

# 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 STEFFENS, Connecticut  
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island  
HENRY F. RING, Texas  
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio  
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio  
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio  
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York  
ROBERT BAKER, New York  
BOLTON HALL, New York  
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBORN, New York  
HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin  
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  
W. G. EGGLESTON, Oregon  
LEWIS H. BERENS, England  
J. W. S. CALLIE, England  
JOSEPH FELS, England  
JOHN PAUL, Scotland  
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1912.

No. 720

Published by Louis F. Post  
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1896, at the Post Office at  
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## EDITORIAL

### The Progressive Victory in Ohio.

Outside of Ohio the significance of Herbert S. Bigelow's election as president of the Constitutional Convention of that State, may not be very clearly understood. Even in Ohio itself there are many good people who have so far lost their way in pious contemplation of the merits of their own particular reforms, as to have turned their backs upon the true way for getting them democratically which Bigelow's election opens up. His election means that the "gateway" principle he has worked for in Ohio these ten years back has triumphed—unless the forces of plutocratic reaction, which have thus far been defeated in their opposition, succeed later on in their game of "playing both ends against the middle."



More distinctly and influentially than any other person, Mr. Bigelow represents the movement for the full Initiative and Referendum in Ohio. Through his efforts, more than any other one person's, a convention the majority of whose delegates are pledged to this reform was elected, over desperate opposition by the Ohio State Board of Commerce, which contributed the services of its president, Allen Ripley Foote, one of the slickest corporation lobbyists that ever invaded a legislature. Mr. Foote and his party were defeated at the polls, whereupon they set about nullifying the vote at the polls by electing a re-

## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

The Progressive Victory in Ohio.....	49
Judicial Usurpation .....	50
Women in Public Life.....	50
Socialism in Schenectady.....	50
Making a City Great.....	51
Governor Harmon's "Equality".....	51
Governor Deneen, "Progressive".....	51
Herbert Bigelow (Stanley E. Bowdle) (with portrait).....	52
Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.....	52

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

Progressive Victory in the Ohio Constitutional Convention .....	57
The Democratic Convention.....	59
Governor Harmon's Presidential Campaign.....	60
Edward F. Dunne for Governor of Illinois.....	60
Progressive Republicans of Illinois.....	60
The City Club of Chicago.....	60
Socialist Victory in Germany.....	61
China .....	62
Persia .....	62
Foreign Unrest .....	62
News Notes .....	63
Press Opinions .....	64

### RELATED THINGS:

Persia—Moritura (John Galsworthy).....	64
Little Stories of Minor Reformers—III (Chas. Howard Shinn) .....	64

### BOOKS:

The Gift of Sleep.....	66
Problems of New China.....	67
Books Received .....	68
Pamphlets .....	68
Periodicals .....	68

actionary as president of the Convention. In this battle also they were defeated, thanks to 53 progressive delegates who understood the situation and held together until enough progressives who didn't understand it came over and made the necessary majority. It now remains for Foot's Ohio State Board of Commerce, by subtle convention tactics, to dish the Initiative and Referendum in the framing of the new Constitution if they can. For this job they are financially "heeled;" for in soliciting funds from Ohio corporations for the campaign at the polls they provided for a percentage of deferred payments, collectable after the assembling of the convention. But Mr. Bigelow has probably spoiled their plans. His speech on the question of appointing committees inspired all the progressive delegates with confidence in him; his redemption of the promises of that speech will no doubt confirm their confidence; and as the progressives of both parties and all factions make, when united, a large majority of the convention, the game of the Ohio State Board of Commerce has probably been played to a disastrous close.



The prime object of that body is to defeat the Initiative and Referendum, to the end that Ohio may have a "representative" government, representing the Interests and not the people. This alone ought to be warning enough to all genuine reformers in Ohio. Let them beware the enemy that crawls upon its belly and gives wise advice about apples. The chief reason for opposition to the Initiative and Referendum by the Ohio State Board of Commerce, et al., is the very reason why every sincere reformer should advocate it now, even at the expense of delaying action on his own reform. With the Initiative and Referendum in their Constitution, the people of Ohio can so control their representatives as at any time to get what a majority of the people want and to prevent what a majority do not want. Is anyone in Ohio asking for more or willing to take less than this? If there is, watch him.



