

The essential difference between the present arrangement of the machine and the one proposed is that in the latter case the voter would pull a separate lever for each candidate for whom he wishes to vote. By this device there is, therefore, only one act possible with each lever, which act also locks the levers opposite the names of all other candidates for this particular office.

The Newark Evening News wisely suggests a requirement by law that each voter in advance of the election be furnished with a fac-simile in miniature of the face of the machine, with the arrangement of the candidates set forth in detail so that the voters will be entirely familiar with the mechanism when they step behind the curtains to cast their ballots.

Corruptly Installed?

It is proper to state that charges have been made in the newspapers that the purchase of voting machines by this State was attended by corruption in the legislature. The seriousness of the charge makes it incumbent upon the legislature to institute an investigation. The U. S. Voting Machine Company, if its hands are clean, should also, for the sake of its good name, insist upon such an inquiry.

The secretary of State, in an interview on January 8 last, declares that the Massachusetts ballot is the best. May we not, therefore, count upon his aid in securing the readjustment on that plan of the voting machine which Colonel Dickinson is credited with installing in this State?

2. Separate City Elections.

The second change that I have in mind is the separation of municipal from county and State elections. The popular demand for the repeal of the Meeker law does not grow less insistent. Until this law, the offspring of boss rule and corporate interference with the elective franchise, is taken off the statutes, agitation for its repeal will not cease. The people demand one of two things: The restoration of all municipal elections in the spring, or else a rearrangement of the whole electoral system, by which both the Assemblymen and the municipal legislators and officials should hold office for two years and shall be respectively voted for on alternate years.

Since the last paragraph appeared in the Newark News, Frank H. Jamison, for ten years past an earnest student of politics and a constructive civic worker, has elaborated a complete plan for the absolute separation of municipal, county and State elections.

Mr. Jamison proposes that municipal officers shall be voted for on the odd years, county officers, on the even years between Presidential elections, and State officers on the alternate even years when the Presidential elections occur. Each of the elections will be held on the regular legal holiday in November. He explained his plan at a meeting of the Civics Club of the Oranges, on March 14, 1906, and as it involves amendments to the State constitution the following committee was appointed by the president of the club to elaborate the scheme and provide for necessary legislation: Frank H. Jamison, chairman, Everett Colby, Thomas A Davis, Isaac H. Blanchard and Frederick W. Kelsey.

Will Newark Throw off Boss Rule?

That this committee has not been idle is shown by the incorporation of the following plank (number 11) in the Colby platform for 1906: "Legislation, and the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment, separating, so far as possible, municipal from general elections by providing for general State elections in the even years and municipal elections in the odd years of the calendar." These provisions are well in line with the matured thought of the day as

of one of the most popular planks in the Colby platform. This procedure, if acted upon, ought to give the people of New Jersey a voice in the United States Senate, where for so long a time only the corporate interests of the State have been represented. It ought also to prevent the disgrace and scandal of vote buying and corrupting of State legislators, which, it has been repeatedly and publicly charged and never denied, attended the election of John F. Dryden to the U. S. Senate.

"Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, is out with the announcement that he will be a candidate for reelection. The conditions of the contest at Trenton will not be of the 'addition, division and silence" variety that prevailed there on sundry occasions in the past."

NEW YORK EVENING SUN, June 7, 1906.

While every special interest, such as the railways, the express companies, the sugar trade, the oil business, the steel trust and each of the great consolidated industries of the country, is amply represented in the United States Senate, not to mention the insurance companies, one can count upon the fingers of one hand those Senators who stand for the plain people and for popular rights. It is the knowledge that the people as a whole are being systematically sold out in favor of special interests at the Plutocracy Club in Washington which makes this plank just as popular during the present Colby campaign as it was in 1905.

In all these contests the student sees the endless repetitions of history, based as they are upon the uniformity of human nature. On August 14, 1789, that district of Paris known as the Cordeliers, elected its five members of the municipal council and bound them by oath to a definite plan of action whose terms were dictated at the general meeting of the district. On November 12, 1789, the Cordeliers drew up a form of oath which their five deputies were to swear, and this oath bound the members of the district not only to obey the district in all its resolutions, but also to admit that they could be dismissed after being called upon three times to resign by a majority of the district. In these early proceedings of this small district of Paris, which yet contained the strongest of the brains and eloquence of the French Revolution, the "Intellectuals" of their time, we can trace the genesis of the doctrine of Initiative, Referendum and Recall. The great Danton was the president and moving spirit of the Cordeliers. He believed in freedom of debate and the open door, above all in the presence in politics of the whole people.

Vainly was it attempted in the American Constitution to exclude the pledging of delegates in the election of our Presidents. Equally futile will be the attempt to deprive the people as a whole of a voice in the choice of United States Senators. Hilaire Belloc in his book on Danton declares his belief that the *Mandat Imperatif* of the Cordeliers, the pledging of all delegates, will in the near future be the method of our final reforms.

In passing it is perhaps of interest to note that the Cordeliers was among those districts which instructed their deputies to the States-General convened at Versailles on May 5, 1789, to demand the destruction of the Bastile, a symbolic act ever present to the minds of Parisians as it was to many of the provincial nobility and clergy. Until July 14, 1789, the people of France believed that the Bastile, depository of so many State secrets, had "the strength of Gibraltar."

7. Personal Registration.

In accord with the recommendations of Sheriff Sommer's first Grand Jury I heartily endorse the suggested alterations in the elections laws to prohibit the registration of voters "on information and belief" by affidavit of a third person. Compulsory personal registra-

results in profit to their own friends, to their own political party, or to their own political idol, whether that idol be an Independent like Jerome, a Democrat like McClellan or a Republican like Roosevelt.

This matter of campaign contributions by corporations, and by the high financiers behind the corporations, lies at the root of political corruption. I would be the last to judge Mr. Jerome harshly, but my mind is troubled about the personnel of my fellow contributors to his campaign fund. It seems to me that no honest man can properly object to the publication of his name as a contributor to a cause in which he believes. I confess that I do not like the look of Mr. Jerome's apparent shielding of insurance men from indictment by the Grand Jury. And I should also like to hear President Roosevelt denounce campaign contributions by corporations, rather than to hear him merely protest that none were obtained by hold-up methods, as he did in his famous "Square Deal" letter to Judge Parker.

As I said elsewhere in this little book, the public conscience, after long sleep, is at last keenly aroused, fully awake and on the alert. As action and reaction are equal but opposite in direction, let no one be surprised if the exposure of the enormities of frenzied finance shall produce something approaching to frenzy in the minds of the plain people whom Lincoln loved. It is unwise to attempt to check this natural ebullition of popular wrath. Only when explosive gases are confined and every vent is closed do they explode. Again I remind the reader that liberty of speech and liberty of the press are our national safeguards.

