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**ENFORCE THE LAWS.**

"The remedy for corruption, bribery for grafting of every kind, is to enforce the law. If the system is working an illegal game, instead of trying to beat the game, the better way is to stop the game."

With these words, Governor Folk, of Missouri, closed his address at a recent monster meeting held at Philadelphia under the auspices of the City Club and in the interest of good government. Missouri's reform governor spoke as follows:

"The most conspicuous fact of municipal governments in the United States today is that they are governments by the few and not by the people. There is more aggressive rotteness and less aggressive patriotism in our large cities than anywhere else. If the patriotism can be made as aggressive as the rotteness, the problem of good government would be solved by the people taking the government into their own hands. If corruption exists in Philadelphia the people are to blame; if corruption is to be eradicated the people alone can do it."

"The fight you are making here is a battle which will be felt by every town, city and state in the land. The benefit of a victory for good government will be universal, and the evil effects of a defeat will demoralize those who believe in good government by the people. The average man does not appreciate the solemn duty he owes his city, his state, and his country."

"The moral revolution now sweeping over the land means the patriotism that comes from the heart, not from the head. Many men would be willing if need be, to give up their lives for their city if they are needed sometimes, and this kind of patriotism cannot be too highly commended; but the man who is willing to live for his city and state every day is the man that is needed just now. There may be as much patriotism in giving one's time to the betterment of civic conditions and the election of good men to office and in purifying the ballot as in bearing one's breast to the bullets of the enemy. There never was a time when the need for patriotic men in public affairs was greater than now. We need more men actuated alone by the public good and fewer of those who are in politics merely for revenue."

"The strength of the lawless element is great, but it is as nothing when it comes in contact with a public conscience thoroughly aroused. Philadelphia at last seems to be awakened, and though the gang has been strong, it is being shattered beneath the shafts of public opinion under the leadership of Mayor Weaver. The people can overthrow the civil government whenever they want to, and get just as good government as they deserve or as bad as they permit it to become. The law-abiding people are in the majority in Philadelphia, and there is hardly a community in this county of which this cannot be said. They are usually quiet, however, while the lawless are so vociferous as to deceive many as to their number. They may bluff and bulldoze, but they are cowards, and if resolutely fought they can be overcome. They are always active, however, while the average good citizen becomes active only occasionally."

"The moral revolution that is now sweeping over the land is a revival of the rule of the people. Four years ago the laws against bribery in all of the states were considered as practically dead letters. Not because the offense was uncommon, but because it was uncommon for officials to be prosecuted for it."

"When the prosecutions were commenced in St. Louis, members of the house of delegates claimed that this bribery had been going on so long they were entitled to notice to quit before being prosecuted. Some of them argued that members of the house of delegates, having been taking bribes from time immemorial, had acquired a right to do so, and it was just as proper for them to sell their votes as for the merchant to sell his wares. Here was a crime worse than any other, for their offense violated the law, while bribery strikes at the foundation of all laws. Yet the law denouncing it was not enforced; bribery became the usual and expected thing all over the land; corrupt men feasted and fattened at public expense; laws became merchandise on the market, and all this time the public conscience was asleep. When the revelation came the people saw how they had been plundered, they saw the offense in all of its enormity, and from one end of the land to the other there was a civic awakening."

"A special privilege is a graft. Monopoly, even law-protected privileges are grafts, and should be hateful to every fairminded citizen. Unless the spirit of civic righteousness now abroad in the land dies out, and there is no likelihood of that, we will pass from the sordid age of commercialism into the age of high ideals."

"A political party has no right to ask for support because it is that party, but because it stands for the right. If a political party cannot get votes on the ground of patriotism it has no right to ask for votes on the ground of partisanship. Under our form of government political parties are necessary, for it is through them they can come to agreements on public questions and announce their principles and intentions, but political parties should be the servants of the people, not their masters."

"I have spoken of corruption, bribery and grafting using the terms as they are commonly used, synonymously. While the effect on the public may be as injurious from grafting as from boodling there is a distinction between them. The boodler sells his vote and prostitutes his trust for bribes money contrary to law, but the grafter is not always a boodler. When those on the inside of any great financial concern divert the trust funds for their profit, that is a graft against the law; when a class of men have special privileges whereby they can prey upon the rest of the people, that is a graft that may not be against the law, and may even be protected by the law."

