

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
LINCOLN STEPPENS, Massachusetts
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
WILLIAM H. FLEMING, Georgia
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WENTLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware
HERBERT QUICK, Iowa
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
GEORGE FEWLES, New Zealand
W. G. BEALSOVEN, California.

Vol. XIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1910.

No. 622

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898 at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879

EDITORIAL

British Politics.

From the gossip in the cable reports from London, one might infer that the Tories are on top in Parliament and that the movement for land values taxation has come to a disastrous end. But it is only the gossip that warrants any such inference; and for this, with its Tory coloring, we are probably indebted to that habit among American newspaper correspondents at London which Mr. Bryce once described as "taking afternoon tea at Tory clubs." Sweep away the gossip in those cable reports, and you find a residuum of fact which tells a different story. What that story is we try to state with fullness and fairness in our News Narrative of this week.

+

As we now view the British situation, a clear though tacit understanding has come about between the progressive members of Parliament of all parties. This may, indeed, lead on to an early dissolution; but if it does, the issue between Commons and Peers will be too sharply drawn for any introduction of confusing questions into the campaign. An early dissolution, however, is not probable. Several reasons support this judgment. For one thing the King is too acute a man to hazard the stability of his throne in a political fight, as the Lords have done with their privilege of hereditary legislation; and that is precisely what the King would do if he refused to co-operate with the Commons against the Lords. For

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

British Politics	193
Legalizing Government by Injunction.....	194
Building Contracts and Public School Architects....	194
Another Sensible Tax Official.....	194
Real Estate Up and Wages Down.....	194
Voting and Taxpaying.....	195
Judge Wright Again.....	195
Votes for Women in Great Britain.....	195

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Back from England (L. F. P.).....	200
-----------------------------------	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The British Parliament.....	202
The Prussian Suffrage Bill.....	204
China Deposits the Dalai Lama of Tibet.....	205
The Cost of Second-Class Mail Matter.....	205
The Ballinger Investigation.....	205
New Jersey Beef Trust Prosecutions.....	206
A Taxation Fight for Women's Suffrage.....	206
Philadelphia Street Car Strike.....	207
Cleveland Traction Case.....	207
News Notes	208
Press Opinions	208

RELATED THINGS:

A Prayer (Ella Higginson)	210
One Man, One Vote; One Woman, One Vote.....	210
Lloyd George on Women's Suffrage in 1908.....	211
Educating Women for Suffrage (Harold Gorst).....	211
Woman Suffrage in Colorado (Marie Jenney Howe).....	212

BOOKS:

Tropical Land	213
Books Received	214
Periodicals	214

a second consideration, the Lords themselves are not likely to take the serious risk of forcing the King to decide whether or not to cheapen the peerage by appointing Peers by wholesale. And underlying every other consideration, and giving it added force, is the reluctance of all parties to entering upon another campaign. The Liberal, the Labor, and the Irish parties must overcome their reluctance, if the King and the Tory party unite with the Lords to force them to it; but fears of a second defeat, as well as visions of a "war chest" which the recent elections well nigh emptied, and the nightmare of responsibility for promises of "tariff reform" (protection) legislation, admonish the Tory party to let matters take their course for the present.

+ +

Legalizing Government by Injunction.

The Moon injunction measure, now pending in Congress (p. 180) and approved by President Taft, could have no other purpose than the one that Samuel Gompers attributes to it. It would embody in formal legislation the revolutionary practice which corporation lawyers, raised to the judicial bench, have been busily engaged for a dozen years in embodying in judge-made law. The injunction itself, in its application to labor disputes, is indefensible; but heretofore men like Mr. Taft who have ventured to defend it have conceded that injunctions should not issue without notice to the persons to be enjoined. Yet the Moon-Taft law, while nominally requiring this notice, nullifies the requirement with its provisos.

+ +

Building Contracts and Public School Architects.

We shall be happily surprised if it makes any difference to Dwight H. Perkins, the architect of the Chicago Board of Education, or to the public interests he has faithfully and efficiently served, whether his trial for "insubordination," etc., is held in public or in secret, or conducted fairly or not. That the fiat has gone forth for his deposition is one of the most obvious of inferences. Mr. Perkins has not been a tool of the building contractors' ring. Therein has he offended, offended grievously and unpardonably; and when you have a Busse "business" school board to deal with such cases, you may depend upon its possessing the full courage of the "hunch" it gets. There are upon this board some sensible and honest members, to whom the contracting interests with all their power are of no more importance than the coal ring was. Through the influence and votes of these members, the attack upon Mr. Per-

kins may fail; but also, a man who has never before handled a rifle *may* hit a bull's eye at the first shot.

+ +

Another Sensible Tax Official.

A queer objection to enforcing tax laws has been raised by owners of valuable land in Cleveland. Because their land is in a "boom" region they ask the appraisers to value it at less than it will bring. To some tax appraisers such a request would be impressive. But John A. Zangerle, the secretary of the new Cleveland board of appraisers (vol. xii, p. 1162), makes this common sense reply through the Cleveland Plain Dealer: "We are not responsible for a boom in real estate in any particular part of the city. We are following the rule that property is worth just what it will sell or lease for. The shoe may pinch a little, but we are not responsible for fancy values, or prices that are being paid perhaps on a speculative basis. If people wish to speculate in future values it is none of our business. We must tax them just as we do other sections of the city."

+

The useful work this Cleveland board is doing may be inferred from these items in the Plain Dealer of the 22d:

The Cleveland Trust Co., at Euclid and E. 9th, is to be hardest hit. Ten years ago its location was assessed at \$111,700. This time it will be put on the duplicate at \$619,000; an increase of 554 per cent. This does not include the value of the building.

The Guardian Savings & Trust Co., 30 feet on Euclid avenue, valuation in 1910 \$186,500, in 1909 \$74,600; increase \$111,900, or 150 per cent.

The First National bank, 72 feet on Euclid avenue, valuation in 1910 \$330,000, in 1909 \$182,000; increase \$148,000, or 81 per cent.

The Citizens' Savings & Trust Co., 104 feet on Euclid avenue, valuation in 1910 \$696,500, in 1909 \$198,900; increase \$497,600, or 250 per cent.

The Society for Savings, 132 feet on Public Square, valuation in 1910 \$396,000, in 1909 \$143,400; increase \$252,000, or 176 per cent.

The Union National bank, 45 feet on Euclid avenue, valuation in 1910 \$306,500, in 1909 \$121,160; increase \$185,340, or 156 per cent.

+ +

Real Estate Up and Wages Down.

In a little handbook issued by Richard Bacon Cadwalader to boom Cincinnati as "conservative," "solid" and "picturesque," we find an interesting juxtaposition. On page 9 it is boasted that "real estate investments in Cincinnati yield higher returns than similar holdings in other cities," and on page 10 appears the confession, though in the form of a boast, that "average daily wages are

lower in Cincinnati than in any other large city in the United States." May it not be that these two facts, if they are facts, have a relationship of cause and effect?

+ +

Voting and Taxpaying.

Regarding the recently formed organization for helping Chicago women to resist the collection of personal property taxes on the ground that "taxation without representation is tyranny," a woman who opposes equal suffrage observes that the movement is "toward plutocratic distinction of women who own property as against those who do not." Persons so undemocratic as to oppose women's suffrage as a right, or so devoid of civic spirit as to cling to laws that prevent its use as a duty, may not be in position to object to property qualifications on the ground that they would be plutocratic. But there is a suggestion in that criticism which should not be ignored by the newly organized advocates of resistance to taxation without representation. Although it is sound policy to resist taxation without representation, very dubious at best is the policy of complete identification of taxpaying with voting. One who is not allowed to vote may very well object to paying taxes. This is a blood-bought and time-honored American principle. But the converse is not true. He who does not pay taxes cannot therefore be denied the vote, without opening the way to plutocratic distinctions. It is incumbent upon the "League of Unrepresented Taxpayers," in its effort to propagate the doctrine that taxpaying should be limited by voting, to avoid the dangers of giving further vitality to the idea that voting should be limited by taxpaying.

+ +

Judge Wright Again.

Judge Wright of Washington, that interesting judicial product of Cincinnati who, as an appointive judge at Washington, threw the network of contempt proceedings around Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison last year (vol. xii, pp. 1, 3, 1188) in order to throttle freedom of the press for labor papers, now reaches up for higher game. In a mandamus proceeding to compel a Congressional committee to consider officially something which it had officially decided not to consider (pp. 146, 156), Judge Wright holds that his court has jurisdiction over them. His argument is worthy the lawyer of the anecdote who was a dabbler in many subjects, and of whom a candid friend therefore said that he would know a little of everything if he only knew a little law. Graciously conceding that his court could not interfere with the action of Con-

gress, this interesting judge nevertheless holds that it can interfere with a Congressional Committee, because Congress has no power to delegate its duties to committees. It will be an instructive spectacle, the appearance before Judge Wright of a Congressional committee to purge itself of contempt of court!

+ + +

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN.

A notable phase of the recent political campaign in Great Britain, was the subsidence of suffragette militancy. As the campaign was about to open threats of disturbance of Liberal meetings were freely made, and in its earlier stages there were attempts to break up Liberal meetings at which members of the Ministry spoke. But as the campaign went on, these disturbances died down; and before it came to an end, the whole militant movement took on the appearance of a closed and forgotten incident.

Perhaps it makes little difference whether this decline in physical force tactics may be attributed to the waning of a hysterical fever, as some Britons contend, or, as we venture to hope, to a clearer apprehension by suffragette leaders of the necessity for a right policy and reasonable tactics. The fact of the apparent tendency away from physical force directed at one political party, is itself the important thing.

To anger the Liberal rank and file, as the violent suffragettes were doing, with spiteful attacks upon Liberal leaders and Liberal meetings in the heat of their fight against the gigantic political and economic privileges of Lords and landlords, was not at all calculated to promote the suffrage cause. Nothing could be thereby gained for this cause from the Tories, the only element that could be especially pleased with such tactics; for under no circumstances could women's suffrage be got of the Tories, unless it might be for women of the "upper classes" alone. On the other hand, much was to be lost by it with Liberals; for its natural effect in that direction was to embitter and to drive away friendly Liberals who were not thoroughly anchored as suffragists. All the more likely were these indefensible tactics to affect prejudicially the average Liberal, and make him averse or indifferent to the influence of radical Liberals on the women's suffrage subject, when it seemed that the suffragettes might be inspired by Tory influence, or at any rate by undemocratic sentiment.

And indeed it did so seem.

The richest and most influential body of militant suffragettes is absolutely undemocratic in its own organization. So autocratic has its organization been that a secession occurred two years or so ago, which set up an organization on democratic lines. These two bodies have been alike in pretty much everything except form of organization, political spirit, and ability to get funds. While both have adhered to militant methods, and worked for a limited women's suffrage measure, the original organization, governed by Mrs. Pankhurst and her associates, gets larger funds, exerts a greater influence, and in its membership is more alive with Tory spirit than the seceders, whose organization is known as the Women's Freedom League.

It is not a fair criticism, I infer, to attribute Tory purposes to either organization. Although Tory influence may often seem dominant, it is nevertheless reasonable to account even for the limited suffrage measure for which both organizations stand, upon the theory of an error in judgment rather than a deliberate purpose to play the Tory game.

In advocating the limited suffrage measure the suffragette leaders thought, in all probability, that they were proposing to insert "the thin end of a wedge." That is to say, it probably seemed to them at first, as it did to many others who with better knowledge have since changed their minds, that the measure extending suffrage to women on the same terms upon which it is or may hereafter be conferred upon men, would break ground for enfranchising all adult women.

So considered, the measure would have been a step in the right direction. And, so considered, the argument regarding it would hold good, that it is no objection to a forward measure that it does not go the whole distance.

