

with even greater persistency than by men.

For my part, I do not believe that the suffrage is a privilege. I believe that it is a right, which belongs to every sane adult of whatever color, of whatever fortune, of whatever education, and of either sex; that it belongs to them in virtue simply of the fact that all such persons are members of the community to be governed. In other words, I place the determination of the question of woman suffrage upon the broad ground set forth in the declaration of independence, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Let us for a moment consider that proposition. There are such things as individual concerns, concerns regarding which each of us has the absolute right to control our own action, free from all restraints of government, except when we infringe upon the equal individual rights of others. As to these individual concerns, it is the business of government to keep hands off. To illustrate what I mean, the government has no right to prescribe for me, or for you, or for any other person, the hour at which we shall eat our meals or the food of which they shall consist. Such things are individual affairs, and even a popular government, managed by a majority vote, has no right to interfere.

But individual concerns are not all the concerns of social life. There are also what we may call communal concerns; that is, concerns in which we are all mutually interested, concerns in which the interest of one is of necessity the interest of all, and the interests of all are interests of each. As an example of these concerns let me mention the highways. There can be no normal social life without highways. Therefore highways are of common concern. They are partnership affairs, and every partner is entitled to an equal voice in their management. It makes no difference whether he is rich or poor, black or white, educated or ignorant, man or woman. So with the land upon which we live. It has been provided by the Creator for the common good of all. It is the right, therefore, of every person in the community to have a voice in determining the tenures upon which it shall be held. Land is a partnership asset. So again with those values that attach to the land in every community simply because there is a community there, those values that are created by the whole community and not by individuals as such, those values that are due

to social and not to individual enterprise, those values that are commonly known as ground rent or ground price. These values constitute a common income, and in the expenditure of that common income everybody in the community has the right to an equal voice. It is not a privilege; it is a right.

There is nothing to the point that voting is a privilege and not a right because we cannot grant it to infants, because we cannot give it to idiots, or because we take it from the insane or from convicted criminals. If that objection were sound as to common property, it would also be sound as to private property; and so we could argue that inasmuch as we do not allow infants, nor idiots, nor the insane, nor convicts, to manage their own private property, therefore we should allow no one to manage his own private property, except certain privileged persons. Such a conclusion would be absurd, such a conclusion would be unjust. It is also absurd and unjust with reference to the management of common affairs. The right to participate in the management of common affairs, like the right to manage one's own private affairs, is in its very nature not a privilege to be granted or withheld in the discretion of superior power, but a right to be asserted and maintained. And being a right, it is also a duty. Duties and rights are like man and woman. It takes both to make a perfect whole. They were married before time began, and even the Outlook cannot divorce them.

This is the firm rock upon which woman suffrage must rest. It must be demanded because women are members of the community, because they have common interests in the common property and affairs of the community, because they have common interests in the common purposes of the community as a community, because, in a word, they have rights in the community and duties toward it, which are the same as the rights and duties of every other sane person of mature age who keeps out of the penitentiary. If you have local problems of suffrage which you cannot adjust, make exceptions if you will. While I should not go with you, I should not blame you. I blame nobody for not living up to the very letter of a principle. But don't fool yourselves. Don't trifle with your reason and your conscience. Don't try to make yourselves believe that your exception is right. Adopt it for

what it is. Let it be a confession of your inability to adapt the right to your political environment, but don't try to justify it on ethical grounds. Stand firmly by the principle, in theory at any rate, that the suffrage is a universal right.

FOR THE YOUNG MEN WHO ARE GRADUATING.

A portion of an address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa society at Hobart college, by John Jay Chapman, of New York, as published in the International Journal of Ethics for January, 1901.

When I was asked to make this address I wondered what I had to say to you boys who are graduating. And I think I have one thing to say. If you wish to be useful, never take a course that will silence you. Refuse to learn anything that you cannot proclaim. Refuse to accept anything that implies collusion, whether it be a clerkship or a curacy, a legal fee or a post in a university. Retain the power of speech, no matter what other power you lose. If you can, take this course, and in so far as you take it, you will bless this country. In so far as you depart from this course you become dampers, mutes and hooded executioners. As for your own private character it will be preserved by such a course. Crime you cannot commit, for crime gags you. Collusion gags you. As a practical matter a mere failure to speak out upon occasions where no opinion is asked or expected of you, and when the utterance of an un-called-for suspicion is odious, will often hold you to a concurrence in palpable inquiry. It will bind and gag you and lay you dumb and in shackles like the veriest serf in Russia. I give you this one rule of conduct. Do what you will, but speak out always. Be shunned, be hated, be ridiculed, be scared, be in doubt, but don't be gaged.