AS VIEWED IN CHICAGO.  
Some weeks ago a jury in the United States District Court at Portland, Oregon, returned a verdict of "guilty as charged" against Congressman John N. Williamson, Dr. Van Gessner, and Marlon R. Biggs, former land commissioner of the United States. The indictment under which they were thus convicted alleged conspiracy to suborn perjury and obtain by fraudulent entries dishonest titles to public land.

The defendants named had been tried twice before without result, the jury disagreeing in each instance. The government, as represented by the Interior Department and the Department of Justice, however, in the belief that the evidence was strong enough to warrant a positive verdict, and at the third trial it succeeded.

On Saturday the court imposed sentence on the defendants, the penalty in the case of Congressman Williamson being fixed at a fine and ten months' term of imprisonment.

Oregon's delegation in Congress consists of two senators and two representatives. One senator, Mitchell, was convicted in the spring of 1904 in the Oregon land frauds and swindles and given a prison sentence. Williamson has now joined him on the list of congressional candidates for transfers of the penitentiary, and the other representative, Binger Hermann, former commissioner of the general land office, is under the shadow of two distinct indictments—one for complicity in the gigantic land steals and the other for destroying government records containing evidence of his criminal transactions. If he should be convicted, Senator Fulton would enjoy the distinction of being the lone member of Oregon congressional representation free from compulsory and entangling alliances with prosecutors, grand juries and prison authorities.

A melancholy situation, doubtless, but far less melancholy than would have been a situation indicating public or official indifference to crimes against the government and the nation. The Oregon trials developed the fact that many so-called respectable men in the state regard it as a venial and purely technical offense to steal public land, or enable others, for pay, to steal such land, but such sentiments merely emphasize the duty of the departments concerned to bring the thieves, grafters and conspirators to justice and teach them and their sympathizers wholesome respect for law and public property.

CHANGE THE LAWS.  
Now that the land fraud trials are about over and the people are settling down to a sober study of the subject, it becomes evident that there are two sides to the question, says the Forest Grove Times. Here is a vast body of the finest timber in the world. It belongs to the government and cannot lawfully be touched while in that condition, and it cannot go out of government ownership except by honest deed and timberland entry.

But no man can go into that forest and do more than put up a little cabin and stay there. He cannot alone clear a tract; he can do nothing there to make a living; he cannot live there and comply with the conditions imposed by the government. The result is that technical violation of the requirements have always been sanctioned even by the government. Timber men would like to get the timber but cannot do it, except by purchase of entrymen's claims and the entrymen cannot live there to perfect them except they are aided by some body with means. That has led to the "conspiracies."

It is an attempt to accomplish something in indirect and unlawful way that should be permitted in a lawful way. The purchase of timber in bodies large enough to justify lumbermen in establishing mills there should be provided for; just as the purchase of range lands in large tracts in the dry regions should be provided for. All should be under sensible and careful regulation, but the land laws should be adapted to conditions. If this were done these everlasting range wars and timber land scandals would be done away with largely, and lands which are almost without value except when taken in large bodies would pass into ownership that would make them valuable. Our land laws were evidently drawn to suit the conditions in the fertile prairies of Illinois to Kansas, but they are not suited to conditions in the mountainous and timbered sections, and the attempt to make them fit has been productive of uncounted scandals and hardships for years. It is time they were ended.

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A WOLF-TAMER IN POLITICS.  
A writer in Collier's Weekly, has the following concerning William Travers Jerome, District Attorney for New York:  
Every interesting situation in politics must turn upon a personality or a principle. The candidacy of William Travers Jerome for District Attorney of New York has the advantage of both. Mr. Jerome has made himself a national center of attraction, first, because he is Jerome, and second, because in the present campaign he is the most conspicuous representative of the principle of the open door to public service—the idea of reaching office without crawling through the gutter to win favor of a boss.

Four years ago a degraded Tammany, befouled with the muck of Devery, Crocker and Van Wyck, was beaten by a fusion of all the elements of good citizenship in New York and some of the bad. Jerome was elected with the rest of the reform ticket. He did more than anybody else to make the victory possible, but still it was Fusion's victory, not his. But today he stands as the representative of a principle that is all his own. He nominated himself in a year when Tammany was invincible, and told all parties that they might suit themselves about supporting him, but that, win or lose, he would go through the campaign without an obligation to any man or machine. He stands on the maxim that when the people know a man and trust him they need no political middlemen to bring them together.