But, unfortunately for that argument, the limited women's suffrage for which the militant suffragettes have stood, would not be in the direction of womanhood suffrage. It would be to womanhood suffrage an obstacle in the way. By enfranchising women of independent property, and those of propertied families, to the exclusion of great masses of women of the working class, this measure would raise up a new body of voters in opposition to further extension of suffrage either to men or to women. In its tendency, whatever be the motives for it, it is essentially undemocratic, and therefore essentially Tory.

To be sure, it must be conceded, as has been claimed, that the question of how women may vote when enfranchised is irrelevant, since all vot-

ers, women as well as men, should have undisputed freedom to vote as they please. To a measure for extending the voting right to all women, this claim would be invincible. Not necessarily so, however, when the measure proposed is merely a step in that direction. Very relevant is the question then, of how the limited class of women to be immediately enfranchised would vote with reference to extending the voting right to their unenfranchised sisters. If the so-called first step would enfranchise only such women as would for the most part vote against extending the suffrage to other classes of women, then it is not a step toward womanhood suffrage. It is, on the contrary, a step away from both womanhood suffrage and manhood suffrage.

And such a measure the measure supported by the militant suffragettes clearly is. If it were adopted it would strengthen and tend to perpetuate property qualifications. If it were adopted, the workingwomen of Great Britain, and the wives and daughters of British workingmen—the classes that need the ballot most—would be farther away than ever from getting the ballot.

We have explained this matter before (vol. xii, pp. 1108, 1153, 1205), and been criticized for our conclusions. After further examination, made directly in connection with the actual operation of British electoral methods, and comprising information derived from electoral experts, we renew our former indictment of the suffragette measure. So far from tending toward womanhood suffrage, it would be an obstacle. So far from promoting democracy, it would reinforce its enemy; and this, not by giving to each side a fair recruiting field and no favor, but by enfranchising the women who as a class tend toward toryism, and leaving unenfranchised those who as a class tend toward democracy.

+

In our previous articles on this subject there may have been some errors of detail with reference to suffrage qualifications, due to complexities of the British electoral system. But we referred to the best authorities then at hand; and now, with the benefit of advice from electoral experts on the ground, we find no substantial errors. With reference, however, to some obscure or refined points of detail, positive assertions cannot be made. An illustration arises over the question of whether there can be joint occupancy of a dwelling for voting purposes. There probably cannot be; yet we are unable to make the statement positively, for it is asserted that there can be, an assertion which

probably springs out of actual cases where occupier and lodger are mistakenly supposed to be joint occupiers. The only value of the point involved in this illustration is that if there may be joint occupancy of a dwelling, both husband and wife might vote as joint occupiers, if the suffragette measure were adopted. It is pretty clear, though, that the right does not exist; and if it did, that a money test would apply, under which the average workingman's wife would still be without a vote unless her husband gave her his and went without his own. And so, in general effect, of other doubtful points of detail. They do not affect the conclusion that the suffragette measure would limit women's suffrage to a class of women whose votes against its further extension would tend to make extensions more than ever difficult if not quite impossible.

Whatever may have been the errors in detail of our former articles—and at the worst they were few and slight—there were none to vitiate the conclusions.

+

If women were granted the vote in Great Britain on the same terms upon which it is held by men, their right to vote would come almost if not quite from one or more of five qualifications: freeholder, occupier of a dwelling house, occupier of business premises, lodger, and caretaker of premises not occupied by the owner or tenant.

Let us consider them in detail.

As to freeholders, any man owning two freeholds might make his wife a voter by vesting in her the title to one; if he had more than two, he might in like manner make voters of his daughters. Under this qualification few workingmen's wives or daughters could vote; for workingmen are not as a rule multiple freeholders. Propertied families alone could largely increase the women's vote under this qualification.

As to dwelling house occupiers ("household" suffrage as it is commonly called), if the occupier were also the owner, he might make his wife his tenant, thereby giving her the vote as occupier and voting himself as freeholder. Under this qualification, cottage owning workingmen might confer the voting right upon one woman in the family. Propertied men could, indeed, do no more—so far as this qualification is concerned—but for every workingman able to do it there would be many propertied men.

As to occupiers of business premises, if the premises were worth £10 annually one occupier could vote. If they were worth £20 or more the voting right would accrue to two joint occupants,

but no more. Under this qualification, then, workingmen might enfranchise their wives with reference to business premises if they had any. Even if the value were only £10 per year, they might enfranchise their wives with the business premises and themselves with the dwelling, or vice versa. But the number of workingmen, or women of workingmen's families, who could get the vote in any such way would be negligible in comparison with those of the "upper classes" in trade.

As to lodgers, each individual lodging must be worth, unfurnished, at least £10 a year. Some workingwomen of Great Britain doubtless occupy individually rooms of that value in boarding or lodging houses or hotels, and some workingmen's daughters may occupy individually rooms of that value at home; but these are few indeed in comparison with corresponding instances among the propertied classes. As propertied men now enfranchise their propertyless sons by giving each of them individual bedrooms at home of £10 annual value, so, under the suffragette measure, they could enfranchise their daughters who individually occupy rooms at home of that value. But the thriftiest workingman would be "put to it" to give even one of his daughters a £10 bedroom individually; and just as he now fails to do so with his sons (thereby having but one vote to the family against the possibility of his propertied neighbor having two or three or more), so would it be when home-staying daughters came in for the suffragette franchise under the "lodger" clause.

As to caretakers (known as "service" voters, being persons who live in service upon premises not occupied by the owner or tenant), this qualification would not be affected by the suffragette measure so as to enfranchise any of the women of coachmen's families, nor of janitor's families, nor of any other male servitors' families occupying detached premises. In so far, then, it would not strengthen politically the employer of this kind of dependent; but it would add women dependents to that aggregation of male dependents, by giving the vote to women janitors and other caretakers of premises not occupied by the owner or tenant. Thereby the "gentry" influence in politics would be strengthened, without any corresponding offset from the more independent workingwomen; for caretakers of either sex must vote with the owner of their job in order to keep it. Nor would ballot secrecy be any protection. At the recent elections it was no uncommon thing for landlords to notify their dependents that they might vote as they pleased, but would be expected afterwards to tell how they voted. They

had to vote as they were wanted to, or be prepared to lie about it.

The more one learns of the intricacies of British electoral laws, the clearer it becomes that the suffragette measure of votes for women on the same terms as votes for men, would, without general electoral reform, operate to prevent rather than to promote womanhood suffrage.

Mr. Hyndman was not very far wrong when he characterized the suffragette measure as a measure for conferring the suffrage upon fine ladies; and the People's Suffrage Federation is right enough in its pamphlet in pointing out some of Keir Hardie's errors in a by-gone pamphlet of his on the effect of the suffragette measure, when it says:

We wish it to be clearly understood that we do not deny that the majority of women householders under the municipal franchise may be called poor, nor that the same would be true, though not in quite the same proportions, of the women householders who would get the Parliamentary vote. Neither do we deny any woman's right to the vote. What we wish to point out is that the potential property vote might actually swamp the working class element in the women's electorate, if the propertied classes were at any time spurred by self-interest to take full advantage of their opportunities under the limited women's suffrage; and that in any case, owing to the disproportionate increase of the property vote, the women's electorate under the limited bill must be less democratic than the existing men's electorate, and must therefore increase the power of property over the people. We know too well what this may mean to wish to risk it. If there were any reason to suppose that the present Government were more favorable to the limited than to a democratic measure, the case would be different. As it is, it would be a mistake both of tactics and of principle to identify women's suffrage with a measure so unfair to working people. The right tactics for the true friends of women are to press for a democratic suffrage—the only one compatible with the expected reform bill—and leave the limited bill to its natural friends, the Conservatives. To miss the opportunity of the reform bill would be to lose the best chance, indeed the only chance, of women's suffrage that a Government of this country has ever admitted.

+

Not to the suffragette organizations but to the People's Suffrage Federation, with its doctrine of "one man, one vote," and "one woman, one vote," must the democracy of Great Britain look for leadership in getting votes for women. The suffragette organizations neither demand womanhood suffrage nor proceed rationally for securing women's suffrage limited. But the People's Suffrage Federation, composed of men and women alike, demands adult suffrage upon a reasonable residence qualification alone, and goes about the matter in a reasonable way.

Of this Federation it has been occasionally said in disparagement of its importance, that it is new. This would not impress us as a very serious objection, though it were true. But it is true only in a superficial sense. The Federation itself, merely as a name and by date of its charter, is new, having been formed last October. But its constituent organizations are not new. They comprise a number of established Trade Unions, many Branches of the Women's Co-operative Guild, several radical Liberal Associations; Branches of the Women's Labor League; and fully 75 Branches of the Independent Labor party. The Federation's personal membership, already numbering 1,200 or more, notwithstanding its organic newness, includes such representative persons as Crompton Llewelyn Davies (United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values), Joseph Fels and Mrs. Fels, A. G. Gardiner (editor the London Daily News), Professor Hobhouse, George Lansbury, Russell Rea and Mrs. Rea, Sidney Webb and Mrs. Webb, Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., and Mrs. Wedgwood, Percy Alden, M. P., W. P. Byles, M. P., and Mrs. Byles, Sir Charles W. Dilke, M. P., D. J. Shackleton, M. P., and Mrs. Shackleton, J. M. Barrie, George Cadbury and Mrs. Cadbury, the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, W. R. Lester, Margaret McMillan, John Orr, Arnold Rowntree, Frederick Verinder (Secretary English League for the Taxation of Land Values), Charles H. Smithson, Miss Margaret Bondfield (executive of the Women's Labor League), Miss Janet Case (president of the University Women Teachers' Association), R. Donald (editor of the London Daily Chronicle), Mrs. Fenton McPherson (secretary of the Women's Railway Guild), H. W. Massingham (editor of the London Nation), Frank Rose (editor of the Labour Leader), Mrs. Salter (of the Bermondsey Borough Council), and Mrs. Charles Trevelyan.

Miss Emily Hobhouse is chairman of the Federation's executive committee, Edward McGegan is secretary, Miss Llewelyn Davies (Hon. Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild) and Miss Mary R. MacArthur (secretary of the Women's Trade Union League), are the honorary secretaries, and the headquarters is at "League House," 34 Mecklenburgh Square, London, W. C.

At the time of its formal organization the Federation made this announcement:

The People's Suffrage Federation asks for the vote for every man and woman on a short residential qualification. If the House of Commons is to represent the people truly, every man and woman must have the vote independently of property and tenancy.

The Prime Minister announced last year that he intended to bring in a Reform Bill, and would accept

the decision of the House of Commons and the country on an amendment giving votes to women on democratic lines. At this critical time, with a general election at hand, all who value representation should rally without a moment's delay, and do their best to obtain a definite promise before the election that if the present Government returns to power, the Reform Bill shall be made a part of its immediate programme, and shall give votes to all men and women.

Women's enfranchisement is urgent. They are as much concerned in law and government as men. A large proportion of the wage-earners are women, and women control the greater part of the people's consumption. Their personal rights need protection as much as men's, and only through full citizenship can justice be done to their claims.

Property and tenancy qualifications would place women of the working class, whether married or single, at a great disadvantage on account of their relatively low earnings, and because the working housewife, though economically self-supporting, is unpaid.

In the case of men, the present qualifications give too much weight to the propertied class and make representation unstable through its dependence on transient conditions. Depression of trade, for instance, disfranchises men at the very time when their state most requires public consideration; unemployment extinguishes votes by the thousand in many a great manufacturing center, through inability to pay rates punctually, through the necessity of moving from houses to lodgings, and through taking temporary work at the Poor Law stoneyard. In the interests of the whole nation, and especially of women and of the workers, Parliament should give the people true representation instead of the present unjust and arbitrary electoral system.

We invite all adult suffragists to join funds and forces with us without delay. We do not ask those who become members of the Federation to leave other suffrage societies, but we offer a new opportunity for men and women to work together for complete political freedom.

+

Indications are strong that if the present Parliament is able to overcome Tory opposition by reform of the electoral laws—the necessity for which every radical Liberal and every Labor member realizes keenly—the reformation will include adult suffrage regardless of sex.