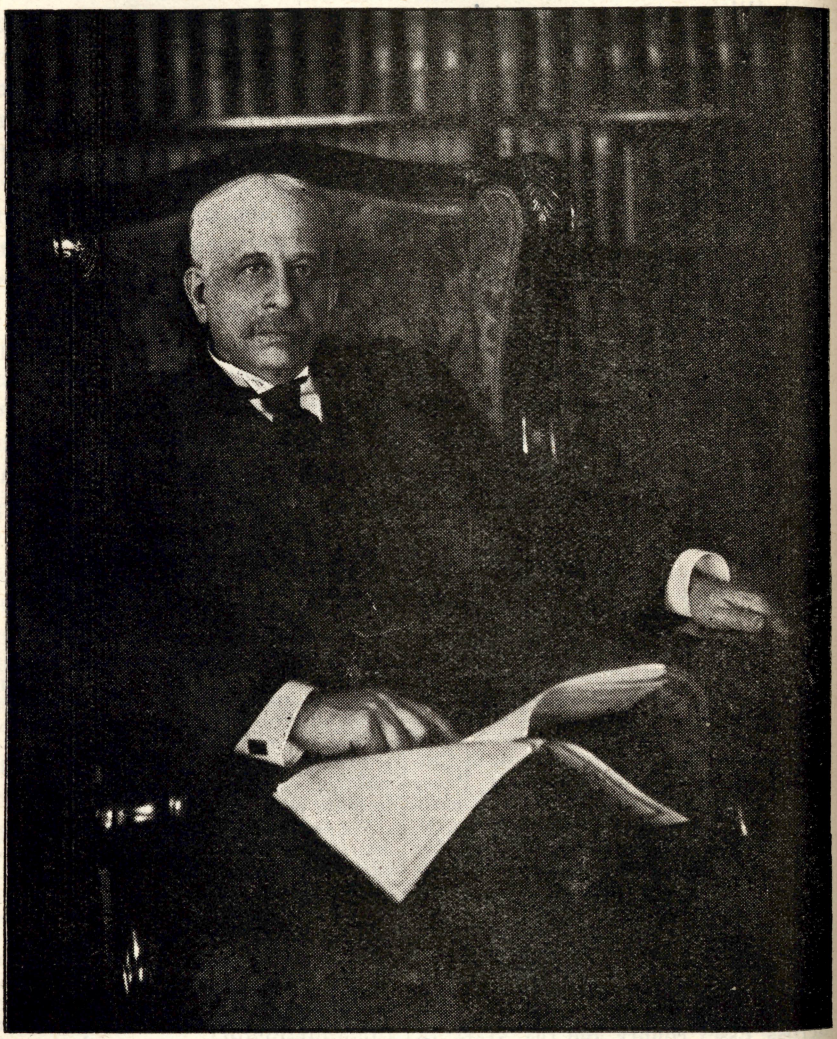
The recommendations of this chapter are the result of my observation and study of political conditions during the past four years. For a long time previous to the spring of 1902, when the subservience of the East Orange City Council to the trolley magnates culminated in the refusal to grant a hearing to citizens who wished to protest against the granting of a perpetual franchise without compensation to the city, I had been troubled in my mind regarding the incompetency manifested in the engineering and police departments of East Orange and the exploiting of the city for the benefit of leading citizens at the expense of their neighbors.

The germ of the Colby movement and "The New Idea" may be found in the platform of the Citizens Union of East Orange issued on September 8, 1902. This document declared for Limited Franchises and the separation of city elections from general elections. It announced a people's movement. In the same way that the laboring men of the country are now being forced to go into politics to protect themselves from the greed of capitalists, citizens of the Oranges, particularly among the members of the New England Society, who had sought for years to preserve the county parkways from seizure by trolley promoters acting in the interest of

Others among the chief workers, like Edward E. Clapp and Joseph W. Stover, Ogden H. Bowers and Charles H. Ingersoll, Sanford E. Cobb and John C. Lyon, have also given largely of their time and means in the midst of exceptionally busy lives. Mention ought also to be made of tbe noble, earnest women in the Woman's Club of Orange, two of whom helped us greatly by standing as candidates for the Board of Education in our first campaign.

At a meeting of the Union held in November, 1902, just after the election, it was decided to undertake a serious propaganda for reform of the election laws of New Jersey, in three particulars: first, the separation of municipal from general elections; second, the purchase of voting machines by the State; third, reform of the laws relating to the primaries. The lamented vice-president of the Union, Henry G. Atwater, was made chairman of the committee on election reform. His colleagues were Edward K. Sumerwell, Citizens Union candidate for Mayor in 1902, and myself. We circularized the State, presented petitions to the legislature signed by hundreds of citizens, and appeared repeatedly before the various State commissions and at Trenton. Mr. Atwater was our chief advocate and did the most effective work to bring about these reforms. His efforts were ably seconded by Mr. Sumerwell, and this work has been the most serious contribution of the Citizens Union to the cause of representative government. In behalf of the separation of municipal from general elections our work has been chiefly educational or by way of example, as in the case of my own candidacy last Fall, but the principle now promises to be incorporated into the body of our laws, having been adopted as plank eleven of the new Colby platform. The voting machines are coming into general use, although on account of their mal-adjustment they as yet neither receive nor merit popular favor. The chief results, however, have been achieved in the improved primary election laws, which made possible the success of the Colby movement. Our committee especially urged direct nominations for all ward offices. Ward conventions have been done away with and the first plank in the new Colby program encourages the belief that presently city and county conventions will also be dispensed with. Each of these steps tends to make government more truly representative of the individual voter. Commissioner Joseph L. Munn of the Commission on Primary Election Reform, thanked our committee for having furnished the

An Insurance man whose life was an open book.



Courtesy Orange Chronicle

HENRY HARRINGTON HALL.

President of the Citizens Union of East Orange.

Mr. Hall would not make an investment whose value depended partly upon a municipal franchise, in order that he might keep himself as a citizen absolutely disinterested. No promise of profit could stir him from that position.

When he was taken ill last autumn he felt it keenly that his sickness came at a time to debar him from participating in public affairs at a time of aroused interest. He said to me, "I did want to make just one more speech for Everett Colby."

REV. JOHN M. THOMAS at the Memorial Service, April 29, 1906.

"The Prudential Company owns New Jersey. It owns the New Jersey Legislature and could not get investigated. All insurance companies arrange their rules with the idea to rob and steal. Their policies are arranged so that they may dodge payments as far as possible on technicalities and to pay only when obliged. Even in a solvent company, where there is any opening at all, we are obliged to go to court before they will pay you the money."

Then the summons was dismissed and Mrs. Wright was directed to call on President Dryden and state her case. In case of failure to get any reimbursement she is to return to court.

The NEW YORK TRIBUNE,
April 28, 1906.

MAKES ATTACK ON PRUDENTIAL.

Father Mendl, of Montclair, Addresses Letter to Colby Concerning Investigation.

Read at Masses Yesterday.

Rev. Joseph Mendl, pastor of the church of the Immaculate Conception, Montclair, read a letter from the pulpit at all services yesterday, directed to Senator Everett Colby, demanding an investigation of the Prudential Insurance Company by a committee of the Legislature. The letter is as follows:

"To Hon. Everett Colby.

"Dear sir—The Prudential Insurance Company is the most remarkable and colossal financial growth of our time in the State of New Jersey. It controls and manages, directly or indirectly, numerous subsidiary companies, lighting, transporting and banking companies.

