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EDITORIAL

The Chicago Traction Steal.

Nothing now remains to protect the streets of Chicago from J. Pierpont Morgan's raid, but the referendum vote. Mayor Dunne has exhausted his official power by vetoing the Morgan ordinances, and the corrupted City Council has nullified his veto by the requisite two-thirds. Only twelve aldermen stood firm against the temptations and influences that Morgan's band of buccaneers threw in their way.

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It is a motley crew, that which has lined up

behind Morgan in this last desperate assault upon the city's rights. There are the "gray wolves" of both parties, aldermen who are known to be always "out for the stuff" and whose votes could never have been got for a proposition like this of Morgan's without "a roll," and a "fat roll" at that. Side by side with these are Victor Lawson's milk-and-water reformers, backed by Lawson's papers—the News and the Record-Herald—together with the Municipal Voters' League, all aforetime vigorous denouncers of their present "gray wolf" comrades. Cheek by jowl with the others is the Republican machine, which is to Cook County what Tammany Hall is to New York—an office brokerage concern that collects from the corporations and makes good by distributing party spoils and giving orders to its henchmen. Last of all, but hungry as any, are the Harrison Democrats, part of the stock in trade of the Victor Lawson outfit. In different ways this entire aggregation has been brought into line under the Pierpont Morgan banner; some by raw boodle, some by political promises, some by coercive pressure, some by business relationships and expectations, and all by influences that none would like to confess to with candor and for publication.

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But the referendum looms up before Mr. Morgan and his motley cohorts. Unless the Morgan ordinances are voted for by the people, the corporations will find their plunder again just out of their reach. They may, of course,—and in spite of legal opinions to the contrary, as well as their own promises, they doubtless will,—claim that an adverse referendum vote cannot affect the ordinances; that their rights were complete when the ordinances passed the Council over the Mayor's veto. But on this contention they will almost certainly lose in the courts in the end. It will serve them only to postpone the final decision of the traction question until they can possibly jam through a franchise ordinance without a referendum. Their ability to do this will depend upon the result of the election for Mayor.

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The Mayoralty Election in Chicago.

The defeat of the traction ordinances on referendum is almost a certainty. Huge sums of money will no doubt be spent to carry them, but the whole Morgan combine are conscious of the gigantic difficulties in their way even with "oodles" of money.

They are planning, therefore, to secure the election of a city government from which, when these ordinances are defeated, they can obtain what they want without the obstacle of a referendum. The one thing that would baffle their plans in this respect is the re-election of Mayor Dunne. Every agency at their command, therefore—physical, political, goo-goo and financial,—is now in requisition to assure Dunne's defeat. But it is evident that Dunne cannot be defeated at the polls. The only possibility of defeating him at all is to corrupt the Democratic primaries and prevent his nomination.

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The man chosen to lead the Pierpont Morgan interests at the Democratic primaries is ex-Mayor Harrison. As the primaries are practically under the control of susceptible politicians, and are so held as to make popular voting at them a farce, the Morgan manipulators expect to count Dunne out and Harrison in. Should they accomplish that purpose, the election contest would be between Harrison as the machine Democrat and Busse as the machine Republican, and Morgan wouldn't care which side won.

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Upon the Democratic nomination for Mayor depends the settlement of the traction problem. If Dunne is nominated, his inevitable election and the equally inevitable defeat of the pending Morgan ordinances, will put a quietus upon the Morgan schemes and leave the city in control of its streets; should Harrison be nominated, the Pierpont Morgan financiers, whether under Harrison or Busse makes no other difference than possibly to some confidential expense account, would own Chicago. Though they failed on the referendum they could then fall back upon Harrison or Busse, as the case might be, for a franchise without a referendum. The immediate demand upon the Democrats of Chicago, if they would protect their traction rights from the Morgan raid, is that they make Dunne's nomination sure by voting for him overwhelmingly at the primaries.

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Indecent Newspapers.

President Roosevelt is credited in Washington dispatches with an intention of prosecuting daily newspapers for publishing through the mails the indecent details of the Thaw trial. Since there is a law prohibiting the use of the mails for such purposes, it is to be hoped that the Federal authorities will enforce it impartially against the great dailies, as they have done with much less reason against defenseless weeklies. But postal

laws can do little to eradicate the evil. No law can force newspapers to rise above the level of the general decency. Of this the instance under consideration furnishes proof, for it is not "yellow journals" alone that are offending in connection with the Thaw trial. The offenders include papers of highly reputable tints. But who is there among their readers, their advertisers, or the patrons of their advertisers, that thinks of thrusting them and their vile reports out of his house? These papers do not come into homes by stealth. They are invited in—filth and all. So long as public sentiment is no more sensitive than that, the postal laws, though they continue to be operative against weak periodicals, will be impotent against great newspapers. Later dispatches indicate that this is also President Roosevelt's opinion. His intention to prosecute the great dailies is reported as having been abandoned.

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Capital Punishment.

An agreeable surprise came last week from the judiciary committee of the lower house of the Illinois legislature. One progressive member, Mr. Ton, had timidly proposed the abolition of the death penalty in cases of conviction on circumstantial evidence. To his astonishment, no doubt, the committee voted, 13 to 12, to abolish capital punishment altogether. One of the members, Mr. McGoorty, fortified the position of the majority by asserting that "every man who ever has seen an execution has been made an advocate of the abolition of the death penalty." This is probably too extreme a statement. While doubtless true of human men, it is probably erroneous as to brute men. To the instincts of the latter the capital penalty appeals, and the closer he gets to its infliction (until it reaches himself) the more he enjoys the horrible sensation. He revels in newspaper details of executions, he yearns to be an onlooker at the grewsome spectacle, and when he sees a hanging he wants to adjust the rope. Capital penalties are bad enough, in that they blot out the physical life of the victims; they are infinitely worse, in that they foster brutish instincts in the populace. The man who coldly demands the taking of another's life by law, is fit, and upon provocation is likely to be willing, to take another's life without law. Where lawful homicide flourishes lawless homicide is cultivated, and of the two the former is morally the worse. Driven by righteous wrath temporarily beyond control, men may lynch murderers caught in the act, without breaking down their own moral

bulwarks; but the man who deliberately puts another to death, whether as hangman, juror, legislator, or citizen, has the making in his heart of a deliberate murderer. Cultivate this state of mind in him by retaining capital penalties, and if he does not kill to satisfy his blood-lust, it is either because no provocation occurs or he lacks the courage of his brutishness. The 13 men on the Illinois judiciary committee who voted to abolish capital penalties are to be congratulated, and it is to be hoped that they will yet be able to rid their State of its criminal law. The experience of other States proves that these penalties serve no purpose whatever in restraining homicide—the only possible excuse, if there be any excuse, that human men can offer for laws that take human life.

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Malloch on Labor.

Of W. H. Mallock, the English essayist, it has been said that he convinces by arguing platitudes elaborately and then jumping over a fallacy into his desired conclusion. For example: Says Mr. Mallock, "Twice two are four, and I will prove it." He does prove it, logically, and with delightful diction; the man's thought seems to be invincible. "Similarly," he continues, "twice four are eight, and I'll prove that." He proves that also, and one feels that his thought is indeed invincible. "Furthermore," he resumes, "twice eight are sixteen; I'll prove that, too." And so thoroughly does he prove it that confidence is completely established. Whereupon he concludes: "Whoever has followed me thus far will readily see that twice sixteen are forty-seven." Judging from the reports of Mr. Mallock's lectures in New York, he is arguing after that fashion. Having proved that all wealth is not produced by hired labor, he adds the assertion that the contention that "labor is the source of all wealth" is platitudinous "if labor be taken to include industrial effort of all kinds," and then concludes that in that case, "to say that all wealth ought to go to the laborers is like saying that all wealth ought to go to the human race." Mr. Mallock skips the important fact that all members of the human race do not join in industrial effort; but this skip is intended to be invisible. It is the jump from a demonstration that twice eight are sixteen, to the conclusion that therefore twice sixteen are forty-seven.

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Rockefeller's Donation.

Thirty-two million dollars is the munificent gift of John D. Rockefeller to educational pur-

poses, and the press is blessing his benevolent name. But what does this gift consist of? The question is asked by Tom L. Johnson, and he answers it, and answers it right. It does not consist of food, nor clothing, nor houses, nor any actually existing wealth that may be consumed in satisfying human needs. It consists of paper documents, which the labor of the future must perennially redeem, yet never cancel—of paper titles to railroad rights of way, to special privileges in city streets, and to legal monopolies of mineral deposits and other gifts of God to mankind. These documents are mere powers to levy taxes, to take tribute, to say to the worker of the future, "For every three units of energy you expend in wealth production, you must give the produce of one to me." What Mr. Rockefeller has really contributed to educational uses, therefore, is the labor of other men, yet to be performed, and to an annual amount that would capitalize into \$32,000,000. Estimating this amount at 5 per cent. and the labor at an average per worker as high even as \$500 a year net, the gift from Mr. Rockefeller resolves itself into a gift in perpetuity of 3,200 industrious men.

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But we are not quarreling with Mr. Rockefeller for having made the gift. His command over industrious men is, under existing economic conditions, at his own disposal. There is no direct way in which he could set those men free if he tried. The situation is not so simple as under the slavery regime, when the enslaved men could be identified by name or number. It is not 3,200 particular men that he gives or has to give. The particular men cannot be identified, and no particular man furnishes all the labor energy contributed. But particular men, it may be millions, will have to contribute each an indefinable part of this labor energy. Mr. Rockefeller, therefore, cannot manumit his slaves directly. What he can do, and all he can do, is to utilize their labor for purposes that will tend to change the economic conditions which shackle them with the invisible chains of a slavery that is none the less real for being intangible.

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Has he done that by his educational gift? This is the question the answer to which determines whether he is to be applauded for his gift or not. He cannot be applauded if his purpose is to perpetuate the very laws that give him dominion over the industry and tribute from the production of his fellow men. Yet such is said and widely believed to be his purpose. More than that.

There is a public disposition, if not a reason, to believe that a conscious plan of great magnitude is in operation, of which this munificent Rockefeller gift is part, to control the educational institutions of the country in such manner as to perpetuate the economic superstitions that hold the working masses in thrall to the privileged classes which Mr. Rockefeller personifies. Mayor Johnson gave voice to this idea when he said: "We all know that the people are now realizing that special privileges are immensely valuable, and when the time comes for the government to pass legislation restricting these things, will not the cry be raised that the legislation will affect this great endowment? that you will be hurting a fund provided for the education of the youth of the country? It reminds one of conditions before the Civil War. Donations to colleges were made in the South, but were any donations made where the slavery question was permitted to be discussed? Times are different probably, but methods are still similar." The matter might be likened also to the theological endowments of the past upon which colleges have thrived. The dead hand of religious superstition held them in a vise-like grip, which has but recently relaxed its hold. So may such endowments as this of Mr. Rockefeller hold the colleges of the future in the grip of a dead hand of economic superstition and industrial oppression.

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THE PROTECTION SUPERSTITION.

The whole protective system is founded upon a political and economic superstition—the utterly baseless assumption that Labor needs protection. Grant this assumption, and you are compelled to defend the protective system; or, if you attack it, the best ammunition you can get is blank cartridges. It is because most of the opponents of the protective tariff have granted this major premise—that Labor needs protection—that their onslaughts have been weak and ineffective. Never until those who attack protection are willing to pull it up by the roots will any substantial results be achieved.