So long as the electoral laws remain as they are, the Tories are at a great advantage. With plural votes telling in their favor, with property disqualifications telling against their opponents, and with registration rules operating easily for their class of voters and harshly upon hosts of the opposing class, there must be a tremendous preponderance of public feeling against them to insure their defeat at any election. They lose only when their opponents are enormously in the majority, and they win with minorities. The electoral system must be reformed so as to abolish plural voting, establish simple methods of regis-

tration, give the vote to persons instead of property, and modify the long residential period now imposed, or the Liberals and the Labor party will remain at the disadvantage which at the recent elections nearly defeated them in spite of a great preponderance of public opinion in their favor.

When this reform is made, the Labor demand in Parliament for womanhood suffrage as well as manhood suffrage will be unanimous; while that of the Liberals, under the influence of wiser suffrage tactics than they have been angered at, will doubtless be sufficiently strong to carry the point, unless enough Irish members unite with the Tories to defeat them.

+

Among the leading Liberals who stand out for womanhood suffrage—one who has not been chilled regarding it by exasperating interruptions of his meetings in the bitter contest of the Liberals with the Lords and the Tories—is Lloyd George.

Another is the Prime Minister himself. At his Albert Hall speech last December he pledged his Government, when it shall have been able to wipe out the Lords' veto (which is manifestly a necessary prerequisite to any progressive legislation whatever), to bring in an electoral reform measure, including women's suffrage, as soon as the Commons desire it. This means that the Ministry will assume responsibility for a womanhood suffrage measure, provided they are assured in advance that the Commons will carry it through.

Reflections have been made upon Mr. Asquith's sincerity in this regard, because he does not offer to bring in a measure for women's suffrage without the prior request of a majority of the Commons. But no such criticism can come in good faith from informed sources. If the Ministry were to bring in the measure as a Ministerial measure, and the Commons defeated it, the Ministry might be forced to an election at an inopportune time and upon an embarrassing question, which would please the Tories well enough, no doubt, but would not advance the cause of women's suffrage. The Prime Minister's declared willingness to bring the measure in if requested by the House of Commons is complete evidence of Ministerial sympathy and good faith.

With that pledge on the part of the Prime Minister, only two things are necessary to secure womanhood suffrage in Great Britain. One is the pledges of enough Liberals, Irish, and Labor members to constitute a majority of the House of Commons; the other is the abolition of the veto power which the House of Lords asserts over the House of Commons.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BACK FROM ENGLAND.

New York.

New York, Feb. 21, 1910.

"New York has a real Mayor now," were the first words that greeted us as we stepped off the "Minnehaha," at the New York dock on the 15th, after an almost placid and quite uneventful voyage of ten days from Southampton. And so it seems to be. As Mayor of New York, Judge Gaynor appears at this time to have brought into the old metropolis a new civic life.

Already the police are said to be so far tamed as to realize that they are public servants—guardians of the peace, administrators of the law, friendly co-operators in promoting the safety and comfort of all and of each—and not licensed bullies, as they have been accustomed to think. For once they are afraid, I am told—afraid of defying the law as they have been accustomed to on pretense of administering it. There is a reasonable guarantee, so I am further assured, that during Mayor Gaynor's term there will be no lawless suppression of peaceable public meetings by the police of New York, nor any repetitions of police "sweat box" criminality.

On questions of public ownership, too, Mayor Gaynor seems to have begun to set a satisfactory pace. The old trick regarding subway building, of uniting operation with construction in putting out contracts, so as to head off competition in bids from building contractors who know nothing of operation, is not to be repeated, as it would appear; for the new administration is proceeding to build the new subways out of public funds and in the public interest, as public property, leaving the question of operation open until the problem of operation arises. If this policy had been followed with reference to the original subways, instead of the Chamber of Commerce policy, the New York subway system, and the city's interest regarding it, would be in a much more wholesome condition to-day than they are.

The subject of taxation is another field into which the Gaynor administration appears to have entered in the right spirit and the right way. In his correspondence with Lawson Purdy (p. 157), whom he most wisely retains as head of the tax department, Mayor Gaynor indicates the direction of his fiscal reform policies; and I find a great deal of confidence in most quarters that he will be found cordially supporting this notably excellent appointee. Nothing more vicious in the civic sense exists in any of our fiscal methods than the personal property tax and taxes falling under the same general principle. Not only are personal taxes so evaded and misapplied that they fall with heavy weight upon the various classes of small owners of personal property instead of the wealthy classes, but all taxes of this type operate to obstruct business, to put a check upon trade, to lessen employment, to reduce wages, and to discourage the buying of goods. By action and reaction along those lines, they become deadly enemies to industry, and efficient allies of privilege. Mayor Gaynor is now enlisted officially in the work of ridding the city of New York of them.

In every way the new Mayor appears to be "making good." In his appointments, in his dismissals, in his retentions, in the general administration of his office, as well as in his attitude toward the police, toward public utilities and toward the subject of taxation, he is strengthening the confidence in him of friends of genuinely good government and confounding its enemies. As a general rule in politics, the "appointment and disappointment" period which speedily follows a radical victory in politics, is for the most part, marked by such talk as that "if the election were to be held to-morrow, the victor would be snowed under"; but the talk about Mayor Gaynor at this critical moment runs the other way. Not only is he said by his friends to be "making good," but almost without discord the chorus proclaims that he is "making good." Go now into any mixed gathering (politically mixed), and the word you hear is that if Gaynor were up for election to-day he would go in with a big majority and "hands down."

In the evening of the day of our arrival in New York, Henry George, Jr., and I were given a "welcome home" dinner by the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Over 200 guests were present. Many a new face was among them and many a new name came to my ear; but there were also the young fellows of twenty-five years ago, grown into veterans now, with crow tracks about the eyes, and snow in the hair—those that still had hair,—or masked in beards, some in responsible places in the public service and some still tugging away as wheel horses in the common work, but all radiant in an atmosphere vital with thrilling memories of seed time and with unabated hopes for the harvest that Henry George pictured in the future.

Frederick C. Leibuscher, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, presided, and the speaking (aside from the president's) was by Mr. George and myself, the object being to get an account of the British elections. The surprising fact was the general impression that at those elections the progressive movement in British politics suffered defeat. It was a queer commentary upon the competency of American journalism—assuming the good faith, of course, of editorial supervision. For nothing except journalistic incompetency or editorial mendacity (though Mr. Bryce may have been right when he said that American newspaper correspondents drink a good deal of tea at Tory clubs) can account for the impression I find so common here, that the Tories were triumphant in those elections.

A most gratifying feature of the New York homecoming dinner was the reading of a letter received by Mr. Leibuscher as president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, from Mr. Pinchot. I reproduce it without comment. In behalf of the club Mr. Leibuscher had written to Mr. Pinchot in January, saying: "Your fight to conserve the public domain and national resources of the United States commends you to every believer in the right of all men to equal opportunity before the law. Your perception that the final closing to settlement and development of the public lands by their passing into private ownership marks the end of the epoch of comparative freedom for the masses, is in harmony with the views of single tax advocates. The Manhattan Single Tax

Club, founded by Henry George twenty-three years ago, therefore has instructed me to offer you its support in the manly and determined stand you have taken." To that letter this was Mr. Pinchot's reply:

February 4, 1910.

Mr. Frederick Cyrus Leubuscher, President, Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter of January 12. The support and encouragement of yourself and of the Manhattan Single Tax Club are most welcome. Now that the lines are being clearly drawn between the special interests and the rest of us in the fight for conservation and the square deal, we shall win, for the people are on our side. What has happened to me is of no consequence, except as it will help us to win. Please give my hearty thanks to the members of the Single Tax Club for their good wishes and support. Sincerely yours,

GIFFORD PINCHOT.

Although I make no comment at this time, Mr. Leubuscher's comment at the dinner should be remembered. He said:

The Pinchot agitation comes at an opportune time. The Court of Appeals of the State of New York lately handed down a decision in the case of *People vs. N. Y. Carbonic Acid Gas Co.*, in which the chief judge laid down the doctrine that "A man owning a coal mine may mine the coal and waste it, regardless of the interest of the present generation or of succeeding ones." They say it "is not that such conduct would not be an evil, but because the people who framed our system of government, taught by experience, deemed it wiser to trust the use of property to the dictates of the enlightened self-interest of the owner, rather than to subject it to governmental interference."

It is well to observe, I think, that the wickedness of this New York decision is not in the court's application of the law, which seems to be right enough, legally, but in the laws themselves. So long as we of this country hold to the vicious principle that the earth and labor products are essentially the same as property, so long as the trusteeship involved in land ownership is ignored, we must expect and ought to get such decisions.

A few days after the dinner Henry George, Jr., left New York for a lecturing trip in the West under the management of Frederick H. Monroe of the Henry George Lecture Bureau.

Boston.

Boston, Feb. 23.

Upon the invitation of Prof. Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard, I spoke here yesterday afternoon at a meeting of 300 or more in one of the halls of Tremont Temple, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, James R. Carret presiding; and while staying here I have had some opportunity to note the subjects that are attracting local attention and engrossing public interest. Here again taxation is at the bottom of it all.

The movement for a better Boston by 1915 has already run counter to the interests, for it is becoming apparent enough to the shrewd "business" mind, that a better Boston will not be all custard for the owners of the site on which Boston rests, but that land values must foot the bill.

Nor is that all. The effort to tax personalty has been so efficiently made here, in many respects at least, that the tendency of personal property to run away is being felt. So there is a movement on to reduce taxation in the hope that a low rate will

induce owners of personalty to pay the tax. There are Constitutional difficulties, for in Massachusetts the Constitution requires taxation to be "proportional." The effect of that clause might be avoided by exempting personal property altogether. But both as to reduction and as to exemption, there is strong opposition from real estate owners; and these are supported (or perhaps befooled) by traction interests, whose bonds are exempt from taxation and therefore have an advantage in the securities market, so long as other securities are taxed. It is a curious commentary upon the common sense of real estate owners, that they fail to see the benefit to themselves of tax exemptions on personalty. Such exemptions would on the one hand throw but slight additional burdens upon real estate; and on the other they would greatly stimulate local business. The increase in land values caused by business stimulation would manifestly exceed the increase in real estate taxation.

One of the especially interesting movements in Massachusetts is that of Cambridge for a new charter. The proposed charter has been formulated for submission to the legislature with a view to bringing its adoption up for referendum before the people of Cambridge. As formulated, it is an adaptation, and a good one, of the Grand Junction charter (vol. xii, p. 1092). The initiative, the referendum, the recall, and preferential voting are all embodied in its provisions.

Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Feb. 24.

At the City Club here tonight, though not under its official auspices, I was given a reception dinner by tax reformers and others interested in the progress of British politics.

My visit to Philadelphia was in the heat of the street car strike. Few street cars were running, and the railroad station was packed with people seeking this substitute for street car transportation. The causes of the strike are complicated in detail, but clear enough in general. They all classify into the one issue of "open shop" versus "closed shop." Having secured closed shop conditions for themselves, the street car interests have set about (there being no election on now) imposing open shop conditions on their employes. So far as I could learn, the violence so liberally reported over the country was caused by no street car employes, but by indignant people of the class who do not know how to strike back with the same velvet covered bludgeons that street car magnates use, but resort to more primitive weapons.

Cleveland.

Cleveland, Feb. 25.

In this city, so recently under the administrative management of Tom L. Johnson, the long street car fight has come to an end. Mayor Johnson has in the settlement secured the rights of all who invested in his program for municipalizing the street car system. Whether the interests of the people of Cleveland are to be secure or not is a problem for the future. At the referendum on the settlement ordinance he issued an address (p. 158) in which he gave fair warning that the Taylor ordinance leaves it well within the power of the street car ring to bring about condi-

tions increasing fares and nullifying the ostensible purposes of the ordinance. So much he felt bound to advise the people. If they were tired of fighting, he felt that they ought to know nevertheless the possible cost of their yielding to their weariness. But he made no fight. His condition of health would not have permitted that, even if he had cared himself to push the fight on to a better settlement. The people were tired of the fight and they sanctioned the Taylor ordinance, which has now gone into effect. If the traction interests of the United States (for this is not a local Cleveland question) are wise enough to work under the Taylor ordinance according to its spirit, the low fare regime now in operation will continue; but if they are as fatuous as such interests usually are, Cleveland will soon be in their grip once more.