"The long arms reach far beyond its original plan and scope. It controls finance, dominates politics, and sends its president to the United States Senate as the representative of the State.

"Nearly all its power and influence and wealth has been drawn from the laboring classes, built up, as has been said, 'out of lapses,' money forfeited and lost by those who cannot afford it.

"It has been reported that in order to increase its influence and maintain its hold on the body politic, large policies have been presented gratis to politicians. These allegations and facts, and others that could be mentioned, demand an investigation at the hands of the Legislature. The terrible conditions prevailing among the New York companies, one of which was apparently allied in many enterprises with the Prudential, were unsuspected until an unsparing investigation revealed them.

"The interests of the struggling poor, who so numerously patronize the Prudential and who toil and sweat and sacrifice to maintain their policies, who pay in so often several dollars to eventually get one, and who is so frequently finally lose all, demand this investigation.

"Let us see if the charges of the poor are exorbitant; let us know what rebates, surrender values, terms and conditions are made to them. The welfare of all the people; that of the State itself demands this investigation. Let us learn what are the relations of the company to politics and to other companies? Has it transgressed its original boundaries? Is it building perpetual financial monopolies against the interests of the people? Down with the blinds of the Prudential! Let in the light!

"Smother their demand, refuse this investigation, and this suspicion of the people will be confirmed. It will be taken as an evidence of cowardice and fear.

"It has been reported that one of the counsel of the Prudential in opposing the demand for an investigation has said it was inspired by an unholy pur-

vestigation of the Prudential Insurance Company and its allied interests, was killed in the Senate Wednesday by a vote of 13 to 5. This ends the matter so far as the present session of the Legislature is concerned, but not so far as the people are concerned. There is a widespread feeling that the Prudential should be investigated and the investigation is bound to come sooner or later. Rev. Father Mendl of Montclair, expressed the general sentiment when, in the course of a sermon, he characterized the Prudential as a colossal institution which "controls finance, dominates politics and sends its president to the United States Senate as the representative of this State."

The average citizen does not realize the tremendous power wielded by this great corporation in the world of finance, nor the astounding rate at which it is growing. In 1880 the assets of the Prudential were $168,153.77. Today they are $107,473,057.21, or more than six hundred times as great as twenty-five years ago.

Yet, vast as the assets are, they are doubling and tripling every five years. If this is allowed to continue for 50 or 100 years longer what will happen?

The actual cash income of the Prudential is $50,000,000 a year. Such figures mean nothing to the average person unless comparisons are made, but it may arouse some one who doesn't think there is any need for an investigation to know that the annual income of the insurance companies of the United States is greater than that of the government itself. The total revenues of the United States government for the year ending June 30, 1905, were $543,423,859.24. The income of the ninety insurance companies for 1904 was $612,896,887. If we measure power by the amount of income, then these insurance companies are more powerful than the government itself.

But, it may be asked, can these enormous aggregations of capital go on legally? Under the present laws, yes.

A poor misguided individual named Miller once formed a syndicate to pay ten per cent. interest monthly and was sent to prison for it. That was because he was not a financier. He should have been honest, started an insurance company, kept within the law, and today he would probably have been rolling in wealth. The Prudential stock pays, it is said, about 219 per cent. each year on the original investment.

The insurance business affords an excellent opportunity to study the peculiarities of human nature. How many people would deposit their money in a savings bank if they knew that out of each dollar deposited, 35 cents would be deducted for the salaries of the officers of the bank and other expenses, and that the depositor would be credited with 65 cents for each dollar deposited?

The bank might suddenly go out of business, but the Prudential goes serenely on piling up assets at the rate of $18,000,000 a year with an expense account, in 1904, of 37.28 cents on each dollar paid in by policy holders.

The latest annual report of the company "refers with satisfaction to the decrease in expense rate of more than two per cent. of premium income," so that the present expense account must be about 35 cents on each dollar paid in. About half of this expense is represented in commissions to agents who got 18.98 cents of the 37.28 cents expenses in 1904. The entire expenses of conducting a savings bank are less than two per cent. of the year's deposits.

Another peculiarity of human nature in dealing with a life insurance company is the willingness with which people who have enjoyed the blessings of life insurance are ready to give up that pleasure even to the extent of losing money already paid in. It is an interesting fact

If you are insured in a regular line company, you can get a paid-up policy for more than you have paid in ; if in an industrial company, there is probably nothing to do except go on paying, unless you are willing to accept a paid-up policy for considerably less than the amount you have paid.—Ed.

NEWARK SUNDAY CALL.
June 17, 1906.

Of late so many employers of labor, particularly mistresses of large households, have spoken to me about what they do not hesitate to describe as the swindling of their servants by industrial insurance companies, that I have investigated the matter on my own account.

I have before me, as I write, two policies of the Prudential and two of the Metropolitan. Here is a young man of twenty-two years who pays an ante of five cents per week for a stake of $82 to bury him. The document states that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will grant this youth the privilege of quitting the game at the end of five years, when it will give him a paid-up policy for $8.28 (payable only upon his death, however) for the $13 of his good money which has flown into its coffers at five cents per week during all that period. If the young man lives the allotted three score years and ten, he will pay $125 for $82 to bury him.

Policy number two is in the same New York lottery company. It is called a forty-year endowment policy. This man of thirty-nine will receive $135 at death or the same sum when he reaches seventy-nine, having by that time paid $208 to the Metropolitan Company in premiums.

Policy number three is in the Prudential Insurance Company. A man of fifty-seven is to pay twenty-five cents per week to secure $130 at death. He is permitted to quit the game after twenty years, when he will receive $75 out of the $260 which he has by that time paid into the greedy maw of the New Jersey lottery. As a "sure thing" for the banker who holds the stakes, this game surpasses those played at Monte Carlo. If the victim of this legalized and "respectable" lottery should quit the game by dying at this twenty-year period, his heirs will receive the $130 or just one-half of the sum with which he has enriched the Prudential.

Exhibit number four is also in the Prudential. It calls for $69 on payment of fifteen cents a week. The holder is permitted to quit after twenty years and will then receive $40.50 in cash in lieu of the $156 which he will by that time have given up to the Pru-

cents a week for five years, or $26. As she has in the bank ample funds for the burial expenses which the insurance agents have exaggerated into a "bogie" in the minds of the poor, her employer advised her to accept the paid-up policy for about $12 which the Prudential was willing to give her, and quit the game. The young woman now places all her savings in a savings bank, where she will get back dollar for dollar with interest. I believe that our working people have a right to protection by law from these harpies of industrial insurance who prey upon their credulity and innocence and who send their agents about to excite them with tales of ignominious burial in Potter's Field.

The New York Life, the Equitable and the Mutual were long regarded as the quintessence of respectability in the insurance business, as the "regular line." Now that it has been shown that they were "whited sepulchres" of rottenness and graft and that the "missionary work" of McCurdy was a fake, it is certainly high time to discover what justification there is for the sermons about encouragement to thrift and good citizenship to which we are treated *ad nauseam* in the advertisements of industrial insurance in every publication we take up. Senator Colby and Assemblyman Martin deserve credit for the persistency and vigor with which, against most aggressive and powerful opposition, they pursued the subject of insurance investigation at Trenton. I heartily endorse plank number four of the Colby platform for 1906:

"A thorough legislative investigation of life insurance companies and the relations existing between such companies and financial institutions."