Labor is the only thing in the world that cannot be protected by any agency outside of itself. This is because it is the active force in the production of wealth. Since society is divided into three classes, workers, beggars and thieves, it is clearly evident that the first cannot be protected by the other two. Now the question naturally arises, why is it that nearly every one entertains the no-

tion that it is absolutely necessary that Labor be protected or disaster, poverty and distress will follow. Does it not result from the fact that opportunities of all kinds are scarce? Is not this the reason that Labor is always dependent, always in the attitude of a supplicant or beggar asking for an opportunity to live? Labor has never been respected, and until very recently and in limited quarters it has not even respected itself. The fundamental reason is that Labor has always supported the beggars and thieves.

Those two classes are parasites in their nature, and parasites never respect the thing on which they feed. The slave owner never respected the slave. Even the man with a free pass in his pocket has a secret contempt in his heart for the other passengers in the car who have paid their own fares and his too. This is in the very nature of parasitism. Not until there is but one class, and that a working class, will work, useful service, be universally respected. Universal usefulness and universal respect are two parts of the same thing. One cannot exist without the other.

How is it, then, that such a vast body of idlers exists at the expense of the workers? Must it not be because of some radical denial of rights which results in a denial of equal opportunities? How can any society be safe, sane or normal, or even decently conservative, which harbors, cherishes and defends any institution that makes tribute takers of one class and tribute payers of another? Can there be a more flagrant denial of equal freedom than is involved in an institution which enables some men to charge others unthinkable sums for the mere privilege of using the bounties of nature? It is perfectly safe to predict, however, that just so long as society condones this moral iniquity, which not only disinherits the masses of mankind, rendering them dependent, and in the case of a great multitude helpless, born in rented houses, on rented land, in a rented country and upon a rented planet,—just so long will Labor harbor the notion that it needs protection, and just so long will the exploiters of Labor foster that notion.

This institution is utterly incompatible with a truly civilized state. It is inimical to good morals, and subversive of the first principles of democracy, the great ultimate in human government. It can be destroyed only by uprooting the idea upon which it rests, the idea that land is property, involving the private appropriation of ground rent. This last is the great, the fundamental, the wholly unnecessary element in land tenure as at present established. Private posses-

sion of land is necessary to a stable society; private ownership of ground rent is not.

The evil can be corrected by the same agency that has established and now maintains land tenure. This agency is civil government. But all the substantial benefits of civil government go to the owners of the soil in the form of ground rentals. Civil government is maintained by taxation. No other method has yet been devised, nor can be. To tax is to take. The idea of voluntary contributions for the support of government is chimerical. If something must be taken, why not take ground rent? And if it is taken, infinite results will flow from it for the uplift of mankind, so broad in its ultimate effects as to cover the whole earth, so wide-reaching in its results as to take in the last man. This spells democracy. This ends the protection superstition.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Wednesday, Feb. 13, 1907.

Mayor Dunne's Veto.

In vetoing on the 11th the traction settlement ordinances adopted by the Chicago City Council last week (p. 1063), Mayor Dunne submitted a lengthy message in which he set forth these objections:

In my letter addressed to Alderman Werno, chairman of the committee on local transportation, dated April 27, 1906, I stated that in dealing with the traction question "the controlling consideration must be that nothing shall be done which will impair the right of the city to acquire the street railway systems as soon as it has established its financial ability to do so." This being the controlling consideration in framing these ordinances, the right of the city to acquire the street railway properties should be fully protected in the same. This, in my judgment, has not been done. While purporting upon their face to give the city the right to acquire the traction systems of the companies at any time upon six months' notice, the ordinances fail to provide practical methods for the acquisition of the systems. The properties can only be purchased by the payment of money. The city can only secure money by the issuance of Mueller certificates. At the present time the authority of the city to issue certificates is limited to \$75,000,000. After the payment of the usual brokerage fees these certificates will not net to exceed \$72,000,000 in cash. The price of the present properties—tangible and intangible—as fixed in the ordinances aggregates \$50,000,000. The cost of rehabilitation, it is admitted, will be from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 and may run up to an unlimited amount, making the total cost to the city at least \$90,000,000 to \$100,000,000. . . . I confidently predict from what has come to my knowledge during these negotiations that a consolidation will

take place in the early future and that when that consolidation does take place, it will be under the ordinance of the Chicago City Railway Company which provides that the city may not acquire the plant unless upon the payment of cash to the amount of the total cost of all the properties and the rehabilitation of the same. The city being in the position of having only \$72,000,000 worth of cash on hand, as at present authorized by the Mueller certificate ordinance, it will never be in a position to acquire these plants until the City Council shall see fit to pass supplemental ordinances authorizing Mueller certificates to the aggregate of at least \$100,000,000. It may be said that the City Council can pass such ordinances in the future, but from all our experience within the last two years we must know what almost insuperable obstacles will be offered to the passage of such supplemental ordinances. Although the citizens of Chicago declared for immediate municipal ownership of the traction systems of this city in the election of April, 1905, by a vote of 141,518 to 55,660, and although I was elected Mayor by a majority of nearly 25,000 on that sole issue, we all know how difficult it was, notwithstanding that tremendous popular vote, to obtain any ordinance authorizing the issuance of Mueller certificates, and that when the ordinance was finally passed, it was the result of a sudden and most remarkable change in Aldermanic sentiment as expressed in previous votes. Unless a provision is now incorporated in these ordinances, limiting the cost of rehabilitation at any time to the amount of Mueller certificates authorized to be issued, in my judgment it will be most difficult, if not impossible, judging of the future by the past, to obtain the passage of such ordinances, no matter what may be the popular sentiment upon the question. . . . It will be plainly and clearly to the interest of the traction companies in order to prolong the life of their tenure in the public streets to oppose at all times the passage of such ordinances. . . .

Nor can we hope with any confidence, under the terms of these ordinances, that a fund will be acquired out of the 55 per cent. net receipts which becomes the property of the city. The traction companies have been very loud in their protestations that the city's portion of the net receipts will aggregate \$1,350,000 during the first year of the ordinances and that these profits will increase year by year. But when they were asked in committee to guarantee that such returns would come to the city by amending their ordinances so as to guarantee at least 8 per cent. of the gross receipts, they utterly refused to do so. We must, therefore, view with serious misgivings their assertions that the net receipts coming to the city will be any substantial part of the gross receipts. Before the committee on local transportation an effort was made by the city's representatives to obtain a guarantee of at least 8 per cent. of the gross receipts, but the companies refused this most reasonable proposition. Notwithstanding that refusal, you have passed these ordinances without any provision of any character for gross receipts. . . . While under the terms of these ordinances the city would be compelled to pay from \$90,000,000 to \$100,000,000 in cash with less than \$72,000,000 available, and while there is no provision for a guarantee of a sinking fund, the city is further embarrassed by a provision in the same which permits these companies to charge 10 per cent. contractor's profit upon the cost of rehabilitation, and at the same time the ordinances permit them to make sub-contracts. Sub-contractors will not work without a contractor's profit, and presumably the sub-contractor will obtain his 10 per cent. profit, and yet after the payment of the sub-contractor with his profit the company is empowered under the ordinances to charge 10 per cent. additional, both on the cost of sub-contracts and the profit obtained therefrom. There is nothing in the ordinances to prevent the gentlemen in control of these properties from organizing construction companies and having these construction companies obtain a contract, with the approval of the board of supervising engineers, for the building of power houses, railway barns and other

costly structures, in which event the construction company will be paid its usual profit, and the company in addition to this profit will be permitted to charge the people in case of purchase an additional 10 per cent. for the letting of these contracts.

Under the terms of the ordinances no licensee company to which the city may give a license may acquire the plants of the present companies unless upon the payment of a 20 per cent. bonus over and above the price the city would have to pay if it acquired the properties for municipal ownership and operation. The reason advanced by the traction companies for insisting upon this premium was that they should be protected against the sand-bagging operations of rival capitalists. That some protection, if not to this amount, should be given against the machinations of other capitalists might well be conceded, but an effort was made before the committee on local transportation to have the present companies consent to the incorporation in the ordinances of a provision that if a licensee company should offer to the city to accept an ordinance of similar character and give the citizens of Chicago a 4-cent fare, that in such case the companies should take the money invested in the plant and turn over the properties to the company that would give the citizens of Chicago a 4-cent fare. This provision the companies absolutely refused to accept. In my judgment a rival company that offered such terms to the citizens of Chicago could in no aspect of the case be considered in the light of a sandbagging corporation, and I believe that in the interest of the people of this community such a provision should be incorporated in these ordinances, particularly in view of the fact that 3-cent fares now prevail in Cleveland and Detroit, and will soon obtain in many other American cities, and that a 4-cent fare with universal transfers now obtains in Indianapolis.

Even at the expiration of twenty years, under the ordinances as at present framed, the city or any licensee company could not take possession of the property until it has paid the present companies the value of their present properties and the total cost of the rehabilitation; although at that time and for many years prior thereto the \$9,000,000 worth of unexpired franchises now existing, and the \$4,358,743 worth of cable property, which is now part of the contract purchase price of \$50,000,000, will have wholly disappeared.

There are other objections to the ordinances of quite serious character. In the precipitous haste with which the ordinances were pressed through to passage in an all-night session immediately after the adjournment of the committee on local transportation at 7 o'clock p. m., some twenty-eight amendments which had not before the meeting of the Council been printed, were incorporated in the ordinances, and some thirty-eight amendments were voted down. Many of the amendments offered, accepted and rejected, were long and complicated, one of those accepted containing over three thousand words, and could not in the nature of things have been understood, even if heard, by the members of the City Council during the exciting session. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that such laudable amendments as those which provided for the arbitration of disputes between the companies and their employes, a provision limiting the cost of rehabilitation to the amount of Mueller certificates authorized, amending the clause permitting sub-contractors' profits, requiring a guarantee of 8 per cent of the gross receipts, and protecting the public in the right to secure a 4-cent fare, or a 3-cent fare, should have been voted down; and that no provision now appears in the ordinances regulating the maximum hours or the minimum wage to be paid to employes; nor that the agreement between John A. Spoor, Thomas E. Mitten, the City of Chicago and the First Trust and Savings Bank, which purports to remove the obstruction created by the existence of the present General Electric ordinance, is not signed by any of the parties. The ordinances have not only failed to thoroughly secure the demands of the people for early municipalization of the traction systems,

but the methods of their passage lacked the deliberation and careful consideration which measures of such importance to the public require. Under the provision relating to power houses and buildings, the companies are permitted to secure power from any source other than the companies' own power plants, with the approval of the board of supervising engineers. This provision would permit the companies, subject only to the approval of the board of supervising engineers, to make contracts for any length of time and for any price with the Edison or Commonwealth companies, and if the city took over the systems it might be compelled to assume the burden of such a contract, no matter how remunerative it might be to the power company or however onerous it might be upon the city or however desirable it may be for the city to furnish its own power.

These ordinances are not municipal ownership measures, but ordinances masking under the guise of municipal ownership, while really and in fact giving the present companies a franchise for twenty years if not longer. This is in violation of my letter to Alderman Werno, referred to above, to which it is claimed these ordinances conform, and which letter distinctly stated that these companies should be given the right to operate "under revocable licenses," and further stated that "It is absolutely essential that nothing shall be done to enlarge these present rights of the existing companies or to deprive the city of its option of purchase at any time." The people have demanded that any ordinances which may be passed dealing with this traction question must preserve the right of the people to municipalize at the earliest possible moment, and they have a right to have their repeated demands carried out in spirit and in letter.