Regarding his condition of health, ex-Mayor Johnson appears to be happily convalescent and wholly confident of an early restoration of his physical powers. The fight is not yet over and better work than ever confronts him, in which he busies himself daily and to the fruition of which he looks eagerly forward. Within a few days the completion of his first struggle for public rights is to be celebrated by the presentation of a fine medallion upon which Richard F. George, the sculptor, is now engaged in his studio in New York.

The British Situation.

At Home, Feb. 27.

Looking over the meager, mixed and misleading cable reports of British politics, and American editorials on the subject, I am interested, with a peculiar interest, in the prevailing notion that radical Liberalism suffered a defeat at the recent elections. It did not. The defeat, in so far as it was a defeat, was a defeat of whig Liberalism. Radicalism is in a far better position in Great Britain today than it has ever been in before.

What will occur no one can prophesy with definiteness—whether an early dissolution and new elections, or a long lease of power for the present Government. But if there are no new elections soon (and this is the better guess), there will be an advance in progressive legislation in Great Britain which the American newspapers will be less than ever disposed to report fully or intelligently. Should the present Government stay in power, land value taxation will be established. Moreover, the Lords' veto will be completely cut off as to financial legislation and curbed as to all other kinds; Ireland will be given home rule in home affairs (under a local or State legislature), and so in quick sequence will Scotland and Wales; and with the rest, the abominably Tory-sided electoral system will be reformed so as to secure fair representation upon the basis of adult suffrage. All this is in the air in British politics.

And whether the present Parliament dissolves early or not, those progressive results will at worst be only postponed. They may not be even postponed, for the joinder of issue would be much more definite and clear at new elections, though they were to occur next month, than they were at the recent elections. Protection "red herrings" would not again cross the trail with false scents.

As one final word I should like to pay a tribute to some more of the men whose past work has made the land value taxation movement so strong in Great Britain. It is well known that the Glasgow men, among whom Henry George sowed the seed in the early 80's, have fostered its growth until at the recent elections Scotland secured more Liberal Parliamentary seats than in the landslide election of 1906, and did it intelligently along the lines of land values taxation. It is well known also that the London, the Yorkshire, the Lancashire and other Henry George men, as well as those of Scotland, all concentrated in their efforts now in the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, have done splendid work. But it is not very generally known that three men—J. W. S. Callie of Liverpool, Edward McHugh of Birkenhead, and Richard McGhee (formerly a member of Parliament)—did shrewd and influential work in the Liberal party in the western divisions of Great Britain in the 90's, and that the funds for this work were supplied by Arthur J. Moxham of Wilmington, Delaware. The Tories in those divisions made no gains over the phenomenal Liberal victory of 1906. To know the history of radical work in Great Britain is to realize that Mr. Moxham is entitled to credit for much of the work of the earlier days out of which this result has come, even as Joseph Fels is for so much of the same kind of work and in the same places at the present time.

L. F. P.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, March 1, 1910.

The British Parliament.

Advices by mail confirm our inferences (p. 130) regarding the political complexion of the New House of Commons (p. 177), with the single difference that the progressive Irish under Redmond hold one seat more and the tory Irish one seat less than from the cable reports we had gathered the fact to be. The official result, to be found in the Pall Mall Gazette's handbook for 1910, shows the following:

Liberal (including labor members not in the Labor party, single taxers, and other radical Liberals, being the elements of which the Liberal party is now almost wholly composed) . . .	274
Labor (composed of Labor party and Independent Labor party)	41
Irish (under Redmond's leadership)	71
Progressive membership	386

Conservatives	229
Liberal-Unionists (the Chamberlaintes, who are now in complete co-operation with the Conservatives and whose party they dominate)....	43
Irish (under O'Brien's leadership)	11
The Speaker (a Tory, but whose re-election to a seat is always unopposed, the position of Speaker taking its incumbent out of politics, and who has no vote except to break a tie)..	1
<hr/>	
Tory membership	284
<hr/>	
Total membership	670
Progressive membership	386
Tory membership (without the Speaker).....	283
Tory membership (without the Speaker and the O'Brien Irish)	272
Liberal plurality (without the Speaker and the Irish)	2
Liberal and Labor plurality (without the Speaker and the Irish)	43
Progressive majority over all	102

+

Since the assembling of the new Parliament (p. 177), American newspapers have reported a probable collapse of the Progressive elements. These reports, however, have consisted chiefly in gossip deeply colored with the prejudices of correspondents or of public men whom the correspondents have consulted. The actual facts that have come over by cable do not indicate any substantial change of policy or situation. Taking the specials of the New York World, and the regular dispatches of the Associated Press, the Parliamentary situation up to the present time appears to be such as the Progressives, considered as a whole, would wish to have it.

+

The vacancies in the Ministry were filled on the 20th, which was fairly regarded as an indication that the Prime Minister expected to carry through the Progressive programme he had announced in his keynote speech of December 10th (vol. xii, pp. 1208, 1258) at Albert Hall, London. After the King's speech (p. 178), prefaced by the Ministry and accepted by the King, an amendment in favor of "tariff reform" (protection), offered by the Tories to the formal address in reply to the speech, was defeated by a vote of 285 to 254. This was on the 24th. The Irish (for tactical reasons) and some of the radical Liberals (for similar reasons) abstained from voting; but the coalition of Unionists and Conservatives polled within 18 of their full Parliamentary strength. The Labor party cast its vote with the Liberals. At this day's session, the Prime Minister announced that on the 28th he would move that Government business take precedence until March 24th.

+

The proceedings of February 28 were therefore

looked forward to with special interest, and meanwhile the sensational gossip regarding a collapse of the Progressive elements was reported. That the Irish and the Labor parties and a large Liberal contingent were opposed to repassing the Budget ahead of measures for abolishing the Lords' veto is true. It is evident, also, that they threatened much, if this were not done. But it is by no means clear that their hostile attitude was not entirely welcome to the Progressives in the Ministry. For the abolition of the Lords' veto necessitates the co-operation of the King, and the more threatening the demands of members of the Commons the stronger would be the position of the Ministry when the King's co-operation came to be solicited.

+

It was at the session of the 28th that the affair came to a head, to the apparent satisfaction of all the Progressive elements. Through Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George, the Ministry on that day laid the following programme before the House of Commons:

1. Resolutions to limit the Lords' veto power shall be taken up first.
2. When they have passed the House of Commons they shall be sent to the House of Lords.
3. If the House of Lords rejects or delays the resolutions, the Prime Minister will ask King Edward to create enough Liberal peers to carry the resolutions.
4. If the King refuses to do this Mr. Asquith will resign as Prime Minister.
5. The Budget is not to be proceeded with until the veto resolutions are sent to House of Lords.

This programme was accepted by the House without "a division"—the British device for what with us is "roll call." As soon as the Ministerial programme had been adopted, the Prime Minister's motion giving precedence to Government business until March 24 was adopted, also without "a division." The Irish remained out of the chamber and did not vote on either question.

+

Lloyd George is reported to have made a telling speech in support of the Ministerial programme. It is poorly reported by cable, but some idea of its significance and the significance of the programme itself, may be had from this morsel furnished by the Associated Press report:

Chancellor Lloyd George delivered a telling speech. He said that the Government could not ask for the exercise of the royal prerogative upon proposals which had not yet received the sanction of the House of Commons or the opposition of the House of Lords. "The Government will stake its existence," said the Chancellor, "upon the advice it will give the Sovereign if it becomes necessary to do so. This is a matter of the greatest moment to the democracy of Great Britain and Ireland. We are fighting a power-

ful combination, which cannot be overthrown without courage and comradeship, loyalty and sacrifice."

The same report gives this condensation of the Prime Minister's speech:

The Premier explained his programme at some length and the intense interest with which those in the crowded chamber listened, testified to the importance attached to the plans of the Government. The exigencies of the financial situation were such, the Premier declared, that the vote on the army and navy bills, covering the borrowings and other urgent demands, must occupy the whole time of the House of Commons up to March 24, when adjournment would be taken to March 29. Immediately when Parliament was reassembled, he said, the Government would introduce resolutions excluding the House of Lords altogether from the domain of finance, and declaring that in other legislation the power of veto, as at present possessed by the House of Lords should be limited so as to secure a predominance for the House of Commons during the lifetime of a single Parliament. Continuing, the Prime Minister said it would be made plain that these changes were without prejudice, and that the Government contemplated in the subsequent year the substitution in the second chamber of a democratic for a hereditary basis. A bill giving in effect the operative part of the resolutions would then be introduced, Mr. Asquith said, but in order to avoid waste of time and labor and to bring the matter to an issue at the earliest possible moment, the resolutions would be submitted to the House of Lords. "If the House of Lords agrees to them, well and good," the Prime Minister concluded, "but, whether it does or does not, the Government will regard the placing with all possible promptitude upon the statute books of a provision which will set free this House from the veto of the House of Lords not only as the first condition of the legislative dignity and utility of the House of Commons, but as our own primary and paramount duty. In the prosecution of that task we shall adopt all such measures within the limit of the Constitution which seem to us proper and adequate, and upon its successful accomplishment are at stake not only our fortunes but our existence as a Government."

+

To sum up our own inferences from the scrappy and tory-colored cable reports at hand, and in the light of the whole previous situation, we should say: (1) That the sessions of Parliament until the 24th of March will be devoted to adjustments of those fiscal conditions which have grown out of the use of "I-O-U's" and the collection of unauthorized taxes during the year ending with March 31st in consequence of the refusal of the House of Lords to adopt the financial bill for that year which is commonly known as "the Lloyd George Budget"; (2) that immediately after the 29th of March resolutions limiting the Lords' veto—(a) absolutely as to finance, and, (b) so as to give the Commons predominance as to all other legislation—will be presented by the Ministry and upon adoption sent to the House

of Lords for acceptance; (3) that if the Lords reject them, the King will be asked to appoint enough Peers to be nominated by the Ministry, to "swamp" the present Tory majority in that House, and thereupon adopt radical democratic legislation regarding the Lords; (4) that if the King refuses to do this, the Liberal Ministry will resign, leaving him without any general finance legislation for the fiscal years ending March 31, 1910, and March 31, 1911, unless he can create a Tory majority in the Commons; (5) that if the Lords accept the resolutions, or the King "swamps" their Tory majority, a statute in accordance with the resolutions will be passed in both Houses, and thereupon the Ministry will proceed to formulate legislation for a land values taxation budget (as radical at least, and probably more so than the one now pending), for home rule for Ireland in home affairs, and for electoral reform on the basis of fair apportionments of seats and of "one man, one vote,"—and if a majority of the Commons advise it, also of "one woman, one vote." The implication that the "land values taxation" budget has been abandoned has no foundation in fact in the sense in which it is made. Every kind of budget has been abandoned until the Lords' veto shall have been abolished. That accomplished, "land values taxation" is likely to fall more heavily than before upon the landlord class.

+

Should the Progressives be beaten on the Lords' veto question, through the King's refusal to co-operate, the King would have no other recourse for revenues than to change his mind and accede to Mr. Asquith's demands, to depend upon a Tory Ministry to take the Asquith ministry's place, or to turn to the electorate immediately. That the Tories could not get a financial bill from the Commons is evident enough. The radical Liberals, the Irish and the Labor parties, would defeat any financial measure the Tories might propose. If they would not allow Mr. Asquith to put a radical financial bill ahead of the Lords' veto, is it likely that they would allow Mr. Balfour to put a Conservative one ahead of it? Only by a home-rule bargain with the Irish party could he do anything, and a home-rule bargain of the Irish with Balfour and Chamberlain is the most improbable thing in British politics. There is apparently good reason now to believe that the Lords' veto will soon be abolished, and that the present Parliament will be a long one, and historical for its progressive legislation.