HOW THE PENNSYLVANIA FORCES ITS EMPLOYEES TO INSURE THEMSELVES.

On a par with the unfairness of industrial insurance is the injustice practiced upon their employees by the railroads and department stores in the form of so-called voluntary relief insurance. Men seeking work tell me that the Pennsylvania will employ no new men over thirty-five years of age, and that each new employe is required to contribute at least 75 cents per month to the Voluntary Relief Fund. When I asked one of the workman why it was called a "voluntary" insurance, he replied, "Why you don't have to work for the Penn unless you choose."

I have before me a member's book of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.'s Voluntary Relief Department. The payment of 75 cents per month entitles the holder of this book to $250 at death. The most striking feature of the Regulations is the following provision :

dismissing two of the minor clerks in the employ of the Pennsylvania for petty grafting has been greatly commended, but what is he going to do about his own personal assistant and "confidential man," Patton, who reluctantly confessed before the Interstate Commerce Commission to having received $307,000 worth of stock in coal companies, for which he acknowledged that he had never paid a cent ?

THE GOOD WORK OF THE MUCK-RAKERS.

I have made efforts for several years past to interest newspaper writers in these insurance abuses and injustices, but where the offenders are large advertisers such as insurance companies, railroads, and the big department stores, they are usually able to escape criticism in the press until some young Sir Galahad like Upton Sinclair puts his lance at rest and charges the giant of injustice. Like Emile Zola, whose famous *"J'accuse"* aroused the French nation to the enormity of the persecution of Captain Dreyfus, this gallant man has shown the world that one man, alone and unaided, without money or influence, can single-handed right a terrible wrong. The burning words and honest indignation of "The Jungle" stung the public conscience and forced an unwilling Congress into action at the bidding of our indignant President.

The age of chivalry is not past nor honor dead while at the Table Round sit knights like Upton Sinclair and Lincoln Steffens, David Graham Phillips and Ray Stannard Baker, Samuel Merwin and Thomas W. Lawson, Norman Hapgood and Rudolph Blankenburg, Paul Latzke and Harry Beach Needham, Cleveland Moffett and Samuel Hopkins Adams, Charles E. Russell and Alfred Henry Lewis. The pen is indeed mightier than the sword, and these men wield intellectual battle-axes that will cleave their way through any Front de Boeuf castle of injustice. Harmless upon the breastplates of a righteous cause fall the stings and arrows of the robber trust barons already trembling within the crumbling walls of special privilege and vested wrongs. The Spanish oppressors called the Flemish knights "Beggars" in contempt, but the Beggars thrived under the appellation and drove their tyrants out of the land; so the title of Muck-Rakers is proving to the magazine writers of America only a spur to the winning of further victories for the plain people over the Muck-Makers. The Augean stables will be cleaned and the title of Muck-Raker will lead to a crown of greater glory for the gallant knights of the pen. A

modern King Arthur sits in the White House at Washington, and a 20th century Joan of Arc has, in the person of Miss Tarbell, put on armor and seized the sword to fight the Machiavellian commercialism of our time.

"A man may see how this world goes with no eyes. Look with thine ears: see how yond justice rails upon yond simple thief. Hark, in thine ear: change places; and handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?"

SHAKESPEARE'S KING LEAR, Act IV., Scene VI.

I have sat in a court room in this State when a great financial magnate, one of the greatest in this country, was on trial for manslaughter, and the man who sat to pass judgment upon him was the great man's creature, had worked for his company, in fact had never had any other employment until the great man made him a judge. Need I add that the trial was a travesty of justice, that the judge did not permit the case to go to the jury, and that I heard the public prosecutor receive the thanks of the prisoner at the bar?

Fear not the bogie of "vested rights"; they will be un-vested in legal and proper form with exact justice when the time comes, notwithstanding the monstrous decisions of such judicial luminaries as Chief Justice Gummere, who has been aptly named the "Dollar Judge." The French revolution with its *sans culottes* abolished the breeches which facilitated the kneeling of the courtier to his sovereign lord. Our citizens will in like manner dispense with "vests" when the struggle between plutocracy and democracy waxes hot. The *sans gilets* of the contest which is already waging may bring about as marked a change in the attire of men as did the "Beggars" of Flanders in the time of Philip II, the Roundheads of England in Charles I's time or the *san culottes* of France in Louis XVI's day. If this sounds fantastic to you attend a meeting of Socialists and observe the eager faces of the young men without vests or coats in their tidy shirtwaists.

The poor man has at last found his voice. In the poignant notes of Maxim Gorki and Jack London we hear the cry of the "under dog." The tortured body and suffering soul of oppressed humanity speak to us in "The People of the Abyss" and "The Class Struggle" of London, in "The Workers" of Professor Wyckoff, in Robert Hunter's "Poverty" and in John Spargo's "The Bitter Cry of the Children."

The same power which prescribes rules for the possession and descent of property can of course alter them.—LORD COLERIDGE, Chief Justice of England.

The freest government would not be long acceptable if the tendency of the laws was to create a rapid accumulation of property in a few hands.—DANIEL WEBSTER



The Rising Waters. (Centralized Wealth.)

From "Puck," June 6. Copyright 1906. By Permission.

The reader can himself name the sharks in this cartoon according to his belief as to who are "The Big Four" among the predatory captains of industry.

If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth.—OLIVER CROMWELL.

and permits the chief offender to restore, and the canal company, not the railway, to once more operate the canal.

The passage of the Elvin Bill with expense allowance for employing special counsel, places upon the Attorney-General of the State, Robert H. McCarter, the responsibility for a judical investigation of the respective rights of the State, the Morris Canal and Banking Co. and the Lehigh Valley Railway Co., and brings this question to the point which the framers of the Prince Bill, drawn by Mr. Parker, had in view when they renewed the agitation of the subject.

It is to be regretted, and liable to be misconstrued, that the Governor, in so lengthy a State paper as his message, has no word of recommendation regarding the disposition and control of so great an asset of the State's wealth as the Morris Canal. Enlarged and properly operated, the canal would again become a noble waterway from the Delaware to the Hudson, with a large carrying trade. As to its possibilities for pleasure and travel, consider the delightful steamboat trip on the Rideau Canal in Canada from Ottawa to Kingston, a most beautiful route, but not to be compared with the more varied attractions of lake and mountain scenery among the picturesque hills of northern New Jersey. With the slightest encouragement, we should witness a great revival of business among the little towns which now languish along the banks of this long neglected canal.

Riparian Lands.

The Governor is to be commended for renewing his demand of last year that the sale of riparian lands in fee simple must cease. The Legislature should provide for leasing these lands under the New York system and at once put a stop to sales by the riparian commissioners.

Sewage Disposal.

As for the scientific treatment of the Passaic Valley sewage, let us profit by the example of the Oriental and accept no plan which involves emptying the sewage into the sea. This depleting of the earth by casting into the sea the elements of fertilization results eventually in making the land a barren waste. There should be a careful study of the many successful disposal works abroad, as well as those in Baltimore.