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The ordinances were immediately passed over Mayor Dunne's veto by the following vote:

Yeas—Kenna, Coughlin, Dixon, Foreman, Pringle, Daley, Martin, McCormick, Young, McCoid, Bennett, Snow, Moynihan, Harris, Fick, Scully, Hurt, Cullerton, Hoffman, Riley, Considine, Harkin, Maypole, Smith, Nowicki, Schermann, Brennan, Conlon, Powers, Bowler, Stewart, Reese, Foell, Sullivan, Dougherty, Werno, Jacobs, Hahne, Krumholz, Dunn, Williston, Lipps, Reinberg, Stewert, Blase, Larson, Herlithy, Wendling, Golombewski, Burns, Bradley, Roberts, Fisher, Badenoch, Hunt, Bihl, Race—57.

Nays—Harding, Richert, Derpa, Zimmer, Uhlir, Bellfuss, Sitts, Dever, Finn, O'Connell, Kohout, Nolan—12.

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Prior to the interposition of his veto, Mayor Dunne received the resignation of Walter L. Fisher as special traction counsel. Mr. Fisher's resignation was submitted in writing on the 6th, after an oral conference between himself and Mayor Dunne, and the Mayor immediately accepted it. On the following day he was retained by the committee on local transportation of the City Council.

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Campaign For and Against the Traction Ordinances.

The business organizations that opposed the referendum petition (p. 1062) are organizing now to advocate the adoption of the traction ordinances at the referendum. These include the Real Estate Board, which addressed on the 8th the following letter to the chairman of the local transportation committee:

The Chicago Real Estate Board in regular session February 6, 1907, by resolution, appointed a committee charged, among other matters, to convey to the fifty-six members of the Common Council who last Tuesday morning voted for the traction ordinances their high appreciation of the service to Chicago so rendered. This we

now desire to do through you. We believe the action taken in supporting these ordinances was wise and for the best interests of the people of Chicago and will receive their hearty approval. We also believe you cannot better carry out the wishes of the people of Chicago, whom you represent, than by standing firmly, solidly, and persistently for these ordinances until they shall have become law. An analysis of the vote on these ordinances shows that both aldermen of twenty-five out of the thirty-five wards of the city and one of the aldermen from six of the remaining ten wards supported them; also that the supporting vote came equally from the Democrats and Republicans. This indicates that the action was based upon a broad conception of your responsibility to the people, as a whole, irrespective of party. We believe the great mass of the people will support your action loyally with their influence and at the polls because it secures to the people the best street car service obtainable, on the best possible terms, and at the earliest possible date. The end is in sight, for which you deserve great credit. Stand by your guns. The people will finish the battle.

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On the other hand, the organizations that were instrumental in securing the referendum petitions are promoting the agitation against the traction ordinances. On the 13th the Joint Referendum Committee issued this call to the people of Chicago:

The Joint Referendum Committee predicted months ago that there would be an organized effort in the City Council to give away the streets of Chicago to the traction companies, and accordingly began a campaign to frustrate the plot. Subsequent developments in the Council have borne out this prediction. We are convinced that it was largely through the efforts of this committee, who seconded the efforts of the Mayor, that the people now have an opportunity to finally dispose of the traction question as the majority may elect. Notwithstanding the treason of the City Council and the indecent haste with which this ninety million-dollar proposition was disposed of, the streets still belong to the people and cannot be farmed out to the traction companies without the voters' consent. The Joint Committee, therefore, urges upon every citizen of Chicago who believes that the proposed ordinances should be defeated to communicate with us and indicate his willingness to help in this fight, remembering that we are pitted against the wealthiest, most adroit, as well as the most unscrupulous financiers in this country. A strong and united effort will be necessary to achieve a victory at the polls. If you are willing to help in this work send in your name and address at once to the Joint Committee, 69 Dearborn street. John C. Harding, Secretary; David Rosenheim, Chairman.

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The Chicago Mayoralty.

The political situation in Chicago (p. 1064) awaits the Democratic primaries, to be held on the 21st, at which Mayor Dunne and ex-Mayor Harrison are to be the contestants. In an interview on the train en route from California on the 11th, Mr. Harrison said to a friendly reporter, as published in the Chicago Tribune (Republican) on the 12th:

I finally made up my mind to be a candidate because I was impressed with a sense that I owed something to a good many business and professional men, not considering the politicians, all of whom had done considerable working on the understanding that I was to be a candidate. I reasoned that I could not, in justice to these men, decline to make the race at so late a day, no matter what my personal inclinations were. . . . I don't want to express an opinion regarding the traction ordinances today. I made a mistake in attempting to criti-

cise them some weeks ago in a communication to the Tribune. At that time I expressed the belief that the board of supervising engineers were given too much authority under the ordinances. On further study of the measures, copies of which I did not have when I wrote the Tribune, I find that the authority vested in the supervising engineers is not any more than it should be. Since then I have gone over the ordinances carefully. They are long and complicated measures. There is much that is good in them and perhaps some flaws, but I shall want to have a little more time to look them over. I have sent to a lawyer friend of mine in Chicago in whom I have great confidence [Maj. Tolman, perhaps, but Mr. Harrison didn't say] for his opinion regarding certain minor sections of these measures, and I want to see what he says before I make my position more definite, say, about the middle of the week. There is no immediate haste for me to pass an opinion on these ordinances. The question ultimately will reduce itself, in my belief, to whether the measures should be passed by the people as they are, in the belief that the traction question has reached a point where it is of the utmost importance to settle it definitely and finally, or whether they should be defeated for the reason that some of their provisions contain defects that counterbalance any good that may come from settlement of the traction question. As an abstract proposition the traction question, in my belief, should be settled without further delay. I have always thought it should be settled as soon as possible. When I was Mayor I held out for years against a settlement with the traction companies because I believed the city should have the right to own and operate its street car lines before any extensions were granted to the corporations. That right is contained in the Mueller law. The theory was laid down in the tentative ordinance, which many persons now, I understand, are beginning to say was a good measure. I believe in municipal ownership as soon as the people can bring it about. Every utility which requires the use of public property ultimately should be operated by the community for its own profit. I always have felt, however, that before this could be brought about we needed a lot of house cleaning in our own system of government. We haven't in this country the scientifically administered municipalities of the old world, where municipal ownership has been successfully demonstrated.

While mayor, Mr. Harrison opposed the adoption of the Mueller law by the people of Chicago, which was necessary to give it effect; and a year ago he opposed the passage of the ordinance for the issuance of certificates under the Mueller law.

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The Republican mayoral candidacy was uncertain until the 11th, when Postmaster F. A. Busse announced himself as a candidate. Mr. Busse belongs to the Lorimer or "Federal" faction of the Republican party, as opposed to the Lawson or Deneen faction. The epithet "Federal" means that this is the faction that enjoys Federal patronage. The Lawson faction, which controls the Daily News and the Record-Herald, has been threatening opposition to Mr. Busse at the polls. This caused him to hesitate until the 11th, when he replied to a delegation under the chairmanship of B. E. Sunny, a prominent Republican, as follows:

Last Saturday, when you gentlemen requested me to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for Mayor, I told you I would give you my answer to-day. Since your visit I have carefully thought over the situation, and have talked to a number of my friends in the Republican organization, who joined in your request that I become a candidate. I know that while I have been a

member of the legislature, while State treasurer and as postmaster of Chicago, I may have made some mistakes, but these mistakes were honest ones, and if I become Mayor of Chicago I probably will make more, but they will be honest mistakes. I do not expect to set the world afire if I become Mayor, but I am confident that the end of each year will show some progress in the betterment of municipal conditions in Chicago. I desire to inform you gentlemen that I shall become a candidate for the nomination for Mayor before the Republican convention and that I shall make my candidacy on the platform drafted by that convention. Again let me tell you how much I appreciate the honor you have done me by asking me to become a candidate, and let me assure you that, if I am elected, I shall do my very best to fulfill your conception of what the Mayor of Chicago should be.

Asked for his views on the traction question, Mr. Busse said:

I have no statement to make on that or any other municipal problem. I will leave it to the party to frame the platform, and, if nominated, I will stand on it. If I am the nominee I will leave it to the regular organization and its officers to conduct the campaign.

The candidate of the Lawson faction, which now turns toward the support, indirectly, of ex-Mayor Harrison, was Walter L. Fisher.

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Mayor Dunne issued an address to the people on the 12th, in which he said:

Having announced my candidacy for renomination for Mayor at the hands of the Democratic party, I come to you requesting your support at the Democratic primary election on February 21st ensuing. Friends of democracy assure me that my renomination can best serve, at this time, the cause of democratic advancement. Therefore, I come to you, as a Democrat interested in party success and municipal achievement, frankly asking your vote on primary election day—February 21st. Believing that the people always are willing and eager to be informed as to the conduct of municipal affairs by their Mayor, I beg to state, in rendering a brief account of my stewardship, that the following have been among the results accomplished under my administration:

Reduction of the price of gas from one dollar to eighty-five cents per thousand cubic feet.

Reduction of the price of electric light, my veto of an ordinance delivering the city from an impending electric lighting monopoly.

Reduction of water rates to meter consumers, corporations formerly favored with low rates and individuals now paying exactly alike.

Rapid and satisfactory progress toward a traction settlement.

Annihilation in the United States Supreme Court of the "ninety-nine-year act," former intimidating weapon of the traction corporations.

Forcing of the reduction of the rate for unlimited telephone service from \$175 to \$125 per year.

Institution of negotiations which will secure still cheaper and better telephone service.

Repeal of the former "fake" smoke ordinance and the enactment of a law making possible effective abatement of the smoke nuisance.

Enactment of an effective and just gas-meter inspection law.

Increased forces and efficiency in the fire and police departments.

Extermination of crime-breeding settlements such as formerly existed in Custom House place, La Salle street and on "Whisky Row."

Stamping out of the selling of unwholesome foodstuffs and of the short weight methods of unscrupulous dealers.

Exaction of compensation for private use of sidewalk space.

Enforcement of the building laws and other ordinances toward every man alike, be he clothed in broadcloth or in rags.

Enforced additions to the tax returns last year alone of \$750,000 from corporations heretofore evading just taxation.

Eradication of "graft" in the public service.

On this record and as a Democrat I ask your support.

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Chicago Compared with Cleveland.

An interview with Mayor Johnson of Cleveland was published in Hearst's Chicago Examiner on the 10th, in which Mayor Johnson said of the street railway situation in Chicago:

It is, to my mind, the result of a final effort of the old companies to stave off or defeat municipal ownership, and if the people there were to adopt the holding company idea, which we are demonstrating here, it would be the greatest blessing that could come to that city, for it would eliminate the corrupting influence that you have at the present time. Should the street railway company's so-called settlement be forced through despite Mayor Dunne's opposition, it would leave all the future to the control of the City Council, and that leaves all the evils which have heretofore existed. You would have a \$40,000,000 prize hung up to tempt the politicians, on one side, and the people's representatives, on the other, to join in defeating the wishes of the people.