+

The Prussian Suffrage Bill.

Popular protests against the inadequacy of the proposed Prussian electoral reform bill (p. 179) continue. Early demonstrations were made by the

Socialists, but on the 27th a protest mass meeting was held in Berlin which was attended by 14,000 representatives of the sciences and arts, education, commerce and trade. After the meeting a procession formed itself without prearrangement, and turned by tacit consent to the royal palace. When dispersed by the police the marchers quietly reassembled and proceeded by other routes to the palace, where the Kaiser, who is of course also the King of Prussia, was presiding at a royal family dinner in honor of the 29th anniversary of his marriage. The crowds penetrated to the vicinity of the palace and shouted for an equal popular suffrage. This is said to be the first time the present Kaiser has heard the populace clamoring under his windows. The incident has made a profound impression, as much for the character of the participants as for their quiet determination.

+ +

China Deposits the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

A small Chinese army on the 23d entered Lhasa, the capital city of the Chinese dependency of Tibet, and deposed the Dalai Lama, the pope-ruler of Tibet, who had already started to flee toward British India. The Dalai Lama is accused by the Chinese government of having been in the effort to enlist the support of Russia and Great Britain in opposing Chinese sovereignty, while under the Convention of August 31, 1907, following that of April 24, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 467), Great Britain, and Russia as well, had agreed not to enter into negotiation with Tibet except through the Chinese government, nor to send representatives to Lhasa. The Dalai Lama had only in December reached Lhasa after his mission to and wanderings in China, which ended in his being sternly ordered by the Chinese government to return to Tibet (vol. xi, p. 782). He brought with him authority from the Chinese government, according to reports from British India, to take over the government from the provisional Governors, who were appointed following the invasion of the "forbidden city" in 1904 by Colonel Sir Francis Edward Younghusband, at the head of a British column, when Great Britain obtained from Tibet certain concessions in the matter of trade and in that of the foreign relations of the country. The Dalai Lama was re-installed at the palace and monastery of Potala amid popular demonstrations. He pardoned all the Tibetans who had given aid to Colonel Younghusband, and all went well for the first month. Then he protested to the Chinese Amban, in charge of the military affairs, because of the excesses of the Chinese troops on the Sze-Chuen frontier, where they were sacking the monasteries and killing the monks. This protest served to stir up the whole question of the status of Tibet. The Amban declared that it was a Chinese province, and that he would deal with the rebels on the frontier as it pleased him to do. Finally the Amban

ordered into Lhasa 2,500 Chinese troops, who were already encamped at the outskirts of the capital. The deposition followed.

+ +

The Cost of Second-Class Mail Matter.

In response to the protest of magazine publishers against higher mail rates for periodicals (p. 109), Postmaster General Hitchcock made a public statement on the 27th in which he asserts that "if the rate on second class mail were made high enough to cover the entire cost of transporting and handling it, which has not been suggested, it would be possible, without creating a deficit, to reduce the postage on letters from 2 cents to 1 cent." He calculates that "the government is losing over 8 cents a pound on second class matter sent through the mails, the annual loss to the national revenues from this cause approximating \$64,000,000."

+ +

The Ballinger Investigation.

After resumption of proceedings before the Congressional committee for investigating the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Forestry (p. 180), Gifford Pinchot outlined for the committee what he intends to prove. This was on the 26th. He preferred three specific charges against Secretary Ballinger—and incidentally against President Taft, for dismissing Glavis without a hearing (vol. xii, p. 921). They were in substance as follows:

1. That Ballinger entered his office with the clear determination to make short work of the Roosevelt policy of protecting from monopolistic control the water power sites owned by the people; that he reversed it so far as he was allowed to do so; that he restored the power sites to entry without the remotest idea of withdrawing them; and that, finally, when Pinchot charged him last autumn to the President with being an enemy of the policy of conservation, he capped the climax by giving to the President himself an explanation of his conduct that was essentially false.

2. The forest service became involved in the Cunningham coal cases and the Glavis charges, and Glavis submitted his facts to Pinchot. "I believed then, as I believe now," said Mr. Pinchot, "that he told the truth. I am convinced now, as I was when he came to me, that Glavis was a faithful public servant and that the facts which he presented prove that Mr. Ballinger has been unfaithful to his trust as a servant of the people and as the guardian of public property of enormous value. Since I learned the facts you have heard from Glavis and others, I have acted steadily in the light of them, as it was my duty, both as a public officer and as a citizen, to do. In pursuance of that duty I laid before the President, both by word of mouth and in a letter of Nov. 4, a statement of my conviction that Secretary Ballinger has been a dangerous enemy to conservation. This letter was submitted by the President to Mr. Ballinger and as part of his reply he laid before the President a statement concerning the Cunning-

ham coal cases, which statement is shown by undisputed documentary evidence to be absolutely false in three essential particulars. Mr. Ballinger willfully deceived the President and was disloyal to him."

3. The story of Glavis's courageous and successful fight to protect the property of the people, which ended in his dismissal without a hearing, is only one chapter in the history of the public lands. Under our present law and practice the more difficult task falls on those who would protect the public property and not on those who would despoil it, and under the present system the betrayal into monopolistic control of what belongs to all of us is made easy and often, in practice, inevitable.

To his summary of charges against Secretary Ballinger and President Taft, Mr. Pinchot added:

The imperative duty before this country is not merely to get rid of an unfaithful public servant. A far more important duty is to bring about a fundamental change in the law and the practice toward conservation, to prevent for the future what has been in the past the almost inevitable sacrifice of the public welfare, and to make possible hereafter the utilization of the natural resources and the natural advantages for the benefit of all the people instead of merely for the profit of a few. When this story has been told and the witnesses whom I shall ask you to call have been heard you will realize that the interests of the people are not safe in Mr. Ballinger's hands and that the country will demand of this committee a verdict in harmony with the general conviction that the Secretary of the Interior has been unfaithful both to the public, whose property he has endangered, and to the President, whom he has deceived.

+

In refusing to make a specific reply for the press, Secretary Ballinger gave out the following on the 26th:

In view of the fact that I will presently have an opportunity to appear before the committee and acquaint it with the truth, I shall not reply through the press to the mendacious aspersions which Mr. Pinchot seeks to cast upon me. He attempted without success to deceive the President. He will find that it will be equally difficult for him to deceive the committee. Obviously the only deception in which he hopes to succeed is a temporary deception of the public through the press. This he has endeavored to do by giving out in advance the introductory statement which has appeared and which he has been malignant enough to present, but not quite reckless enough to state upon oath. Fortunately, as already stated, I soon will have an opportunity to give to the committee, and, through the committee, the public, the facts and the truth, and for that reason I have no statement at present to make.

+ +

New Jersey Beef Trust Prosecutions.

Formal indictments were brought into court on the 25th by the Hudson County, New Jersey, grand jury (p. 180), against six corporations and 21 individuals connected with the beef trust. The

corporations were the National Packing Co., Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Hammond Packing Co., and G. H. Hammond & Co. Following are the names of the indicted individuals:

Armour, A. Watson, Kansas City, Mo.; lieutenant of J. Ogden Armour in affairs of Armour & Co.
 Armour, J. Odgen, Chicago; president of Armour & Co., of the Armour Refrigerator Car Line, of the Armour Grain Company, and the Armour Leather Company; son of the late P. D. Armour.
 Bathgate, James E., Jr., officer and eastern agent of National Packing Company.
 Carton, L. A., Chicago, treasurer of Swift & Co.
 Conners, Thomas, J., Chicago, general superintendent Armour & Co.
 Cooper, F. V., New Jersey manager for Swift & Co.
 Darlington, Henry P., Chicago official of Armour & Co.
 Edwards George H., officer and eastern agent of National Packing Company.
 Fowler, F. A., Chicago, department manager Swift & Co.
 Fuller, A. A., officer and eastern agent of National Packing Company.
 Hartwell, D. E., officer and eastern agent of National Packing Company.
 Heyman, L. H., Chicago, manager Morris & Co.
 Meeker, Arthur, Chicago, general manager and director of Armour & Co.
 Morris, Edward, Chicago, president Morris & Co.
 Morris, Ira Nelson, Chicago, heavily interested in Morris & Co.
 Patterson, L. B., Chicago, vice-president National Packing Company.
 Swift, Charles, H., Chicago, director Libby, McNeil & Libby and Swift & Co.
 Swift, Edward, F., Chicago, vice-president of Swift & Co.
 Swift, Louis F., Chicago, president Swift & Co.
 Tilden, Edward, Chicago, president Libby, McNeil & Libby.
 Wilson, Thomas E., Chicago, vice-president Morris & Co.

The Prosecutor of the Pleas for Hudson County stated on the 28th that he would give all the defendants an opportunity to come voluntarily to Hudson County, but if they do not come then he would "proceed in the usual manner to have them extradited," and if all the efforts on his part prove unavailing, he will, if he deems it wise, "forward all the evidence to the Federal authorities to be used by the government in its prosecution."

+ +

A Taxation Fight for Women's Suffrage.

As a consequence of the refusal of Belle Squire of Chicago to pay personal taxes because she has no voting right (p. 160), a "League of Unrepresented Taxpayers" has been formed with the object of forcing votes for women through a tax equality campaign. The movement was initiated by Minona S. Fitts-Jones, president of Executive Grove, Woodmen Circle, and the first meeting was

held on the 19th. Both men and women attended. Miss Squire, who was among those present, was welcomed with enthusiasm and delivered an address on "taxation without representation." Mrs. Fitts-Jones presided, Mrs. Jeanette Cole was secretary, and among the speakers was Margaret A. Haley. The organization committee, consisting of Mrs. Fitts-Jones, Mrs. Rastall, Miss Bradley, Miss Squire and Miss Haley, reported at a subsequent meeting on the 26th, when the principal speakers, in addition to those already named, were Mrs. Thomas Rhodus, Mrs. Bevans, Mrs. McGovern and Dr. Anna M. Blount. A constitution was adopted and steps were taken for defending Miss Squire in the proceedings against her for collection of the tax she refuses to pay.

* *

Philadelphia Street Car Strike.

The sensational newspaper reports of rioting by street car strikers in Philadelphia (p. 181) are not borne out by our advices from Philadelphia. Such rioting as there has been seems to have come from others than strikers, and in addition it has been very much exaggerated in the news reports. Inexcusable brutality by policemen and autocratic behavior of judges to juries in cases that have come to trial are complained of with at least a show of justice. The president of the Central Labor Union, John J. Murphy, was arrested on the 25th on the same charge upon which C. O. Pratt was arrested a few days before—"inciting to riot." The criminal words attributed to him—made, as alleged, upon announcement that at a special meeting of the board of directors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company a request for arbitration submitted by a committee of prominent clergymen had been declined, were: "A general strike should be called immediately. I think it is inevitable. There are men in the north-east who can shoot as straight as any trooper who ever drew a breath."

*

At a secret meeting of the Central Labor Union on the 27th, over 600 delegates representing 125,000 organized workers being present, a general strike was ordered to begin on the 5th. Following are the resolutions:

Whereas, Since the union carmen have been locked out the company officials have conspired with certain interests in the city hall and have clubbed, coerced and arrested men who were innocent of any crime whatsoever; have denied the citizens of this city their God-given and constitutional rights, preventing the car men from operating hurdy-gurdies that they might secure sustenance for their wives and children; have also denied the team drivers the right to stand on the the streets so that the people might avall themselves of those transportation facilities if they did not desire to encourage the company's action by riding on its cars; and the State police have been brought into this city without any

justification whatsoever, but ostensibly for the purpose of preserving order; and whereas, a united and determined public resents such cowardly action and unjust interference and violation of agreement; therefore, be it resolved, that we, the representatives of labor in extraordinary convention assembled, do hereby determine that a general strike shall take place in protest against the highhanded action and arbitrary use of administrative powers, and that we pledge ourselves not to return to work until all rights have been recognized and complied with.