The choice of Hercules was made when Hercules was a lad. It cannot be made late in life. It will perhaps come for each one of you within the next eighteen months. I have seen ten years of young men who rush out into the world with their messages, and when they find how deaf the world is, they think they must save their strength and get quietly up on some little eminence from which they can make themselves heard. "In a few years," reasons one of them, "I shall have gained a standing, and then I shall use my power for good." Next year comes, and with it a strange discovery. The man has lost his hori-

zon of thought. His ambition has evaporated; he has nothing to say. The great occasion that was to have let him loose on society was some little occasion that nobody saw, some moment in which he decided to obtain a standing. The great battle of a lifetime has been fought and lost over a silent scruple. But for this, the man might, within a few years, have spoken to the nation with the voice of an archangel. What was he waiting for? Did he think that the laws of nature were to be changed for him? Did he think that a "notice of trial" would be served on him? Or that some spirit would stand at his elbow and say: "Now's your time?" The time of trial is always. Now is the appointed time. And the compensation for beginning at once is that your voice carries at once. You do not need a standing. It would not help you. Within less time than you can see it, you will have been heard. The air is filled with sounding boards and the echoes are flying. It is ten to one that you have but to lift your voice to be heard in California, and that from where you stand. A bold plunge will teach you that the visions of the unity of human nature which the poets have sung, were not fictions of their imagination, but a record of what they saw. Deal with the world, and you will discover their reality. Speak to the world, and you will hear their echo.

Social and business prominence look like advantages, and so they are if you want money. But if you want moral influence you may bless God you have not got them. They are the payment with which the world subsidizes men to keep quiet, and there is no subtlety or cunning by which you can get them without paying in silence. This is the great law of humanity, that has existed since history began, and will last while man lasts—evil, selfishness and silence are one thing.

The world is learning, largely through American experience, that freedom in the form of a government is no guarantee against abuse, tyranny, cruelty and greed. The old sufferings, the old passions are in full blast among us. What, then, are the advantages of self-government? The chief advantage is that self-government enables a man in his youth, in his own town, within a radius of his first public interests, to fight the important battle of his life while his powers are at their strongest, and

the powers of oppression are at their weakest. If a man acquires the power of speech here, if he says what he means now, if he makes his point and dominates his surroundings at once, his voice will, as a matter of fact, be heard instantly in a very wide radius. And so he walks up into a new sphere and begins to accomplish great things. He does this through the very force of his insistence on the importance of small things. The reason for his graduation is not far to seek. A man cannot reach the hearts of his town-folk, without using the whole apparatus of the world of thought. He cannot tell or act the truth in his own town without enlisting every power for truth, and setting in vibration the cords that knit that town into the world's history. He is forced to find and strike the same note which he would use on some great occasion when speaking for all mankind. A man who has won a town fight is a veteran, and the country is full of these young men. Tomorrow their force will show in national politics, and in that moment the fate of the Malay, the food of the Russian prisoner, the civilization of South Africa and the future of Japan will be seen to have been in issue. These things are now being settled in the contest over the town-pump in a western village. I think it likely that the next 30 years will reveal the recuperative power of American institutions. One of you young men might easily become a reform president, and be carried into office and held in office by the force of that private opinion which is now being sown broadcast throughout the country by just such men as yourselves. You will concede the utility of such a president. Yet it would not be the man but the masses behind him that did his work.

Democracy thus lets character loose upon society and shows us that in the realm of natural law there is nothing either small or great; and this is the chief value of democracy. In America the young man meets the struggle between good and evil in the easiest form in which it was ever laid before men. The cruelties of interest and of custom have with us no artificial assistance from caste, creed, race prejudice. Our frame of government is drawn in close accordance with the laws of nature. By our documents we are dedicated to mankind; and hence it is that we can so easily feel the pulse of the world and

lay our hand on the living organism of humanity.

THE ONLY WAY TO FIGHT THE TRUSTS.

An article written by T. W. Davenport, of Silverton, Ore., and published in the Oregon Independent.

The Independent's proposition to form a farmers' trust, though as chimerical as one to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, may afford a text for examining the social and political environment wherein dwells, moves, and has being that indescribable and helpless industrial animal called the farmer.

I say helpless, because of his many ineffectual attempts to better his condition by methods which are manifestly not within his reach or control, and because he steadfastly refuses to employ others at his hand, which would give him an equal footing with all other classes of his fellow citizens.

Observing, several years ago, that national bankers had been favored by legislative enactment with the power to turn their property into money, and receive an income from both, thus doubling their productive capital, the farmers supplicated government for the like privilege of duplicating the usable capital of their farms; but they were spurned with many a jest from the foot of the political throne. Their proposition was as good in equity and as safe to the government as was that of the bankers, and farmers being one hundred times more numerous than the latter, many people have wondered why they did not succeed.

But really there should be no wonder concerning it. Privilege in any country is not for the many but for the few, for the reason that privilege expanded ceases to be privilege. A few hundred national bankers might lend money to the whole country, but if the greater part of the population were to be supplied with money by the government, who would borrow of the bankers?

At bottom there is no jurisdiction for the national bank system. A government founded for the declared purpose of establishing justice among the citizens has no right to duplicate the capital of one citizen, and refuse to do likewise for another. And really it is not the function of our government to expand the capital of individuals. The idea is indefensible, and hence there was no united action among the farming population. And even if there had been a unanimous granger request presented in due form to the United States congress, the answer of denial,