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Comparing this with the low fare movement of Cleveland (p. 1040), now practically victorious, Mayor Johnson continued:

The low fare movement is really a movement looking to municipal ownership. The principal advantage in municipal ownership is the removing of the public service from the influence of an interest that never sleeps, that never rests, but is constantly alive to the interests of its stockholders, which are averse to the public interest. This influence, I think, is the chief cause of bad government, for so long as you offer such an immense price in the way of public franchise grabs, franchise seekers will be sure to corrupt your government. It is not the benefit of low fares, nor betterment of service, that stimulates me to what is called an attack on public corporations, but it is the purification of the political situation in the great cities. Remove that handicap and give the municipality opportunity to accomplish great things to make the city a better place for people to live in. The first three cent fare line was opened on November 1, last. It is now operating on thirty-five miles of track out of the 205 within the city. We have a very accurate account of the receipts and expenditures on half of this, and it shows, even in the winter season, we can more than earn dividends on the capital actually invested and still leave a comfortable surplus. It is conceded on all sides that the present negotiations for the lease and sale of the old company's property to the municipal traction company will result in the extension of the three cent fares with universal transfers over the entire city. The old five cent company has been earning more than 8 per cent. on a capitalization of over \$150,000 a mile. The new low fare company has demonstrated that a capitalization of \$50,000 a mile is ample for the construction of a first-class street railway. Eight per cent. on \$150,000 a mile earnings is equal to 24 per cent. on \$50,000 a mile. It is only necessary that the new company should earn one-quarter as much net as the old one is doing, to pay interest on \$50,000 a mile, and it is perfectly evident that the lowering of the fare will produce a showing much better than this. The Cleveland Electric Company pro-

poses, and has since the first of January put in operation what it claims to be 3¼ cent fare. It sells 7 tickets for a quarter and charges five cents cash fare. This averages about 3 8-10 cents for each passenger. The reduction to a 3-cent fare in the city does not mean a 3-cent fare from the surrounding territory. It will produce an average fare of 3¼ cents so that the real difference between the two companies will be about ½ cent a passenger. At any price on the property which the railroad companies will sell out to the city company the dividends will be reduced an amount certainly equal to ½ cent a passenger, which without allowing anything for stimulation of business will produce the net earnings sufficient to pay dividends on the capitalization fixed by the terms of settlement six years ago. When this low fare struggle began, the market price of the street railway property was about \$30,000,000, based largely on the expectation of renewing its franchise on the old terms. The selling price of its securities gradually fell as the capitalized expectation became less brilliant, and the securities are now worth about \$21,000,000 or \$22,000,000, and this on a property, the physical value of which is not over \$12,000,000. That is, it would cost about \$12,000,000 to build a street railway in every way equal to this property. The present situation is that there is a temporary treaty of peace, which the Cleveland Electric Railway Company (the old company) and the low fare company entered into with the City Council as a third party. Under the agreement the old company agrees to suspend all legal warfare and to permit the low fare company to operate over certain contested territory, while the low fare company in turn agrees during the continuance of the treaty not to extend its lines into further disputed territory.

The Cleveland "treaty of peace" mentioned by Mayor Johnson has been extended indefinitely. Meanwhile negotiations for the leasing of the old company's property by the city's "holding company" continue.

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The Salton Sea has Friends.

As already noted (p. 730), an unprecedented amount of rainfall has occurred since the creation of a sea in the Salton sink. Even the Death valley, the most baked and parched desert of the Southwest, has had a heavy fall of snow within the past few weeks. Arguing from effect to cause the people of many parts of the arid West have set up the claim that this new inland sea, now covering an area estimated at 2,800 square miles, evaporates rapidly in the broiling sun of southern Arizona, and then the moisture is carried out over this vast arid region to descend in the form of rain and snow. The whole volume of the Colorado river continues to feed this great reservoir so that there is small danger of its being exhausted, and, therefore, it is contended that accident has done for the desert what the investigations of science have been wholly unable to accomplish, and that through this agency a vast region, heretofore not capable of cultivation, may be reclaimed, and irrigation rendered unnecessary. In accordance with this reasoning the Governor of Utah has sent a special message to the Legislature on the subject, and the Legislature has adopted a memorial to the President, setting forth the claim that the Salton Sea has greatly benefited the entire arid region by increasing the rainfall, and asking him to desist from his efforts to drain this vast body of water (p. 996). The Commercial Club of Salt Lake City has adopted a similar memorial, and other commercial organizations and legislative bodies through-

out the intermountain region have taken or are preparing to take similar action.

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The Santo Domingo Treaty.

The President sent to the Senate on the 12th the new treaty with the Republic of Santo Domingo (p. 678) relative to the revenues of that country. According to the reports from Washington the new agreement is confined entirely to the matter of the collection of revenues. It sets forth in the preamble the fact that Santo Domingo has entered upon an agreement with her creditors that is made contingent upon the fact that this country shall collect the money, and it is then agreed that the President of the United States shall appoint a representative of the Government as receiver-general to take charge of all the funds collected and to provide means for their collection. The treaty provides that the total outstanding indebtedness of the country shall be capitalized at a figure slightly below \$20,000,000; that bonds for this amount issued by the Dominican republic and floated through a New York banking house shall be paid over to the creditors; that 55 per cent. of the customs collections of the republic, gathered through American collectors, shall be set apart for the redemption of these bonds, which shall be redeemable after ten years at the rate of 102½, and are to run fifty years. The treaty will go direct to the committee on foreign relations and there will be a determined effort to have it reported and acted upon before the adjournment of the present session of Congress.

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The British Bi-Cameral Problem.

The re-opening of Parliament on the 12th (p. 921) was awaited with intense interest, for the recent defeat of the Government's education bill by the House of Lords (p. 921), and the prospective defeat of all other features of the Government's program at the hands of the Lords, have brought centuries of discontent with the veto powers of the Upper House to an unexpectedly rapid ripening. The speech from the throne alluded to the situation: "Serious questions," said the King, "affecting the working of our parliamentary system have arisen from the unfortunate differences between the two Houses. My ministers have this important subject under consideration with a view to a solution of the difficulty." In the House of Commons the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, brought up the issue as the matter of greatest importance before them. Dispatches to the Chicago Tribune report him as saying that the question they wished to raise was the question of the relations between the two Houses, not the question of the constitution of the House of Lords. It was sometimes thought the House of Lords acted as a sort of watchdog, guarding the statute book against mischievous and undesirable measures. If this theory were properly carried out it might be so, but when the prolonged somnolence of the watchdog was succeeded by a sudden access of bitter ferocity, one looked about for the cause. He did not know whether somnolence or ferocity furnished the better ground for complaint, but a combination of the two, he said, was intolerable. It showed there was some fatal vice

working in the constitution. The Commons ought to be careful in dealing with the question, because it was an enormous one, full of importance and seriousness. They must be careful not to be led into a labyrinth of constitutional fallacies, pedantries, and niceties. The clew to which everybody must hold in order to avoid them is the recollection of the essential inherent nature of the country's constitution in that it must be representative. He was not sure he would not rather have a constitution where the representative body was much under the control of the sovereign than under the control of another chamber. The question of the House of Lords must be settled. The present situation was discreditable, dangerous, and demoralizing, but he was not sure that when they got to closer quarters with the question it might not prove easier of solution than it now appeared to be. There must be, he said, a readjustment of the relations between the two Houses, so as to enable them to carry out in reasonable harmony the wishes of the people.

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The English papers and periodicals are full of discussions of this question of Lords and Commons. The Speaker reports a proposal made by Mr. John A. Hobson which is based upon the referendum principle (p. 776):

To meet cases where the House of Lords rejects or mutilates a measure passed by the Commons, Mr. Hobson wishes to obtain a constitutional power (a) enabling the Government to take a direct vote of the electors on the single question whether they wish the measure to become law, and (b) dispensing with the assent of the Lords where a majority of the votes so taken are in favor of the measure.

But The Speaker does not regard this proposal as sufficiently radical for so aggravating a situation. It says:

In the abstract there is much to be said both for and against the proposal. But we are inclined to think that on its merits, supposing that we were in search of an ideal constitution without reference to our own and its history, we should find ourselves in opposition. In the first place, this proposal seems to put the House of Lords in regard to legislation almost on an equal footing with the House of Commons. They are to be allowed to challenge any measure passed by the House of Commons and to compel the representatives of the people, who have spent we may assume an enormous amount of time, thought, and energy upon a complicated reform, to refer its fate to a vote en masse. It seems to us, therefore, that the referendum, if it were made a regular feature of the constitution, would tend to perpetuate the powers of a hopelessly obsolete body and at the same time to weaken representative institutions.

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France.

The approach to an understanding between the French Republic and the Catholic church reported last week (p. 1065) moves on toward a probable final adjustment of differences. The eighteen-year contracts proposed by Mr. Briand, the Minister of Education and Worship, give satisfaction to the church authorities, who feel that they can take advantage of them without impairment to the church's dignity, and that by taking advantage of them they virtually reacquire the church edifices which they have regarded themselves as despoiled of.

The Government created a sensation by introducing into the Chamber of Deputies on the 7th, a bill for the taxation of incomes. According to the bill the tax upon incomes of more than \$1,000 a year is made progressive up to 4 per cent. of the total. Burdens placed upon foreign securities, both private and governmental, constitute a particularly heavy blow to Russian securities. The adoption of the bill would mean a complete readjustment of the fiscal system of France.

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Russia.

The results of the elections (p. 1065) to the new Douma are everywhere indicating unexpected strength for the Constitutional Democrats and other radical parties. Premier Stolypin is reported as conceding in an interview with an American that the opposition had carried the elections by a considerable majority.

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It was reported from Washington on the 9th that an appeal to America to aid in furnishing relief for the starving millions in Russia had been made through the Russian embassy. The Russian Secretary of State has said that a serious situation must be faced this year, arising out of the total failure of the crops in more than nine provinces. It is requested that contributions be forwarded directly to Galkine Vrasskol, Secretary of State, Shukowski street, St. Petersburg, or to the chancery of the famine relief organization in the same city. Receipts will be acknowledged in the Official Messenger and in all other newspapers which have opened subscriptions for the relief fund.

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The Governor of Penza, S. A. Alexandrovsky, was fatally shot as he was leaving the theater on the evening of the 7th, by a young man, who also killed the assistant chief of police and a policeman, and wounded the manager of the theater. Before he could be captured he fatally shot himself (p. 995). Mr. Alexandrovsky was a commissioner to the St. Louis Exposition, and was at the head of the Red Cross service in the field in the war between Russia and Japan.

NEWS NOTES

—Ridgeway's weekly magazine (p. 671) has been discontinued.

—"Tax the billboards out of existence," is to be the cry of the American Civic Federation for the next year.

—Frank W. Higgins, recently the Governor of New York, died at Olean, N. Y., on the 12th, at the age of 50 years.

—Frank H. Bode (p. 373) has opened headquarters as an independent candidate for Mayor of Springfield, Illinois.

—It is reported from London that the Hague peace conference (p. 996) will probably be called for June 15.

—At the Socialist party primaries of

the 9th, 2,084 votes were cast. George Koop, a printer, has been nominated for Mayor.

—Mr. Colville, the tax assessor of Bayonne, N. J., who valued speculative land holdings at their market worth, as required by the law (p. 866), has been removed from office by the City Council.

—Colorado's first woman juror, Miss Hilda Smith, was recently impaneled upon an open venire in the trial of a divorce case in Judge McCall's division of the county court in Denver, according to the Denver News.

—That the Brazilian government has decided, in order to avoid possible disagreeable incidents, to exclude Negro sailors from the Brazilian squadron which is to visit the United States, is reported from Rio Janeiro.

—The Democrats of Elkhart, Indiana, are intending to launch a movement for the rejuvenation of the party there, with a banquet on the 19th, at which George A. Briggs, a pronounced democratic Democrat, is to preside.

—The first union of women employes to be formed in any branch of the Federal service has been organized among the women clerks of the Chicago post-office. It has been initiated into the National Union of Postoffice Clerks.

—Sir William Howard Russell, editor of the Army and Navy Gazette of London, died in London on the 10th. He was noted in the United States in the early days of the Civil War as "Bull Run" Russell, because of his description in the London Times of the first battle of Bull Run.

—Peter Witt, the City Clerk of Cleveland, one of the original municipal ownership men of that city, told the story of Cleveland's civic and political improvement under Mayor Johnson, at the Jefferson Club of Chicago on the 9th. He advised "neck-tie sociables" for aldermen bribed by public utilities corporations.