Civil Service Reform.

In the way of civil service reform, a small beginning has been made in this direction in Newark and in Jersey City. The effort, however, should be made to make civil service examinations compulsory in all our municipalities and in the county and state departments, to establish tenure of office during good behavior and to stop the fleecing of appointtve officials through campaign assessments levied by political bosses.

A comprehensive civil service law which will take the employment of subordinate public officials out of politics is indispensable to the efficient operation of public utilities by municipalities as advocated in plank 10 of the new Colby platform.

Municipal Ownership.

Municipal ownership of electric light and gas plants seems to be only remedy against the extortions of Public Service Corporations, and few will oppose granting the opportunity of owning municipal plants to the municipalities of the State except those interested in the lighting monopoly. It is highly important, however, that such plants should be operated on an entirely economical and non-political basis, and to thus end the passage of a civil service law and the separation of local from State and National elections as advocated in planks 9 and 11 of the Colby platform for 1906 are absolute essentials.

"The observance in letter and spirit of the civil service law is the first requisite in obtaining clean, decent, efficient gov-

I shall make it my task to expose the abuses that are about to ruin the country, and that your honesty alone can correct.—Last speech of MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.



Courtesy Newark Advertiser

His costume was so correct that the late Sir Henry Irving, who enacted the great character, might have sat up and taken notice were he alive. It was all there, the famous light blue coat, white breeches and silk stockings, with the tri-colored sash—all as true as life. The make-up of his face was remarkable and done after a portrait of Robespierre.—NEWARK ADVERTISER.

A REVOLUTION COMING.

Lafayette, Ind., May 30. Governor Hanly made a prophecy in a Memorial Day address at Purdue University today on "Public Grafting." He said:

The American people are at the beginning of a great revolution. There are no battlefields strewn with the wounded and the dead, but stupendous social, economic and political changes are involved. Imbedded in this revolution are certain fundamental principles of human right and of human liberty, and unless we possess a willingness to seek for these and the wisdom to find them, and the patriotism and the courage to proclaim them, to stand by and save them when found, the marching columns and the battlefields will come to us as they came to our fathers.

Human rights, the rights of the individual citizen, or the rights of the body of the people, are not safe where government is administered by special interests or through the corrupt or demoralizing influence of organized wealth and greed. No despotism can be more absolute than the despotism of money.

NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

The Appeal of Brotherhood.

Unless something is done to relieve the condition of the poor, the oppressed and the negro, it is possible there will come about just such another climax as France saw. There is amassed in New York more wealth than the world has ever known in one city, except perhaps in London.—AMORY H. BRADFORD.

The New Idea. "One for All; All for One."

The organization of society on a basis of mutual service, mutual helpfulness.

We are now entering into the epoch of fraternalism. We are learning that it is a falsehood that each man should vote for his own interest. That has brought the spectacle of a man accepting $5 for his vote at the bottom of the scale, while another takes a $10,000,000 franchise at the top. Men like Folk and Roosevelt recognize that it is the interests of the whole which the Government must protect. They are working for a broader protection of society; they are striving for an organism, not the protection of individual liberty which may operate on only the chosen few.

We hear of the criminal class. Can you tell me who belongs to the criminal class? Do the insurance directors who bought stocks low and sold them at high prices to the companies of which they were directors? Do the railroad officials who broke the law of the land and now stand convicted? Do the coal carriers who did, by "a gentlemen's agreement," that which was against the law?

There is one remedy for all this. Society should be considered as a unit. Go, young men—go not to see how much you can accumulate, but what you can attain. Already accumulation is on trial.

proverb quoted throughout Roman history and is really the basis of democracy.

When, nearly two thousand years later, Rousseau told the men of his time that those qualities and incidents which are common to all men infinitely exceed the particulars in which they differ, he simply expanded this fundamental idea of the poet Terence. The great Frenchman lived to see his philosophy applied in the Declaration of Independence, which the foremost English historian of the present day, Hilaire Belloc, calls "the noblest of English documents." Abraham Lincoln said that the authors of the Declaration meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism.

While we can trace the germ of the American idea in the Roman Republic and follow its growth in the Commonwealth of Cromwell and among the philosophers of France, it had its perfect flower in the Declaration of Independence. The perfect fruit of democracy is yet to be. Thomas Jefferson's great words proclaim as fundamental the Equality of Men. Then follow the Rights of Man. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are named as the chief. There follows the assertion of the purpose of government, which is to secure these rights for all men, and, finally, the splendid statement that governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed.

Of course, these are self-evident truths, but in every age, and never more than now, ambitious and greedy men seek to keep these truths hidden, or at least veiled under a mist of expediencies. Truths they are nevertheless, though often sneered at nowadays by men like Senator Aldrich; they will not down, because justice is innate in the heart of man. As Bryant wrote, "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again."

At a time when the power of money has become so great, and when the greed of those already rich has well-nigh turned to madness, it is well to turn to these simple truths of the fathers of our Republic. Against the allurements of the Quest of Gold I would set up the greater Dignity of Labor and the self-respect which accompanies earnings untainted by greed.

Beside the great words of Thomas Jefferson on the Equality of Men, I place these words of that other great apostle of democracy, Abraham Lincoln, the preserver of the Republic in those

Senators of the United States, like those of ancient Rome, represent only a special privileged class all the time diminishing in numbers, whose individual members are constantly increasing in power and influence. The recent insurance investigations have shown us that the machinery of both great political parties is virtually dominated by the kings of Wall street. The Senate must be brought in touch with the people ; it must be controlled by the people, and it will, within a shorter time than most people believe, be made to do the bidding of the people. You cannot do better than to study politics and its present-day master, which is high finance.

FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF LINCOLN.

In the public life of New Jersey today we have five conspicuous exponents of democracy and equality along the lines laid down by Thomas Jefferson and expounded by Abraham Lincoln. These leaders who are now at work breaking down special privileges and building up equality of opportunity in this State are Everett Colby and Mark M. Fagan, William P. Martin and Frank H. Sommer, and that most lucid and far-sighted tribune of the plain people, George L. Record, upon whom more than upon any man of this day and generation, with the exception of Senator La Follette, has fallen the mantle of Lincoln. It is the fervent hope of the eager thousands who have heard his voice and felt the touch of his spirit to see Record as United States Senator stand among the seats of the mighty beside the great La Follette in the House of Dollars waging war against plutocracy on behalf of the American people. The time is at hand for honest folk to strike, while they still have the power to do so, through the ballot-box and the primary, and to drive the money-changers forth from the temple of their idolatry. As that wise and good man, Mayor Fagan, has aptly said, political Independence Day is Primary Day, which this year falls on Tuesday, September 25.

If You Remember the Primaries Now the Bosses Will Remember Them Long After They Are Over.