### Judicial Usurpation.

There is a judge in Ohio who looks at this distance like a guide worthy to be followed. Many times have we noted in his decisions evidence of a clear democratic perception that the judicial bench is a tribunal, not a throne, and that judges are not royal personages but plain men engaged in performing one of the functions of citizenship. A recent decision of his is typical.

In setting aside an arbitrary receivership this judge took occasion to say:

The usurpation of powers that do not belong to them and the continued interference with the administration of law by judges and courts of equity, bring our courts into disrepute. Actions of this kind by courts of equity and the granting of improper injunctions have been the cause of much criticism by the people recently. Judges sitting as chancellors have usurped powers that do not belong to them, and are continually interfering with the administration of law.

The people of Ohio ought to learn more about a judge of theirs whose judicial service is animated by this democratic and truly law-abiding spirit. In Cincinnati they know him well as Judge Gorman.



### Women in Public Life.

"What I hope to do is to go among the teachers, meet them at their work, find out their ideas and, while helping them as I may, get from them ideas that will help me in administering the schools." This is the declared policy of Harriet Keeler, the new Superintendent of public schools in Cleveland—the second woman for that position in a large city, Ella Flagg Young of Chicago being the first. It is the same policy that Mrs. Young has successfully introduced in the Chicago schools: leadership instead of drivership. Yet the "business school boards" of Chicago kept the school system demoralized for years with their stubborn efforts to factoryize the schools by drivership. Cleveland's adoption of the later and better Chicago policy of putting a woman in charge, is significant of a growing realization of the need of the feminine spirit and influence in public affairs.



### Socialism in Schenectady.

Like a breath of fresh air in an overheated prison cell, is Mayor Lunn's first inaugural address—George R. Lunn, the first Socialist mayor of any New York city. His suggestions for immediate action are practical and sensible, and the spirit of the whole message is refreshing. "To us," this vigorous message concludes, "government is not a mere routine to be followed more or less mechanically; it is a great problem to be solved. We look upon government not as the continuation of a precedent or as an adjunct to private business. For us, government is the instrument through which wrong can be righted, poverty abolished, life made secure, cities healthful, citizens happy." That civic gospel must sound strangely in the ears of spoilsmen, franchisers

and goo-goos; but they will have to meet it with better arguments than verbal bludgeons or it will prevail over them and all their hosts.



### Making a City Great.

Pittsburgh surely "do move." The latest evidence of her progressive tendency may be found in the Civic Bulletin for January, published by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission. Declaring that high prices of land obstruct progress in Pittsburgh—a declaration, by the way, that would fit any community—the Bulletin proposes a remedy by means of taxation. Its plan is to assess land and buildings at full value, and then to tax the land at its assessed value and buildings at half their assessed value. The effect would be a substitution for the present 15 mills tax on real estate, of 18 mills on land values and 9 mills on the value of buildings. In order to "allow adjustment of investments and prevent hardships," the Bulletin advises that "the change in rate should be spread over five years"<sup>1</sup>—reducing the rate on buildings the first year to 90 per cent of that on land, the second year to 80 per cent, and so on by reductions of 10 per cent a year until 50 per cent is reached in five years. This sane suggestion is like the Marsh proposal in New York, which real estate speculators and their sympathizers are opposing, but nearly everybody else is advocating;\* and the Civic Bulletin states that no amendment of the Constitution, but only a legislative act, is necessary to accomplish the purpose in Pittsburgh.