—The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York (next in authority, for its judicial district, below the Court of Appeals, the highest court in the State) decided on the 8th that Porto Rico is a territorial department of the United States for the purpose of proceedings against alleged criminals, and that therefore the inter-State requisition laws of the United States apply.

—The New York Herald of the 10th reports the discovery that forty military companies of union miners in Pennsylvania have been organized and are in a position to combat with the soldiery of the State and national governments. The Herald says they are armed with 45 caliber rifles, and several of them are provided with uniforms of the same pattern and color as worn by the infantry of the regular army.

—The tomb and mummy of the Egyptian Queen Teie have been discovered at Thebes in Egypt by Theodore M. Davis, who had already discovered the tombs of her parents. The tomb was filled with jewelry and sheets of solid gold. "Wherever the excavators walked," says the dispatch, "they trod upon fragments of gold plate and gold leaf." Queen Teie is spoken of as next to Cleopatra, the most famous woman of Egypt. She was the mother of King Amenhotep IV., the ruler who 1500 years B. C.

plunged Egypt into a fanatical civil war by introducing a new form of religion of pantheistic monothetan form. This revolution spent its force before Moses was born.

—The Single Tax Information Bureau, established in 1903, and having headquarters at 134 Clarkson Street, Brooklyn, New York, reports 233,900 pieces of literature sent out, 7,978 requests for literature, \$1,483.54 in receipts and \$1,515.49 in expenditures. The Bureau is maintained entirely by voluntary contributions, and it solicits the names of persons not avowed single taxers but who are interested in the subject or likely to become so.

—In response to an invitation from President Roosevelt, Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco, the superintendent of the San Francisco public schools, and the president and two other members of the board of education of that city, arrived in Washington during the past week for the purpose of discussing the questions of the segregation of Japanese children in the San Francisco public schools, and of the exclusion of Japanese coolie labor from the Pacific coast.

—The new Shah of Persia (p. 1017) has had a clash with the Parliament—Persia's first parliament—especially over the point of a formal recognition on his part that the country is now under constitutional government. The Shah hesitated over this, declaring that he feared that the next demand would be for a republic. Finally, late in the evening of the 11th, when rioting had set in at Tabriz, and great unrest prevailed at Teheran, the Shah acceded to all demands of the Parliament.

—At St. Paul, on the 5th, Lawson Purdy, president of the department of taxes of New York city, addressed a joint session of the Minnesota legislature, by invitation, on the subject of the Minnesota Constitutional amendment (vol. viii, p. 98) adopted last November, allowing the legislature full power in selecting classes of taxables. He advised the appointment of a permanent tax commission for the purpose of wisely laying the foundation for an orderly evolution of the tax law.

—The Joy line steamer Larchmont, bound from Providence to New York, came into collision with the coal-laden schooner Harry Knowlton near Block Island about midnight of the 11th. Both vessels shortly went down. The crew of the schooner escaped in a rowboat, and nine boats and rafts got away from the steamer, but many of the passengers they carried, ice-coated from the heavy seas, miserably perished, or reached the shore with limbs and faces frozen. The bodies of others who went down with the steamer are also being washed ashore. The number of the dead is placed at 183 men, women and children.

—Passengers arriving at Montevideo have reported that earthquakes have changed the appearance of the New Year's islands and that a portion of one of the islands has sunk several meters. The New Year's islands are a small group in the South Atlantic ocean between the Falkland group and the mainland of Argentina. A tidal wave and a terrific storm nearly destroyed the fishing village of Marina di Catanzaro in southern Italy on the 9th. Earthquakes were reported on the 11th from Kingston and from several

points in Virginia, and on the 12th from Spain. Mayor Charles Tait of Kingston, Jamaica (p. 1019), died on the 10th from injuries received during the recent earthquake.

—Nicaragua and Honduras have failed to accept the arbitration of their difficulties by San Salvador (p. 1066). But since under the agreements signed by all the republics of Central America upon the conclusion of the recent war between Guatemala and San Salvador, the United States and Mexico have the right to intervene in case of war between any of those countries, and the republics bound themselves to refer all disputes to an arbitration bureau (p. 586), President Diaz and President Roosevelt have together informed the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras that there must be no war between the two countries at this time and that they must submit their present dispute to arbitration.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Life (New York), February 7.—The party of the loaves and fishes, of high protection and privilege; the conservative party that is opposed to all change and is satisfied to feel that it includes pretty much all the political virtue there is in the country.

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THE DESIRE OF THE SOIL.

The (London) Tribune (Lib.), January 12.—We do not believe that the desire of the soil is dead any more than we believe that the old conscious or unconscious love of the country is dead in the villages. But we have to learn how to make our land system the instrument of the one, as we have to learn how to make the country school the nursery of the other.

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LAND HUNGER.

Iowa State Register and Farmer, Jan. 18.—A craving for land is a healthy sort of appetite, but it should not be given over-indulgence. In this, as in other forms of hunger, there is a possibility of its leading to gluttony and the evils resulting therefrom. A man should take in no more than he is able to masticate and digest. In land ownership he should hold no more than he is able to manage and develop up to its level best in productiveness. He has no moral right or title to any more of the Lord's footstool than he can thoroughly cultivate and leave better than he found it. That is the seal and stamp of a good title—use and improvement.

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ENGLAND'S LAND QUESTION.

The (London) Tribune (Lib.), January 11.—If it is agreed that the nation is to set to work to reclaim its ancient and neglected possessions, the policy, of course, will not be a wild and reckless escapade or adventure, it will be a deliberate, determined, and scientific invasion. . . . The decay of the English country as a home for English men and women is not the work of inexorable laws of nature; it is largely due to the blight of the deliberate action of a powerful class. Its restoration depends on the energy which the nation is prepared to devote to it. Fortunately, the government has behind it no mere drift or eddy of discontent, but the visions and passionate hopes of great multitudes of the disinherited poor.

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CONSTITUTIONALISM IN PERSIA.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), January 17.—In Persia a new reign and a new regime have begun almost si-

multaneously. Mohammed All Mirza succeeds his father as Shah and King of Kings, under extremely favorable auspices. Persia is the second nation within a few years to shatter rudely our established notions regarding the Orient and Oriental capacity for political progress. The constitutional machinery that has been put in motion seems to be working well. The very fact that the first step taken by the new legislative assembly was to quarrel with the Crown over the establishment of an upper house with revisionary powers, is a good sign. That is the way young parliaments always begin. In the new monarch's reported conservative tendencies we believe there is little cause for alarm. Indeed, it is a testimonial to his straightforward character that he should have entered during his father's lifetime into a contest with the assembly, for the purpose of permanently defining the character of the new Parliament, when by waiting a few weeks he was sure to occupy a stronger vantage point as occupant of the throne.

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THE NEW REICHSTAG AND THE KAISER.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind.), February 7.—An interesting question that the liberal and radical leaders are asking is what the government intends to do by way of proving its "new-found" sympathy with "revived liberalism." If it is counting on the votes of those groups, it must be prepared to do something to attract and hold them. There has been some intimation, to be sure, that Von Buelow really means to govern by means of "two majorities," one for measures agreeable to the liberals and another—in which the centrists are included—for "world politics," with the accompaniments of increased taxation and higher duties and prices. But clearly such a policy as this cannot be carried out without the weak acquiescence of the opposition. The probability is that the Kaiser will get all the extra appropriations he wants for ships and railroads in the colonies in return for some concessions to the liberal spirit in the shape of electoral reform in Prussia and relaxation of antiquated home policies.

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THE DEFEAT OF SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), February 6.—A few days ago the cables were loaded with messages telling of the "defeat of socialism" in Germany. Every daily paper, except this one, from one end of the country to the other announced in flaring headlines that Socialism was "crushed," "overwhelmed," "wiped out," "destroyed," "had its progress checked," etc., etc. Then came hundreds of editorials written in learned phraseology and pompous ignorance, philosophizing on the "reason for" and the "lessons to be drawn from," and the "probable effects of" this crushing "defeat" of Socialism. Then the "comic" writers proceeded to ring the changes on the same theme with all possible variations and degrees of humor and imbecility. The magazines are just beginning to join in the chorus, and it is probable that for some months to come there will be discussions and essays and explanations and descriptions of how, and why, and wherefore the German Socialists were "defeated." So thoroughly will this idea be injected into the public mind that for the next five years we will be continually reminded of the direful lessons of the Socialist "defeat." The ultimate result of all this, of course, will be to leave but one impression in the mind of the average reader concerning the election and that is that the Socialists were "crushed" and set back and that the Socialist movement in Germany has lost strength. The fact is that the Socialist vote of Germany increased nearly 10 per cent. The defeated, crushed, smashed, ruined, destroyed Socialists received a million more votes than any other party engaged in the election. Several barrels of ink that have been used in explaining this defeat might have been saved and the whole story told in three words—the newspapers lied.

A TRACTION BUNCO GAME.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), February 7.—With the election of Mayor Dunne municipal ownership became entirely too real for those who merely professed it. It simply had to be stopped. It was recognized that the Mayor actually believed he was elected to give this city municipal ownership of street car lines. It was recognized that he had not conducted a political bunco game, as his predecessor had been doing for some years, to get office. And all at once the professional municipal ownerships—those who were for municipal ownership in campaigns but not in practice, awoke to the fact that what the people wanted was simply an adequate street car service. How they came to see this, and the advantage of private operation, is a matter for speculation and need not be gone into. What Mayor Dunne does not understand is that the municipal ownership fad was merely to serve as a cloak. The gusts of joy that are ascending from the trust newspapers these days cannot but cause infinite amusement to those who have seriously watched the traction problem under its process of solution for some years past. For with scarcely a single exception the professional solvers and their newspapers are doing to-day just what they professed was horrible and unthinkable in other days.

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DUNNE AND HARRISON.

St. Louis Mirror (ind.).—Chicago is soon to have a majority election and the Democrats will have to choose for nominees between the present Mayor Dunne and ex-Mayor Carter Harrison. Between the two men there is no real choice. Dunne is the man for the people. Harrison is the man for the rings and cliques and cinches in business in politics. . . . Mayor Dunne has done a great work for all Chicago. He has brought that city's infamous street railway syndicate to its knees. He has fought a good and great fight for public control of utilities frightfully mismanaged in private hands. He has come to the very verge of victory and now all the hostile evil influences of that stew of cities are leagued to prevent his renomination. Harrison is the man that the big private interests in both parties want to elect. He is slick enough to be with them while posing as being against them. Dunne is no politician at all. He has not pleased even the people who voted him into power, because he has done nothing for them along the usual lines of political reward. He has fought the privileged interests even when his friends and backers have asked him to let up on certain cinches to which they were kindly disposed. . . . He has gone in for fundamental reforms and has refused to be drawn into crusades against saloons and thus deflected from his broader and deeper purpose. The fool churches are against him because he doesn't strike at evils of appetite like drink and the social evil, because he does strike at the pre-emption of public property by the privileged corporations. Dunne is damned because he dares go to the root of social and political wrongs. Harrison is lauded because he will divide spoils with the boys, because while he is a reformer he won't go in for any reform that will hurt business. Dunne is supported by the honest radicals; Harrison by the machine.

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JOURNALISM.

Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), February 9.—Two degenerate specimens of our present ruling class quarreled over a woman and one shot the other. Because the killer and the killed possessed millions exploited from the producers of this country the hero-worshipping mob of America is reveling in the filthy details of the affair. Page after page of those papers that cater to and cultivate the unthinking mob spirit—the spirit which by keeping the mass a mob makes its liberation impos-

sible—are filled with nauseous variations of the story. . . . There is no great principle involved in this trial. No fundamental institution will be affected by its decision. No one except the miserable degenerates directly concerned have anything at stake in the result. Another trial is taking place in this country. It began over a year ago in the kidnaping of two men by the combined forces of two States and the most powerful aggregation of capital in the world. In its progress up to the present time this trial has involved questions for which men have been fighting for more than four centuries. It has endangered rights for which literally millions of men have laid down their lives. It has forced the highest court in the United States to abrogate fundamental legal barriers that were erected at the foundation of this government to protect the persons and property of the individual citizens. This trial will be called for a final hearing on the first of next March. The representatives of millions of members of the working class have declared their belief in the innocence of the men on trial, and have insisted that an attempt was being made to judicially lynch the accused persons in order that the profit-taking class may be secure in its industrial and social rulership. Thousands of meetings have been held by the workers of the United States, attended by millions of the laboring class who believed that their interests are involved in that trial. Yet the daily press of America has printed more every day of the last week about the first trial than it has printed during the entire year since the second struggle began.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 41 of that publication.

Washington, Feb. 4-10.

Senate.

On the 4th the Senate considered the House bill regulating appeals in criminal cases (p. 2217), and the Carter resolution regarding patents on homesteads (p. 2225); and on the 5th, 6th and 7th it devoted most of the time to appropriation bills. On the 8th the appropriation bills were still under discussion, but time was given for a speech by Senator Frazier on the California question of regulating local school systems by international treaties (p. 2523). Appropriation bills had occupied the time on the 7th, when the Senate adjourned for the week.

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House.

A pension bill for certain soldiers of the Mexican and the Civil War was discussed (p. 2837) and passed (p. 2242) on the 4th, as was also a resolution on fluctuations in the price of cotton (p. 2245). Appropriation bills were under consideration on the 5th, 6th and 7th. The 8th was given over to a large mass of private legislation supplemented with appropriation subjects. But little business was done on the 9th; and on the 10th a Sunday session was held for memorial exercises in honor of Rockwood Hoar and Rufus E. Lester, late members of the House.

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Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Beveridge on child labor (p. 2129). Speech of Senator Newlands on our misfit land laws (p. 2277).

* * *

After all nobody does implicitly believe in land-lordism.—Herbert Spencer, 1850.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE SONG OF THE EARTH.

Bulkeley, Hunt, Willard, Hosmer, Merlan, Flint,
 Possessed the land which rendered to their toll
 Hay, corn, roots, hemp, flax, apples, wool and wood.
 Each of these landlords walked amidst his farm,
 Saying, "'Tis mine, my children's and my name's.
 How sweet the west wind sounds in my own trees!
 How graceful climb those shadows on my hill!
 I fancy these pure waters and the flags
 Know me, as does my dog: we sympathize;
 And, I affirm, my actions smack of the soil."

Where are these men? Asleep beneath their grounds:
 And strangers, fond as they, their furrows plough.
 Earth laughs in flowers, to see her boastful boys
 Earth-proud, proud of the earth which is not theirs;
 Who steer the plough, but cannot steer their feet
 Clear of the grave.

They added ridge to valley, brook to pond,
 And sighed for all that bounded their domain;
 "This suits me for a pasture; that's my park;
 We must have clay, lime, gravel, granite-ledge,
 And misty lowland, where to go for peat.
 The land is well,—lies fairly to the south.
 'Tis good, when you have crossed the sea and back,
 To find the sit-fast acres where you left them."

Ah! the hot owner sees not Death, who adds
 Him to his land, a lump of mould the more.
 Hear what the Earth says:—

Earth-Song.

"Mine and yours;
 Mine, not yours.
 Earth endures;
 Stars abide—
 Shine down in the old sea;
 Old are the shores;
 But where are old men?
 I who have seen much,
 Such have I never seen.

"The lawyer's deed
 Ran sure,
 'In tall,
 To them, and to their heirs
 Who shall succeed,
 Without fall,
 For evermore.'

"Here is the land,
 Shaggy with wood,
 With its old valley,
 Mound and flood.
 But the heritors?
 Fled like the flood's foam.
 The lawyer, and the laws,
 And the kingdom,
 Clean swept herefrom.

"They called me theirs,
 Who so controlled me;
 Yet every one
 Wished to stay, and is gone.
 How am I theirs,
 If they cannot hold me,
 But I hold them?"

When I heard the Earth-song,
 I was no longer brave;
 My avarice cooled,
 Like lust in the chill of the grave.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

PUTTING THE IDLE PEOPLE ON THE IDLE LAND.

From the *New York Times* of July 22, 1906.

For the first time in the history of this great city there is being demonstrated the fact that there are New Yorkers who love the ground and God's free air sufficiently to cultivate the soil and live in the open if opportunity affords. Moreover, the demonstration further attests the fact that such a life is full of money-making possibilities. The one big point not yet solved and the one of supreme importance at this stage of the experiment is to find more land that can be used under the present conditions. There are plots of ground suitable all about, but the owners are indifferent or unknowing, and many of them are very hard to reach.

The experiment is the free farm garden enterprise of the New York Association for the Cultivation of Vacant Lots. The old Burke farm, belonging to the Astor estate, away up in the Bronx, running along the Bear Swamp Road on one side and the White Plains Road on another, is the scene of the activities that have the delight of novelty to New Yorkers and the substantiality of thoroughness to recommend them to the trained eye of the professional farmer. More than twenty families are living on the ground in big, comfortable housekeeping tents. There are children in almost all of the families, but the tents are scattered over twenty acres or more, and there is room for every one and for all to be as exclusive as they desire. Even the children have a share of work to do and are the happier for it.

The association back of the enterprise is not an incorporated one. It is made up of men who got together at the suggestion of Bolton Hall, a lawyer at 56 Pine street, where is the association's office as well. Howard Payson Wilds is the Chairman of the association, and H. V. Bruce is the Superintendent. The men who have done the work, and formed the association do not care to be known as philanthropists. "We are just busy fellows who have had our chance and want to help give a chance to others who are not getting it in this big overcrowded city," said one of them simply and convincingly.

The grant of the land was obtained in April. It is a pretty piece of country, but it had never been tilled, and weeds and stones as well as brush higher than a man's head had dominion. But W. F. Syska, who has had farming experience in the Far West and in Europe, was engaged to reduce the wild to a tillable farm. It was a bit late to start farms for this year, but the weather conditions have been favorable and, combined with the fixed energy of the new farmers, have helped wonderfully in making up for the late start. The one great disadvantage, however, is incalculable, because it barred hundreds of applicants from receiving grants of tracts for this season. But there is more ground to be cleared, and the association and Mr. Syska are hoping to get it in readiness this fall—that is, if the grant is made for another year, as indeed all hope for.

Mr. Syska cleared and plowed the land. Then the association advertised that any one desiring to cultivate ground free of rental charge could have the privilege for the asking—and the maintaining of the garden already begun. Only 20 per cent. of those who

applied could be accommodated. Some of these live on the ground in the big tents; many live in the Bronx and can go to their garden patches almost daily if they desire; still others live down town in Manhattan, and are obliged to spend ten cents each way for carfare and one hour and a quarter every time that they go to their patches. But all the farms look almost equally well, and there are no traces of neglect anywhere. Of course, that is a part of the only contract entered into between the association and the gardeners, and neglect would mean forfeiture of what has now come to be regarded as a genuine treasure.

The necessary implements, all seeds, and young plants are supplied by the association. Expert instruction also is free, and Mr. Syska is consulted at all times about conditions and requirements. He, with his wife and six little children, lives in the only house on the place—a house that looks to be a hundred years old.

The quiet reserve with which each resident farmer acknowledges an introduction places these people at once in the social class. These are people of dignity, whose innate sense of refinement has not been killed by poverty which has overtaken a few. But a chance is all that they ask. They have native force enough to do what is further required in order to command success.

Not the slightest attempt has been made by any one to encroach upon his neighbor's garden, but all are united in the purpose of preventing any trespassing, and in the spirit of mutual helpfulness and co-operation there is nothing lacking.

The one great difficulty has been that of carrying water from the spring to the various tents. There has been only one pump, but this week a new one is to be installed. Next Spring the association hopes to have Croton water, with frequent taps, throughout the entire tract. There have been enough rainstorms to care for the gardens, but a dry spell would work great damage, as it would be impossible to carry water enough to save the produce.

Some of the gardens—those owned by the people living down town—are cared for only Saturday afternoons and Sundays, when the gardeners take with them enough food to last over that they may stay near their patches over night. It is a bit pathetic, but it is beautiful, and possibly it is the beginning of the solution of the problem of congestion in some parts of this great teeming city. One housewife, whose husband has been ill from a serious fall, tends the garden as well as her home in the tent while he goes to town for treatment and to look for work. She is the mother of four pretty children, two of whom help in the garden and one of whom is a little father, caring for the babe of two summers, who is pretty fretful at times.

"We hope that we shall never need to go back into the city to live," said the mother, who had been such a pretty woman in the years before the strain came. "I used to think that the city was the best place for poor people, as it affords such fine opportunities of educating the children, but now I see that the country is the place of greater growing opportunities and more real home life, and if we can only find a permanent place where we can make things grow, and where my little boys will be free from the contamination of city street children, I shall be con-

tent with a humble lot and shall be appreciative that I was given another chance to get back to Mother Earth before it was too late for me to care for her as we all should care."

An Italian from the lower East Side has one of the most remarkable of all gardens, and one that is a model of care, despite the fact that he works in town all week and goes up late Saturday afternoon. But he works even into the night, and is up at the first break of day. He saw that he might have a little corn if he planted a row down the path through his plat, and this he has done, to the amusement of all the other gardeners, to whom he never speaks and from whom he expects nothing at all.

A social club of East Side girls from the University Settlement has the only flower garden on the tract. They raise the flowers to send to the various Hebrew charities throughout the city. They are working girls, but they spend Saturday and Sunday at the farm, where in two tents are six cots each, and where they cook and eat out of doors. They have hammocks under the trees, and on Sunday afternoon are surrounded by a dozen or more of their friends who visit them.

A school teacher makes her tents, three of them, the headquarters for her pupils who are continuing nature studies under her tutelage during the summer months. Hers is a thrifty garden, from which no produce is sold, as it all goes to the homes of the boys who are working during vacation, but who helped to plant the garden before school closed last month. The teacher had intended going to Europe this summer, "but this is so much better, and to be in touch with my boys all summer is such a satisfaction," she said, with shining eyes and a look of deep affection.

Old men are among the colonists, and that they are happy men is easily guessed after a few moments' conversation with them.

A little Negro, Rocco, who is the "kinkiest-headed boy in the Bronx," according to the word of the farmers, is the mascot, and a dear little boy he is, running all day on errands to and from the Syska house, carrying messages, and helping out in a hundred ways in which a willing boy can make himself useful.

Many of the farmers are not trying to make money, but just a living from their vegetables, and others are farming for the almighty dollar, and are realizing it. They know that if they can make any money this year, after the late beginning, they are assured of more next season. So it is with an eye to the future that the experiment is watched with double eagerness.

There are daily applications from people living in Brooklyn as well as from residents in all parts of Manhattan for admission to the farm, but no way has yet been devised of increasing the surface of land, and that is what is needed; real estate agents have not been able to help, although they have expressed sympathy with the plan. They cannot grant the use of vacant lots in their care without getting at the owners first. For the most part these owners are rarely getatable by men who can present the cause of the people who would till the land if they could get the land to till.

New York attempted this experiment before, but without success. Now, however, the conditions are liberal and common sense enough to have peo-

ple feel that they are free in their work. Moreover, as it is now conducted, the plan appeals only to the thrifty who are eager to learn any lesson of betterment in life.

