

OUR GOVERNMENT, IS IT TRULY OURS?

Lincoln Steffens Proposes to Find Out.

IS IT REPRESENTATIVE?

Writer Says Trail of Corruption Leads to Washington.

INVESTIGATES IN CAPITAL

"If the Railroads Rule the United States, if the Special Interests Rule My Country, I'd Like to Know It," He Says.

WHO LINCOLN STEFFENS IS.

Lincoln Steffens is a noted author and journalist. He was born in San Francisco in 1866 and was graduated from the University of California in 1889. He then studied in the Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Paris and Sorbonne. He joined the staff of the New York Evening Post, became assistant city editor of that newspaper and later city editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser. In September, 1901, he became managing editor of McClure's Magazine, with which he is now connected. He is the author of "The Shame of the Cities" and has won distinction for his fearless exposure of graft and corruption in city and state governments.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 12.—(Special Correspondence.)—I have come to Washington in the plain character of a private citizen to find out all I can about my Government. It is mine; or, it should be yours, too, of course. But I say "mine" with a definite thought in mind: Government should represent the will of us; not only the good citizens, but the bad also, and not only the bad, but the good, the bad and the indifferent. For we are all sorts, and our Government has to deal with us all. But my thought is that a representative government should stand especially for those of its citizens who don't want to get anything out of it but fair play and fairly efficient service.

Now you may be asking some favor for yourself or your friend or your friend's friend; or, for your business or your party or your state or your river. It may be all right for "our" Government to grant you what you want, but I have noticed that men who get what they want out of "our" Government are disposed to judge leniently of the administration of it as a whole. On the other hand, when men fall to get what they seek, they are inclined to condemn the whole thing, and rather harshly. So I cannot be sure of you, as I am of myself. For I know that I have nothing to ask that everybody should not have, neither an office nor a contract, neither a wrong grant nor a "good bill"; nor yet—the news.

The point of my purpose lies in the fact that, though I am a reporter, my interest is personal, not professional; it is simply that of a simple citizen who seeks to understand simply it, and how, his Government is attending to his business. State and City Governments Corrupt.

And I really want to know this. I have spent all the years of my mature life inquiring into the condition and the character of our state and municipal governments, and I know something about them. They are corrupt. Some are worse than others, but none is very good. In a few cities and in a few states there are movements afoot to achieve better things. Indeed, there are signs of an awakening all over the country—in cities and states. Yet the typical American Government is bad in our cities and in our states. How about the National Government? Is that any better? The average American citizen seems to think it is. In cities and in states where the good citizen has given up in despair, he will brighten up when you mention the federal establishment. Our American optimism takes refuge in the declaration made again and again to me that "anyhow, as a Nation, we are all right."

"The National Government is sound," we say. This observation which transformed me from an easy-going reporter into a concerned citizen was that the so-called political corruption of St. Louis was like that of New York, and that what went on in those cities went on also in Minneapolis and Pittsburgh and Philadelphia and Chicago. The causes were much the same, and the prices and the forms and the effects. And the same causes were at work corrupting the states, where—in Ohio and in Rhode Island, in New Jersey and Illinois and New York and Wisconsin—these same forces working in the same way were producing the one very same result—a revolutionary change in the essential nature of our Government. Then I noticed that the corruption of the cities spread up into their states, and that the corruption of the states reached down into the cities. Municipal reform was checked by state corruption, and state reform was checked by municipal corruption, because, forsooth, state corruption and municipal corruption were all one system of corruption.

Presidential? Not a bit of it. I believe

that when we Americans once understand our corruption we will throttle the beast to death.

Trail Leads to the Capital.