The common idea of Jerome, even among his admirers, is that he is a devotee of the spectacular and the over-strenuous—"Roosevelt ad absurdum," a malicious critic has called him. He first came into notice as a judge through a pyrotechnic series of raids upon gambling houses, in which he would head a hatchet brigade and then hold court upon a table in the captured stronghold, surrounded by the spoils of victory. He carried on a sensational campaign against the infamies of the Red Light district making his audiences catch their breath with descriptions of social evils in terms as daringly plainspoken as the eloquence of Dr. Parkhurst or a modern lady novelist. He pushed his war upon the gamblers after his election until there was not one known gambling house open in New York—a condition which still exists, and which probably does not exist in any other important city in the United States. He has seemed to be always in the brightly focused limelight of publicity.

But that is only one side of the man, and not the most important side. In all these four years of authority Jerome has repressed himself and left the dramatic and attractive parts of the work of his office to his subordinates. He tries no cases personally, although he enjoys trying cases. The great coups by which the public judges his success or failure are in his view of minor importance. What he considers the supreme achievement of his term is a thing most people have never heard of. It is his success in so remodeling a great public department, formerly conducted with all the slipshod inefficiency of the average government office, that now it is run with the systematic precision of a private business establishment. The real work of the District Attorney's office is not to advertise some one notorious Canfield or Nan Patterson case. It is to keep justice moving in thousands upon thousands of common cases that never get more than a line or two in the papers—to see that obscure criminals get prompt punishment, and that innocent men unjustly accused do not linger unnecessarily in jail. This is what Mr. Jerome has accomplished. He has so systematized the work of his office that notwithstanding the appalling growth of the city there are fewer persons in the Tombs awaiting trial than there have ever been before within living memory. There were about four hundred persons in that class when he began his work; now there are less than two hundred. There were about eight hundred names on the trial calendar; now the number has been cut in two. There are fewer people arrested and waiting examination; fewer examined and waiting indictment; fewer indicted and waiting trial, than ever before. Formerly the District Attorney's office used to ask for continuances because it was not ready to try cases—now it is always ready, and all the applications for delay are made by the defendants. Mr. Jerome calls himself the floorwalker of a legal department store, always patrolling the aisles to see that the machinery keeps moving.

Moreover, he has given the public for the first time an opportunity of knowing just what its servants in the District Attorney's office are doing. He has instituted a system of daily reports, showing exactly how many cases are pending in which indict-

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ments have been found, which are on the calendars for trial and in what court, and, in short, everything there is to know. A summary of these reports is posted up every morning, available to the reporters or to any citizen. Under the old pre-Jerome system the District Attorney himself did not have this information and could not have obtained it without a month's work.

If Jerome is a merciless assailant of the bad, he has the knack of finding and bringing to the surface what good there is in the most unsuspected quarters. When he was making his early raids on the gamblers he used to sit up until three or four o'clock in the morning to give them a chance to find bail. If no bonds were forthcoming he would often say to the friends wretch before him—a criminal who would not hesitate to rob a visitor with stacked cards or pick a pocket: "You are charged with a felony. Your friends have not turned up. I have the power to let you go on your own recognizance. If I do and you do not come back, nobody will think anything about you, but I shall be severely criticized. If I let you go will you give me your word, not as a defendant to a judge, but as man to man, that you will appear before me at nine o'clock?" The prisoner would answer: "I'll do it, Mr. Jerome," and never once was that promise broken, although not one of those gamblers was acquitted, and they all knew that they were facing the penalties of felony.

Under the democratic theory of government an official with Mr. Jerome's record would naturally be re-elected as a matter of course. Having found a faithful servant, the people would simply hold onto him. But as the time for a new election approached, it appeared that the people had accused of say about the matter. Half a dozen men controlled all the turnstiles that gave access to nominations, and nobody could pass through without dropping in his tribute of money, of self-respect, or of entangling pledges. In this emergency Jerome did the bold, unconventional and therefore the Jerome-like, thing. He announced long in advance of the meeting of the party convention, that he would be a candidate for re-election if the legal number of two-thousand voters would sign his nomination petition. Twenty-five thousand responded. The list included the most illustrious and the lowliest citizens of New York. Many of the letters contained money for campaign expenses. There were no \$50,000 checks from insurance companies, but there were dollar bills and even twenty-five cent pieces from workmen. The politicians began to wonder whether this man, whom they could not manage, might not add strength to their ticket after all. Mr. Jerome has succeeded in producing upon the public mind the impression of sincerity—of an honest intention to do the right thing. A reputation of that kind is a tremendous and terrifying force in politics. The bosses do not know how to deal with it, and when it is combined with aggressive fighting energy it affects them as the crack of the trainer's

whip affects the cowering beasts in the cage.

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