
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
1800

The Past, Present and Future of Boston.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. S. POTTER,

OF ARLINGTON,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

UNITING CERTAIN CITIES AND TOWNS WITH THE CITY OF BOSTON:

DELIVERED IN THE

Massachusetts Senate, Thursday, April 24, 1873.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE.

BOSTON:
WRIGHT & POTTER, STATE PRINTERS,
19 PROVINCE STREET.
1873.

The Past, Present and Future of Boston.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. S. POTTER,

OF ARLINGTON,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

UNITING CERTAIN CITIES AND TOWNS WITH THE CITY OF BOSTON:

DELIVERED IN THE

Massachusetts Senate, Thursday, April 24, 1873.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE.

BOSTON:
WRIGHT & POTTER, STATE PRINTERS,
19 PROVINCE STREET.
1873.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of Middlesex, introduced the following Order which was adopted and then referred to the Committee on Printing.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Senate, April 29, 1873.

Ordered, That two thousand copies of the speech delivered in the Senate by Hon. Mr. Potter, on the subject of the annexation of certain towns and cities to the city of Boston be printed for the use of the legislature.

S. N. Gifford, *Clerk*.

Subsequently the committee submitted the following Report, which was accepted, and the Order was then passed.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Senate, April 30, 1873.

The Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the Order that two thousand copies of the speech delivered by Hon. Mr. Potter, on the subject of the annexation of certain cities and towns to the city of Boston be printed for the use of the Legislature, report that the Order ought to pass. Per order,

J. K. Banister.

Senate, April 30, 1873.

Accepted.

S. N. Gifford, *Clerk*.

ACTION OF THE COMMITTEE.

On January 4th, Mr. Potter, on leave, introduced an Act entitled "An Act to enlarge the territory of, and unite certain towns and cities with, the city of Boston." The towns and cities proposed for union under one municipality, were as follows:—

The city of Chelsea and the towns of Winthrop and Revere, in the county of Suffolk; the cities of Charlestown, Somerville and Cambridge, and the towns of Malden, Everett, Medford, Arlington, Belmont and Watertown and Brighton, in the county of Middlesex; and the towns of West Roxbury and Brookline, in the county of Norfolk.

The Bill was referred to the Committee on Towns, consisting of Hon. Martin Griffin, of Suffolk, Hon. Newton Morse, of Middlesex, of the Senate, and Benj. F. Hayes, of Medford, John Nowell, of Boston, G. P. Kendrick, of Worcester, N. D. Ladd, of Sturbridge, and George Purington, Jr., of Mattapoisett, of the House.

On the 16th of April the committee submitted the following Report and accompanying Resolve.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN SENATE, April 16, 1873.

The Committee on Towns, to whom was referred the Bill to enlarge the territory of, and unite certain towns and cities with the city of Boston, have considered the matter, and report the accompanying Resolve.

NEWTON MORSE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

RESOLVE in relation to uniting certain Cities and Towns with the City of Boston.

Resolved, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, appoint a commission, consisting of three able and discreet persons, to report, after due investigation, upon the practicability and expediency of uniting with the city of Boston, under one municipal government, the following cities and towns:—The city of Chelsea and the towns of Winthrop and Revere, in the county of Suffolk: the cities of Charlestown, Somerville and Cambridge, and the towns of Malden, Everett, Medford, Arlington, Belmont and Watertown, in the county of Middlesex; * and what portion of the territory of such cities or towns, or any of them, in their judgment it would be expedient to so annex. Such investigation and report to include an examination of the feasibility and policy of such a union; the commercial, economical, industrial, sanitary and other considerations relating thereto; the mode of consummating the same, if deemed practicable and expedient; and whatever else may pertain to the municipal polity of a territory and people so connected and identified, as well with reference to their own good government and well-being as to the general welfare of the Commonwealth.

Said commission may employ all necessary assistance, and shall report the results of their investigation to the next legislature, embodying the same in a proper bill, if they shall deem legislation expedient, and shall be allowed for their compensation and expenses such sums as shall be approved by the governor and council, not to exceed five thousand dollars.

* The towns of Brookline, Brighton and West Roxbury were not embraced in this Resolve for the reason that Bills providing for their annexation to Boston were presented to the legislature before the Committee made their Report upon this subject.

SPEECH.

Mr. President:

There is no duty which I feel called upon to perform that is to me more unpleasant than that of occupying a moment of the time of the Senate in explaining measures which impress me as being of public interest. But the subject under consideration seems to me of such transcendant importance in its bearings upon the interests of the people of Boston and vicinity—and of the entire Commonwealth as well —that I trust I may be excused for asking the ear, and perhaps the exercise of the patience, of the Senate, while I endeavor to present some facts and general considerations connected with the past, present and future of Boston, that may be of possible value to those who feel an interest in the growth and prosperity, as well as in the health and happiness of the people of the metropolis of Massachusetts.

The Resolve reported by the committee provides for the appointment of a commission of three able and discreet men, vested with all the power neces-

sary to enable them to thoroughly investigate the subject of uniting the city of Boston and the fifteen cities and towns enumerated in the bill which I laid before the Senate at the opening of the present session; and if the commission shall deem expedient, they are authorized to prepare a wiser and more carefully considered measure for the consummation of such union. I would not have so great a reform hurried to completion with such rapidity that all necessary knowledge relating to it cannot be obtained, because when it is done, it should be well and properly done. I therefore cheerfully accept the conclusions of the committee as being wise and prudent, and will proceed to present some reasons why the Resolve should pass, and why such union appears to me not only desirable, but an indispensable necessity.

Sir, knowledge is the creation of industry;—that is, it springs from an active body and an active mind. If that activity is compulsory, or the result of necessity, then knowledge is acquired slowly, or rather worked out through unseen difficulties by the hard and tedious process of unaided toil. Such is the experience, and such the school, of the pioneer. But the sagacious and observing student who follows, will pursue the shorter and more direct path which is always before him. He will "reap where others have sown." He will study the lessons of the past, and profit by the revelations of departed ages. He will not permit the dust and

cobwebs of time to conceal the obstacles which his fathers encountered or the errors which they committed, but will behold the future by the light of their experience, and thus be able more wisely to measure its demands upon the present. He will look upon existence as a progressive fact, no more designed to halt upon the accomplishments of the hour, than was the revolving globe upon which we live designed to stand still. He will regard ideas as creations which are never to mature, and look upon them as the school-boy looks upon the ball which he begins rolling in the adhesive snow—as conceptions which are to grow with every revolution they make through the force of mental and physical action. Ideas which spring from intelligent reflection are ever in conflict with those that are born of impulse; and the government or the man that moves in obedience to impulse, and acts only with reference to the exigencies of the hour, is simply placing obstructions in the path of progress, which will surely retard, though never prevent, the march of the ever-coming future from sweeping such obstructions away; thus making reconstruction and its attendant consequences of delay and heavy taxation a necessity and a burden upon the advance of civilization.

THE EARLY DAYS OF BOSTON AND THE ERRORS OF ITS FOUNDERS.

Two hundred and fifty years ago an intelligent Englishman landed upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay. His sagacity and good judgment induced him to select for his home a locality among the blueberry bushes and other shrubbery that covered the peninsula at the junction of Charles River and the waters of the harbor. Here, preferring seclusion to society, that "memorable man," William Blackstone, built a cottage, in which he was a solitary dweller for many years. In the meantime a flourishing settlement under Governor Winthrop had been established opposite to his cottage on the other side of the river. In the year 1630 many of the inhabitants of this settlement, which was called Charlestown, became sick and discontented. While their troubles were most pressing, some of their leading men rowed across the river and sought the counsel of the kind-hearted Blackstone. He recommended as a panacea for their ills, even at that early day,—not exactly annexation, but the next thing to it,—that they should move over to "his side of the river." There was room enough to apply his remedy then, but not now. They followed Blackstone's advice, Governor Winthrop leading, his house having been first carried over for his accommodation.

Thus began the settlement which they "agreed to call Boston." The city which has grown from this small beginning, has not yet honored in a becoming manner the name of William Blackstone, who discovered in the spot upon which it stands, with its surroundings, a locality which, as I hope to show, has no parallel in the advantages which it presents for the prosperous existence of one of the most healthful and beautiful cities on this continent, or in the world.

Here, at the base of the three promontories whose tops caught the refreshing breezes of land and sea, the followers of Blackstone and Winthrop moved forward with their incipient city. One would have thought that the startling events which were at that time happening in the compact cities which were being desolated with fires and plagues in the "Old World," with which they were so familiar, would have been efficient lessons to those who were laying the foundation of a new city, where land could be had for five shillings per acre. The handcart and an occasional passing team served the business demands of their day, and they constructed ways only wide enough for their accommodation. It is true they had come here to populate a new continent and inaugurate a work which would require ages to complete; yet the simple needs of the hour were their guide. They saw only that future which reached beyond this life to the shores of immor-

tality. Therefore, they worked without plans, system or method. In laying out a city that was to be "built with hands" they permitted their impulses to seize upon the accidental cow path and the milkmaid's walk, and these they followed as leading suggestions. Thus, though pioneers of advanced civilization in a "New World," they started with the most absurd errors of the "Old World" in the practical business of laying out a city which would, according to every teaching of history, at some future date, not remote, be occupied by millions of people. Indeed, they do not appear to have measured at all the possible needs of posterity. For light, circulation of air, health and security from pestilence and conflagration were not catalogued in their minds as matters to be considered in connection with the construction of a city. The exigency of the hour seems to have been their guide in practical affairs; and this most pernicious and evil practice has adhered, like a leech, to our state, city and town legislation down to the present hour.

With an ever-growing intelligence, impelled by the activity and industry which were characteristic of the founders of Boston, what result could follow such a policy? Why, then as now, every new year developed new conditions and new demands, for which the old one, for lack of ordinary forethought, had not provided. Thus began the work of undoing, to correct errors, of pulling down and

building up,—resulting in a wastefulness of time and means which has continued to the present time and is now in full operation. Mistakes even were corrected only with a view to meet the necessities of the time. The future seems never to have been provided for. And this state of things, which has been a perpetual drag upon the prosperity of the city, has been growing worse with the increase of population, until

THE ENORMOUS COST OF CORRECTING PAST ERRORS

has become at the present day a serious burden upon the inhabitants of Boston and its vicinity. The founders of the city, and those who succeeded them, shut out the light and air of heaven from its streets, which they huddled together in promiscuous confusion, in order that they might save a few feet of land which cost a farthing a foot. But the third generation following, with a view of providing for growing public necessities, has been obliged, not only to pull down and rebuild costly structures, but at the same time to pay from five to thirty thousand times that sum for the same land, now needed to double and treble the width of their original narrow and contracted thoroughfares. Now, sir, this same confused system of planning, and this same short-sighted policy of the past, is to-day practised in portions of the city of Boston, and in all the cities and towns within the territory which it is now proposed to unite with it. The con-

venience of the hour still appears to be the mischievous sentiment ruling in the council chamber and town meeting.

