

a girl of sixteen years should be left to bargain as an individual with a shrewd and powerful firm.

The only practicable method of presenting general grievances is through the trade union organization, and the recognition of the union is therefore the fundamental demand underlying all other demands made by the workers.

Protection of the union is essential to secure for today and to guarantee for tomorrow reasonable working conditions.

All intelligent and fair minded Americans must understand the helplessness of the individual worker to maintain his rights. Many employers throughout the country believe in industrial democracy and willingly meet with the accredited and elected representatives of their workers, while through all ages the autocrat has denied to all the right of self-expression and self-government politically or industrially.

Without the trade agreement and the right of conference between the employers and the workers on an equal basis, there is no certain justice or peace. The workers regard the right to organize and to have the education from their shop meetings and the protection and support of their union as of the first importance. This is a primary and essential right without which all other rights are mere words and incapable of being enforced.

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France Faces the National Strike Question.

The French cabinet, under the leadership of the Premier, Mr. Aristide Briand (p. 1045), resigned on the 2nd. President Fallières then asked Mr. Briand to form a new cabinet. The new ministry was announced on the 3rd. Beside the Premier four ministers were retained. Mr. Millerand, minister of public works, posts and telegraphs, who has insisted that the principle of compulsory arbitration between companies and employes should not be abandoned, and that the unionization of public servants should not be restricted, was replaced by Mr. Puhé. The dispatches state that the new ministerial program includes legislation in regard to trades unions which will make impossible a repetition of the situation brought about by the recent railroad strikes (p. 1045); and that the government will seek to obtain extended powers for the militarization of railroad employes, with severe penalties for those who provoke insubordination.

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Municipal Ownership in New York.

A critical point regarding municipal ownership of the new subways in New York city, is pointed out in a public address by Edward Polak, as chairman of the Rapid Transit Association of Bronx Real Estate Brokers, under date of November 2. Following is the explanation of the address:

The Public Service Commission has obtained a large number of bids from responsible contractors to build the subway with city money. In a few days contracts signed by the Public Service Commission,

representing the city, and by the contractors, will be submitted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for its approval. If the Board of Estimate approves these contracts, the work of building the Tri-borough can commence in a very short time. The Interborough officials, made desperate by the thought of the Tri-borough being built by the city has used all its powerful influence to prevent the city from building this road. It has been for some time, and is now, straining every effort to influence the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to reject the contracts about to be submitted to them by the Public Service Commission. Failing in that, it is trying to bring about a disagreement in the Board. If it succeeds in having the Board of Estimate and Apportionment reject these contracts, then the chances of the city building the subways will be remote, and the Interborough will have complete control of the situation.

After considering the various questions at issue, Mr. Polak continues:

It seems all this talk against the city building the Tri-borough route has been inspired by the Interborough itself. It has befogged the issue to such an extent that the average man has been unable to clearly understand the subway question. Many well meaning people have been so taken up with the Interborough's specious arguments that they have taken up the cause of the Interborough from its own viewpoint. The facts are, that the Interborough does not want competition, it has fought against this for many years, it has tried to prevent the legislature from giving the city relief. It has attempted to tie the city's hands so that it would be compelled to accept its unfair terms. It brought the McClellan administration under its influence so that for seven long years practically nothing was done towards promoting rapid transit, it has "accelerated" public opinion through civic and public bodies in order to make it appear that there is an "uprising" of the people in favor of its plan. It has been sowing seeds of doubt and mistrust everywhere for many years. It has seemingly caused a doubt in the minds of some of our highest city officials. It has caused dissensions in our public service board. And now it designs to cause dissension in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It has assembled, and used as "swift witnesses" some well known engineers, some of whom were formerly in the pay of the city; and it is playing one borough against the others, appealing to selfishness and borough pride.

In its conclusion Mr. Polak's address says:

It is said the city owns the present subway and should not compete with itself—that the stockholders must be protected. Even if their present earnings would be cut in half by the new route, they would still make 9%; but with the increase of population they will make more than that. The city owns the subway in form only. As far as this generation is concerned, the lease given to the interborough might as well be in perpetuity. There must finally be a monopoly of rapid transit in New York City. It is only a question as to whether the city will own and control this monopoly or whether private individuals will own the monopoly and control the city's transit for all time to come. The

most important part of the subway question is that of city control.

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The Constitution of New Mexico.