*

The traction company refuses to arbitrate, although an increasing number of religious and civic bodies are petitioning them to do so.

* *

Cleveland Traction Case.

The traction receivership of Cleveland (vol. xi, p. 802) came to an end on the 28th, at midnight; and after the last night car had finished its trip, the entire traction property of Cleveland was turned over, pursuant to the recent traction ordinance (vol. xii, p. 1231; vol. xiii, p. 181), to the Cleveland Railway Company. At this time, the entire system was running under the 3-cent fare rate which ex-Mayor Johnson had fought for. As a condition of assuming possession, the company agrees, in accordance with the demands of Mr. Johnson allowed by Judge Tayler as arbitrator, to pay all back dividends to the guaranteed investors in the old low fare companies. These payments are to begin immediately. At the latest reports the value of the stock on the exchange in Cleveland was 95 cents on the dollar. Gerhard M. Dahl has been appointed by the new Mayor and confirmed by the new Council as Street Railroad Commissioner.

*

The first fund for paying back dividends and other outstanding obligations has been paid to C. W. Stage and Henry Davies as secretary of the Municipal (or "holding") Company and the Cleveland Railway Company respectively—\$350,000 each. The sum turned over to Mr. Stage, as representative of the Municipal, will be used to pay the 7½ per cent dividend due old Forest City and Municipal stockholders; to make good any losses suffered by stockholders who purchased under the Municipal guarantee; to pay claims against the Municipal which Referee Belford refused to allow as preferred claims, and to pay certain guarantees for paving that grew out of the consent war on Fulton road, N. W., several years ago. The sum allowed the Cleveland Railway Co. will be used to pay the 11½ per cent dividend to old Cleveland Electric stockholders; back dividends to Forest City stockholders who failed to convert their stock into Cleveland Railway stock when the Municipal took control and therefore did

not receive dividends on July 1 and Oct. 1, 1908, and to pay salaries and expenses of officers and experts employed by the railway company since the receivership has been in effect.

NEWS NOTES

—The National Consumers' League held its annual meeting in Milwaukee on March 1 and 2.

—August Bebel's seventieth birthday was celebrated by Socialists the world over on the 22nd. Bebel is the veteran leader of the Social Democratic party of Germany, which he has represented in the Reichstag for nearly 40 years.

—The meeting of the Chicago Single Tax Club on the 4th, at the Schiller Bldg., will be devoted to a symposium for the open discussion of "Which are the most Effective Methods to explain the Civic and the Moral Features of the Single Tax?"

—The commission plan of municipal government (p. 182) was adopted in South Dakota (p. 134) on the 24th, in the towns of Pierre, Dell Rapids, and Mitchell, the majorities for it being 215 in Pierre, overwhelming in Dell Rapids, and 336 in Mitchell.

—Snowslides in the mining district of northern Idaho on the 27th and 28th nearly wiped out the two little towns of Mace and Burke, with losses of nineteen lives, and with injuries to some of the survivors. Two lives were also lost from the same cause at Dorsey.

—The Sanitary District, a public service branch of the government in Illinois with headquarters at Chicago and controlling the drainage canal power, offers to supply electric lighting for the new City Hall of Chicago at 1 cent per kilowatt hour in competition with the Commonwealth-Edison Company, which bids 3 cents.

—Wireless telegraphy has made possible the publication daily of the world's news on board vessels at sea. The first publication to serve ocean travelers completely in this respect is the "Cunard Daily Bulletin" of the steamship Lusitania, which has a daily circulation of 2,500, has 32 pages 10 inches by 6, goes to press at 1 a. m., sells for 5 cents a copy, and is ready for delivery every morning at the breakfast table.

—The greatest pageant ever produced in England is being arranged for a "Festival of Empire," to be held at the Crystal Palace some time during the coming summer. The history of Britain from prehistoric times, and the life of the British colonies in different parts of the world, are to be represented. Fifteen thousand citizens of London, and another thousand or more from the colonies, all dressed in the costumes of the different periods, will take part.

—The finding of valuable diamonds in Arkansas (vol. ix, p. 610; vol. x, p. 443) has led to preparations for establishing elaborate and costly machinery for the opening up of a vein of diamond-bearing rock which lies in the southwestern corner of the State, near Murfreesboro. The press dispatches thus describe the formation: "Within an area of less than 100 acres there exists one of those rare freaks of geological formation which produces the dia-

mond. It is not a long, extending vein, like deposits of gold or silver or coal, but a small neck or pipe of rock, forced up by volcanic action from a great depth. Within the last three years there have been found on the surface of this region 700 diamonds, varying in size from mere chips to six and one-half carats, the average being about one carat."

—A strike of office elevator men in Chicago was averted on the 1st through the intervention of John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which resulted in a settlement on the basis of higher wages. The scale adopted was as follows:

	Per Month.
First six months of service.....	\$55.00
Second six months of service.....	57.50
Third six months of service.....	60.00
Next twelve months.....	62.50
After two and a half years.....	65.00

PRESS OPINIONS

What Women Can Do.

Emporia (Kan.) Weekly Gazette (Ind. Rep.), February 10.—The adoption of the ordinance providing for the city disposal of garbage was passed, because the women of Emporia demanded it. The male voters of this town don't care how dirty things are around them. But women have pride. Moreover, they have votes. And pride plus votes for women, cleans up a town. No other one factor does so much toward the progressive decent government that characterizes our Kansas towns as municipal suffrage for women. Kansas is a State without a saloon, with a dozen cities going under commission government, with municipal ownership of light and water, and largely because the women of Kansas towns vote. Women can do much by persuasion. But how they can use the big stick when they have it!

+ +

National Monopolies are Government Functions.

The Sacramento (Cal.) Bee (Dem.), February 18.—The sale of the Postal Telegraph Company's interests in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which now controls both the Bell telephone lines and the Western Union Telegraph system, confirms the recent declaration of Clarence Mackay that he would not be a party to the merger. This consolidation leaves the Postal the only competitor of the new trust in the telegraph service. The competition is active, but for a long time past it has been on the basis of uniform rates. The only question for patrons is which company gives the better and more reliable service. In the United States the telegraph should be a branch of the postal service, as in European countries and Australasia, conducted not for profit but for the convenience of the public. On this basis telegraph charges could be greatly reduced and yet afford a net revenue to the Government, as in other lands, where the tolls are far less than Americans are obliged to pay. The same is true of the telephone service, which, like the telegraph, is a natural monopoly and so properly a government function. No natural monopoly should be turned over to a

private corporation, privileged to charge all the traffic will bear.

✦ ✦

The True Freedom.

The Christian Commonwealth (London), December 29.—Nothing is freedom which does not mean full and continuous opportunity to make the best of one's powers and to live the fullest life; such freedom is in jeopardy every day, and the battle must be fought every day until it is won. For the individual or the community to become its own master is to go from strength to strength. To create and to use its own power for the highest ends is freedom. This freedom is threatened by those who have legal power over the lives of others, and this power must be taken away. The truth is democracy will really be on its trial when this freedom has been legalized, when both men and women have equal rights and duties of citizenship and are free from being under obligation to a few for work, wages, shelter, and other things; and free under laws which are spiritually and socially democratic, that is, an expression of the truth that we are members one of another.

✦ ✦

The Other Side of the World and Our Tariff Question.

U. S. Daily Consular and Trade Reports, February 7.—Consul-General James T. DuBois reports as follows from Singapore on the new tax on petroleum A new petroleum ordinance has been passed by the legislative council enforcing a tax of 2.8 cents upon every imperial gallon (1.2 American gallons) of oil imported into the Straits Settlements and consumed there. . . . As the importation amounts to about 6,500,000 imperial gallons, the tax should bring in an annual local revenue of nearly \$182,000; and as 1,300,000 gallons of the total importation comes from the United States the American portion of this local tax amounts to \$36,400. It is not certain that this will affect seriously American trade, but it is the general belief that the consumers will eventually pay this tax, as the increase will be naturally added to the prices charged the natives.

✦ ✦

The Use of the Recall.

The Oklahoman (Oklahoma City), December 28.—Objections to the use of the recall are frequently voiced. The corruptible politician openly says he does not believe in it because "it tends to cultivate a spirit of distrust in the minds of the people as regards their duly elected public servants," all of which might be in the nature of a valid objection if all men who are elected to public positions were gifted with a high sense of civic honor. Again, it is urged that special elections for the exercise of the recall are apt to be expensive and to prove burdensome on the poor taxpayer. An investigation as to the source of crocodile tears in all such cases, however, always ends at the abode of the professional political corruptionists or the entrenched special interests which do not wish to be placed in a position where interference will be possible. There is, or, at least, there should be, no real difference between public business and private business so far as its transaction is concerned. In both instances

there should be economy and efficiency as well as honesty. In the conduct of the affairs of a public as of a private business nature, there should be the right to discharge dishonest, inefficient or untrustworthy employes. Is there, then, any real ground for the sentimentalism which prevails against the incorporation of the recall in the scheme of popular municipal control of public interests? In the case of the commissioner against whom the recall is now being invoked at Wichita, it is said that he will have the votes of thinking taxpayers behind him when the test comes. The honest public official will not need to fear the application of the principle of the recall. It is both reasonable and right and, after it has been in operation for a time, it will be popular and effective as well.

✦ ✦

Judging Mr. Taft by the Crane Episode.

Collier's Weekly, January 8.—[An] incident which has made thoughtful persons gravely doubtful about what ought to be the fundamental strength of Mr. Taft's—or any man's—character, is the Crane episode. Mr. Crane's name appeared rarely in print; yet no man in private life was more widely known. Not only in this country, but abroad, there were few men of power and leadership in any community but had come, in important ways, in contact with him; and these men are, in the long run, the real source of thoughtful public opinion. They include diplomats, both American and foreigners now officially in the United States, men of much greater diplomatic experience than Knox, who say, publicly when they can, and privately when official limitation makes silence necessary, that Knox's conduct was outrageous. They know that the reputation which the administration tried to attach to Mr. Crane's name is contrary to the truth. The administration sought to create the impression that Mr. Crane is garrulous; these men know that he is the most reticent of men. The administration intimated that Mr. Crane is blatant; these men know Mr. Crane to be markedly a man of unusual reserve. Here was a private citizen of gentle character and fine feeling, going his quiet way; Taft sought him out, begged him to take a conspicuous office, announced his acceptance with boastful trumpeting, and then, when circumstances made it the easiest course, subjected him to an experience which would have been without parallel for brutality and humiliation, but that the personal knowledge of thousands of men made the thing impossible. The experience was sufficient to make self-respecting men cautious about their relations with the present administration.

✦ ✦

Blessed Insanities.

William Marion Reedy in the St. Louis Mirror (ind.), December 16.—It's nice to be crazy over Bob-burns or Bobby Browning or Henry George or Karl Marx or anybody or anything save and except only money. There's no distinction in being crazy over money. Everybody's that way.

✦ ✦ ✦

"I like that piece of checked goods, but are you sure the colors won't run?"

"Madam, that is a certified check."—Town Topics.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A PRAYER.

Ella Higginson in Scribner's.

God of the lonely soul,
 God of the comfortless,
 God of the broken heart—for these,
 Thy tenderness!

For prayers there be enough,
 Yea, prayers there be to spare,
 For those of proud and high estate;
 Each hath his share.

But the beggar at my door,
 The thief behind the bars;
 And those that be too blind to see
 The shining stars;

The outcast in his hut,
 The useless and the old;
 Whoever walks the city's streets
 Homeless and cold;

The sad and lone of soul
 Whom no man understands;
 And those of secret sin, with stains
 Upon their hands,

And stains upon their souls;
 Who shudder in their sleep,
 And walk their ways with trembling hearts,
 Afraid to weep;

For the childless mother, Lord,
 And, ah, the little child
 Weeping the mother in her grave,
 Unreconciled—

God of the lonely soul,
 God of the comfortless,
 For these, and such as these, I ask
 Thy tenderness!