But I found that I couldn't grasp the beast in the cities and states. Wherever I followed the trail of municipal corruption up into a state I met evidences of Federal corruption, and I have seen citizens who, having beaten the beast in their city, have proceeded against it in the state, only to encounter there what looked like a sympathetic national system. What did that mean? What does it mean that wherever I have traveled the broad main highway of our commercial-political corruption, whether in a city or in a state, always the footprints of the big, successful political-grafters have pointed off toward Washington? What are they doing in Washington? Did they come here to retire and reform? Recent disclosures concerning certain departments and men suggest that the lessons learned at home have been applied here—only with the improved skill of the practiced expert. Is that so? Is Washington to politics what New York is to business, the Mecca of the finished rascals, or is it more like Newport—a sort of Valhalla for the grafters that are done grafting?

No? Neither? Well, that is what I want to settle for myself. That is why, having turned from cities to states, I am going now from the states into the United States. Since our bad city governments and our bad state governments are all one bad system, I'd like to know if there are but parts of a national system.

And we do not anticipate, I have crossed in the cities and states, the tracks of good men, also, who have gone on up to Washington. And there are more, no doubt, of whom I never heard. The President told me once—before he was President—that the character of the House of Representatives, for example, was high, very high; and that there were in that body a surprisingly large number of able, courageous men. Good. What are they doing there? How are they doing it? It is sometimes hard for good men to do good work in public office; what difficulties do good men encounter in Washington? I must seek out these men and ask them. They will tell me the truth, and I will tell you the truth. And if the President is right about the House; and if the scandals exposed in the departments are exceptional; and if the Senate has been misrepresented as much as it is accused of misrepresenting us, then—the truth about Washington will be interesting and pleasant for a private citizen to know of his own knowledge.

Free to Pursue the Truth.

And I shall know, I have a right to know what is going on, and I have you, and I mean to know; know, too, of my own knowledge, and I mean to make that knowledge yours. How? I shall ask questions, and I shall report those questions to you. When I get answers, I shall report those answers to you. And if I get no answers, I shall report that to you. But if I get no answers, I shall go out and answer my own questions myself. This may take time, but I have plenty of time. It may be necessary to go back into the states and districts whence "our" representatives come, but I am free to travel. You see, having no news to watch for, I can pursue the truth—and nail it.

But there should be no obstacles in the way of my quest, since all that I have to ask may be summed up in one short sentence:

"What do you represent?"

That is the question to put to a representative democracy; and surely that is a proper question for a representative to answer.

Whether he be the President or a Justice of the Supreme Court, a United States Senator or a member of the House.

(Concluded on page 2.)

HADLEY CHEERED IN OPEN COURT

Rebuke to Rogers for Flippancy and Contempt Draws Applause.

CONTEMPT CASE ARGUED

Oil Magnate Accused of Inflaming Public by His Manner—Pierce Agrees to Testify and Volunteers Evidence.

STANDARD OIL ON TRIAL.

CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS—Hadley rebukes Rogers for flippancy, frivolity and contempt for Missouri Supreme Court. Crowd in New York Supreme Court applauds. Decision deferred.

PIERCE WILL TESTIFY—H. C. Pierce, who fled on yacht to avoid testifying, agrees to return and testify before Missouri Supreme Court.

ROGERS VOLUNTEERS EVIDENCE—Rogers voluntarily appears before Commissioner and testifies he made no deal with Pierce.

MORE EVIDENCE OF MONOPOLY—Several former Standard Oil employees testify to facts confirming charge of combination with pretended competitors.

NEW YORK, Jan. 12.—There was an unusual scene in the Supreme Court of the State of New York today when Attorney-General Herbert S. Hadley, of Missouri, arguing before Justice Gildersleeve on the rule to compel H. H. Rogers, of the Standard Oil Company, to answer questions in the Missouri state inquiry into certain oil companies operating there, was applauded and cheered by the crowd in the court-room as he concluded an arraignment of Mr. Rogers for the position he has taken in the inquiry. A decision was deferred until Monday.

At the conclusion of the arguments, during which Mr. Rogers' attorneys reiterated that the relevancy of the questions asked their client is pending before the Supreme Court of Missouri, and should not be dealt with here until a decision is rendered by that court, Justice Gildersleeve adjourned the matter until Monday, at which time, it is expected, proofs will be submitted as to the status of the oil inquiry in Missouri, of which the New York hearings are a part.