If Senators will consult the records at the City Hall they will be astonished to learn that there are instances where streets have been widened two, three and even four times on the *same line* to meet the growing demands for room, and each time at a heavy cost to the tax-payer, when such changes would not have been necessary if the people and those in power had simply remembered, as I now ask *you* to remember, that "the world moves," and has a future to provide for which should always commend itself to the consideration of thoughtful law-makers everywhere.

Sir, if the present policy is to continue, no comprehensive public improvements will be possible, for the reason that all the revenue, and much more than is needed for such purposes, will continue to be swallowed up in correcting the errors, which, under it, seem ever to follow in the track of state and municipal legislation.

As an illustration of the prodigal effects of this "convenience-of-the-hour legislation," I will refer to but one of many examples. Hanover Street, which was one of the paths where the milkmaid followed the tinkling bell of the "lowing herd," has been widened in some places two or three times, and yet another widening has just been completed, at a cost to the tax-payers and abutters of nearly

$2,500,000 more. I will not attempt to predict the period when another slice from the costly structures that have been rebuilt upon this busy avenue may be necessary; but I will ask Senators to stand for a moment at any hour of the day, and view the active throng that already moves therein, when Boston has a population of only one-quarter of a million, and at the same time remember that the deep waters of her ample harbor bound this and other streets, now of less capacity, where the active commercial enterprise of the city must be forever carried on. For, while the city will rapidly expand, the harbor must ever remain substantially the same, till the pressure of a continent's exports necessitates the construction, in the rear of Charlestown, of vast docks like those of London. I will then ask you to pass over, in imagination, a period of fifty years, when the locks of the youngest Senators at this board will be whitened by time and when the population of Boston will be ten times as great as now, with her industries multiplied by a still larger figure; and then give your judgments as to the capacity of any or all of these avenues, as now constructed, to comfortably accommodate even a considerable fraction of the business that will then move to and from the teeming wharves and the railroad termini that must necessarily cluster about them.

It is now fifty years since the city government of Boston was established. Since that time about

three hundred of her streets, lanes, and courts have been widened or altered to meet the demands of growing business for more liberal accommodations, —making an average of almost six streets a year for the entire period. The total cost of these alterations, including interest, has been a sum fully equal to the valuation of all the real property of the entire city fifty years ago. The loss to the people arising from their restricted conveniences for doing business is another very important item which is not embraced in this calculation.

During the *last six* years fifty-five streets have been enlarged; and the expense of this work, including the estimated cost for alterations on others which it has been decided to extend and widen, will amount to the startling sum of twenty-one millions of dollars or more. A little intelligent foresight in providing for the growth of the city would have saved the people of to-day from the burden of such a vast expenditure, which must now be borne alike by Boston and surrounding towns; for a resident of Malden, Cambridge, Brookline or Chelsea, who owns property and does business in Boston, simply has the privilege of paying *two* taxes,—one, to defray the expense of the municipality which governs him while he sleeps, and another to the municipality which governs him while pursuing his business.

Now, sir, this sum, virtually squandered by the effects of the pinched and short-sighted legislation

of the past would, if judiciously expended, have laid out and completed, within the same brief period, six spacious avenues, each six miles long and one hundred and forty feet wide, in different directions straight through the entire territory which it is now proposed to embrace within the limits of ONE city, allowing $300,000 per mile for construction, shade trees, and other ornamentations. In addition to these improvements it would have purchased for park purposes in different portions of this territory, three thousand acres of land, at $1,500 per acre, admirably adapted to such purposes. So that four parks, each nearly as large as the famous Central Park in New York City, and all much nearer the centre of population, could have been provided for, and there would still remain nearly $6,000,000 with which to improve and beautify them. A sum, sir, just about equal to the entire expenditures for improvements upon Central Park.

Vauban, when speaking of the great French metropolis, as long ago as the time of Louis the Fourteenth, said truly: "Paris is to France what the head is to the human body; it is the true heart of the kingdom." Believing that Boston does now, and will continue to occupy a similar relation to our old Commonwealth, and believing that whatever promotes the welfare and prosperity of the metropolis will be equally beneficial to the whole State, I feel justified in asking Senators if it is not time that some plan should be devised which will

check the prevailing short-sighted system of building up only to pull down again,—whether more economical, because more comprehensive, legislation should not be initiated, which will not only meet the exigencies of the hour, but which, observing the rule of the past, will intelligently measure the self-evident demands of coming centuries? The lessons of experience plainly teach us

HOW TO AVOID A REPETITION OF PAST ERRORS.

Ample territorial space for expansion is the first necessity,—to provide for it while it is comparatively cheap is the first duty. The Resolve before the Senate is a step in this direction. It proposes an intelligent and careful investigation of the proposition to enlarge the area of Boston by uniting with it the territory encompassed by the beautiful range of highlands that extend from Dorchester—ward sixteen—in the form of a crescent, nearly around to Chelsea, forming a perfect natural boundary to the limits of the city.

The territory of Boston is now shapeless. The State House and the bulk of the population are located in one corner of it. The extreme eastern and southern limits extend in a direct line about seven miles from the City Hall. If the area is extended in other directions, as proposed in the Metropolitan District Bill, which I had the honor to submit to the Senate, the plan of which is fully delineated upon the map now suspended in front of the presi-

dent's chair, the State House will occupy a central position; the population being about equally distributed in all directions, from that point to the boundary line.

The bounds of the old town of Boston extended, as now proposed, from Chelsea to Brookline, and included both. Chelsea was set off in 1738, and Brookline in 1705, after prolonged opposition, because of the inconvenience of having but one voting place in the town,—and the area of Boston was thus reduced to less than seven hundred acres. The rapid growth of the city within this circumscribed space soon obliged its business men to domicile in various directions outside of its limits. The boundaries of the city have, however, from time to time, been extended, though wholly in one direction,—which accounts for the ridiculous and laughable figure it presents upon the map,—until its dimensions have increased about fifteen times, covering at this date an area of more than ten thousand acres.

Now this bill simply proposes to extend the limits of Boston east, north and north-west, so as to make the distance of its boundary lines in those and all other directions almost exactly what it now is in the south-east and south-west, taking Beacon Hill as a central point from which to measure. The range of highlands which encircle this territory forms a basin within which are located Boston and the fifteen smaller municipalities which it is

proposed to unite with it. While this basin contains nearly the same number of square miles as Philadelphia or the city of London, it is of vastly better proportions, and is divided by three rivers, —the Charles, Mystic, and Malden,—with a fourth, the Neponset—on its southern boundary. The city of Philadelphia covers an area twenty-three miles long and five and a half miles wide, and portions of her park grounds are more than twenty miles from the centre of population; while the outer limits of the territory covered by the towns and cities named in the Resolve can be reached within seven miles in any direction from the State House. There are, also, in different parts of it, six picturesque and delightfully situated little lakes, which will average in size more than one hundred acres each, besides four or five smaller sheets of water not less beautiful. These are all fed and kept pure by springs and the numerous streams that flow down the sides of the extensive highlands that surround them.

Economy and good taste suggest that these sheets of water should be embraced in parks. The lakes in the great parks of other cities of the world, are artificial, and have been constructed at an immense cost. Those in Central Park, New York, are located upon land once laid out into streets and lots. Nature has here provided larger and better ones—all easily accessible to the mass of the population; and, inasmuch as the great

ponds belong to the Commonwealth, they could be secured for public use *without cost*, and would thus largely reduce the price per acre for park reservations.

The chorography of the land is diversified, being hills, plains and slopes, the lowest of these—except a small tract of salt-water marsh—lying considerably above tide-water, thus affording superior opportunities for economical and perfect drainage,—a consideration of the very highest importance to a locality that is to contain, as this basin eventually will, millions of human beings, whose health should be the first thought of government. There are, too, some spots yet remaining where the natural forest growth has not been disturbed, and which would be of priceless value if they could be embraced in park reservations.

Here, then, are all the elements of comfort, beauty, and health: the numerous slopes and plains, with their background of mountains and hills, and the gleam of fresh, sparkling, shining water; and "water in the landscape," as has been said, "is like eyes in the human countenance, without which the countenance is lifeless." There are elevations upon these beautiful highlands from the top of which the visitor can look down upon forty cities and towns, and upon all the islands in our ample harbor, where myriad sails are wafting the commerce of the nation in every direction, presenting in the commingled works of God and

man, a scene of magnificent grandeur which is not rivalled by any other spot on earth. If in Europe, this locality would be renowned as the resort of tourists and sight-seers from every land; but there is not one in a thousand of the population of our own state that even knows of its existence; yet, sir, it is within thirty minutes' ride from the steps in front of this chamber, and ought long since to have been an attractive spot in one of the parks of Boston.

The most distant part of this territory is only about six miles from deep-sea water at the head of one of the most commodious and safe harbors upon the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and is the nearest convenient port in the United States to the markets of Europe. Could the hand of nature have planned a more inviting locality for a city of vast population and boundless prosperity?

To those who have studied the characteristics of Boston and its environs, it has been a subject of wonder that all this area has not long ere this been embraced under one government, and subject to an harmonious and general system of improvement, directed by judicious and liberal municipal legislation. Who but those immediately familiar with the fact, like yourselves, would believe that the most intelligent and industrious people in the world, would, for more than two hundred years, have been content with being huddled together upon a narrow peninsula, without taking the first step toward per-

fecting some comprehensive arrangement which would secure, for the benefit of the population rapidly accumulating here, the remarkable advantages which the locality presents for an economical development of all that is useful, beautiful, and healthful? Would you believe that a people willing to hazard the perils of a voyage across the Atlantic Ocean to see the gardens, parks, and boulevards of Paris, have not yet, with all their wealth and enterprise, and vastly superior opportunities, planned a single one for themselves, even where nature has done more than half the work; nor constructed a single spacious avenue, where there should have been at least a dozen, extending out in to the country beyond the city limits?

In addition to the peculiar advantages of her maritime location, Boston has nearly every other desirable requisite to secure unlimited prosperity for her people, except an abundance of territorial area within her own control, which should extend, not in one, but in every direction where her growth will be most natural. Without this she must ever remain, what in a business sense she now is, simply the office, the salesroom, the storehouse, the bank and mainly the distributing point of New England. The element that builds up and sustains the substantial growth of a great city is employment for the masses of its population that will be certain and remunerative, and it is only by being relieved

from her circumscribed limits upon a narrow peninsula that

BOSTON CAN BECOME A GREAT MANUFACTURING CENTRE.