Such in brief is the present condition of vacant lot gardening in New York city. To extend its work the committee needs the loan of more land, and contributions of money.

It costs about \$6 per family to those who need it. With this aid the recipient is able to produce in vegetables a value of \$10 for each \$1 expended by the committee. Is this kind of philanthropy not better than that in which it requires one dollar in cost of administration to extend one dollar of aid?

* * *

A PROPOSAL FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Greater Part of a Leaflet Published by the Right to Work National Council, 10 Clifford's Inn, London, E. C.

"Back to the Land" is becoming quite fashionable and commonplace; scarcely a day passes without its being dished up as a pious expression of opinion by the press in some shape or form, in connection with the unemployed and other social problems—cabinet ministers are even found ready to advocate it—in mild form, of course, and with proper "safeguards." Public thought is, therefore, moving in the right direction even if slowly, and "Back to the Land" is at last being recognized as something more than a "fad." A proposal for which there is "something to be said."

To the student of social problems, however, this talk of "Back to the Land" under present conditions offers little hope in the way of a solution, because there is as little chance of getting "back to the land" for the masses of the people as there is getting to the moon. True, the land is here—plenty of it—and some of the best in the world; all that is needed is the opportunity to get at it.

Common sense says that for the idle man to be linked to the idle land is the most desirable thing that can be achieved, but so long as there meets the unemployed man at every vacant piece of land an announcement that "Trespassers will be prosecuted"—which recent events have shown to be no idle threat, "Back to the Land" is little better than a political squib for the political joker.

The unemployed and hungry workers in various parts of the country have, by what is called "grabbing" unused land and attempting to cultivate it, endeavored to prove that it is a slander to label them as "wasters" and "unemployable."*

It is not intended here to deal with the fundamental evil of the land system which is largely responsible for maintaining the present grave condition of affairs, though we do not hesitate to assert that private ownership of the land—which should belong to the nation—is one of the causes of the unemployed problem. Our object now is to demonstrate that in spite of political differences which divide people, there is a means which lies near to our hand, which, without a large expenditure of money, time, or effort, will provide honorable, healthy and profitable labor for many thousands of our fellow citizens, whereby they can be freed from

the sufferings and degradation which result from unemployment.

We suggest a "way out" for many who are in the depths of despair, and one about which we have no shadow of a doubt. It has been tested in practical fashion and proved successful. Our proposal is to copy the plan adopted in many American cities—the "Vacant Lots" cultivation which in Philadelphia has provided profitable labor for many able-bodied unemployed, by the aid of which they have worked their way back to health and independence.

We do not say that "Vacant Lot" cultivation will produce the social and industrial millennium; we simply say it is a crime against humanity that honest workmen, women, and little children suffer, starve, and die in our midst, or—what is practically as bad—are barely kept alive by the aid of demoralizing charity. By adopting the simple plan suggested, thousands of our workless could immediately—and at small cost—produce sufficient food for themselves and their dependents.

We are not theorizing, we are telling of something that has actually been done—and is being done—in America. What can be done there is possible here. All that is needed to make a success is to harness the "Common-sense team"—the idle man and idle land.

In the early spring of 1894 thousands of idle men were being enrolled in "Coxey's Army" for the avowed purpose of marching to Washington to demand work from the government.

The then mayor of Detroit proposed that all the idle land in the city be turned over to the workless people to cultivate, on condition that they should have all they produced.

An immediate response from landowners of the city which placed at the mayor's disposal many hundred acres of land, was followed by an equally quick response from the unemployed.

Allotments, varying in size from one-fourth to one-half an acre, were prepared and given to nine hundred and forty-five heads of families. Seed potatoes were furnished sufficient to plant each allotment, and in less than four months over fourteen thousand bushels of excellent potatoes were gathered by the allotment workers.

This result inspired confidence and caused experiments to be made elsewhere, notably in Buffalo and Boston. In Detroit the number of cultivators increased to more than fifteen hundred families; these produced on four hundred and fifty-five acres of what had formerly been only idle lots, potatoes and other vegetables to the value of more than £5,400. In 1896-7 other cities took up the work, Philadelphia among the number.

The first year in Philadelphia the Vacant Lots Association provided gardens, seeds, tools and instruction for about one hundred families on twenty-seven acres of ground. At a cost of about £360 vegetables worth £1,200 were produced.

In eight years the work of the association steadily expanded until one hundred and fifty-eight acres were producing crops to the value of £7,500. Many of the gardeners have graduated from vacant lots to profitable little farms of their own, and thus there has been established, on a basis of self-support, many who would otherwise be a burden on the community.

*For a brief account of the "Manchester Grablanders" see The Public of August 11, 1906, page 442.

Mr. R. F. Powell, the superintendent of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association, in presenting his eighth annual report to the Board of Directors, says:

Each year's experience confirms the fact that the best and most effective way of helping people in need is to open a way whereby they may help themselves. Eight years is a brief span in a great city's life, yet during this short space of time our association has made eight demonstrations of the following facts:

1st. That many people out of employment must have help of some kind.

2d. That a great majority of them prefer self-help, and many will take no other. Nearly all are able and willing to improve any opportunity open to them, especially if advised how to put opportunity to good use.

3d. That opening opportunities to them does not pauperize or degrade them, but has the opposite effect. It establishes self-respect and self-confidence.

4th. That the offering of Vacant Lot Gardens to the unemployed, with proper supervision and some assistance and instruction, is the cheapest and best way yet devised for opening up opportunities.

5th. It possesses advantages in addition to the main purpose of providing profitable employment—such as the health, self-respect and exertion of those engaged.

The Vacant Lots Cultivation system is a school where the workers are taught a trade, to most of them a new trade—farming which offers more opportunity for employment than all other trades, and less outlay of capital is required to start and maintain the work than in any other field of productive opportunity. The greatest advantage of all is that the idle men and idle land are linked together.

The applicant is allowed a garden on condition that it is cultivated well throughout the season, and the holder does not trespass upon his neighbors. He must respect their right to what their labor produces. A failure to observe these rules forfeits his privilege.

"During the eight years of Vacant Lot work in Philadelphia more than four thousand families have been assisted, many old people who could no longer keep up the rapid pace of our industrial life, cripples whose physical condition held them back in the race for work, persons who on account of sickness or other misfortunes have been thrown out through competition and forced to join the ranks of the unemployed, have had a chance opened to them."

Another main purpose of the association has been not only to open opportunities to men but to teach them how to use these opportunities to the best advantage. Viewed from this standpoint the work has each year shown satisfactory results.

Out of nearly eight hundred gardeners who were assisted last season, more than eighty-five either rented or secured the loan of gardens this season on their own account, and cultivated them at their own expense, while the number of gardens forfeited on account of poor cultivation or trespassing was only three out of seven hundred and fifty-six.

This strong tendency to take up the work on their own account is the best proof of the effectiveness of the work in establishing self-respect and self-confidence.

An important step was taken early in the spring, a nine acre tract was secured. Sixteen families took it over. They had the land thoroughly fertilized and

plowed, and then sub-divided. Some took separate allotments as under the Vacant Lots Association's plan, and others worked for the manager at an agreed rate of wages per hour. The whole nine acres has been thoroughly well cultivated, and a magnificent crop harvested.

As soon as there was produce for sale a splendid market was established on the ground and a regular delivery system organized.

The Philadelphia effort after ten years' existence is still being successfully maintained.

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In these days when things are judged from a money value standpoint, it is not surprising that this somewhat sordid test should be applied, even to an effort of this description, though it is not a proper one. The commercial value of a thousand bricks is easily given, but the value of a thousand men and women cannot be ascertained by any £ s. d. calculation. The rescuing of men, women and children from the suffering, and want, anxiety and disease which unemployment involves, is a factor in the transaction which the multiplication table cannot represent.

The would be critic or reformer who stops to inquire, before approving such a plan, as to whether "it will pay"—provide a profit—is losing sight of the priceless asset represented by health, happiness and more or less independent lives, but even taken upon this basis of money value calculation, Philadelphia proves that the "Vacant Lots" effort pays.

In five years for £3,000 contributed the workers had direct benefits to the amount of nearly £17,000, and indirect benefits of immense value both to them and the community, that cannot be estimated in £ s. d.—improved health and moral tone, increased comforts for wives and children, increased happiness for all.

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LAND FAMINE AND EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION.

An Address Delivered by Joseph Fels at the Annual Meeting of the University Extension Society in Philadelphia, Jan. 26, 1907.

As a practical man of affairs I have hesitated to speak at this Annual Meeting of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. But I have long been interested in helping to change public opinion in matters that clearly demand new adjustments, and especially in those affecting the use of the land. Thus my aim, in its modest way, is the same as yours, and so I have accepted your invitation to tell you something of my personal experiences with English public opinion and the land.

My own general point of view is expressed in the following letter, written to a friend in America by Thomas Jefferson while he was traveling in France in 1785:

The property of this country is absolutely concentrated in a very few lands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as 200 domestics not laboring. But after all these comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor, who cannot find work. I asked myself what

could be the reason so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work in a country where there is a very considerable portion of uncultivated land. These lands are undisturbed only for the sake of game.

Whenever there is in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live in. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small land holders are the most precious part of a state.

To these sentiments it seems to me no exception can be taken. The land, including its waters and its mines, is the basis of all wealth and the source from which every nation draws its new generations of strong men and women. In this sense it is the determining factor in all national education.

Not only the conditions of land ownership, but the whole attitude of people towards land is different in England from what it is here. With a population of about 48,000,000 people in the British Islands, four-fifths of the land is in the hands of 30,000 landlords. While some districts are densely populated, vast tracts are unoccupied and uncultivated, reserved for pleasure parks and shooting grounds. It is difficult to get at an acre of ground though it may be easier to buy 500 or 1,000 acres.

But the great difference between our land conditions and those of England is, after all, one of sentiment. The land in America is a power only so far as economic conditions are concerned, but in Great Britain it has a much larger influence. There it means not only the power which money and monopoly can always wield, but it also stands for social and political power and for civic influence. On this account the possession of land is watched and controlled with a great deal more jealousy and its transfer and entail are surrounded with more difficult laws than have yet come to prevail in America.

For instance, a man in England makes a fortune in some line of business, but his social advance is barred by the fact that he is a tradesman. If he buys a country estate of a few hundred acres and so becomes the patron of the tenants and the master of the employes on the estate, he at once rises in the scale of social position and the first step toward political power is taken. It is in this way that our own Mr. Richard Croker on his newly acquired estates in Ireland is able to crush his detractors when they try to stop his social advance by referring to his former political connections in New York. The possession of English acres often wipes out the disgrace connected with the origin of the money that bought them.

And with each year that passes the land becomes bound up with all the sentiment and feelings of the family. Many a land-poor English gentleman clings to his acres as he clings to his ancestral portraits and his family honor. In America we are just beginning this relation to the land.

Publishers' Column

The Public

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CHICAGO

In England the leasing system is very complex. Leases extend over a hundred or more years, and they are bought and sold while the freehold ownership remains untouched. And all the laws favor the owner of the land. All buildings and improvements made by the tenant revert to the owner when the lease expires, and before the tenant leaves he must put all buildings in as good condition as they have been during the period of the lease. When the lease of a city house falls in it often costs the tenant several thousand dollars to get away.

Thus the possession of land by a few people with the high rents and improvement values acquired, has built up and perpetuated the enormous fortunes of the Dukes of Bedford and the Dukes of Westminster in London. Lord Ramsay has built up a similar fortune in agricultural lands, and during the past year he has given notice to 800 tenants, who represented generations of farmers under his father and grandfathers, to leave his lands. The county authorities are now intervening to prevent the ruin of these people.