William V. Rowe filed the formal answer of Mr. Rogers, of which the substance was given in yesterday's dispatch.

Immaterial, Says Standard Man.

Frank Hagerman, of Kansas City, representing the three respondent oil companies, said the attempt to discover the stock ownership of the respondent companies was immaterial. Mr. Hadley brought the proceedings, he said, under a statute the legality of which the respondents challenged. The secretary

of the Republic Oil Company was requested to bring the stock into the Missouri court, and the question was referred to the Missouri Supreme Court for determination. The master before whom the case was tried in Missouri, Mr. Hagerman said, suspended all proceedings there until the question whether the stock ownership and control of the companies must be disclosed could be determined. Mr. Hadley then, according to Mr. Hagerman, came to New York, and under the New York statute, took testimony and asked questions along the same lines as were pending in the decision in Missouri. Mr. Hagerman declared that the stock ownership is not material and cited a decision in Missouri in the tobacco trust litigation.

Rather Busy With Trusts.

"Your Honor may have noticed," he said, "that out in that country they are rather busy with what are known as trusts."

Mr. Hagerman said he contended that of 45 questions asked Mr. Rogers, 25 have nothing whatever to do with the decision in Missouri. The two alleged offending corporations, Mr. Hadley, Mr. Hagerman declared, ignored the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri by asking these questions, and the witness had a right to refuse pending the decision of that court.

William J. Curtis, of counsel for the defendants, said that the atmosphere of the examination conducted by Mr. Hadley was not dignified. Mr. Curtis asked to enter his professional protest against what he termed the sensationalism with which the case had been conducted.

What Hadley Alleges.

As Mr. Hadley was about to begin his address, Justice Gildersleeve asked him to state the issue in the case clearly, and added that the question of stock ownership did not seem very material in proceedings of this nature.

(Concluded on page 2.)

CONTENTS TODAY'S PAPER

The Weather. YESTERDAY'S—Maximum temperature, 31 deg.; minimum, 16. Precipitation, .04 of an inch. TODAY'S—Rain. Fresh south to west breeze.

Foreign. British laborer's strike—Immense gains in election and defeat of Balfour. Page 1. Germany seeks harmony about Morocco but will fight if honor is attacked. Page 5. Morales arrives wounded in Porto Rico. Page 2.

Russia. Courier tells of perilous journey through rebellious provinces. Page 15. New Year's celebration in capital ends in dramatic tragedy. Page 2.

National. Babcock confers with Cannon on House investigation. Page 2. Plan of Republican leaders for tariff retaliation on Germany. Page 2. Senate may refuse to confirm Bishop as Canal Commissioner. Page 25. Debate on Philippine bill ends Monday. Page 2.

Herman determined to take seat in House. Page 1. Festivities in honor of Chinese Commission. Page 11. Merit will be tried for having four mid-dies will be convicted. Page 14.

Politics. Lincoln Steffens begins new investigations in Washington to find out who rules the United States. Page 1.

Domestic. Hadley vigorously attacks Rogers and is applauded in court. Page 1. Court rejects Mrs. Leifgreen's claim and severely condemns her. Page 2. Gigantic fraud in New York discovered. Page 2. Horrible murder of woman in Chicago. Page 2. Passengers and crew of steamer Cherokee in peril. Page 14.

Pacific Coast. Jasper Jennings seems to enjoy his trial for murder of his father at Grant's Pass. Page 2. With popcorn and tomatoes, Claude Barker, of Salem, ends 34-day fast. Page 5. Preliminary trial of Harry Orchard is begun at Caldwell, Idaho. Page 3. Echo Watermen's Association is formed, with a clear track. Page 4.

Development company files on Drachutza Bay, Alaska. Page 1. H. L. Hartamp dies at Hillsboro of injury received in friendly struggle. Page 4. Mrs. Niese, infanticide, pardoned from Washington Penitentiary. Page 1.