To be something more than a counting-room, and to support in a thriving condition the population that is rapidly gathering around her, she must rely upon and encourage manufactures. And these, to be prosperous, should be subject to one government and have a uniform system of care, taxation, and protection. Cheap building sites for mechanics, and eligible localities for their industries, though a *sine qua non* to the thrift and attractions of a great city, cannot be obtained or afforded within the present limits of Boston. And, sir, since land is abundant and accessible, and methods for cheap and swift transit in cities are being rapidly developed, I hope we have arrived at that point of sanitary knowledge and civilization which will hereafter prevent the poorer classes from being crowded into alleys, lanes, and narrow streets, where disease will be generated and epidemics revel.* For the reason that their

* The following is the closing paragraph of an interesting paper, read at the Lowell Institute in 1870, by FRANCIS BACON:—

"These cities of the future, with sunlight and fresh air and pure water coming to every citizen; with no one standing in his neighbor's way; with no noisome or pernicious occupation suffered within their limits; with all rainfall and water-waste carried quickly away to the unharmed river, while all other refuse, at once more dangerous and valuable, goes with due dispatch to the hungry soil; with order and cleanliness and beauty in all the streets; with preventable diseases prevented, and with inevitable ones skilfully cared for; with the vigilant

families are generally more numerous, they need as much living room as those more favored with the means of obtaining it. And it is alike for their interests and the economy of the entire community that broad streets and open spaces should be provided, so that under suitable regulations they would be induced to locate their homes where light, sunshine, air, and the foliage of trees may ever exist to dispel miasms, and act as guardians of the public health. Such an arrangement would not only be more agreeable but much cheaper than providing poor-houses and hospitals, to be maintained at the public expense.

The prosperity and wealth of a state can be measured by the amount of its manufactures; and any legislation that will increase them is a benefaction to mankind. What has built up Philadelphia, with its monotonous surroundings, but its manu-

government that does not stand apart and look coldly at ruthless greed and needy ignorance, and utter only an indifferent 'caveat emptor,' but says to the butcher, 'This trichinous pork, this pathological beef, goes to the rendering-vat, and not into the mouths of my children'; and to the brewer, 'Burn this cocculus indicus and lobelia, and let me see no bitter but hops hereafter'; and to the apothecary, 'Successor of Herod, you shall not poison my infants at wholesale with your narcotic "soothing sirups"'; and to the water company, 'Your reservoir shows foulness this week to my microscope and my test-tube: let it continue at your peril.' These cities of the minimum death-rate, shall they not be our cities? Are these things of impracticable costliness, say you? Nothing is so cheap as health; it is the truest economy; it is cheaper than dirt. 'Dirt cheap'—what an abuse of language! Dirt means waste and disease, death, widowhood, orphanage, pauperism, high taxation, costly production. Nothing costs so much. Besides, the objection [to cost] even if it were not unfounded, is unworthy. 'All parsimony in war is murder,' is a judicious maxim of the Maréchal de Belleisle. Not less, I say, when we fight against an impersonal foe of mankind."

factories and the fostering care the city has bestowed upon them? What has nearly doubled the prosperity and population of the great city of London in a single decade, but the productions that come from the busy hands of twelve hundred thousand artisans and mechanics? And what has made Paris the pride of France, and of the world, but the manufactories within her limits, that furnish unceasing employment to more than six hundred thousand artisans?

Now, sir, I hazard nothing in saying that not within the limits of either of these great cities, nor in any city upon this continent, do manufacturing advantages exist which will at all compare with those embraced within the surroundings of Boston. Under the lead of science and inventive skill, we are rapidly approaching, if we have not already reached, the day when steam-power at tide-water markets, convenient for export and import traffic, will, for all kinds of manufacturing purposes, be found more economical and profitable than inland water-power, for the reason that the cost of railroad freights to and from the inland factories will be greater than the cost of all the water-carried fuel which may be necessary to generate the more certain and reliable power of steam. For instance, why has the flourishing city of Fall River advanced with such marvellous rapidity to the foremost place among the manufacturing localities of New England? Her location upon

tide-water is the first reason, and the intelligent encouragement which has been bestowed upon her manufacturing industries by the people through her local government, and by using home capital for the development of home interests, completes the answer. Here, too, may be studied with profit the influence of municipal power in shaping the industrial destinies, and promoting the thrift of masses of people.

The waters of the Delaware and Schuylkill flow through Philadelphia, the Thames through London, and the Seine through Paris, while Boston, under the proposed organization, would have a tide-water front superior to either of them, upon which cargoes and supplies from all parts of the world could be carried almost to the factory doors without transhipment. In addition to this advantage, there will flow through the northern sections of the city the Mystic and Malden rivers, and through the southern section the Neponset; while the larger Charles, with its tidal forces, ever acting as the purifier and sanitary agent of the great city, and coursing like the life-giving aorta,—not on the boundary, but as nature would have it, through the *centre* of the city,—sweeping into the sea all the sewage and putrescence which an improved system of drainage would pour into it. Interspersed between these rivers are the nine little lakes and the numerous streams that feed them, so that here the morning and evening bells, or the

shriller steam-whistle, would never want for power to sound the presence of countless industries.

Hence, if the teachings of facts are to be our guide, I say that the years are not remote when, under a single system of government, and with appropriate state and municipal legislation, the Island Ward and the Peninsula or "North End" of Boston and the banks of these rivers will be dotted with magnificent factory structures; and while the people who now throng the pinched and crooked streets of the northern portions of the city will be obliged to seek healthier homes in broader streets beyond the present limits of Boston, new occupations for them will rise upon the places they vacate.

But, it will be asked, how is the union of this territory with Boston to influence the introduction of new enterprises in arts and manufactures? One answer, among many, is, that the advantages which it presents for such purposes are not now known, and cannot be known while they are screened within a labyrinth of independent municipalities, all working at cross purposes, and each in its isolated character too small and weak to have any local or general celebrity that will bring it prominently before the eyes of the public. They maintain independent boundaries, it is true, and yet are so near to the city of Boston as to be almost entirely eclipsed under her shadow, and, therefore, in their present position, neither enjoy the benefits of their

own nor the individual characteristics of the greater city which they adjoin; and thus they are but obstacles to each other, preventing those improvements which would bring to light the peculiar advantages of each locality, and in that way be so largely beneficial to all by attracting trade and capital from beyond the borders of the state and from other countries.

The instincts as well as the intelligence of man invite him to go where the sources of attraction are, where evidences of enterprise and thrift exist, and where the senses are gratified by elements of beauty and comfort. The eye of the active, thinking, inventive portions of mankind throughout the civilized world, is ever searching for localities where capacity may reap its reward, where capital and genius have an open and inviting field, and where opportunity and advantages will give industry a fair chance for success. That field is here, and this most desirable class of people will occupy it, if the scattered strength of the sixteen municipalities which now divide its possession shall be united under one homogeneous, progressive, representative government. With the markets of Europe on one side and a teeming continent with its productions and demands upon the other, the hands of hundreds of thousands of artisans would never want for remunerative employment to make their homes happy and themselves contented.

A RAPID GROWTH OF CITIES IS ONE OF THE LAWS OF THE AGE,

and the tendency of the people of the Nineteenth century to concentrate in populous localities has become so marked that no intelligent observer will ask for proof in confirmation of the fact. A wise foresight will make provision for this characteristic of the times, while it can be easily and economically done, and conduct it to grand and useful results. The increase in the population of cities in all civilized countries for the last two or three decades has been from one hundred to one thousand per cent. greater, in proportion, than in the country districts. Glasgow is growing six times as fast as all Scotland; the rate of increase in London, as compared with the rural districts of England, is still larger; while Paris absorbs half the increase of all France. In Russia, when emancipation gave freedom to the serfs to go where they pleased, a law had to be enacted to gradually compensate the nobles for losses which they would sustain by the depopulation of certain parts of the country, on account of the eagerness of the peasantry to move into cities and large towns. Compare the increase of the population in one of the best farming counties of Massachusetts—Franklin, for instance—with that of Boston and adjoining towns. The average increase for five years in Franklin County has been considerably less than

one per cent. annually, while in Boston and the towns proposed for union, the average annual increase has been nearly six per cent. or more than six times as great as in the farming region.

THE CAUSES FOR THE GREAT INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF CITIES over that of the country at large are almost too evident to need to be stated. The railroad and telegraph have changed the relations of communities, and have virtually annihilated time and space, and made communication with the great cities so convenient to the rural districts, that the country tavern and the country stores have lost their local attractions and are rapidly disappearing, because the farmer who lives one or two hundred miles away, can seat himself in a comfortable car, and while enjoying his newspaper, glide away to the city, buy his groceries and dry goods, and return with the loss of less time than was occupied in the old-fashioned trip to the village, half a dozen miles from his country home. The itinerant agent of the city merchant makes a market for the products of the soil almost upon the fields where they grow; and when gathered they are hurried away by the express freight train to the city for distribution. The wife and daughter study the fashions at home and do their shopping in the distant city where the variety of goods is unlimited. The great superiority of the institutions of learning, and the

attractions of music, libraries, fine arts and amusements in the city are drawing from the country large portions of all classes, especially the more wealthy, who desire for themselves and their children intelligent recreation and the best educational advantages. Every year adds to the city new modes and conveniences for living. In this regard a degree of personal comfort is secured which cannot be enjoyed in the country. The inventive mind of man will not be less active in the future than it has been in the past; and by constant additions to the conveniences and comforts of living, the allurements and attractions of city life are likely to grow still stronger with every passing year.

A very intelligent writer in the *Journal of Social Science*, Mr. Olmstead, now President of the Board of Central Park Commissioners, and to whom I am indebted for many important facts, says:

"Experiments indicate that it is possible to send heated air through a town in pipes, like water, and that it may be drawn, and the heat which is taken measured and paid for according to quantity required."

A bill * has been before us and enacted during the present session, for the incorporation of a company which proposes to generate steam at some central point and send it through pipes, in a similar manner, to all who desire it, so that one only needs to turn a faucet to set the culinary depart-

* Senate Document No. 37.

ment of the domestic establishment in full operation without loss of time or the annoyances incident to starting fires.

Mr. Olmstead again says: "It is plain that we have scarcely begun to turn to account the advantages offered to towns-people in the electric telegraph; we really have not made a beginning with those offered in the pneumatic tube, though their substantial character has been fully demonstrated. By the use of these two instruments a tradesman ten miles away on the other side of a city, may be communicated with, and goods obtained from him by a housekeeper, as quickly and with as little personal inconvenience as if he were in the next block. A single tube station for five hundred families, acoustic pipes for the transmission of orders to it from each house, with a carrier service for local distribution of packages, is all that is needed for this purpose."*

This is not mere sentimental speculation, Mr. President, for just such conveniences are now in successful operation in some of the cities of Europe, which are far in advance of American cities in other labor-saving and economical contrivances. Every invention for cultivating the soil and harvesting and marketing its productions,—which enables one man to do the work of five,—sends four families into the city. A moment's reflection as to

* See Appendix for Prof. Holton's views upon the subject of compressed air.

what has been accomplished in the last twenty years, in the line of such improvements alone, will enable us to anticipate indefinite progress in this direction in the future, until the country districts will need only farm laborers and engineers to operate the machinery which will perform the bulk of the work that is to be done. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the tendency, and the causes thereof, of the people of all civilized nations to congregate in great cities.