As the people of England become more intelligent they realize that the earth is the mother of us all, and so they are agitating everywhere for some direct part in her bounty. This in a large degree accounts for the spread of socialism in England and the recent return of thirty members of the Labor Party to Parliament. This party is feared by both Liberals and Tories, and it is probable that another general election will increase its parliamentary representation to a hundred.

In my opinion the correction of the land troubles to begin with, in the socialization of land values. I maintain that, given free access to the land by the common people, with no favored classes, the best forms of socialism would follow naturally. So certain am I that the land is the basis of human welfare and development that all my social efforts in Great Britain and in America work towards the increase of the land-hunger among the people. One of the best ways to encourage this hunger in England has seemed to be through the starting of local colony schemes to train the people, and the opening up of small holdings where individuals could carry into effect what they had learned.

I began in England by purchasing outright a number of farms in different parts of the country, most of which were abandoned to pasture and sporting, and offered them to various public bodies as experiment stations. The Local Government Board, of which Walter Long, late secretary for Ireland, was then Chairman, authorized the acceptance of two of the farms free of rent or interest for three years. At the end of this time the Government might purchase the farms at their original cost, or they could turn them back on my hands if the experiment proved a failure.

The result has been that the Hollesley Bay estate of 1,300 acres in Suffolk, has now in residence 300 unemployed London men who are being trained as cultivators of the soil. The Government has just taken over and paid for this estate fifteen months before the expiration of the three years' probation.

The other farm was taken over on the same terms by the Poplar Board of Guardians representing one of the poorest and most over-crowded boroughs of London. It was taken over in the hope of showing

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The fair and able review of the two years of faithful public service by Mayor Dunne, which appeared in THE PUBLIC of Jan. 19, '07, has been received by the public with much satisfaction, and there have been many demands for extra copies of THE PUBLIC of that date. We ask all who would like to distribute copies of this review in Chicago to communicate with us promptly.

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Tom L. Johnson's Career

A very interesting biographical sketch of Tom L. Johnson, written by Louis F. Post, appeared in THE PUBLIC about a year ago, with portrait of Mr. Johnson accompanying, as a supplement. In view of the general public interest at this time in the work of Mr. Johnson, we would like to hear from all who may care to have extra copies of this sketch, for themselves or for distribution to others. We can make an interesting suggestion in this matter.

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how a city poorhouse could be turned into a country labor-colony. But the present Local Government Board, of which John Burns is now the Liberal chairman, has turned it into nothing better than a country poorhouse. This shows a want of the right kind of intelligence and outlook on the part of the authorities. In England as in America, there is need for the life long education, not only of the weak and the unfit, but of the leaders as well.

With one of the other farms we are working in another and further direction. We took 630 acres at Mayland, near Althorne, in Essex, fifty miles from London, and divided 25 per cent. of it into farmlets of about five acres each. On these we built well-planned and tasteful dwellings suitable for a family. Each has an outbuilding fitted for a cow or pony, pigs and poultry. Two acres of each farm garden was planted to fruit and the whole was to rent for, say £30 (\$150) per year.

Many people, especially the landlords, said I would not find tenants, that poor people did not want land and did not want to work. No advertising was done. and yet about 1,000 applications were received for the 22 small holdings now ready. Applications are still coming in, and a fair percentage from people who have a capital of at least £100 (\$500). There could not be a more conclusive demonstration that in England there is a widespread and unsatisfied hunger to get back to the land.

(In America we are moving in this same direction of land monopoly. You can buy large tracts of land easily, but small pieces are always rare and expensive.)

We have further established at Mayland a 13-acre nursery and built a large group of hot houses, where we shall grow plants, bush fruits and trees for setting out and for the market. The balance of the land has been turned into a farm intelligently managed on modern lines, as an object lesson to the small holders and to the district in general.

In all such educational movements as these the teacher is of first importance. We have fortunately secured for Mayland a man who is a practical, well-informed and enthusiastic leader. He was a Manchester printer who ten years ago brought his family his knowledge and his enthusiasm into our districts. He came with no knowledge of farming, but he mastered his difficulties, reared his family, and got control of some land. This land he is now leaving to the care of his son, who has had a college training in agriculture, while he devotes his energies to our work.

As assistants to this man we have brought over two French gardeners from the neighborhood of Paris to teach what can be done in intensive market gardening. Those who have read Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops" will better understand the importance of this.

The educational value of such an experiment is far reaching. The individuals will be working on their own holdings under intelligent conditions. They will have good advice and will have helpful examples before them. They will naturally co-operate in buying and selling. They are drawn from a large range of activities, and so represent a wide circle of friends who will watch their fortunes with interest. Meantime, thoughtful people in England will become conscious that land has other uses than supporting fam-

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ily privileges or serving as shooting grounds, and when England becomes conscious of bad conditions she will find some way to better them.

It looks now as though this particular farm at Mayland might be used for a more direct educational purpose than those I have indicated. Professor J. J. Findlay, of Manchester University, is now considering a summer school there. Children will be taken from city centers or gathered from the surrounding country side and demonstration lessons, mainly out of doors, will be given to groups of teachers.

This is one of the best things about any form of effort that is made to educate public opinion. It attracts to itself other educational impulses and grows by natural processes of extension. This afternoon illustrates this process, for I am bringing to your university extension movement my little experience in extending thought and feeling concerning the proper use of our ancestral heritage—the Earth.

* * *

THE SONG OF THE LANDLESS MEN IN THE TOWNS.

We do not own an inch of land,
Nor never did, since life began,
For us the Universe was planned,
That each must be a landless man.

For we were born where furnace fire
Turns all the sky to ashy grey,
Where men must work until they tire
That other men may tire with play.

We have not got one inch of land—
One inch of land our lives to save,
But still the Earth-engrossing band
Must grant us at the end—a grave.

And we must keep a grateful heart,
That they who stole away our share
Have left us still a little part
Of sunshine and of common air.

'Tis true the sun is hard to view,
The sky is but a murky pall,
Still they who stole from me and you—
Be thankful—did not quite take all.

They could not steal the human will,
Nor sell within the busy mart
That dauntless soul that conquers ill—
That ever-loving human heart.

These still are ours whate'er may come,
These still are ours by day or night,
In forest glade or city slum,
And we shall conquer in their might,
—William E. A. Axon in the Millgate.

* * *

Believing that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and that under the providence of God the state is a trustee whose duty it is to enact the conditions under which these divine gifts should be used for the benefit of all, we therefore condemn the handing over of large tracts of land to individuals and corporations without attaching conditions which would prevent their being held for speculative purposes only. Whenever vested rights are not interfered with, we recommend legislation which will prevent any individual or corporation from profiting hereafter from the unearned increment in the value of land.—Report of the 1906 Committee on So-

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biological Questions of the Canadian Methodist Church.

BOOKS

BACK TO THE LAND.

My Farm of Two Acres. By Harriet Martineau. The Cottage Farm Series, No. 1. Published by A. C. Fifield, London, 1906. Price, paper, sixpence; cloth, one shilling.

Fork and Spade Husbandry, or £51 a Year from Two Acres. By John Sillett, the Suffolk Draper. Published by A. C. Fifield, London, 1906. Price, paper, sixpence; cloth, one shilling.

The universal cry is "Back to the Land," and A. C. Fifield, of London, publishes in his Cottage Farm series two pamphlets on this subject.

There is always a live interest in the account of what has actually been done, just as there is always a live interest in the verbatim report of the testimony of a witness; and John Sillett, the Suffolk draper, who showed how he made \$255 a year out of two acres, has retained in his book that realistic style. His book was issued in 1848, and although many of his methods are out of date, the principles and their applications are as fresh as ever. For instance, he manured his land with salt, and bedded his cows on sand and weeds cut from the land. But,

on the other hand, he fed them upon the under leaves of cabbages and coarse beet, which he pulled off from below, to the improvement of the plants themselves.

He washed his pigs weekly with soap suds from the weekly wash, and afterwards used the suds for manure, and in other ways took that personal particular care of plants and stock that makes a success; even if he does commit such glaring mistakes as to "dibble a hole between every cabbage, six inches deep, and drop a whole potato into each, about the size of a small hen's egg; if larger than that, I cut them in two down the middle." A curious principle of artificial selection of seeds!

Miss Martineau's book on her two-acre farm is much in the same style, and has the same attractions and drawbacks. For instance, she apparently evolved out of her inner consciousness the idea of what we would now call "a balanced ration" for poultry, and brought her reason to bear upon such rubbish as making young chickens swallow a peppercorn.

As she naively remarks, "It is a grave and yet a cheerful consideration that the maintenance of our man and his wife is absolutely created by our plan of living; and it is worth something that the same may be said of several animals which are called into existence by it." On the other hand, she says that "we find that the cream rises better in old cisterns lined with lead than in glass or earthenware." Our modern science would think that there was great danger of lead poison from the acid in the milk.

The books show the crying need for accurate up-to-date information on intensive cultivation.

BOLTON HALL.

* * *

THE BRITISH WHO'S WHO

Who's Who. (British) 1907. An Annual Biographical Dictionary. Fifty-ninth year of issue. Published at London by Adam and Charles Black, and at New York by the Macmillan Company. Price \$2.50 net; postage, 22 cents.

Containing nearly two thousand pages of biography of notable Englishmen, this volume has just appeared. As explained in the preface, the tables which formerly made up the first part of the book, have been deleted, both for reasons of space and in order that the book may be more completely what it professes to be, a biographical annual. These tables, with additions, are now issued as a separate book, called "Who's Who Year Book." The need of recourse by Americans to a publication giving an authentic account of history-makers in England is increasing yearly, necessitated by the interlacing interests of the two peoples and evidenced by frequent allusions in the American press and magazines to the growing part played on the international stage by prominent Englishmen. This makes the British "Who's Who" a correlating necessity to the American publication of the same name. The two books serve readers with a complete outline of "the man behind the word" at home and abroad.

W. H. S.

PERIODICALS

"The Story of the Salton Sea," by Len D. Whittemore, which appears in *The Outers' Book* (New York, Milwaukee and Chicago) for February, adds satisfactorily to the variety of outdoor phenomena to which this magazine is devoted. Rexford's artistic photographs of water and woodland are beautifully reproduced in half tone.

+

Whether government currency or bank currency is best for general circulation, is the leading symposium of *Moody's Magazine* (New York) for February. Horace Boies participates in behalf of government currency based on bullion, while Wharton Barker stands for government currency issued in payment of public services, irredeemable in gold but redeemable in taxes.

+

Henry George, Jr., contributes to *The Times Magazine* for February one of the series of his forthcoming Japanese articles. It deals with the subject of government railroads in Japan. A plea for postal savings banks is made by George C. Sikes; and the fiction is distinguished by Marvin Dana's thrilling short story, "The Edge of the Abyss." In the same number Frederic C. Howe starts a series of papers on the beginnings of democracy, with a description of Mayor Johnson's Cleveland as a city of ideals. Dr. Giddings continues his "Natural History of American Morals," and William Hard concludes his story of Margaret

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Haley and the Chicago schools. The illustrated editorials are an attractive feature of this magazine.

+ + +

Howell: "You shouldn't run for a street car; it's bad for your heart."

Powell: "Worse than that; it's bad for my fountain pen."—Woman's Home Companion.

+ + +

Old Gentleman: "Can you tell me what time it is, my lad? My watch has stopped."

Small Boy: "'Bout 12, sir."

"Only 12? I thought it was more."

Small Boy (puzzled): "It's never any more here, sir; it just begins at 1 again."—Chicago Inter Ocean.

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