Sport. Fitzsimmons plays wily trick. Page 17. New football rules agitated. Page 17. Clever dog taught tricks. Page 17. Baseball averages announced. Page 17. Pacific Coast League waits for Seattle's decision. Page 17.

Commercial and Marine. Heavy buying movement in hop market. Page 25. California prune market improving. Page 25. More public interest in Wall street speculation. Page 25. Chicago wheat market firm on foreign demand. Page 25. Bank statement shows large gain in cash. Page 25. Pilots will present vigorous protest against proposed railroad bridge near Swan Island when matter comes up for public hearing. Page 14. Steamer Abregoidie, from Portland, damaged in collision at Yokohama. Page 14.

Portland and Vicinity. Meier & Frank buy land and will build eight-story annex. Page 9. Editors decide on advertising and elect officers. Page 10. Galloway Democratic candidate for Congress in First District. Page 8. Building of homes feature of realty for the year. Page 22. Husband has no custody right, decides Judge Cleveland. Page 8. Sons of Revolution will celebrate 200th anniversary of birth of Benjamin Franklin. Page 9. Patrons of Richards' fear subpoena. Page 26. Mountain Gem twice wrecked on reefs in river. Page 11. Colored woman says she was drugged and robbed in Pullman car by porters. Page 8. Record of a day in the Municipal Court. Page 26.

Features and Departments. Editorial. Page 6. Church announcements. Page 34. Classified advertisements. Pages 15-21. Youth's department. Page 47. Epitome of Benjamin Franklin's life. Page 28. The "Roosevelt Bears." Page 46. Frederic J. Haskin's letter. Page 44. Rubens and Hagerman's social empire. Page 48. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis' sermon. Page 37. Recollections of Judge George H. Williams. Page 38. Ireland's dream of home rule nearing realization. Page 29. Five fables by the late Horace S. Lyman. Page 29. Miss Tingie's cooking lesson. Page 42. Social Pages. Page 27. Dramatic. Page 28-29. Musical. Page 32. Book reviews. Page 24. Household and fashions. Page 42-43.

DETERMINED TO BRAVE REBUKE

Hermann Will Take Oath in House When Health Improves.

CONFERS WITH FULTON

No Open Objection Will Be Made, but Members Will Show Resentment—Family Says Nothing About Trial.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Wash.

Ington, Jan. 12.—Representative Binger Hermann today went out for the first time since he arrived in Washington a week ago last Friday. This morning shortly after breakfast he called on Senator Fulton at his apartments in the Portland, and after a brief talk, left, saying he intended to call on Senator Gearin and then return to his home. Mr. Gearin had left his hotel before Hermann arrived and the two did not meet.

Hermann did not go to the Capitol today. He made no attempt to be sworn in, nor did he call to collect his mileage. He looks little different from what he did when he was last in Washington, but it was weak because of a renewed attack of erysipelas, which centered in his legs, and he is not able to walk far at a time. He would not submit to an interview and his son-in-law and attorney is not willing to speak for him.

Determined to Invite Snub.

For this reason it is not possible to obtain any authoritative statement as to Hermann's plans, but in view of the fact that he has written numerous letters declaring his purpose to take his seat in the House and look after Oregon interests and in view of the further fact that he came to Washington away ahead of the time when the Government will be ready to try him, it is believed Hermann will present himself at the bar of the House and ask to be sworn in just as soon as he is physically able.

It is within the power of any member of the House to object to allowing Hermann to take the oath, but it is doubtful if any objection will be raised if he has the effrontery to go into the House and ask to be sworn. Members generally disapprove his course in coming to Washington, and most of them will resent his forcing his presence upon the House under existing circumstances, but no one member likes to undertake the disagreeable task of objecting to the administration of the oath to another member.

But, if Hermann is sworn in, he will be made to feel the resentment of his colleagues after he takes his seat. It will be a silent, but effective, rebuke that would stun any but a thick-skinned man. One experienced member of the House said today that, while he regrets that Hermann intends to take his seat, he himself would not like to raise an objection, but he added that if this matter could be submitted to a secret ballot the House would vote almost unanimously to exclude Hermann.