A glance only at a few facts connected with this fruitful topic is all that is possible here. But I can safely say, there can hardly be a more important subject presented for your consideration, or that of legislators, state and national, throughout the entire country, than that which relates to the inevitably rapid growth in the population and wealth of large cities. It is not a temporary inclination of the times, for the causes producing it are as self-evident as sunlight, and there can be no reaction until books, newspapers, schools, churches, and all sources of knowledge shall be blotted out and the people degenerate into the condition of barbarism. Hence, I repeat, that a wise foresight will lose no time in making suitable preparation for this characteristic of the age. Ample territory should be embraced within the boundaries of a municipal power which will carefully consider and mature comprehensive plans, and establish the lines of its avenues, streets, squares and parks, making provision for health, convenience

and beauty, while it can be done at small cost, and done in such manner, too, that the people may know that they are not in a few years to be heavily taxed, as they now are, to correct the errors which a little timely reflection on the part of their law-makers would have rendered wholly unnecessary.

Among other important measures recently introduced into the legislature of the state of New York, is one providing for the annexation of some eight miles square of the lower end of Westchester County to the city of New York. This will make the city more than sixteen miles long, and will add immensely, not only to its population, but to the value of its real estate, especially in the upper portion, lying contiguous to the new quarter. The two great bridges now building across the East River will ultimately bring Brooklyn, Long Island City, Astoria, and a number of other Long Island towns within its limits.*

Now, sir, the first conditions to be provided for in planning the future growth of Boston, are the health, the safety, the protection of property, and the education, morality and prosperity of its inhabitants; and the first and most important duty is to

PROVIDE FOR THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE,

for without health, wealth and all earthly attractions vanish, and life itself becomes a burden.

* Since these remarks were made this measure has become a law.

No one doubts but that the Boston of to-day is but a nucleus of an immense city, that will extend hereafter over miles of the rural territory adjoining its present limits. He who looks into the future can see it with as much certainty as though it were now in existence. Neither will it be disputed that the average life of mankind in the compact portions of large cites is very much less than in the country, or in localities where sunshine and air have free circulation, and the foliage of trees and shrubbery is abundant. We have only to turn to the records of the scientific institutions upon this crowded peninsula to learn that, in the closely built portions of a city, "a given quantity of air contains considerably less of the elements which must be received through the lungs, than the air of the country, or the air which is purified by foliage in the open places in the city; and that, instead of being healthful, it carries into the lungs highly corrupt and irritating matters, the action of which tends strongly to vitiate the sources of vigor." So marked are these indications, that metallic substances corrode and wear away under the atmospheric influences in cities and towns that are compactly built, while they are but slightly affected in the pure air of the country, or in open spaces or around parks.

Even in the time of Alexander the value of long, straight and broad streets, as ventilators of a city, were understood; but four centuries later, the founders of London laid out that city in such a

manner that those who followed them, a dozen centuries after, found that the way in which it had been done was the cause of an amount of misery and waste of life and property which was appalling even to the civilization of the seventeenth century. They had no plan, and were governed by no law of the elements or of man, but proceeded, as Boston has done, in a desultory, "helter-skelter" manner of building upon accidental paths. They provided no squares, or parks, or breathing places,—their streets were narrow and crooked; and the results were sadly obvious in after-time.* About every forty years, on an average, from 1318 to 1666, the city was scourged with plagues and devastating epidemics. On each of these dreadful occasions all of the people who had adequate means moved into the open suburbs to escape the destroyer. Now and then a conflagration would sweep away acres of buildings, and thus open "breathing places" which purified the atmosphere and restored health to the surrounding population. Still they went on building as before, not heeding the lessons of their experience any more than Boston heeds her own, until the period of the great plague in 1665, when the march of fatality through their narrow thoroughfares

* "Streets were by preference narrow and crooked. Houses might crowd against each other, and encroach upon the streets, and throw out overhanging balconies and oriels and turrets, and rise to the height of a dozen stories, until the threadlike alleys below were completely shut in from sunlight. But with the city wall once built, no lateral expansion was possible for generations, or perhaps for centuries. These were the haunts of the mediæval pestilences."—*Bacon.*

was so sweeping that the living were not numerous enough to bury the dead; and more than one hundred thousand citizens of London were hurried into eternity in a single year. And then, as if the unseen Power intended to make the warning against the violations of natural laws in the construction of their city still more impressive, the following year four hundred and thirty-six acres of the crowded city, covering four hundred streets, and embracing thirteen thousand dwellings, were converted into ashes in a few hours by the flames of a single conflagration. What a sacrifice was this to the Moloch of ignorance and human folly! The lesson which it teaches is still before us, unlearned, and may yet be studied with benefit to the civilization of the nineteenth century.

Then it was, before the fire was yet subdued, that the great and distinguished architect, Sir Christopher Wren, prepared an economical and simple plan for avoiding former evils in the construction of the city. His recommendations were promptly approved by the king and the wise and reflecting men of his time; yet the difficulties of equalizing and adjusting benefits and damages among the owners of the land were so great, that the improvements sought to be introduced were but partially adopted, and these at an enormous cost to the tax-payers of the unfortunate city. Do Senators remember whether any part of this history has been recently, and is now being repeated in

Boston? And if the terrific admonitions of history have failed to impress the local community with the necessity of at least attempting, in the interest of ethical duties and social happiness, to apply a remedy, cannot something in the way of state legislation be suggested or adopted, which, all other means having failed, will appeal to popular selfishness by demonstrating it to be for the *pecuniary* interests of the people, to no longer plan as if the duration of this world and all happiness was to terminate with the brief period of their own lives.

Mankind has, however, gained something from the terrors of the pestilence that nearly depopulated London in the seventeenth century. It was discovered that the people who fled to the open country beyond the city limits were not affected by the dread disease, and therefore those who could afford the means reserved open spaces around their dwellings. The more wealthy located their dwellings around an open field, where trees were planted and shrubs and flowers were cultivated. Squares and parks were thus introduced, and London now has more than four thousand acres where sunlight and air and foliage have uninterrupted freedom to perform their beneficent mission of dispelling the miasms that arise from the more crowded sections of the thronged city. Since these progressive steps were taken, no plague has visited the great metropolis.

But we are in the midst of home events and

facts whose teaching are not less important and striking. In order to ascertain the comparative mortality of various quarters of the city of Boston, Dr. George Derby, the very able and efficient Secretary of the State Board of Health, in 1870 divided the city into twenty-four health districts, each comprising either an entire ward or part of a ward, or parts of two or three wards—the objects of this division being to group together a population similarly situated as to the conveniences and comforts of life,—those in the best circumstances in separate districts from those living in unwholesome dwellings, and in circumstances of comparative destitution. Each district contained, as far as possible, a population similarly situated as to surroundings, and conveniences of living.

The population of each district, at all ages, was obtained through the census, taken in 1870, by permission of the United States government, and the deaths at all ages in each district, for the same year, were obtained from records at the City Hall. With these elements some very striking results were obtained, which were published in the Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health. For instance, the death-rate (*i. e.* the annual number of deaths to every 10,000 of population) varies from 57 in the most favored district, to 379 in the most unhealthy,—a difference of nearly *seven to one!* The smaller ratio of mortality just named, 57, was in the new Back Bay territory, west of Common-

wealth Avenue, and adjacent to the Public Garden, the Common and the broad avenues where sunlight and air and the foliage of trees are most abundant. In Roxbury Highlands, the next most favored locality, the ratio was 91, and in the district covering the Back Bay east of Commonwealth Avenue, it was 98 to each 10,000 living.

It was 142 in the east half of ward eleven, 152 in the district comprising the best part of ward four, and 156 on the south side of Beacon Hill, including Beacon, Mt. Vernon and Pinckney streets. In ward sixteen (Dorchester) the death-rate was 163.

The foregoing may all be considered as the more favored localities, for the deaths are *less* than the average mortality of the state, which for the last seven years was 176 in 10,000.

We come next to districts in which the mortality *exceeded* the just quoted mortality of the state. In the Suffolk Street district the mortality was 177 to each 10,000; in East Boston, 187; in ward fourteen, 188; in ward eight, 195; in ward ten, 201; also in the Church Street district, 201.

But in the regions filled with a foreign-born population, crowded into tenement houses in narrow streets, and otherwise living under conditions less eligible than in the districts already named, we find the death-rate surely and rapidly increasing. In South Bston, the rate averages about 256 in 10,000; in ward thirteen, 253; in ward four,

about Portland Street (formerly the old mill pond), 267; in the South Cove land, in ward seven, 273.

The mortality at the North End, the most thickly settled part of the city, is still greater. In ward two, it was 296. This is exceeded only by one district in the city—the most unhealthy of all —namely, in the low lands of ward fifteen, which are inhabited by a mixed population. The death-rate here was enormous, being 379 in 10,000. The mortality among infants varies exceedingly with the location and surroundings, and forms a very large part of the mortality.

In a district including a part of ward four, *nearly half* of the whole number of infants died (to be explained in part, however, by the existence of an infantile boarding-house therein).

In the South Boston districts, and in the district inhabited by the colored population, more than *one-third* of the infants died. But in Roxbury Highlands, where the total deaths were 91 in 10,000 only, the mortality among infants was *less than one-tenth*, a difference of nearly five to one, as compared with ward four, where the population is most dense.

"The death-rates of East Boston and the North End," says Dr. Derby, "present a contrast which is worthy of examination. These districts are of nearly equal population, and the numbers at all ages very nearly correspond, yet the mortality in one is half as great again as in the other. One is

crowded, in great part deprived of sunlight; the other has abundance of light and air." "Can a stronger argument," he says, "be offered in favor of providing breathing spaces for the people?"

In the towns and cities proposed for union with Boston, the average number of deaths for seven years was only 155 in 10,000, while in Boston and Charlestown combined they were 209½, showing the deaths to be nearly 30 per cent. less in the more open adjoining towns than in the two crowded cities.

Thus, from authentic calculations, the causes which promote a high degree of public health, and the causes which produce disease, sickness and death, have been clearly shown, and it is proved that both are largely within human control. From the unquestionable authority adduced, it will also appear to what extent the municipal power of a city is responsible, not only for the comfort and happiness, but for the health and lives of its population; for it has been demonstrated, by uncontrovertible facts, that where ample territory is available the city can be made, if properly laid out and cared for, and subject to one power and one system of government, even more healthy than the average of country life.* In the broad avenues and in the streets that border on the Common and the

* "It is clear that the great city of the future is to be a place where life is as long and as secure as anywhere else, and where physical development and health is as great in degree, however it may differ in kind, from that of the agricultural regions."—*Prof. Francis Bacon.*

little Public Garden adjoining it, the annual deaths average only fifty-seven in 10,000, while in the whole state the average is 176, or three times as great. In other portions of the city, *not less favorably located*, but which have not been permitted to enjoy the health-giving advantages nature has provided for all, the deaths are 379 in 10,000, or nearly *seven hundred* per cent. larger than in the open and cleanly localities.

Now, Mr. President, if the death-rate in a considerable portion of a city is very much less than the average in the whole state, shall it be said that under the lead of modern science, the people refuse to secure the means for maintaining at least an equal degree of health in those portions of the city that are to be *hereafter* constructed? Is human life so cheap that the law-makers will disregard these facts? Yet, when it is proposed to initiate a step that makes it easy to secure such result it is characterized as "sentimentalism" or "speculation."