Notwithstanding the pledges of insurgent delegates to the Constitutional convention of New Mexico (p. 948), which seemed at first to represent the corporate interests by 49 delegates and the public interests by 51, the convention passed so completely under the control of the corporations, that the minority cannot even secure a roll call except on the question of final adoption of the Constitution as a whole.

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Party lines were strictly drawn from the beginning, with 71 Republican members and 29 Democrats. In Republican caucus the Insurgents could rally but 18; and all these voted with the corporation representatives for the caucus candidate for president of the convention—Charles A. Spiess, a railroad lawyer locally notorious. It would have made no difference, however, for these Republicans together with the Democrats could not have elected the Democratic candidate, H. B. Fergusson, a universally respected man. The corporations would still have had a majority of 6.

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In the make-up of important committees, every chairmanship was given to a corporation man; and in framing the rules, the number of members necessary to demand a roll call was fixed at 30—one more than the Democratic membership.

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On the question of provisions for the Initiative and Referendum in the Constitution, a compromise was made so as to secure unanimity; for all the delegates fear giving cause for the defeat of their Constitution when it comes before the people of the Territory for ratification. The compromise consists in adopting the Referendum, but not the Initiative; which means that the people may veto the legislation they object to, but cannot secure legislation that they want.

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Tom L. Johnson in Ohio Politics.

His delicate health made it impossible for Tom L. Johnson (p. 853) to take an active part in either the Cleveland or the Ohio campaign; but on the 1st he attended one of the large tent meetings at which Governor Harmon was the principal candidate and speaker, and made a brief speech. Following is from the Cleveland Plain Dealer's report of the occurrence:

The applause with which the Governor was received had scarcely died away when the former Mayor appeared. For a second only there was a hush. Men who had followed Mr. Johnson for years

with exceptional devotion leaned forward to make certain their eyes did not deceive them. Then as the former Mayor mounted the platform there was a demonstration such as is seldom seen at any time. As the Governor and Mr. Johnson clasped hands the tent fairly rocked with applause. Almost the entire crowd rose to its feet to cheer. Among portions of the crowd the cheering nearly approached a frenzy. John H. Clarke, chairman of the meeting, announced that Mr. Johnson had insisted upon being present and had consented to say a few words. In the moment or two that the former Mayor spoke he showed his old time vigor. The tent, the crowd and the flood of recollections seemingly inspired him. "I am here tonight against the command of my physicians," said Mr. Johnson. "I had made up my mind, however, that I would appear here for a few moments no matter what the weather or the conditions. I am here to greet Gov. Harmon and to express my deep conviction that the people of Ohio are going to honor themselves by re-electing a man who has made the record of Governor that he has, rather than a man who boasts of his loyalty to George B. Cox and his unspeakable organization. I am glad to be here tonight whether my physicians will it or not. And I want to say that we are going to win this fall, as in the past, because our cause is just." As Mr. Johnson concluded, the tent again rang with applause as Chairman Clarke presented Gov. Harmon. "The demonstration we have just witnessed has stirred me to the depths of my soul," said the Governor. "I can only say that if at any time after my service as Governor has expired and I appear before a body of citizens of my State and there, without the powers of office, without the possibility of bestowing favors, I shall receive such a testimonial as you tonight have given your old fighting leader, I will consider that life certainly has been well worth the living." With the passing of this tribute there was another tumult of applause. Gov. Harmon had scarcely entered upon his speech before the former Mayor rose to go. The Governor turned and again clasped his hand. "God bless you and restore you to health," he said. The hand clapping had ceased. Instead of shouting, many under the big stretch of canvas gave way to tears in the play of their emotions.

The report of the Cleveland Press was to the same effect, as also was that of the Cincinnati Enquirer. The latter differed slightly in detail:

Intensely dramatic and even thrilling was the unexpected appearance of former Mayor Tom L. Johnson at one of the meetings, that at Nineteenth and Payne avenue. When the merest shadow of his former self and a pathetic figure, he was helped feebly into the tent, the 4,000 spectators broke into a frenzy of applause that lasted for 10 minutes. The crowd cheered until it was hoarse, and, resting, cheered again. With visibly painful efforts the old lion came to the edge of the platform to say: "It stirs my blood to be out again and in the old tent. I came here against the advice of my doctors to speak for Governor Harmon. The people of Ohio will do themselves an honor to elect a man like him instead of a creature of George B. Cox." After a few more sentences Mayor Johnson sat down and a moment later was helped out into the stormy night