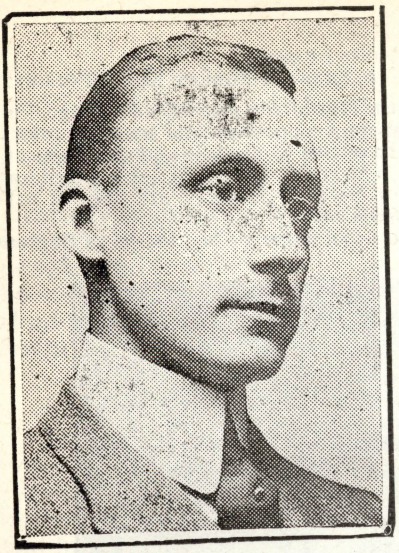
George Record's Plan for Taking the Jury System out of Politics.

We shall insist upon the passage of a law taking out of the hands of the Sheriff the power to arbitrarily select grand and petit juries. The scandals arising from the present system have attracted attention in nearly every county in the State. The Grand Jury is used to punish enemies and protect friends. The petit juries are chosen in such a way as to leave suspicion that certain public utility corporations in accident cases are enabled practically to control the verdict.

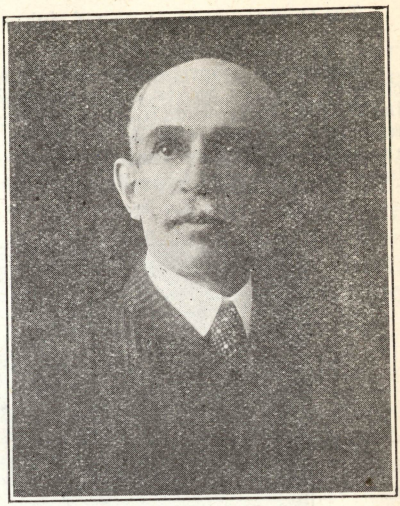
It is too great a power to be intrusted in the hands of any man, and these juries should be chosen by law, subject to the discretionary power of the court to reject jurors for any cause. The suppression of such a bill in the Legislature last year is another count in the indictment which we make against the State machine. They did it, we assert, because the present system is an important part of the boss or machine system of politics which they are fighting to maintain.

From RECORD'S Speech at Bayonne, May 25, 1906.

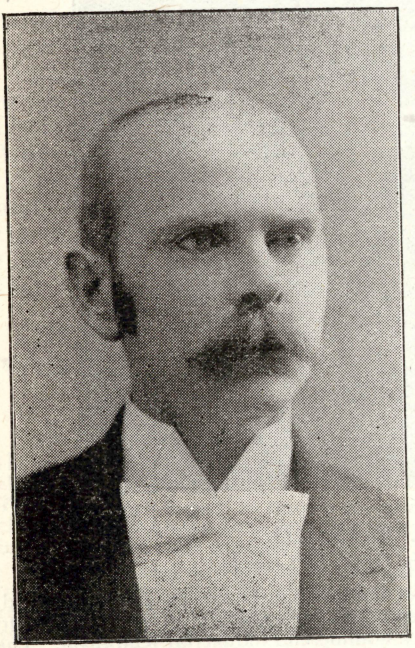
The Citizens Union elected these city officials in 1902. When they retired from office the Union gave a dinner in their honor at Commonwealth Hall on March 1, 1905, at which Everett Colby made his speech on "The Grasp of the Corporations." Mr. Gregory was also the Citizens Union candidate for Mayor in 1904.



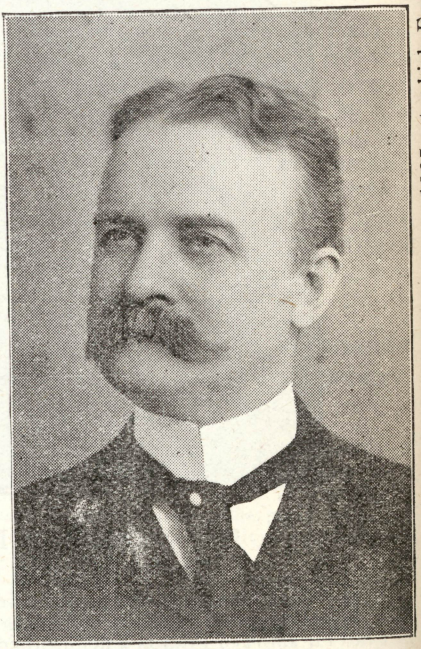
JULIAN A. GREGORY,
Member of Board of Education,
East Orange, 1903-4.



WILLIS L. BROWNELL,
City Councilman, East Orange, 1903-4.



EDWARD K. SUMMERWELL,
Citizens Union Candidate for Mayor, 1902. Member of the Union's Committee on Election Law Reforms.
(See page 94.)



ARCHER BROWN,
First President of the Citizens Union of East Orange, from September 8, 1902, until his death in 1904.
(See page 93.)

The Government Labor Department was run in co-operation with this land policy, and it made every effort to help the unemployed to get on the land. The secretary of the Labor Department told me that he has put not less than ten thousand men on the land who otherwise could have done no better than to drift along on the perilous edge of day labor, to fall into dire straits at the first calamity. This policy has made of them independent, prosperous farmers, producers of wealth for themselves and the colony. For some years the long term lease was the favorite form of land tenure, but there is now a strong and growing sentiment in favor of the freehold, and it is probable that the Government will soon grant the right of purchase to all leaseholders. But it determined that this shall not result in segregation of land into large holdings. Keeping the land as widely distributed as possible among the people is one of the means by which it controls the distribution of wealth. There is already a restriction upon the number of acres that may be acquired by either lease or purchase from the Crown. To forestall the danger of the building up of large estates which will come with the extension of the freehold the Government proposes to limit the amount of land that can be held by one person, by whatever title, or however acquired. The law, which the Government expects to enact at the next session of Parliament, will not affect existing titles, but will make invalid the title to any land in excess of, probably, five thousand acres which any one person may attempt to acquire.

No Property Tax.

Most systems of taxation are devised for the purpose of providing revenue. But it is characteristic of the New Zealand idea of the functions and purposes of government that the primary intention of its scheme of direct taxation is to provide another means of combatting the tendency of wealth to flow where wealth already is. There is no property tax, and there is no tax on improvements. The land tax is on the gross salable value of the land less the value of all improvements. In addition to the ordinary land tax there is a graduated land tax which begins when the unimproved value of the land is $25,000. Between this and $35,000 the rate is one-eighth of a cent to the pound sterling, and above that value the rate increases by equal steps until it reaches six cents to the pound, payable when the value is a million dollars or more. *Fifty per cent. additional tax is levied upon absentee owners.* Holdings of small value are exempt from the ordinary land tax, the exemption amounting to $2,500 where the unimproved value does not exceed $7,500, and gradually diminishing up to the value of $12,500. This is in accordance with the settled policy of the Government to make it easy for the poor and difficult for the rich to increase their possessions. The result of the exemptions and deductions is that only one-fifth of the New Zealand land owners pay a land tax. But during the last ten years the number of land tax payers has increased by 90 per cent.

Income Tax.