Sir, there are some so wrapped in ideas of speculation that they think of no other rule by which to measure the motives and actions of others but that which governs themselves, and, unlike Macbeth, behold it even in the vacant eyes of the walking nightmare that haunts their vision of gain,—those who, measuring life and duty by the rule of dollars and cents, would, if they had the power, bottle up the free air of heaven, and retail it to a gasping public for a pecuniary consideration.

"Speculation" lies not at the foundation of this plan, but may follow those who favor annexation in a most objectionable form,—the piecemeal process—that diverts legislation from the greater good of the masses to the aid of the few who would concentrate in particular localities the benefits arising therefrom; thus delaying and therefore doubling and trebling the cost of those essential public improvements which should be accomplished only upon the basis of an equality of benefits among all the communities whose situation, with reference to the subject, is substantially the same. The object of legislation is justice, and the promotion of the greatest good for the greatest number; and upon this theory it becomes the duty of the state to interpose its power in shaping the future of its metropolis, so that the best interests of all its citizens may be promoted.

The propositions embraced in the Resolve have to do with the serious business of providing not only for the prosperity and comfort of millions of people who are to come after us, but for the prevention, also, of a useless sacrifice of life and health.

I commend to legislators, whose duty it is to guard the public welfare, some startling facts developed in the report of the Board of Health of the present year, which has just been laid upon Senators' desks. If it shall be found that the death-rate, independent of the increase arising from

the small-pox epidemic, is twenty-five per cent. larger than the preceding year, there is a cause for it; and it is for them to say whether the proper sanitary condition of the city can be restored and protected *short* of a complete reorganization of the system of drainage and surface improvements in the territory entirely surrounding the present limits of Boston. An improved system of drainage will be one great remedy for existing evils; another and more complete one may be found in the establishment of

PARKS, SQUARES, AND BROAD AVENUES,

which are essential to the preservation of health in all great cities.* An intelligent writer and excellent authority, in commenting upon the necessity as well as difficulties of making suitable provisions for securing the health of the people who are rapidly filling up the great cities of the world, says: "Air is disinfected by sunlight and foliage. Foliage also acts mechanically to purify the air by screening it. Opportunity and inducement to escape at frequent

* An eminent physician in New York City, in speaking of the influence of Central Park in promoting public health, says:—

"Where I formerly ordered patients of a certain class to give up their business altogether and go out of town, I now often advise simply moderation, and prescribe a ride in the park before going to their offices, and again a drive with their families before dinner. By simply adopting this course as a habit, men who have been breaking down frequently recover tone rapidly, and are able to retain an active and controlling influence in an important business, from which they would have otherwise been forced to retire. I direct school-girls, under certain circumstances, to be taken wholly, or in part, from their studies, and sent to spend several hours a day rambling on foot in the park."

intervals from the confined and vitiated air of the commercial quarters, and to supply with air screened and purified by trees, and recently acted upon by the sunlight, together with opportunity and inducements to escape from conditions requiring vigilance, wariness and activity toward other men, if these could be economically supplied, our problem," he says, "would be solved."

There is no locality where all the conditions so abundantly exist for solving the problems that are now being discussed in connection with the growth of cities, as in Boston and vicinity. That they have not been long since solved here, and Boston placed in the front rank of the healthiest and most beautiful cities in the world, is because the people have not accepted the offers presented by the generous hand of nature.

It is of the highest importance to preserve within the limits of a city, for purposes of health and beauty, as much of nature as possible. Trees, shrubs, and flowers were created for highest usefulness, and, wherever permitted, are constantly at work in the service of man; and whenever man attempts to exclude nature and her laws from his plans, he is sure to do it at a costly penalty. Light, a free circulation of air, and the purifying influence of foliage, are now admitted to be indispensable requisites to public health. To have these in abundance in the residential portions of a city, there must

be broad avenues, with broad sidewalks, lined with vigorous shade-trees.*

There must also be open spaces or parks where men, women and children can indulge in those recreative sports and enjoyments that conduce so much to the health, vigor, morality and manliness of the people; and these parks should, if possible, contain sheets of water where sailing, rowing and other aquatic enjoyments can be freely indulged in by all classes of people.† There should, also, be numerous bathing-places to promote cleanliness, and, therefore, godliness.

Observe the location of city school-houses, four or five stories high, crowded into narrow streets, where neither sunlight nor pure air can reach them. At recess, when the pupils are allowed a few moments to escape the confined atmosphere of the building, they are sent out out into "pens," enclosed by high walls and paved with brick. Sir, I will venture the opinion that from two to five years would be added to the average life of the native population of cities, and the mortality among school-children be largely reduced, if public educational structures were required to be built not more than two stories high, and each located upon a two-or-three-acre park. And then, if fewer hours of study,

* The length of the paved streets in Paris is about 340 miles; 225 miles of these streets were, previous to the siege of the city by the Prussian army in 1870, lined with trees, gardens and planted squares.

† Cricket and base-ball clubs are accommodated in most of the London parks, and swimming is permitted in the lakes at certain hours.

and more hours of out-door physical exercise were required, a more handsome, vigorous, healthy and intelligent race of men and women would surely follow. No higher service could be rendered the state and humanity than an effort to accomplish such a result, which is only possible where there is ample territorial area under the control of one system of governmental authority.

A dozen broad avenues from * 125 to 200 feet wide radiating in different directions from the compact portions of Boston, through the territory which it is proposed to unite with it, should have been constructed years ago, so that the country air, ever fresh and pure, from the green hills beyond, could sweep without interruption to the crowded marts of commerce. Near deep water and the railway

* The Avenue de l'Imperatrice, in Paris, leading to the Bois de Boulogne, is bordered by continuous gardens; inside are carriage-roads, and beyond gardens and alleys. Its width, 429 feet, is thus distributed:—

Carriage-way,	50 feet.
Footpath, on one side,	36 "
Horsepath, on the other side,	36 "
Grass and shrubbery,	87 "
" " "	87 "
Iron railing.	
2 small streets, on each side of which four sidewalks, 20 feet,	61 "
Iron railing.	
To line of houses,	36 "
" "	36 "
Total,	429 "

The width of the Avenue Neuilly is,	231 "
" " " " Vincennes is,	231 "
" " " new Boulevard Malsherbes is,	195 "

There are 21 or 22 of these broad boulevards in Paris. They vary much in width, but nowhere are they *less* than the preceding.

centres, where the bulk of trade must be carried on, broad avenues are not practicable, and perhaps not desirable, except an occasional one, as great thoroughfares or outlets from the more crowded localities. Such, however, with an occasional square in the business sections, are indispensable, not only as "breathing-places," but as checks to the spread of great conflagrations. Values to the amount of $100,000,000 were consumed in the fiery blast of a few hours' duration in November last; and let me say, just here, it might have been two or three or four hundred millions but for the accidental existence of one small open space, which the battling firemen could safely trust to check the march of the storm of flame in that direction, while they could marshal their forces and interpose a united will against its spread in other directions. The remembrance of the spot where stood historic old Fort Hill ought to be an ever-present witness here and in the Municipal Council Chamber to remind us all of the priceless value of an occasional square and broad street, even in the commercial quarters of a great city. These cannot be secured without ample territorial area under the control of a single municipal power.

These are the outlines of the essentials, as everybody will agree, for the foundations of a great city; and they are all embraced within the territory which it is now propsed to unite under one government.

Land upon this territory to the amount of at least

three thousand acres should be secured as park reservations, so located in *different portions* of it, as to be conveniently accessible to the people. The municipal authorities of nearly all the large cities of the world now admit their irreparable error in securing park lands too late to bring them as near to the centre of population as they ought to be for public recreation and health. Their mistakes should teach us wisdom. When this is done the entire territory should as speedily as possible be laid out into squares, avenues, streets and boulevards, and the lines permanently established, so that the future of the territory and the plans for its improvement could be correctly understood. There would then be ample opportunity for the exercise of public taste in the selection of locations for residential improvements, and the moment the lines were established, the plans for private construction would necessarily conform to them.

It is estimated that the income accruing from the rise and increase of taxable property would more than pay for all expenditures necessary for laying water-pipes, draining, grading, constructing streets and improving and beautifying the parks; for work upon these would be prosecuted only as fast as private construction would demand.

The establishment of Central Park, New York, was the result of a legislative mistake. No such magnificent work was at first intended; and when the plans of the commissioners, who happened to

be excellent men, were made known, they were denounced by the authorities, the press, and the public generally, and, during the first three years of their service, they were caricatured and ridiculed on all sides, and, as you will remember, were once or twice mobbed. But they pushed on rapidly, working, for a time, night and day, in order to attain so much progress that the work could not be stopped. To-day there is not a voter in New York City who would not, if necessary, imperil his life to prevent that great work from being undone. Owing to the original barrenness of the land, the cost of Central Park has, from its origin, been large,—being nearly $12,500,000, including cost of land, up to the present time. Not taking into account its invaluable contributions to the health and pleasure of the people, it has more than paid for itself from the income of taxable property which it has created around it, and the city now receives from this source an annual income of $2,726,595, after paying interest on the total cost of land and all improvements up to this date. And yet it has but few of the natural attractions and advantages for economical construction which exist on the territory around Boston, and which is also much nearer the heart of population: the northern boundary of Central Park is eight miles from Wall Street, while the reservations here need not average more than four miles from the State House.

The advance in value of real estate around the

park has been at the rate of 200 per cent. per annum.* It is also estimated by the commissioners that the entire cost of the park has been much more than repaid by the additional capital drawn to the city through its influence. About ten million people annually visit the park, and yet there is not one steam railroad reaching its boundaries, while there are twelve or fourteen different steam roads extending through the territory which it is proposed to unite with Boston, where parks would undoubtedly be laid out, should it be under the jurisdiction of one municipality.

Sir, are improvements such as I have attempted to describe, and which will promote the health, prosperity and all the higher elements of society and good government, desirable in connection with the growth of the metropolis of Massachusetts and New England? If so, can they be successfully inaugurated without placing over all the cities and towns on this territory a government which will unite the scattered interests of the people under one homogeneous municipal power? A negative answer may be inferred,—first, because though there are now nearly half a million people residing on this territory, no such improvements exist; and, second, because Boston is behind, far behind every

* "Land immediately about the park, the frontage on it being seven miles in length, instead of taking the course anticipated by those opposed to the policy of the commission, has advanced in value at the rate of *two hundred per cent.* per annum."—*F. L. Olmstead, President Board Central Park Commissioners, Journal Social Science*, 1871, *p.* 35.

other large modern city in securing them; and, to her dishonor be it said, has never added any park grounds to the "Old Common" which the residents of the little village of Boston reserved for themselves more than two hundred years ago. New York has eleven hundred and Philadelphia more than three thousand acres of park grounds.