Whose sin be greatest, Lord;
 If each deserve his lot;
 If each but reap as he hath sown—
 I ask thee not.

I only ask of thee
 The marvel of a space
 When these forgot and blind may look
 Upon Thy face.

+ + +

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE: ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE.*

The Suffrage Question in England.

What is the vote?

It is the people's political safeguard against op-

*Leaflet No. 4, issued by the Peoples Suffrage Federation, League House, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W. C.

pression. It is the means of Government according to the people's ideas.

Who ought to have the vote?

The people, without distinction of class, wealth or sex.

How many of the people can vote now?

Seven and a half million adult men out of an adult population of twenty-four and a half million.

Which of the people can vote now?

All rich men, but not all poor men.

A vote can be got by—

The man who as "occupier" can hire a house or a room.

The man who occupies a dwelling because he is in some one's service (coachman, gardener, shop manager).

The man who can pay £10 a year for his lodgings unfurnished.

The man who can hire a shop at a rent of £10.

The man who can hire a house rented at £20 jointly with another man.

The man who has land worth £2 a year.

Can all these men be sure of a vote?

Not at all. A man may move down in the world from a house to lodgings in a time of bad trade, or up in the world from lodgings to a house, and may lose the vote for two years in each case. In Woolwich thousands of men were struck off the register from this cause during the recent bad times.

Or the vote may be lost by moving into another constituency. Thus navvies can seldom vote, because their work takes them from place to place, and in London alone 40,000 votes are lost yearly by removals.

Again, the revising barrister, whose business it is to hear claims, may disallow votes wholesale according to his view of what makes the difference between an "occupier" and a lodger, or between a lodger and a mere resident, who is nobody's tenant. Many thousands of votes thus depend not on the law, but on what the revising barrister makes of the law, and one barrister will allow votes for reasons which would lead another barrister to refuse them.

All classes suffer from these stupidities of the law, which may often turn elections, but the working class suffers by far the most.

How many votes can a man have?

A poor man cannot expect to get more than one, if he gets one at all. A rich man can get about as many as he cares to have. If a landlord has land in ten county divisions he has ten votes. If a tradesman has thirty shops in thirty constituencies he has thirty votes. Such men are called plural voters, and the plural votes have been estimated at 784,000. The plural vote of course is a rich man's vote.

Why is the electoral law so bad?

Because we have put our trust in wealth rather than in human nature.

What about the women?

Politically the women are nowhere. They have no part in government. Nothing to do with the taxes—but pay them. Nothing to do with the laws—but obey them.

Ought women to have the vote?

Women need the vote as much as men. They are as closely concerned with law and government as men are. Much of the worst paid labor is women's labor; as parents, women have an equal place; and their personal rights need the protection of the vote. Property and tenancy qualifications are much more unfair to women than to men, because women's earnings are smaller, and because the working housewife, though her labor is truly self-supporting, does not receive money payment.

What then is to be done?

Money, houses and land ought not to give votes. Let men vote as men, women as women, and both as human beings. Let us have *no sex disqualification, no marriage disqualification, no poverty disqualification, but one man, one vote; one woman, one vote; that is adult suffrage.*

* * *

LLOYD-GEORGE ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN 1908.

Points from the Speech of the Right Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M. P. Chancellor of the Exchequer, At the Royal Albert Hall, December 5, 1908.

I am here as a Cabinet Minister, not merely to make clear my own personal position in the matter, but to declare what I conceive to be the attitude of the Government towards this problem, and their intention towards it. . . .

I should like to explain why I support the cause of woman suffrage. Before you can carry any measure of women's suffrage you must go through a process of educating the country, and therefore every appeal from every quarter, every argument addressed from anybody who can get a hearing on behalf of women's suffrage, is a contribution to the cause. . . .

You must prepare the ground; you must get every assistance that is possible in order to convert and to convince, and I am simply taking my share in this very essential work. . . .

I have come to the conclusion that it is fair, that it is just, that it is equitable, that it is essential, in the interests of the state, that the suffrage should be granted to women. . . .

To-day you have 5,000,000 women who earn their daily bread. . . .

This is the first time a Cabinet Minister has ever appeared on a women's suffrage platform. . . .

Brilliant and cultured women are deemed to be more unfit for the franchise than a sandwich-man

carrying an advertisement. Well, now, that is indefensible; it is irrational, and it must come to an end. There is nothing exceeds the stupidity of such a position except its arrogance. . . .

The real practical difficulty is that it is not a party measure. . . .

You have got a majority, and a great majority, of the Liberal party—a majority inside the Cabinet and a majority outside the Cabinet. . . .

The declaration made by the Prime Minister in May of this year—its real significance for women's suffrage—is this: That, for the first time in the history of this country, a Prime Minister has declared it to be an open question not merely for his party, but for his Cabinet as well. . . .

The Prime Minister attached two conditions. One is that the measure must be a democratic one—that it shall enfranchise not property, but womanhood; and the second is that there must be a clear demonstration that it is the wish of the women of this country to be included in the franchise.

* * *

EDUCATING WOMEN FOR SUFFRAGE.

By Harold Gorst, English Author and Journalist, and Son of Sir John Gorst, a Tory Supporter of the Budget.*

It seems to me that girls are more miseducated than boys, especially now that every girl is destined to come forward as a citizen. It is natural to think at some time in her life every woman will fulfill her normal destiny, that of a wife and mother; but in these days, whether that be so or not, she will soon be exercising the privileges of citizenship. Are the girls and women of America prepared for this? I am asked. No, far from it, but they are no more lacking than all boys and some men. It is incomprehensible to me, in view of the fact that suffrage will soon be given to women, both in this country and Great Britain, that all the girls' schools and colleges do not have instruction and training in parliamentary law.

American women are going to be a wonderfully potent element in politics when they have the ballot, for women will realize that the machinery of politics means less than men think it does. The latter mistake the means for the end. Women will take a much more human view of politics. They will never cease working until they have divested politics of the sham and complications which men have invented to conceal graft and throw dust in the eyes of the public. American men are so overworked, so engrossed in business, that I believe the whole future of America lies in the hands of women, and when women have the franchise they will shake the foundations of gov-

*See Public of November 5, page 1070.

ernment in a way that will be of incalculable good to the country.

* * *

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

Marie Jenney Howe in *La Follette's* of December 18.

The chief gain to the State of Colorado in the enfranchisement of its women, has been the development of the women themselves. Never have a body of voters so humbly and earnestly prepared themselves for the privilege of citizenship. Study clubs, discussions, an awakened interest in civic and political questions, are the natural response to responsibility. An increased self-respect and a growing political consciousness are marked characteristics of Colorado women. A majority of women were indifferent and many were opposed to their own enfranchisement, but it is difficult to find a Colorado woman today who does not approve of her own enfranchisement now that it is an accomplished fact. Larger interests shared in common with husband and son, unite men and women in closer companionship, uplift the home, and help to redeem women from the personal and petty qualities which we as a sex are supposed to possess.

The second gain to the State of Colorado in the enfranchisement of its women is an increased humanitarian spirit as shown in legislation and in the establishment of new institutions.

The power of Colorado women in creating institutions is shown by the establishment of industrial schools for boys and girls, a school for deaf and blind children, the first kindergarten for blind children in the United States, provision for feeble minded children, juvenile courts, probation officers, truancy officers, houses of detention, and a State home for dependent children.

A Bureau of Protection for animals and children has been made a State department with offices at the capitol and with funds and officials provided by the State. This bureau commands the services of 600 agents throughout the State. These agents are given power above the sheriff, so that any abused or neglected animal or child may be restored to safety and comfort without delay.

The establishment of this bureau alone ought to justify woman suffrage in Colorado.

The power of Colorado women in legislation is shown by the passage of some twenty laws affecting the welfare of children. According to Ellis Meredith of Denver: "We have the best child labor law in the world, and no child is abused or neglected for more than a few days at the longest. We have the strictest laws for the prevention of the abuse, moral, mental or physical, of children, of any country in the world and the best enforced, not merely in our cities but throughout the entire State. We have the strongest compulsory school law and the most enlightened laws concerning delinquent children of any section in the world, save where our laws have been copied."

Women have secured the enactment of laws protecting the home. Colorado has no dower or community law, while on the other hand the wife's property is hers absolutely. There is also a law forbidding the selling or mortgaging of a home-stead without the signature of both husband and wife. Mothers are now co-equal guardians of their children, and the age of consent for girls is eighteen.

+

It is true that these results might have been accomplished without the ballot. But in other States where woman's influence is used as a substitute for power, her work is accomplished at a tremendous cost of time and strength. It is to the self interest of a State to encourage and not discourage the service of its citizens; to help and not hinder the purposes of the public spirited few; to render their efforts easy instead of difficult. In New York, Massachusetts, or Illinois, the efforts of the most valuable and sensible women too often result in discouragement, exhaustion and delay. The saving of their time and strength would be a saving to the State itself, and an increase in its efficiency.

In measuring the political influence of women, two things must be borne in mind. It must always be realized that they do not seek big offices. No woman has ever served in the Senate or in any important State office which means political control. It must also be recognized that women do not represent big business. They do not stand for or command large commercial interests. These two facts weigh against their influence for certain kinds of political reform, and give them in politics, as in the home, a woman's point of view. Freed from political ambition and from commercialism, they contribute to the State or city a class of voters who regard all subjects from the viewpoint of humanity and education, a valuable offset to the over-commercialized standpoint of the average man, who is apt to decide all public questions according to the interests of business alone.

A third gain to the State of Colorado, therefore, in the enfranchisement of its women is in the possession by the State of a latent moral force backed by power. The mere fact that the woman's point of view is backed by power makes that point of view prevail. On most occasions women, like men, are divided in party allegiance; but they may be roused *en masse* by their own leaders at especial times and for especial purposes. The mere existence of this latent tendency exercises a restraining influence upon legislation. That women have raised the standard of moral character for political candidates is undeniable. At political caucuses when a man of questionable character is suggested for nomination, the man is often turned down with the explanation, "The women won't stand for him."

Colorado women were enfranchised in 1893. Since that time, State education has been literally turned over to women and all State superintendents of education have been women. Mrs. Helen N. Grenfell, who served three terms from 1899-1904, deserves the credit of building up the department. The Mosely Commission, sent from England to investigate school conditions, published a report in which Colorado was praised for the best system of education in the United States. It may be of interest to teachers to know that throughout the State of Colorado the school law of "equal pay for equal work" prevails. Women teachers, therefore, universally receive the same wages as men. A large majority of county superintendents are women.

One question frequently asked as a test of the woman's right to the ballot is: Does the woman's vote purify politics?

This is a question which cannot be answered for some time to come. An experiment cannot be recorded before it has been tried. And woman's influence as a political purifier has not yet been given a chance to operate. There are directions in which woman's vote together with man's vote is not allowed to follow the line of natural law. It is met by an obstruction in the ownership of the State by private interests which determine State elections and court decisions to such an extent that these private interests, not the will of the people, dictate who shall serve as mayor of a city, or governor of a State. These interests constitute sovereignty in the State of Colorado. When a man undesirable to this sovereign is elected to important office, a lot of registered votes are produced in favor of a candidate who is ready to serve the sovereign interest and do the royal will.

The power of woman's vote to purify politics cannot be estimated until votes are honestly counted at the polls, and until elections are fairly upheld by the courts. It cannot be estimated until women are given the confidence and the encouragement that are given to men, and it cannot be estimated in any State until the privilege of citizenship has been enjoyed by all the women of all the States for at least a hundred years.

BOOKS

TROPICAL LAND.

Agriculture in the Tropics; an Elementary Treatise.
By J. C. Willis, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Ceylon, Organizing Vice-President Ceylon Agricultural Society, Editor of The Tropical Agriculturist. Published by the University Press, Cambridge, England. Price, \$2.50.