Hermann and his friends and relatives

CRUSHING BLOW GIVEN BALFOUR

Liberals Make Great Gains in Britain.

EX-PREMIER IS DEFEATED

Weak Candidate Gets Large Majority Over Him.

NO HOPE FOR PROTECTION

Result in 39 Constituencies Shows Liberals Gain 18 Seats in Parliament—Free-Traders Are Mobbed in Birmingham.

THE LATE PARLIAMENT.

The result of the election held in December and October, 1904, was: Conservatives 234 Liberal Unionists 68 Liberals 182 Irish Nationalists 82 Total 566

The Ministerial majority had been considerably reduced before Parliament was dissolved, Liberals having gained a number of seats at by-elections.

The seats are divided among the kingdoms as follows: England 465, Wales 29, Scotland 72, Ireland 102.

LONDON, Jan. 12.—The political map of England today underwent a striking change as the result of Parliamentary elections held in 39 constituencies in widely scattered but important centers, in which the Liberals gained 18 seats. The Laborites, who are counted among the Liberal gains, secured four new seats against Unionist candidates.

In the east division of Manchester Arthur J. Balfour, the ex-Prime Minister was defeated by T. G. Horridge, Liberal, who was conceded even by the Liberals to be a weak candidate against such a person as Mr. Balfour. Mr. Horridge secured the remarkable majority of 1980.

This victory, notwithstanding the Liberal predictions, was a decidedly sensational outcome of the day's polling and will, it is believed, enormously effect the elections, which will continue for a fortnight.

Winston Churchill, Liberal and Free Trader, won the seat for the northwest division of Manchester from W. Johnson-Hicks, Conservative, by a majority of 1241.

Liberals Gain Immensely.

Everywhere the Liberal majorities were increased and the net result of the first day's contest between the great political parties was overwhelmingly in favor of the present government. Although only 66 seats are now filled out of the 670 required for the new Parliament, which will meet at Westminster February 15, the composition of the House as shown by the results received up to midnight, is as follows:

Liberals 29, Unionists 14, Laborites 6, Nationalists 7. This includes 24 candidates who were unopposed and the two Little disorders attended the polling at any place. The excitement at Manchester was intense and the candidates and their constituents worked with feverish activity, especially in the district Mr. Balfour was contesting, when reports were circulated late in the afternoon that Mr. Balfour was in danger of defeat.

Majority Will Be Overwhelming.

Political clubs received the returns by special wires and everywhere the defeat of Mr. Balfour was received as a most complete surprise. Then, as Liberal gain was added to Liberal gain until the remarkable total of 22 seats, counting the Laborites, out of 39 constituencies was reached, it was agreed that the Liberal majority in the next Parliament would show the overwhelming decision of the country.

Dispatches received from Manchester say that the excitement there tonight was indescribable. Great crowds swarmed the streets cheering and demonstrating with the utmost enthusiasm.

Balfour Will Try Again.

Mr. Balfour tonight addressed a gathering at the Conservative Club. He acknowledged the gravity of the disaster, but predicted short life for the Liberal government. He urged the Unionists to continue to work for the party and the future reversal of today's results.

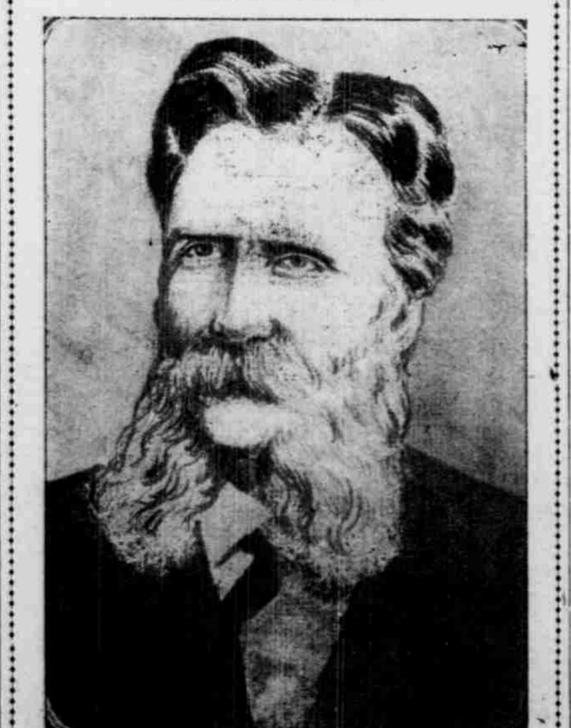
Of course Mr. Balfour will find another safe seat before the elections are over by one of the Unionist candidates retiring in his favor. Up to the present, however, there is no indication where the former Premier will find this place where he can secure a majority which will enable him to take his seat as a leader on the front opposition bench.

