

and executed as a felon. One archaic writer tells: "How Henrie the Eight, executing his laws verie severlie against such idle persons . . . did hang up three score and twelve thousand of them in his time." They were not at all queasy in dealing with the tramp problem in those days.

After Henry's time similar laws were enacted and barbarously enforced. Pursuant to one of them a vagrant might be marked with a letter V and adjudged to be the slave for two years of the person buying him. If he ran away he was to be branded on the forehead or ball of the cheek with the letter S, and adjudged his master's slave for life, and if he ran away a second time he was to be executed as a felon.

Now, in what respect does that last English vagrant law differ from the Kansas method already noted? It is more primitively brutal in some details, but in principle there is no difference at all between the two, except that in England enslavement of vagrants was in accordance with regularly enacted law, whereas in Kansas the enslavement of the tramps was utterly lawless and so downright anarchy?

Yet a leading Republican paper of one of the largest cities proposes this anarchistic Kansas episode—whether seriously or flippantly makes no difference in so far as it is a reflection of "reputable" public sentiment—as an example for the solution of the tramp problem!

The "tramp" problem of the present has an origin precisely like that of the "vagrant" problem of the time of Henry VIII.

We, too have had our golden age of labor. As Leggett, from whom we have already quoted, observes:

During the first century of the existence of this government American land of the best quality was open to American labor at an annual rent of a little over six cents an acre (the government price of \$1.25 an acre divided by 20). So long as that condition of things lasted American labor was prosperous. But as soon as the supply of government land became exhausted the same phenomena that followed the sale of the church lands in England began to appear in this country. The scrambles for government land at Oklahoma, at the Sisseton Reservation, at the Cherokee Strip,

and at the Kickapoo Reservation have merely served to make patent to the general public a fact that has been fully known to thoughtful observers of passing events—that is, that the supply of government land fit for occupation and use had given out. No one who will give the matter consideration can fail to observe how close is the parallel between the social and industrial conditions that developed in England about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. and the social and industrial conditions that have developed in this country during the last 12 or 15 years, since the supply of public land has become practically exhausted.

There is the explanation of our "tramp" problem. It is part of the old social problem which was forced upon England by the commercialization of the abbey lands and the consequent rack-renting of all lands, and has been forced upon us by the commercialization of our public domain and the consequent rack-renting of every rood of land in the country from the coziest corner in Wall street to the broad acres of the Kansas prairies. Labor must therefore beg employment, except at odd intervals in odd places where there is a special and temporary demand; and in consequence we have, as in Henry's time in England, an impoverished docile class for whose relief we are learning to demand alms of the rich, and an impoverished rebellious class whom we denounce as tramps and whose natural rights we are ceasing to respect.

That the tramp is a parasite is conceded. He does not work. He lives by beggary. But he lives very poorly. When he begs even successfully his prize is seldom better than a bone. It doesn't cost much to keep him.

Not so with the millionaire parasite. He doesn't work either. But he lives well. And although he doesn't live by beggary, he lives by something worse—by appropriation. It costs a great deal more to keep the appropriating millionaire "hobo" than to keep the begging tramp "hobo."

Why concern ourselves so much, then, with the problem of the latter while neglecting so persistently the problem of the former? Let us concern ourselves more with the problem of the millionaire "hobo" who gets by appropriation so much that he

doesn't earn and therefore must be extorting it from those of us who do earn, and we shall not need to concern ourselves with the outcast begging "hobo" at all.

Both are products of the same conditions. The institution whereby the one class is enabled to appropriate, is the very institution which has driven the other class to beggary. Solve the idle millionaire problem and the idle tramp problem will solve itself.

## NEWS

The first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, which met on the 2d of December (vol. iv., p. 552), adjourned on the 1st of July. This session will be memorable for legislation of an extraordinary character. The Senate ratified the Hay-Pauncefote treaty (vol. iv., pp. 583, 602), which paved the way to the control of an Isthmian canal by the United States; and both Houses passed an Isthmian canal bill preferring the Panama route but providing for the adoption of the Nicaragua route if satisfactory rights to the other cannot be secured, the project to be under the direction of the President. A temporary tariff bill was enacted for revenue purposes in the Philippine islands, and in the last hours of the session a bill was enacted for the establishment of civil government there. One of the notable measures is the act abolishing the war revenues, which went into effect on the 1st of July. The oleomargarine law is another. It imposes a small internal revenue tax on all oleomargarine and a heavy one on oleomargarine colored so as to resemble yellow butter. The policy of forbidding Chinese immigration was continued by a new exclusion act; and legislative adjustments were made for establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba. One of the most important bills to pass was that for the expenditure of moneys, received for public lands in certain states and territories, in the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands; and another was the bill establishing the census bureau permanently. Some of the bills of importance that failed to pass were also of extraordinary character. Among them was the ship subsidy bill, which only passed the Senate; bills for the admission of Arizona, Oklahoma and

New Mexico as states, which only passed the House, but have been made a special order in the Senate for the early days of the next session; and the bill for reducing the tariff on imports from Cuba, which passed the House but was pigeon-holed in the Senate. Another bill to pass the House, but which met a temporary check in the Senate, was the Fowler banking measure, to be taken up next winter; while the anti-anarchy bills, of which there was an avalanche early in the session, were all lost in a dispute between the two houses. The proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the election of senators directly by the people passed the House but received no attention in the Senate; and a Senate measure for the creation of a department of commerce with its chief in the President's cabinet, was stalled in committee in the House.