Not only will students of tropical agriculture welcome this book as the work of a master, but

those also who are interested in general questions of agricultural advance and the economics of land will find here a treasury of fact and rare wisdom. The book deals primarily with the underlying political and theoretical aspects of the subject, yet treats also of various tropical products with special reference to the history of their cultivation and their possible improvement. No student of government, especially of colonial policies, can afford to neglect the matters here presented.

Beginning with a discussion of such preliminaries to agriculture as Land and Soil, Climate, Population and Labor, Transport and Capital, Drainage and Irrigation, Tools, Tillage, etc., the author proceeds in a Second Part to deal with various important products, including Rice, Sugar, Teas, Coffee, Cocoa, Coconuts, Spices, Cinchona, Rubber and Live Stock, and then in Parts III and IV to consider methods of Peasant and Capitalist Agriculture, actual and possible, questions of Financing and Marketing, Schemes of Education and Co-operation, and finally the Organization of Agricultural Societies and Departments of Agriculture. Many admirable photographs are instructively introduced among the 222 pages of the book.

Dr. Willis has had exceptionally fine opportunities for studying tropical agriculture at first hand, and has approached the problems in a truly broad and scientific spirit. Much of the present treatise is based upon a comprehensive report on the Agriculture of the Federated Malay States prepared by him for the British Government under whose protection they are. While lecturing recently at Harvard University Dr. Willis referred to these Malay States as showing the best that tropical agriculture had to offer both in achievement and in promise. There is thus especial significance in the following account he gives of the land situation in that region: "In the Federated Malay States land is regarded as entirely the property of the government; in fact, 'land nationalization' so much discussed in Europe is already an accomplished fact in this country. Any one may buy land from the government on payment of a premium of one dollar or so an acre, and an annual quit-rent of one or more dollars an acre. Should he cease to pay the rent, or abandon the land for three consecutive years, the government steps in and resumes possession of it. The original grant of the land from the government is for 999 years, so that there is no fear of the possessor being disturbed, so long as he continues to work the land properly, but the government is entitled to revise the rate of quit-rent every 30 years. In many ways this is perhaps the best system of alienating land from the government, for the latter derive an annual income from it, and resume it if abandoned, while the original buyer does not need to expend so much capital on the original purchase as he does, for in-

stance, in Ceylon, where he buys the land outright, and thus he has more available for cultivation."

FREDERICK LEROY SARGENT.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Death Ends All. By Walter Hague. Second Revised Edition. Published by H. H. Timby, Conneaut, Ohio, 1910.

—The Philosophy of Happiness. By R. Waite Joslyn. Published by Normalist Publishing Co., Elgin, Illinois. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

—From the Bottom Up. The Life Story of Alexander Irvine. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Biology of Sex. By Gideon Dietrich. Published by Samuel A. Bloch, 1322 N. Oakley Ave., Chicago, 1909. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

—The Evolution of Religion. By William A. Hinckle. Published by the Author, Peoria, Ill., 1910. Price, cloth, 75 cents, paper, 30 cents.

—Religion Rationalized. By Rev. Hiram Vrooman. Published by the Nunc Licet Press, 42 W. Coulter St., Philadelphia, 1910. Price, 75 cents.

—Women in Industry. A Study in American Economic History. By Edith Abbott. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York & London, 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Social Solutions in the Light of Christian Ethics. By Thomas C. Hall. Published by Eaton & Mains, New York; Jennings & Graham, Cincinnati. 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Evolution of the Bible. A Chapter from the Evolution of Religion. By William A. Hinckle. Second Edition. Published by the Author, Peoria, Ill., 1910. Price, 5 cents.

—King Mammon and the Heir Apparent. By George A. Richardson. Published by the Commonwealth Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York, 1896. Price, paper, 50 cents.

—Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation, New York, November 22 and 23, 1909. Pub-

lished by the National Civic Federation, Metropolitan Building, 1 Madison Ave., New York, 1910.

—The Dimensional Idea as an Aid to Religion. By W. F. Tyler. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. Price, 50 cents.

PERIODICALS

The introductory and second numbers of *Woman's Era* (432 Carroll St., New Orleans), "*A Magazine of Inspiration for the Modern Woman*," have just been published under the editorship of Margaret Elsie Cross, of H. Sophie Newcomb College. The February issue contains (besides its twelve departments on Civics, Arts and Crafts, The Woman Movement, and so forth,) several short articles on varied topics, including "America's Opportunity," by Lucia Ames Mead, and "The Literary Woman," by Ella Wheeler Wilcox. The March number is a Reform Issue "and succeeding issues will be devoted to such themes as "Votes for Women," and "Music and Sociology." The magazine is of a small, convenient size, attractively printed and illustrated.

A. L. G.

+ + +

As soon as people become easy marks the Trust magnates and politicians tell you public confidence is restored; and when the people get wise to themselves, and realize that they are being fooled, the same fellows call it a crisis.—Puck.

+ + +

"What is all this talk that's in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey.

"Why, don't ye know?" said Mr. Dooley. "Really, I'm surprised at yer ignorance, Hinnissey. What is th' open shop? Sure, 'tis a shop where they kape th' door open t' accommodate th' consthant sthream of min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper thin th' min whut has th' jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey—suppose wan of these freebarn Amerycan citizens is wurkin' in an open shop for th' princely wages of wan large iron dollar a day of tin hours. Along comes another

Argument

That delightful process of developing ideas by "friction of thought" brings you in daily contact with the sentiments of your friends and neighbors.

Do you at such times remember **THE PUBLIC** and its potency as an active persistent champion of right thinking, sound argument and justice?

It would be easy at such times to gain a subscription—who knows with what results!

530 Walnut Street
Cincinnati,
February 21, 1910.

Daniel Kiefer

freebarn son-of-a-gun, an' he sez t' th' boss, 'I think I could handle th' job for ninety cints.' 'Sure,' sez th' boss, 'an' the wan-dollar man gets th' merry, jinglin' can, an' goes out into th' crool world t' exercise his inalienable roights as a freebarn Amerycan citizen and scab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnissey. An' who gets th' benefit? Thru, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more for money than he does for his roight eye. It's all principle wid him. He hates t' see min robbed of their indepindence. They must have their indepindence, regahrdliss of inything ilse."

"But," said Mr. Hennessey, "these open shop min

ye minshun say they are fer th' unions, if properly conducted."

"Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted. An' there ye are. An' how wud they have thim conducted? No sthrikes, no rules, no conthraacts, no scales, hardly any wages, an' dam few mimbers." —F. Peter Dunne.

* * *

He was a proud man—proud of his family, so he would not disgrace it; proud of his reputation, so he kept it clean; proud of his ability, so he developed it; proud of his broadmindedness, so he was not a

3 SUBSCRIPTIONS

To THE PUBLIC

for

2 DOLLARS

Your own and two new ones for a year

TO HELP US GROW

EMIL SCHMIED, Manager

TOM L. JOHNSON

WRITES THIS OF "SOCIAL SERVICE" THE NEW BOOK BY LOUIS F. POST:

"I am inclined to think it is destined to make more converts than any other book on political economy yet written except 'Progress and Poverty.'"

PUBLISHED BY

A. WESSELS, New York

SOLD BY

A. C. McCLURG & CO., Chicago

ALSO BY

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, Chicago

Price, One Dollar, Postpaid

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly.....	.50
Quarterly25
Single copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders on Chicago, or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires.

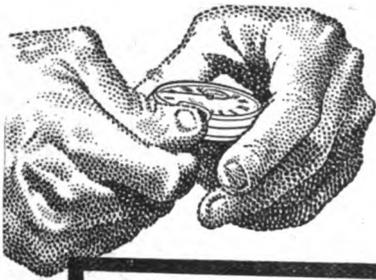
All subscribers are requested to note this date and remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising Rates

One page, each insertion.....	\$20.00
Half-page, each insertion.....	10.00
Quarter-page, each insertion.....	5.00
One inch, each insertion.....	1.20
Half-inch, each insertion.....	.60

Two columns to the page; length of column, 8½ inches; width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.



Fifteen Million Human Hands

wind
Ingersoll Watches
every night

Many, many sorts of hands! The firm hand of the business man, the delicate hand of the artist, the calloused hand of the farmer, the gnarled hand of the forester, the nimble hand of the stenographer, the little hand of the school-child, the grimy hand of the miner, the weathered hand of the sailor, the hand white with the bleach of the North, the hand browned by the suns of the tropics—these are the hands, *fifteen millions of them*—which nightly hold and wind the Ingersoll watches which have earned a worthy fame throughout the country.

Ingersoll watches are of two general types or grades: *first*, those for which you pay but \$1.00, \$1.50 or \$2.00; *second*, those whose price is \$5.00, \$7.00 or \$9.00. Both grades are durable and accurate *time-keepers*, every watch being *guaranteed*. The watches of the cheaper grade (\$1.00, \$1.50 and \$2.00, in nickel cases) are known as Ingersolls. Including the famous *Dollar* watch they are the ones which made the Ingersoll business the world's largest and most important watch industry.

The higher-grade watches (\$5.00, nickel; \$7.00, 10-year gold-filled; \$9.00, 20-year gold-filled) bear the name *Ingersoll-Trenton*. These are finely-jeweled—*elite* watches for critical users. You can buy *either grade* with perfect confidence.

All *Ingersoll* and *Ingersoll-Trenton* watches are truthful timers and stand the wear of years. *Twelve thousand* of them are sold *every day*. This means that *twenty-four thousand* human hands will wind these honest watches to-night for the *first time*. And to-morrow and the day after it will be the same. Are not these facts enough to make you buy an *Ingersoll* or an *Ingersoll-Trenton* and carry it with warrantable pride?

60,000 dealers sell *Ingersoll* watches. 6,000 jewelers sell *Ingersoll-Trenton* watches. Ask for them *anywhere*.

We have published a little book, bound in an embossed cover. It contains *five facts* worth *five dollars* to any one who is ever going to buy another watch. The title of this book is "*How to Judge a Watch*." What is your address? We would like to send you a copy with our compliments.

Robt. H. Ingersoll & Bro.
7 Frankel Building New York City

snob; proud of his courage, so he met failure bravely; proud of his achievements, so he never gave up, and eventually succeeded. Moral: Pride goeth before a rise.—Kansas City Times.

* * *

Old Friend: "So the children are all married? You must feel lonesome at times?"

Father: "Oh, I don't know! The boys all married Suffragettes and the girls married Trust officials. That makes the newspapers mighty interesting."—Puck.

THE ONLY WAY, 619 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.

The best straight-out Single Tax monthly published. Printed in plain English by plain people for the benefit of plain people.

50c a year.

Send 10c stamps for sample copies

THE AT-ONE-MENT

OF
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE & SINGLE TAX
By JULIA GOLDZIER, 26 E. 45th St., Bayonne, N. J. 60c postpaid
"Great social reforms," says Mazzini, "always have been and always will be the result of great religious movements."—Leo Tolstoy in "A Great Iniquity."

NOTICE

I wish to announce that I now have an office at 28 Jackson Blvd, in Suite 701, where I will be pleased to see my friends and patients. C. L. LOGAN, Osteopath.

Tel. Harrison 6298

Real Estate For Sale and Exchange
EDWARD POLAK
4030 Third Ave. New York City

Safety Razor Blades ^{21c} Made Sharper Than New ^{2EA.}

Dull razor blades resharpened by Keenedge Electric Process ("the only way"), 30c the dozen. 80,000 repeating customers. Send address for convenient mailing wrapper. KEENEDGE CO., 516 Keenedge Building, CHICAGO.

Economic Literature FREE

Abstracts of the Lectures of John Z. White,

and other Literature on

Single Tax,

Public Ownership and

Direct Legislation,

mailed free on request.

F. H. Monroe,

President Henry George Lecture Assn.
Palos Park, Ill.

Our readers are asked to mention THE PUBLIC when writing to Advertisers.