Among the Unionists who saved their seats in the general landslide were Sir Gilbert Parker at Gravesend, with a majority of 800 over J. Macpherson, the Labor and Liberal candidate, George Wyndham, former Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Unionist candidate for Dover, also retained his seat over R. J. Bryce, Liberal and Free Trader.

Five of the six divisions of Manchester were won by the Liberals, the

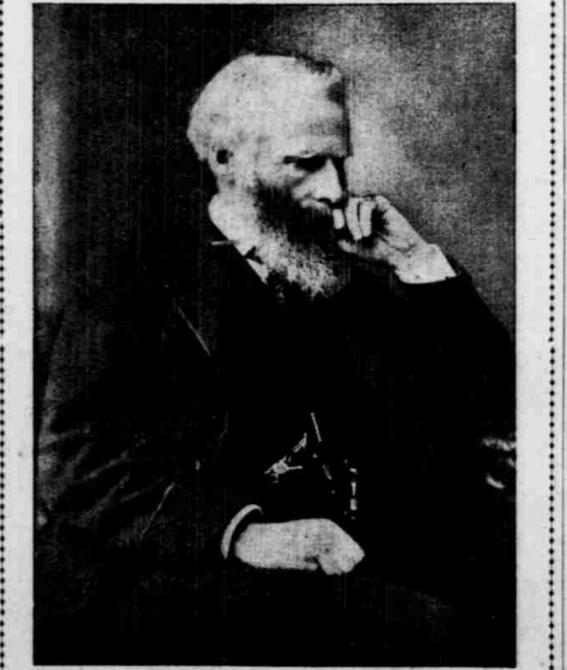
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ALEXANDER E. ORR, WHO HAS BEEN CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK LIFE



Alexander E. Orr, who has been elected president of the New York Life to succeed to John A. McCall, has long been conspicuous, financially and commercially, in New York City. He has been president several times of the Produce Exchange and of the Chamber of Commerce, and has been at the head of the Board of Rapid Transit Commissioners. Mr. Orr was born at Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland, March 2, 1831. When he first came to America in 1850 it was as a visitor, but he speedily decided to remain permanently, and first was employed in shipping and commission houses. In 1861 he became a partner of David Dowg & Co., and since that time has been one of the noted business men of the metropolis. Mr. Orr is a director in many financial and philanthropic institutions.

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, NOTED MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, IS DEAD



The intelligence, in yesterday's telegrams, of the death in England, of Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff came as a painful surprise to our English and Scotch readers, and to many others who knew him from his "Diary" for 23 years consecutively he represented the "Edin'burgh" (in north of Scotland) in the House of Commons. He was then appointed Governor of the Province of Madras, India, filling the position for seven years. During his term of office Burmah was added to the British possessions. On his return to England he was knighted, the honor carrying with it a seat in the House of Lords. During one of Mr. Gladstone's terms as Premier, Mr. Grant Duff held the post in his cabinet of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. From the day he entered college, as a young man, he began a diary, which he continued, most minutely, for 23 years ago. The work covers over half a century of a most momentous period in the history of Great Britain and of the world. A year or two ago it was published in New York and attracted wide attention. Sir M. E. Grant Duff was in his 76th year.

(Concluded on page 2.)