The income tax is levied in conjunction with the graduated land tax, and is assessed on all income except that derived from land or from mortgages on land. This is exempt, of course, because its capital is assessed under the land tax. Incomes of less than $1,500 are exempt from the income tax, and there is a further deduction from all incomes of $250 yearly for life insurance premiums. The rate of the tax for last year was twelve cents on the pound sterling for the first taxable $5,000 and twenty-four cents on the pound for all exceeding that amount—respectively, 2½ and 5 per cent. The number of income tax payers is about one in one hundred of the population. They have more than doubled in the last ten years, and in that time the receipts from the income tax have increased by 174 per cent. The Government officials think that their returns are remarkably complete, and do not believe that there is much, if any, evasion of the law. Inspecting officers verify returns at the tax payer's domicile and the commissioner can compel the production for their use of all books, balance sheets, stock sheets and other evidence of the tax payers income. The knowledge that this will be done if neccessary and the penalties attached to refusal have had a wholesome moral effect, while the careful and systematic work of the inspectors, who also give instruction to taxpayers when necessary as to the keeping of simple forms of ac-

"I would make it a crime to conduct trade in such a way as to create a monopoly of any necessary of life. I would make violation of anti-trust laws a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment. It is futile to impose fines. The only adequate punishment is the disgrace of criminal conviction and the loss of personal freedom. Your Interstate Commerce law has failed to control the trusts because the Commission's decisions are not final, and the board can not enforce the penalty of imprisonment for violation of the law. I propose to have here a board to deal with trusts and combinations in restraint of trade in food products, and there is to be no appeal from the action of that board. Upon conviction the board may impose the criminal penalty and it will have power to enforce its judgments. The Parliament will probably pass the bill."

This chapter is reproduced from *The Independent* and is from the pen of Florence Finch Kelly. The only suggestion that I would make to the reader is that he should study these experiments in New Zealand in conjunction with the governmental system of Switzerland, which, through popular initiative, referendum and right of recall, has provided a simple, direct and thoroughly practical method by which democratic government is not only safe-guarded and rendered effective but whereby minority parties and principles can be fairly represented in the government.

B. O. Flower, editor of *The Arena*, says that in New Zealand, as in America, democratic institutions will not be safe until the Initiative and Referendum are incorporated into the body of the Constitutional Law.

For in any hour of stress, says Mr. Flower, when some great but fleeting peril or issue arises which completely absorbs the thoughts of men, such as the danger of war from without, reactionary influences or influences susceptible to the lure of wealth or class desire, may gain a hold and steadily advance, as has privileged wealth in America since the Civil War.

Therefore, when New Zealand shall protect her admirable industrial system and ensure the permanency of her equitable distribution of wealth by adopting Direct Legislation and proportional representation as bulwarks to her liberty and independence, she will place her commonwealth distinctly in the lead of all free peoples in the essentials of democracy.

How New Zealand Would Treat the Ice Trusts.

Sir Joseph G. Ward, prime minister of New Zealand, was asked yesterday what action would be taken in his country if an ice trust increased the price of the commodity to consumers so as to get more than a reasonable profit. He said: "We would immediately build ice plants and give the people all the ice they wanted at a small price and a fair profit. We had a similar condition arise at home in the coal industry, and we put it down quickly."

NEW YORK TRIBUNE, July 6, 1906.

In New Zealand.

There have been no strikes in twelve years.

Poorhouses are turned into schools.

The Government gives pensions for old age.

There is no graft and there are no trusts.

Railroad fares are less than one cent a mile.

There is no rebating—one freight rate for all.

There is work for every man.

Insurance may be had for a mere song.

Telephones are $25 a year for unlimited service.

Telegraph rates are twelve words for twelve cents.

NEW YORK JOURNAL, July 6, 1906.

Something to Think About.

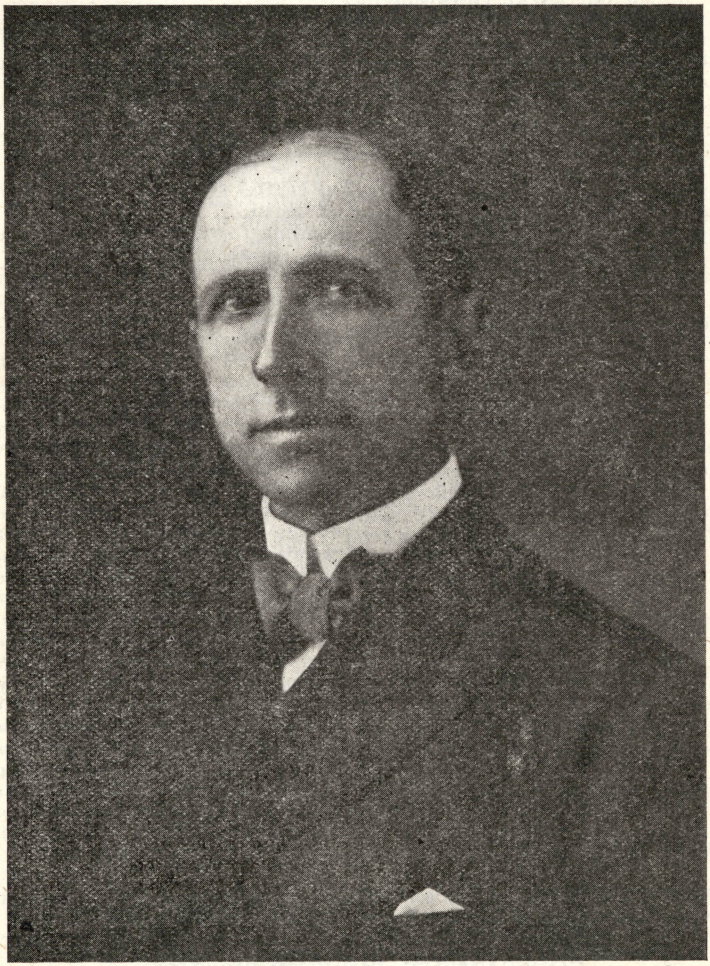
It is estimated that the labor of twenty-five persons, on an average, will maintain 100 in all necessaries of life.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 1776.

If this was a scientific truth 130 years ago, what excuse can Mankind offer, after a century crowded with inventions of labor-saving devices, that any living creature suffers for lack of food, raiment or shelter?

Commonly they say nothing, do nothing, know nothing. They are studiously negative, and this condition of vacuity is supposed to augment their strength. The theory of the machine is that as a candidate grows less he grows strong, and approaches the invincible as he approaches nothingness.

JUDGE WILLIAM J. GAYNOR of the Supreme Court of New York.



GARDNER COLBY,

President of the Republican League for Limited Franchises and Equal Taxation.

The political issue in this country for the next ten or fifteen years will be between government for the special interests and government for the people. The issue is plutocracy or democracy, and we will settle it and settle it right.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

I am heartily in accord with the spirit and purpose manifested throughout the Declaration of Principles issued by the Republican League for Limited Franchises and Equal Taxation on June 4, 1906.

1. Corporation Control through Political Bosses to be Overcome by Direct Primaries.

The first plank of the new platform expresses in a few words the purpose of the whole Colby movement and the means by which that purpose is to be accomplished.

1. The overthrow of the control of the party organization by corporations through the medium of the bosses, and to that end the nomination of all candidates for public offices by direct primaries without the intervention of delegates or conventions.