Now, sir, while the interests of these sixteen municipalities are identical and centered in one locality, they seek prosperity under independent governments. If the owner of a fine ship should load that ship with a valuable cargo for a trading venture, and place sixteen captains on board with equal powers, directed to go where in their judgment they could realize the greatest success, there would, of course, be a mutiny among them before she left her moorings, and the enterprise would fail until there was a consolidation of authority, and, under command of a single power, her course should be fixed and her sails spread to the breeze that would speed her on a prosperous voyage. Human nature is the same on the land as on the sea,—the same among different local governments as among different men,—and no plan for a comprehensive system of improvements among this cluster of municipalities upon a scale at all commensurate with the demands of their population, can be projected without coming in contact with local jealousies and conflicting ideas and interests which hinder the progress of all.

Charles-river Basin, for instance, which is bounded by Boston, Cambridge and Brookline, is susceptible of improvements which would eclipse in beauty the celebrated embankments upon the Thames River in London, and could be accomplished at a fraction of the expense. Will Boston begin the improvements? No! not without a satisfactory arrangement with Cambridge. Will Cambridge and Brookline undertake the much-needed enterprise? Certainly not, unless Boston is a willing partner in the expense. One city is not going to tax its people to benefit another city, if it can avoid it. Well, suppose they could all agree to share an equitable proportion of the expense? Can they then agree as to what that equitable proportion is—the amount to be expended, and the style and particular characteristics of the improvement? There is no prospect of such harmony until human nature is re-organized and made fit to participate in the joys of the distant millennium; for the residents of Cambridge, most of whom do business in Boston, would be first taxed at home for that city's proportion of the expense,—then they would have to pay another tax upon their merchandise and real estate in Boston for that city's proportion of the expense; so that a resident of Cambridge would be obliged to pay two taxes, while a resident of Boston would pay but one. Is this fact likely to contribute to the harmony of their calculations? As a large proportion of the

taxes collected in Boston are paid by residents of other towns that would not be benefited by an expenditure of which they would have to bear a considerable part, of course all such improvements and the legislation necessary to authorize them, would have to encounter their hostility. And the result would be that Charles-river Basin would remain in the future, as in the past, though in the heart of an immense population, a continued disgrace to their intelligence, taste and enterprise.

This case is an illustration of a principle which will apply to all other localities under consideration.

Who has not, for years past, heard of the "Miller-river nuisance," the stench arising from which has been strong enough to breed a pestilence in the neighborhood surrounding it? The odors from this nest of putrefaction are so intense in the hot months, that passengers in railroad trains passing through it are obliged to hold their breath and pinch their noses until the poisoned atmosphere is passed. It is still there, however, undisturbed. Why? Because it lies on the borders of three cities,—Cambridge, Somerville and Charlestown. Can it be supposed that it would have been permitted to remain where life and health were imperiled by its existence, if it had been subject to the control of one municipal power?

But we are told that Boston has territory enough now, though shapeless and circumscribed, to ac-

commodate her growth. That is not true, because nearly half of her business men reside outside of her limits. There may be acres enough to accommodate them; but there is no power in a republic that can force the growth of a city in any particular direction. Look at the map which is now before you, and see how absurd such a suggestion appears. Its growth will be governed by natural causes over which man has no control. His duty is limited to using and developing the advantages which nature presents. Where did the idea obtain that the area of a city was to be confined to particular limits when there were no natural barriers to define them? Why insist upon confining the great population of Boston to a territorial area less than half as large as many of the towns in the state which have a population of only two or three thousand? County and town lines should be treated as mere fictions when they become a bar to public benefits. I have tried to believe that the object of government was to provide for the public welfare; and if that could be better served by making the boundary lines of a city ten miles square instead of one mile square, then the duties of a legislator were determined and clear.

Now, let us see in which direction the current of population is setting about Boston. The following table, prepared from the census of 1870, shows that the percentage of increase in the four northern adjoining cities and towns of Revere,

Malden, Somerville and Cambridge was 43 per cent. in five years, while in the four southern adjoining towns of Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline and Brighton, where endeavors are being made to force the population by piecemeal-annexation, the increase in five years was 22 per cent., while in Boston, as it existed *before* the annexation of Roxbury and Dorchester, the increase was but *five* per cent.; thus exhibiting the fact which I desire to impress upon your memory that the population in the adjoining towns is increasing several hundred per cent. faster than in old Boston.

	Population in 1865.	Population in 1870.	Increase in 5 years, 1865-70.	Per cent. Increase in 5 years, 1865-70.	Per cent. 10 years, 1850-60.	Per cent. 10 years, 1855-65.
Boston, exclusive of Dorchester and Roxbury,	192,318	203,479	11,161	5.80	29.92	19.83
Dorchester (16th ward),	10,717	12,261	1,514	14.41	22.59	28.50
Roxbury (13th, 14th, 15th wards),	28,426	34,773	6,347	22.33	71.24	53.91
Boston, Dorchester and Roxbury,	231,461	250,513	19,052	8.23	30.35	23.53
Fifteen Towns, Chelsea,	14,403	18,547	4,144	28.77	99.89	41.89
Revere,	858	1,197	339	39.51	56.68	8.19
Winthrop,	633	532	—101*	—15.96	–	55.53
Arlington,	2,760	3,261	501	18.15	21.29	3.37
Belmont,	1,279	1,513	234	18.30	–	–
Brighton,	3,854	4,967	1,113	28.88	43.25	33.19
Cambridge,	29,112	39,634	10,522	36.14	71.27	42.19
Charlestown,	26,399	28,323	1,924	7.29	45.59	21.61
Everett,	6,840	2,220	2,747	40.17	66.10	48.93
Malden,		7,367				
Medford,	4,839	5,717	878	18.14	28.86	5.13
Somerville,	9,353	14,685	5,332	57.01	126.67	61.09
Watertown,	3,779	4,326	547	14.47	15.26	5.62
Brookline,	5,262	6,650	1,388	26.23	105.24	40.81
West Roxbury,	6,912	8,683	1,771	25.62	–	43.64
Total 15 towns above,	116,283	147,622	31,339	26.95	–	–
Boston and all 17 towns above,	347,744	398,135	50,391	14.39	–	–
Franklin County,	31,340	32,635	1,295	4.13	1.83	—.99*

* Loss.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BOSTON AND THE NORTH BANK OF CHARLES RIVER

is becoming a very important subject for consideration. Opinions are entertained by many, that the area of Boston should not extend across this river, and that appropriate provision can be made for the rapid increase of population by the existence of *two* cities—one on the north and another on the south of it. It is difficult to discover the reasons for such a conclusion; for the cleanest, healthiest, best governed and best drained cities in the world—like London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Glasgow and others, embrace both banks of a river—and, in most civilized countries, it has become a settled conviction that a river should not be the boundary line of a city, especially where both banks are equally favorable for occupation and improvement. It is evident that an extensive system of bridges must be maintained across the Charles River, because the population is becoming dense on both sides of it; and in a few years there will be hundreds of thousands residing upon the northern banks, who, in pursuit of their vocations will be obliged to cross daily to the south side where the great centre of business near the deep waters of the harbor will ever exist. The bridges, therefore, must be ample, and, in their construction, free from parsimonious influences. Where bridges are necessary they ought to be among the

most imposing, beautiful and attractive architectural features of a great city; and the future promises an extensive field here for the exercise of skill in the art of bridge building in connection with improvements in the "Charles-river Basin"; for every bridge between Boston and the north bank of the river, except those crossed by railroads, will have to be "reconstructed" and enlarged in a few years, to accommodate the growing demands of the public.

Each of the several independent municipalities with which these different bridges connect, endeavors to avoid as much as possible the expense and responsibility of their construction and care,—and inasmuch as the channel and boundary line which separate these governments, runs close to the Boston shore, the chief expense of maintaining these long bridges falls upon the weakest municipality. Therefore, unless both ends of these public structures are under the control of a single power, the bridges of Boston are not likely to rank with those of London and Paris, which are the pride of every beholder.

The fact is, the bridges about Boston, viewing them in the light of usefulness and beauty,—reflect no credit upon those who designed and planned their construction. They are a source of legislative controversy every year—and are far, very far, from being adequate to a proper accommodation of the public; and thus they will remain

until they are subject to the management of one instead of many governments.

COST OF DELAY IN UNITING BOSTON WITH THE CITIES AND TOWNS AROUND IT.

Mr. President, it is admitted by the opponents of this measure that the union of these cities and towns must take place at some time, but they think the effort to accomplish it now is premature.

There is no one who would not regard it as very absurd to attempt to maintain independent municipal governments, with coördinate powers, in each of the sixteen wards of Boston where there is but one common interest. Senators can readily imagine the turmoil and local jealousies that would follow where each had the power to place a check upon the progress of the other. Now, the different cities and towns under consideration bear nearly the same relation to-day toward Boston and each other as do the various wards of Boston, and when the population is as numerous—as it will be in a very few years—will it be less absurd to attempt to maintain an independent government over each of these sixteen cities and towns, while their individual and combined interests are so fused as to make them practically but one community? The proposition answers itself.

If, therefore, the consolidation of these governments is to be accomplished at all, with a view to general public improvements which shall be in

keeping with the spirit of the time, and with the intelligence of Massachusetts, it should be done immediately, for the cost of delay, as has been shown in the past history of Boston, is simply enormous. I will illustrate this by giving the valuation of 1861 and 1872, showing the increase in values in a period of only eleven years in the cities and towns which it is now proposed to unite. The facts in the following table will be found particularly interesting upon this point.

A Table showing the Comparative Valuation of certain Cities and Towns in the Commonwealth for the Years 1861 *and* 1872.

TOWNS.	1861.			1872.		
	Personal.	Real.	Total Valuation.	Personal.	Real.	Total Valuation.
Arlington,	$895,430	$1,674,926	$2,570,356	$1,697,422	$3,605,931	$5,303,353
Belmont,	939,813	1,206,663	2,146,476	878,410	2,480,571	3,368,981
Brighton,	1,680,450	2,206,817	3,897,267	2,378,976	8,502,645	10,881,621
Cambridge,	6,171,700	15,511,000	21,682,700	16,033,450	39,214,980	55,248,350
Everett,* Malden,	575,410	2,820,260	3,395,670	2,089,726	8,795,075	10,884,801
Medford,	1,739,670	3,443,421	5,183,091	2,527,827	4,792,265	7,320,092
Somerville,	722,100	5,055,500	5,777,600	3,495,860	19,259,465	22,755,325
Watertown,	1,073,401	1,616,799	2,690,200	2,363,440	4,408,670	6,772,110
Brookline,	5,901,000	5,009,100	10,910,100	11,629,314	17,784,600	29,413,914
West Roxbury,	3,085,600	5,401,400	8,487,000	7,125,350	15,381,800	22,507,150
Chelsea,	751,525	6,477,569	7,229,094	2,161,493	14,545,850	16,707,343
Revere,	104,625	662,675	797,300	160,330	1,441,925	1,602,285
Winthrop,	148,686	213,978	362,664	53,650	618,015	674,665
Total,	$23,829,410	$51,300,108	$75,129,518	$52,595,278	$140,781,712	$193,376,990
Boston,	$108,078,000	$167,682,100	$275,760,100	$219,519,050	$364,866,550	$584,415,600
Charlestown,	3,003,100	12,405,400	15,408,500	9,755,320	25,186,800	34,942,102
Total,	$111,081,100	$180,087,500	$291,168,600	$229,304,370	$390,053,350	$619,357,720
Roxbury,	$5,279,000	$15,690,400	$20,969,400	$12,237,700	$54,675,700	$66,913,400
Dorchester,	4,042,700	7,615,400	11,658,100	7,654,100	23,741,200	31,395,300
Total,	$9,321,700	$23,305,800	$32,627,500	$19,891,800	$78,416,900	$98,308,700

* Included in Malden in 1871.