The enactment of the Isthmian canal bill, noted above, had not been accomplished at our last report upon this subject (p. 187), although it was then understood that the conference committee of the two Houses had agreed to accept the Senate measure. This proves to have been true, and on the 26th of June the House adopted the conference report by a vote of 255 to 8. It was of course adopted by the Senate, and on the 29th the President signed the bill. As explained last week, this measure authorizes the President to acquire for the United States all the rights of the "New Panama Canal Co." of France, including the Panama Railroad Co., or at least 68,863 of its shares, for not more than \$40,000,000; also to acquire from the Republic of Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land 6 miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama for such sum as may be agreed upon; and, also, thereupon, to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama for vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest draft now in use. If the President should be unable to acquire the rights mentioned above within a reasonable time, then he is to adopt the Nicaragua route.

Another of the important bills the passage of which is mentioned above in connection with the work of the congressional session just terminated, was a subject of heated debate up to the close. It is the Lodge bill for the government of the Philippine islands. At the time of our last report (p. 187)

this bill had come down to the House, and that body was proposing to amend by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting a bill of its own. On the 27th the question came to a vote and the amendment was adopted—141 to 97. It was a strict party vote except that Mr. McCall, a Republican of Massachusetts, voted with the Democrats. Mr. McCall had offered an amendment indicating that the United States does not intend to retain permanent sovereignty over the islands; but, although this was solidly supported by the Democrats and by one Republican besides himself, Mr. Littlefield, of Maine, it was voted down. The Senate refusing to concur in the substitute adopted by the House, a conference committee of the two Houses was appointed and on the 30th its report came before the lower house, where it was adopted, again by a strict party vote, with the exception of Mr. McCall, who once more voted with the Democrats, the vote being 149 to 92. The Senate adopted the conference report on the 1st of July and the President immediately signed the bill. As thus enacted, the bill allows appeals from the island courts to the Supreme Court of the United States in cases involving \$25,000 or more. The President is required to call an election for a popular assembly within two years after the completion of a census, to be taken in his discretion, provided general peace and good order shall have prevailed meanwhile. Public lands are to be open to homesteaders as in the United States, and the amount of land to be held by a corporation is not to exceed 2,500 acres, while restrictions are imposed upon corporate interests in mining and agricultural lands. The intent and effect of these regulatory provisions of the law are, as explained upon the floor of the House by Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin, as chairman of the committee on insular affairs, to make it "absolutely impossible to exploit the islands." Provisions are inserted for bonding in order to buy out the friars. On the subject of coinage both Houses receded, the Senate abandoning its silver coinage clause and the House its gold standard clause, provision being made, instead, for minor silver coinage.

Prior to adjournment on the 1st, Senator Carmack endeavored to secure the adoption of a resolution authorizing the Philippine committee

to sit during the recess and to visit the Philippine islands in prosecution of its inquiries. This resolution was in furtherance of the purposes of the Adams memorial (p. 191); but no action was taken.

The question of buying the friars' lands, with which the Philippine government act also deals, is in its present stages in the hands of Gov. Taft and a papal commission in Rome. The commission was appointed by the pope on the 13th, and consists of Cardinals Rampolla, Vanutelli, Vives y Tuto, Gotti and Steinhuber. They met on the 17th to consider Gov. Taft's proposals, which are in substance as follows:

1. United States to purchase the lands belonging to the friars, the price to be fixed by arbitration.
2. Arbiters to decide the indemnity United States is to pay for the occupation of ecclesiastical buildings.
3. Above propositions absolutely conditional on the withdrawal of the friars.
4. If accepted United States is to give a deed or by law grant a patent for ecclesiastical buildings on public lands.
5. To settle by compromise or arbitration the several trusts for schools, hospitals, etc., claimed on the one hand by the civil, and on the other by the church, authorities.

The commission delivered its reply to Gov. Taft on the 21st, but the document has not yet been made public, and negotiations are still in progress.

The most important European news of the week is the renewal of the famous compact between Austria, Germany and Italy, known as the "Dreibund" or triple alliance. This alliance was originally between Austria and Germany, Italy being sympathetic but not a party. It was made in 1879, by way of defense on the part of Austria against the threatening attitude of Russia toward the Balkan region and on the part of Germany against the unconcealed enmity of France, and is regarded as the cause of what is believed to be a dual alliance between France and Russia. Strained relations between France and Italy caused Italy to join the "Dreibund" actively when it was renewed in 1882. It was renewed again in 1891 and again in 1896, and would have expired in 1903 but for the renewal of last week, which was signed at Berlin on the 28th in secret conference between the imperial chancellor, Count von Buelow in behalf of Germany;