As these words describe my own object in writing these pages I will not enlarge on the topic further. My views upon the subject of direct nominations will be found in Chapter VII on pages 89 and 94.

2. Franchise Taxation.

The railroads have been brought into line, and will henceforth share the burden of maintaining the government upon the same terms with the citizens. Our present duty is to make into law similar provisions for the collection of its just share of the burden of taxation from the Public Service Corporations. I therefore heartily endorse the second plank in the new Colby platform.

2. The taxation of the value of the franchises of public utility companies in the streets at the local rates.

I have already commented upon this very important plank in Chapter VI. on page 85.

3. Popular Voice in Choice of U. S. Senators.

The attitude of our representatives at Trenton regarding the election of United States Senators was wholly in accord with their pre-election promises, and the Colby movement is again placed on record in favor of making the United States Senate representative of the people as a whole in plank three of the new platform.

3. The enactment of a law permitting the voters to indicate upon their official ballots their choice for United States Senator.

Some comments upon this plank will be found in Chapter VII, on pages 89 and 90, and in Chapter IX, on page 119.

In view of these acknowledged facts I believe the following plank will meet with the almost universal approval of the voters of this State.

5. An investigation of capitalization of corporations to enable the intelligent enactment of laws to prevent overcapitalization and the evils which result therefrom.

6. Repeal of the Promoter's Liability Act.

The sixth plank is consonant with the views just expressed, and will in my opinion meet with same general approval.

6. The repeal of the statute passed in protection of fraudulent promoters (laws of 1903, chapter 182).

In this connection the words of Frederick W. Kelsey in his address at Atlantic City on April 25, 1906, on "The Corporation Laws of New Jersey" are of interest:

> A law debarring action for recovery from officers, promoters or other corporation agents, unless brought within four years of the time when the wrong was committed and without regard as to when it might be discovered, should, for the sake of common honesty, be promptly repealed. And instead of these "wide-open" laws, may we not soon have laws which, while affording capital as well as the people of the State and of the country all reasonable safeguard and protection, will effectually put a stop to the vast and extended system of public plundering, now permissible, and which has brought such widespread discredit and pointing of the finger of scorn to the fair name and fame of this and other great States where these conditions prevail.

7. To Stop Killing of Bills in Committee at Trenton.

The system of killing bills in committees is the principal weapon of corporations in preventing the passage of popular measures. The essence of free government is publicity. When a bill is suppressed in committee the public is unable to locate the responsibility. The true function of a committee is to investigate and report upon the merits of a bill. It has no business to finally determine whether the bill is good or bad—that is the function of the legislature after opportunity for debate.

In this connection the following extract from George L. Record's speech at Bayonne on May 25, 1906, will be of interest:

> We shall fight, particularly in Hudson county, for a law authorizing any municipality to make a water contract with any municipality within reasonable distance of its plant. Jersey City has had pending in the Legislature for several years bills to cure a technical defect in the existing law whereby Jersey City has been

terested in the lighting monopoly. It is highly important, however, that such plants should be operated on an entirely economical and non-political basis, and to this end the passage of a civil service law and the separation of local from state and national elections by an amendment to the State Constitution to be recommended at the next session of the legislature are absolutely necessary. Provision for these reforms is made in planks 9, 10 and 11 in the Declaration of Principles as follows :

9. A comprehensive civil service law which will take the employment of subordinate public officials out of politics.

After considerable experience in almost every kind of governmental work, I have never yet found any position or any branch of the service regarding which the intrusion of political reasons in making appointments does not do damage. The result is always bad when the appointment has to be complicated with the question of politics.—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, May 15, 1906. (See also page 112)

10. Legislation allowing municipalities to own electric light or gas plants.

In connection with this plank read the remarks of Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, on page 53.

11. Separation of Municipal from General Elections.

11. Legislation, and the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment, separating, so far as possible, municipal from general elections by providing for general State elections in the even years and municipal elections in the odd years of the calendar.

This eleventh plank is the one which appeals most strongly to all workers for the betterment of our municipal governments. These provisions when incorporated into the State Constitution will largely do away with the necessity for Citizens Union movements in local politics, as they provide a better substitute for the Spring election. The condition for which this plank proposes a remedy has never been better described than in these words of President Roosevelt:

The worst evils that affect our local government arise from and are the inevitable result of the mixing up of the city affairs with the party politics of the Nation and the State. The lines upon which National parties divide have no necessary connection with the business of the city. Such connections open the way to countless schemes of public plunder and civic corruption.

In his admirable address on June 6, 1906, Sheriff Sommer outlined a new city charter for Newark, proposed changes in the State Constitution which would really prevent legislative interference with the internal affairs of municipalities, thus making Home Rule a possibility, and said that he did not favor going back to the old way of holding two elections a year but would prefer the absolute divorce of municipal from general elections on the regular election day in November. The method of accomplishing this result is fully set forth in the plan of Frank H. Jamison,

plain people, conscious of the justice of our cause, should consent to no compromise or concession. Pressing on with calmness and patience, but relentless in our determination and with an iron will, we should insist on nothing less than an absolutely exact and square deal between these corporations and ourselves, the people of New Jersey.

Remember Political Independence Day, Tuesday, September 25, 1906.

Of the future no man can tell, but I am full of hope for a nation which produces leaders like Theodore Roosevelt, "the greatest statesman of the day," as a great European statesman has just described him; like William Jennings Bryan, the undaunted commander in many a well-fought struggle for popular rights; like Robert Marion La Follette, justly called "a statesman after the order of Lincoln;" like John Weaver and Tom Johnson, giving us the best governed cities in the country; like Thomas E. Watson and Joseph W. Folk; like Lincoln Steffens and Upton Sinclair. Need I add that I am likewise full of hope for a State which produces leaders like Everett Colby and Mark Fagan, Frank Sommer and John Gibson, William P. Martin and George L. Record ?

I believe that these men will prove to the country that New Jersey is not a Traitor State, and make Lincoln Steffens eat his words, which I am sure he will do with the greatest satisfaction and full consciousness that his winged words have hit the mark and accomplished the far-sighted purpose of the Master-Mind which is mentor and guide to political reformers all over the United States.

It was not the citizens of New Jersey who made those amazing corporation laws which are the shame of the State. It was a few past-masters of "high finance," men of low ideals, untroubled with either conscience or shame, without pride either in country or State, who, with unblushing effrontery, wrote New Jersey's treachery to the plain people of the United States large across her statutes. The agents of these financial crooks were the political bosses who in turn directed their creatures, the miserable dummy-legislators, to pass the corporation laws which have earned for New Jersey the name of "The Traitor State." The traitors are few. They are known and despised of all honest men. The people mean to throw off their ignoble yoke. Mark Fagan and Everett Colby have shown them how the Right of the Many can conquer the Might of the Few.

Tuesday, September 25, is Political Independence Day.

If you remember to do your part at the Primaries this year, the Bosses, as well as their financial Masters and legislative Puppets, will never forget Tuesday, the Twenty-fifth Day of September, 1906.

The strongest arraignment of the political powers in New Jersey that has been printed.

New York Tribune.

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