It thus appears that in 1861 the total valuation of the real and personal property was $366,297,113. In 1872 it was $911,042,410, showing the astonishing increase in eleven years of $544,745,292, or about 150 per cent. The value of the real estate property in 1861 was $231,387,608, and in 1872 had increased to $609,251,902, or considerably more than 150 per cent. As park reservations, squares, avenues, and streets are to come out of the real property, an adequate estimate of the stupendous cost of delaying such improvements may be obtained. But it is not alone in the increased value of real estate that the danger and cost of delay comes. There are streets now being laid out and built upon in these towns and cities which are suggested by old cart-paths and rights of way,—as was the case in Boston two hundred years ago,—that are twenty-five, thirty, and thirty-five feet wide, and upon land, too, several feet below the grade of proper drainage, after the style of the Church-street district. These, in a few years, after life and health have been sacrificed, will have to be widened and the grades raised, when the land is worth one hundred times more than it now is,—besides the additional cost of demolishing and rebuilding structures.

In considering the subject of providing room for public improvements I omit Old Boston and Charlestown, because there is no room in them for improvements, unless it is obtained by demolishing structures. Therefore I include Dorchester and Roxbury

—the four new wards—with the other towns proposed for annexation, as the localities where land must be taken for parks and broad avenues. The valuation in these districts in 1861 was $107,757,018. In 1872 it had grown to $291,685,690, showing an average annual increase for a period of eleven years of nearly $17,000,000. From these data any one can determine approximately, what will be the annual cost of delaying those public improvements which the future is sure to demand.

It has been estimated that at least $250,000,000 of additional taxable property would have been created, not merely by enhanced valuation, but drawn here from different parts of the world, if the improvements which have been suggested had been commenced ten years ago, and judiciously prosecuted from that time. This, and the loss of valuable opportunities, which can never be recovered, should be added to other losses arising from procrastination in providing for future necessities, which are as sure to exist as the inevitable coming and going of the tides.

Mr. President, how long will this community—renowned for its economical, money-making propensities, as well as for its liberality—continue to sacrifice, not only the comforts and luxuries which nature has so abundantly spread before them, but at the same time cleave to the policy which belittles their intelligence, and, while creating no new sources of wealth or improvement, forces upon the people

expenditures so stupendous as hardly to be determined by the problems of arithmetic. Is it not time that the legislative power of the Commonwealth had measured its duties and obligations toward the people of her metropolis and those that cluster about it? But we are told that a union of these cities and towns under one government would be productive of a dangerous

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER.

What is understood by centralization of power? It is the concentration of power which rightfully belongs to the many in the hands of the few. I admit that, even under our democratic system, there are dangers in this direction against which it is our duty to guard, especially when that power may be lodged in the hands of the few who may abuse it. But the diffusion of this concentrated power among the many, to whom it rightfully belongs, and whose interests are opposed to its abuse, surely cannot be called "centralization"; and that is precisely what is proposed to be accomplished by uniting the several municipalities, named in the Resolve, under one government.

Nearly all the residents of these fifteen cities and towns have their business places in Boston. Here they pay a large proportion of the taxes, and yet they have no voice in the government which they help to support, and to which they are subject. Their interests are, therefore, divided between dif-

ferent municipalities—the one where they domicile and vote, and the other where they own property and transact their business; and a divided interest is always a weak one: neither community having the benefit of that strength which comes from a unity of interest and sentiment, so essential among the people in promoting their own prosperity and the growth and grandeur of the city of which they constitute a part. The property of the suburban residents, now amounting to between two and three hundred million dollars, and all the considerations that attach to it, are also wholly subject to the control of voters within the limits of Boston, a majority of whom may have nothing at stake which will cause them to feel any concern as to the quality of the municipal government beyond what arises from the exercise of the right of suffrage which is secured to them by the payment of a simple poll tax. Eighty-seven per cent. of the voters in some of the wards of Boston are now of this description.

The property-holders, business men and artisans who pursue their vocations in Boston and reside beyond its limits, are increasing, as has been shown, at least one hundred per cent. more rapidly than those who domicile within the present boundary lines of the city; and thus, in a few years, they will have a predominant interest in the business and property—which contribute largely to the welfare of the entire State—in the city where they cannot vote. Therefore, in a few years, the larger interests

and those which require most protection, may be entirely without representation in the municipal power which controls it.

I ask Senators to think seriously upon this subject, and to judge whether the public welfare and the cause of good government in Massachusetts, and especially in her metropolis, does not demand that this power, now lodged in the hands of the few, shall not extend to those to whom the exercise of it rightfully belongs, before the mischief arising from the present incongruous state of affairs shall be irreparable.

Is it in accordance with our organic laws that property to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars shall be subject to taxation without as far as possible securing to the people from whom it is collected the right of representation in the government imposing such tax? It is not the fault of the business men of Boston that the growth of the city has crowded them beyond its limits. They desire to live where their business is, and be subject to one system and one uniform rate of taxation. They demand this as their right, and it is the duty of the legislature to secure to them this inalienable privilege by extending municipal jurisdiction over territory that shall, for this purpose, afford ample accommodation for all time, and be convenient and suitable for the existence of a city that will keep pace with the advancing civilization of the age. When the legislature has made such provision, then

its duties will have been performed, and its responsibilities cease, and not before.

A fear is expressed by some that such an aggregation of population, under a single municipal power, as is proposed by this measure, will increase the danger of

IMMORALITY AND CORRUPTION

in the administration of the affairs of the city. The reasoning that leads to such a fear appears to me to be founded in error,—a palpable error. It is the density, not the extent, of a city that produces demoralization and crime. Wherever a family has a grape-vine, or owns and cultivates a flower-bed, there a voter is sure to be found who cannot be properly enumerated among those who belong to what are termed the "dangerous classes." Mechanics who live in their own houses are safe citizens, and the more of that class that are embraced within the municipal limits of Boston the better will be its government. Crime hides in dark alleys and lanes, and lurks in the shadows of narrow and crooked ways. By studying the plans adopted for the construction of a great city, one can justly measure the degree of effort made by the municipal power controlling it in promoting the character and morality of its people. The influence of openness, of sunlight and pure air, of taste and refinement in laying out a city, ennobles and elevates the character of its inhabitants. The sensitive mind of youth takes its

inclinations and permanent impressions from that which is most familiar to its eyes and ears, and the propensity to good or evil of entire communities may thus be formed by the nature of their surroundings. Man's enjoyment of rural beauty and natural scenery increases with the advance of civilization. His higher senses are satisfied by elements that not only secure to him health and vigor, but which, at the same time, gratify his natural desire for recreative amusements. It is, therefore, by such elements that he may be lured from those attractions that lead to pauperism, vice, and crime.* The quality of the governments of London, Paris and Philadelphia were greatly improved by the extensive enlargement of their territorial area; and their astonishing progress in wealth and population dates from the inauguration of liberal and comprehensive views in planning for their future growth and beauty. We do not hear of corruption in the administration of the municipal affairs of the cities of London,

* Mr. Olmstead, in speaking of Central Park, New York, says:—

"Every Sunday, in summer, from thirty to forty thousand persons, on an average, enter the park on foot,—the number on a very fine day being sometimes nearly a hundred thousand. While most of the grog-shops of the city were effectually closed by the police under the Excise Law, on Sunday, the number of visitors to the park was considerably larger than before. There was no similar increase at the churches.

"Shortly after the park first became attractive, and before any serious attempt was made to interfere with the Sunday liquor-trade, the head keeper told me that he saw among the visitors the proprietor of one of the largest 'saloons' in the city. He accosted him, and expressed some surprise. The man replied, 'I came to see what the devil you'd got here that took off so many of my Sunday customers.'"

Paris and Berlin,—one with a population *sixteen times*, another eight times, and the other four times as large as Boston. Can it be said that a government equally as pure cannot be maintained under our Republican system, where education and intelligence attain a higher standard?

Another objection that is seriously urged against the enlargement of Boston as proposed is, that the city will possess power and wealth greater than all the rest of the state.

Sir, that is an objection which I hope does not originate with legislators here. It might possibly be excused in an envious wrangle between city and country boys in a contest at a game of brag, but such a thought should have no place under the dome of this capitol, where questions affecting the best interests of the people of every portion of the Commonwealth are to be intelligently passed upon by their representatives. Upon what basis is it presumed that the people of these different localities are to be less friendly to general state interests because they would be permitted to enjoy greater prosperity under municipal regulations that will best promote their welfare? In what way will the increased wealth and representative power of Boston act prejudicially to the interests of Berkshire, Barnstable, or Essex? If under the sanction of your legislation, the enterprise and growth of Boston shall draw to the waters of her harbor ten ships where one now enters it, will not the towns, har-

bors, and pilots of the Capes be correspondingly benefited? And if ten trains, where there now is but one, should climb the mountains of Berkshire loaded with the productions of the West and descend into the valley of the Connecticut, drawn thither by the wealth and commercial demands of Boston, will not Berkshire and Hampden be correspondingly benefited by such increase of trade and traffic?

Sir, there is not a town or village in the Commonwealth that has not been benefited by the capital and enterprise of Boston; and the suggestion that an increase of her power and wealth would be dangerous to the country towns, is ill-timed, unfortunate and ungenerous. Has not her capital been freely used to build railroads, tunnel mountains and increase the internal resources of the entire state, thus increasing the wealth and power of every town within its limits? If the wealth, population and power of Boston could, by process of legislation, be increased tenfold, is it not true that the state at large would be proportionately benefited? The relations of the state to her metropolis are represented by the relations of the head to the body. They are one and inseparable. And I envy not the heart and sentiments of the citizen who would knowingly lend himself to the creation of jealousies between them.

Not wishing further to trench upon your patience, I must omit the discussion of the most

important subject of sewerage and drainage, as well as some questions affecting a system of government for the metropolis which for future purposes, whether enlarged as proposed or not, would need, I presume, some important modifications. Once more, for a moment, before concluding, I return to history for an example, and find Boston situated, with reference to its surroundings, very much like the city of London, which has been obliged to absorb more than thirty townships and boroughs in its suburbs, many of which have now become as densely populated as the old city upon which they have crowded so close as to obliterate all division lines. Fifty-one square miles of the city are in the county of Middlesex, thirty-six in Surrey, and thirty-five in Kent, making one hundred twenty-two square miles, and occupying a part of three counties, as Boston eventually will.

Since 1865 the Parliament of England, ever zealous, as you know, in guarding the independence and local rights of boroughs and townships, have, in connection with the rulers of London, been engaged in framing an improved system of government for the great metropolis, whose population it is estimated will reach eight or ten millions, before the close of the present century. And there is not a statesman in all England, among the many who have given an opinion, or who have testified before a commission similar to the one suggested in the Resolve under consideration, who does not

assent to the conclusion, that, in order to establish an efficient and economical local government, there must be one central municipal power, with jurisdiction over all the districts at present divided. And to accomplish this end an act has been substantially agreed upon entitled the "Metropolis Municipalities Bill," or "London Corporation Bill." The old independent, disjointed system has become so cumbersome and expensive as to be a serious and alarming burden to the rate-payers of the districts. Such, too, is the experience of the people in and around Boston.

Sir, whoever carefully examines the reports of the financial officers of Boston, and of each of the cities and towns named in the Resolve before us, will be surprised at the magnitude of their public debt—which is being rapidly increased—as well as the sums annually expended by them for public purposes. Much of this money, I hesitate not to declare, would be better thrown into the sea, because, in the absence of any general system applying to all, it is expended in such a way as surely to increase the burdens of taxation hereafter, for the reason that what is now being constructed will have to be demolished to make room for growing necessities not now being provided for.*

* Under the present system of separate governments in the fifteen cities and towns proposed for union with Boston, nearly fifteen hundred persons are required to fill their various local offices; and between four and five thousand octavo pages are used to print the account of their

In Boston, and the cities and towns proposed for union, there is a population of less than half a million, and yet it costs more to carry on their heterogeneous governments than it does that of the most beautiful, and, with reference to public improvements, the most progressive and best governed city in the world, which contains a population of more than two millions,—showing the cost of our local governments, *per capita*, to be more than four times that of the magnificent city of Paris.

The total debt of Boston and the fifteen cities and towns named in the Resolve, as exhibited in the following table, was, in 1867, $16,987,233.20. Their total debt, 1872, was $37,175,960.69; showing an increase in a period of five years, since the war—when their debt should have been on the decrease—of $20,194,677.49.

doings in their annual reports. If united under one government, in place of this army of officials, the municipal force would not be increased by more than two hundred and fifty men, who would perform the services much better; and certainly, not more than one hundred pages would be added to the annual reports of the city.

Table showing the increase in the Debt of the following Cities and Towns in a period of Five Years—from 1867 *to* 1872.

Cities and Towns.	Debt in 1867.	Rate of taxation on $1,000, 1867.	Debt in 1872.	Rate of taxation on $1,000, 1872.	Increase in five years.
Boston, . .	$12,998,559 91	$12 50	$28,628,535 82	$11 70	$15,629,975 91
Charlestown, .	1,476,073 37	16 50	2,487,547 05	15 40	1,011,473 68
Cambridge, .	1,161,900 22	15 20	2,184,584 42	12 00	1,022,684 20
Chelsea, . .	634,000 00	20 00	1,027,900 00	16 00	393,800 00
Somerville, .	189,474 00	–	593,349 00*	14 00	403,875 00
W. Roxbury, .	No debt.	17 40	288,000 00	10 30	288,000 00
Brookline, .	77,655 96	10 00	575,000 00	8 70	487,344 04
Brighton, .	87,000 00	–	330,002 15	11 00	243,002 15
Watertown, .	51,400 00	–	66,193 00	12 50	14,793 00
Belmont, . .	24,200 00	16 00	18,250 00	12 00	Decrease.
Arlington, .	68,188 74	15 50	216,751 15†	13 50	148,562 41
Medford, .	41,700 00	19 50	270,800 00†	13 80	229,100 00
Malden, . .	140,081 00	18 60	367,696 96†	16 80	227,615 96
Everett, . .	Set off in 1870.	–	41,451 14†	12 00	41,451 14
Revere, . .	21,000 00	12 00	44,000 00	13 80	23,000 00
Winthrop, .	16,000 00	19 00	36,000 00	11 50	20,000 00
	$16,987,233 20	–	$37,175,960 69	–	$20,194,677 49

* To 1871 only.

† A part of this sum is for water supply.

What is there to show for this vast expenditure, which has more than doubled this great debt in so brief a period? Have there been any public improvements other than those which should have kept pace with the increase of population, and therefore paid for as they went, from ordinary revenues? If so where are they? Does a continuance of the present system promise economy and progress in those important public works in which we are so lamentably deficient?

Sir, while the Commonwealth is wisely spending millions upon millions to tunnel mountains and create new avenues for feeding the business and commerce of her metropolis, and placing it nearer

to the productive regions of the continent, not one step has she taken toward making appropriate provision, even for the natural expansion of her metropolis, to say nothing of that more rapid growth which should be pioneered by noble conception, progressive legislation, and public enterprise.

In the revolutionary period Boston was first in importance in the new-born republic; and, in my judgment she might, under the judicious exercise of state and municipal power, have maintained her supremacy in wealth and population, to the present time. But for lack of administrative foresight in creating home attractions, and in encouraging home enterprises, her young men, and business men, and her capital, have been forced to seek other fields, to build up other cities, and develop the wealth of other states.

What is the matter? Have the people been so intent upon the accumulation of wealth by pursuing the usages of the past, that they have failed to discover the progressive character of the age, or to remember that the sea upon which they are smoothly sailing into the unmeasured future may contain reefs and shoals which cannot be safely passed without soundings, observations, and calculations?

Sir, we have delved in by-gones long enough to be familiar with their lessons, and that is all that

we should care to know about them. The past is finished,—the untouched future only is before us. Is it not time that we had paused to take bearings, and learn in which direction the true path of progress lies? Looking down upon the present we find scattered over the territory described in the Resolve before the Senate, Boston broken into municipal fragments,—and while there is but one common interest affecting all, independent governments are maintained in each which are in conflict one with the other. Under such an incongruous system there can be no harmony or method, while both are so essential to public prosperity. I wish here to appeal to your unbiased judgments to substantiate this declaration—that becoming progress in public improvements, economy in official administration, sound sanitary conditions, and contentment among the people, are utterly impossible unless, for general purposes, one homogeneous system of government shall embrace them all. Under the guidance of such a government the ambition of the people, stirred by fresh incentives, would move forward to the achievement of new glories in the fields of progress and civilization. Her business men and capital would come back again, and her young men would be content to build upon foundations illuminated by the brighter destinies of their native metropolis. Thus under the influence of ideas which should lead the progress

of Republican civilization, Boston may yet become the first city on the American continent,—the favorite resort of those in search of education, science, thrift in business pursuits, and all that is healthful, beautiful and grand in nature and art.

APPENDIX.

Professor Holton, who has devoted much attention to civic improvements, and particularly to modes of rapid transit and the transmission of power through tubes, writes me as follows:—

"In your speech I think you have hardly made enough of improvements in the near future. Let us take first the transmission of power. Steam is a perfect vehicle for it. Nothing is needed but a boiler and fire at one end of a tube and an engine at the other. You can turn a faucet and instantly start your machinery. But there is an enormous waste. Every wave of heat that escapes through the walls of the tube is a loss of power; and as soon as the temperature of the interior of the tube falls to 212° no power is left. Every time your engine stops it cools; and power is expended in reheating it to a temperature much over 212° before it will work to its full capacity. The waste is proportioned to the distance between boiler and engine, and every moment's delay is a loss.

"The true method for the transmission of power is by COMPRESSED AIR. Immense steam-engines, miles away and miles apart, convert the power stored in coal into compressed air. They may be aided by the moon (tide-mills), and by the sun (wind-mills), and the owners of them can sell to the city the power which they generate. No street that should have air 'laid on' could fail of being thronged with manufactures—often such as need but a tenth of a horse-power, or need power but a tenth of the time—unless the merchant should overbid the artisan. For elevators it has this advantage, that lowering reverses the course of the air, and actually throws power back into the tube. Even where not needed for days together, it can be had in large quantities and at a moment's warning. It might be let on to fire-engines the instant that they had reached the fire. It could open a drawbridge, thrust a vessel through, shut it again, and lapse into repose and costlessness. Its pure breath, instead of tainting the workshop, refreshes it. It is transmitted without loss, and can be stored in reservoirs like gas and water.

"But by far the most important use of compressed air would be on local railways, subterranean or elevated. An extravagant head of power would be let on at leaving a station, and a car would near the next at a rate of sixty miles an hour; then the speed would be arrested and stopped simply by reversing the engine and condensing air back into the tank. The waste and wear of braking up is what necessitates low speed on way trains. We could hope to make thirty

miles an hour, stops excluded, or a mile in four minutes, including stops. The passengers would go from an eighth of a mile to half the diameter of the city at a uniform rate of three cents, or even less. The great parks would be at the termini of these radiating roads, and the outermost parts of the area they should reach would be as valuable for residences as Commonwealth Avenue is to-day. But the outlay of altering a street, already built, and far too narrow, to suit elevated railways, is something enormous. As to the choice between elevated or underground railroads, I do not hesitate an instant. The average thickness of a city, from cellar-floor to roof, is some eighty feet. The traffic of the streets is only ten feet above its lower plane, and a subterranean road necessitates climbing the moment you leave it. The value of each story diminishes as you rise above the sidewalk. Now if you will put a second sidewalk fifteen feet above the first, and remove to that all the car travel, most of the pedestrians would seek the same level. Ladies who went shopping would not, if they could reach the cars without descending to the ground, go near it once in all their trip. We should have a retail city over the wholesale city. The second story would be more valuable than the first, and an additional value would be given to each floor above.

"The 'Rows' of Chester, England, illustrate the requisite style of building, and we have a single example of it in the Congregational House, corner of Beacon and Somerset streets, Boston. The near approach of the lower story to the centre of the street *does not diminish the light* of the windows opposite. The wall of the first story (invariably of glass and iron) would support the centre of the track. The loading and unloading of carts would little incommode the busy throng of passers, which always increases with the growth of the city. The present size of London would be almost impossible with all the passing on one level.

"Density at the centre is what limits the growth of a city, as it does of a palm. When no more new and tender fibres can penetrate the impacted, hide-bound interior of the palm, growth is arrested. When the centre of a city becomes an inextricable vortex, as now in New York, business seeks to escape from the annoyance to more convenient seats. The question of the ultimate size of a city is then entirely a question of transit.

"On this problem New York is now laboring, but its mechanical exigencies are as nothing compared with the legal obstructions of rivals. London, more fortunate, has made both the upper and lower schemes a success to the passenger; though it is asserted that while the subterranean roads earn no dividends, the elevated ones are doing a good business. The introduction of the best system into Boston, will be like the touch of Ithuriel's spear. London, on the edge of an island and on the banks of a small river, has not the natural advantages of Boston, with its grand harbor and a continent to contribute to it. A century of wise government, with the application to city-transit of the latest improvements in the conveyance of persons, goods and messages, cannot fail to place our metropolis far beyond anything that earth has yet seen."