### Governor Harmon's "Equality."

On his recent visit to Chicago, Governor Harmon of Ohio declared that the Creator treats us all about the same; that people who have an excess of favors in one way have a deficiency in regard to something else. For instance, one man who is blessed with a lot of money may have no children; while another man, who has no money at all, may be blessed with a big family. In this way the Creator evens things up, according to Governor Harmon, and nobody has a right to complain. A very comfortable philosophy, and doubtless attractive to the Interests toward which Governor Harmon looks for a Presidential nomination. Queer, isn't it? how your comfortable plutocrat always falls back on the Creator, instead of taking a straight look at facts and conditions that largely grow out of man-made laws. Remember how Taft put the problem of unem-

ployment squarely up to the Lord, and left it there? Remember how "Divine-Right" Baer wanted the Creator to settle the Pennsylvania coal strike? And now Harmon. These pious platitudes make more atheism than arguments ever did.



### Governor Deneen, "Progressive."

Republican newspapers with plutocratic proprietors who pay to progressivism the traditional tribute by pretending to be in and of it, while losing no opportunity to obstruct or divert its course, are just now finding a text in the attitude of the Progressive Republicans of Illinois toward Governor Deneen, this body having denounced Governor Deneen as part and parcel of the Cannon-Lorimer kind of politics. It seems sacrilegious to those newspapers, this tandemizing of Deneen with Lorimer and Cannon. But Charles E. Merriam answers them to the point and truthfully. As one of the signers of the call for the Progressive conference in which the tandemizing was done, Professor Merriam explains that the statement "was carefully considered and deliberately made," because he and his associates—

believe that the cause of progress, the course of reform in the State of Illinois, long has been retarded not only by Lorimer and Cannon, but also, although in a different way, by the attitude and affiliations of Charles S. Deneen. His political beginnings were in the Lorimer creche. Carefully, furtively, and never cutting off the chance of return, he ventured out into the field as an ostensible enemy of his political mentor. His anti-machine battles have been sham battles. Every step of advance that he has taken has been crowded upon him by a popular force that he could not resist.

Ample confirmation of this view is available, not the least important item of which is Governor Deneen's record in the direct primary movement. In that movement he played the party machine game until he saw that it was played out. Nor is Governor Deneen happy in such defenders as his political friend Roy O. West. Dexterity in synchronizing the functions of a tax assessor in the public service with a phenomenal corporation practice at the bar is not a very good recommendation to Progressives, however satisfactory it may be to non-progressives and near-progressives. Even in his own defense Governor Deneen exhibits his ruling passion. While resenting the association of his name with Lorimer's—the latter having been "caught with the goods on him"—there is characteristic calm regarding the association of his name with Cannon's.

\*See The Public, volume xiv, page 658.

## HERBERT BIGELOW.

Herbert Bigelow has been elected President of the fourth Constitutional Convention of Ohio, now sitting at Columbus.



This election was the more conspicuous because Mr. Bigelow, in the campaign, doubted, and at times said that he doubted, his own election as a delegate, because, as he put it, "I have been so near to this progressive movement for years that many men have come to regard me with foolish fear." His fears in this were not without historic justification, for the fathers of political reform have generally had a Golgotha for their reward.

But this age seems to be rapidly reversing some features of the historic program. We have determined to stop encores. Old things are rapidly passing away; some things, if not all things, are becoming new. And this reversal is seen in Bigelow's election as president of the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

For fifteen years Mr. Bigelow has been the embodiment of the progressive movement in Ohio—this, with all due honor to Tom L. Johnson, whose energies were focused largely on the great

work done in Cleveland. But Bigelow, in that movement, has been the great apostle to the gentiles. He has worked throughout the State, stirring up every corner and cranny. He has made enemies in this work, and he has made warm friends.

Had his campaign occurred four years ago I question whether he could have been elected. Men, just a little while ago, were much prejudiced against him. But a tremendous change has occurred in four years. Men have come to understand him and his cause. Then, the fact that he was a Congregational clergyman, prejudiced many who denied clergymen the right to "mix in politics." But this age has turned the microscope on everything, including its prejudices, and it is looking to substance—not form.

Labels no longer scare. The age is protesting against infallibility masking under ancient form and alleged "guarantees." The Convention came to see nothing dangerous in Mr. Bigelow.

STANLEY E. BOWDLE.



## WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Our critical attitude toward the violence-wing of woman suffragists in Great Britain has brought us complaints from American woman suffragists, most of which add nothing to a better understanding of the situation. One critic, however, does, with painstaking care, explain the matter from the viewpoint of the militant side. This is Alice Paul, of Moorestown, New Jersey. She begins with a request for space to explain that an account of the woman suffrage agitation in great Britain "given in *The Public* of December 22, 1911,\* contains serious misstatements of the suffragist position." We do not think that the editorial in question contains serious misstatements, nor that it contains any misstatements except the one explained below and to which our critic does not refer. But that the reader may judge we reproduce it here as an appropriate introduction to Miss Paul's criticism:

It may be that the cable reports which attribute last week's assault upon Lloyd George to the violence-wing of British woman suffragists, are in that respect untrue; but the act itself, the hurling of a box into his face with evident intent to do him physical injury, is so manifestly in line with the tory policy of that group as to make their responsibility for it fairly probable.

Whether this inference against them and their leaders be valid or not, there is no obvious escape

\*See vol. xiv, p. 1282.

from the conclusion that the assault could not have been inspired by any democratic purpose. When attacked, Lloyd George was coming away from a Liberal meeting at which he had been speaking for woman suffrage. His speech was made in a campaign for equal suffrage for adults regardless of sex, which he is leading and which has every reasonable prospect of immediate success if the House of Lords do not use their limited veto—of success during the life of the present Parliament if they do. Tories are opposed to that policy, for tories stand for the classes and against the masses always. Those that oppose woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men alone; those that favor woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men and women alike; and both are opposed to adult suffrage. The special ire of both kinds of tory is excited against Lloyd George at this juncture because he is campaigning for adult suffrage on a democratic basis and is likely to succeed.

Lloyd George demands the abolition of "plural" voting, and in this the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He demands manhood suffrage, and in this also the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He at the same time and through the same Parliamentary bill demands woman suffrage along with manhood suffrage. On this the Ministry is divided, but the tories of both sexes are a unit against him. The difference between the two is that the Ministry have agreed to acquiesce if he gets the support of a majority of the House of Commons (which he has undertaken to do and doubtless will succeed in doing if violence by woman suffragists doesn't have the effect of driving away his weaker supporters), whereas the tories of both sexes are determined to thwart him if they can, to the end that the highly prized privilege of government by property instead of people may continue. This is the otherwise inexplicable meaning of the revival of systematic violence by a certain group of woman suffragists in Great Britain. It is the meaning, too, of the assault upon Lloyd George last week at the close of his London speech for adult suffrage regardless of sex.

Our mistake in the foregoing editorial resulted from a misapprehension of the cable news dispatch. We understood that Lloyd George's speech was "for equal suffrage for adults, regardless of sex." This was erroneous. Personally, Lloyd George advocates adult suffrage, but his speech, as we now understand it, was in support of a Cabinet compromise. It is a compromise which, if favorably acted upon by Parliament, will by amendment so alter the Cabinet's manhood suffrage bill as to extend the suffrage to about 7,000,000 women, inclusive of the wives of all male voters.

Replying to that editorial, Miss Paul makes three separate points. We give them in their order, and in full as she states them, together with our reply to each.

## I.

On the first point Miss Paul writes:

First. You give the impression that the militant suffragists are opposed to a universal franchise (male and female) and are asking for a limited franchise.

Exactly the reverse of this is the case. The Woman's Social and Political Union (the organization responsible for the recent militant demonstrations) stands, as does the whole woman suffrage movement, for equality of voting rights between men and women. It has always asked simply for the removal of the sex disqualification. As long as men had a limited franchise women were willing to accept a limited franchise also. To demand more for women than was possessed by men would have been obviously impracticable.

Now, however, that the Government proposes a manhood suffrage bill, enfranchising all men, the militant suffragists demand that all women shall be enfranchised likewise.

In accordance with this demand for universal suffrage, the W. S. P. U. refuses to accept any lesser measure, such as the Conciliation bill, which is advocated by some members of Parliament, among them being Mr. Birrell, a member of the Cabinet.

This Conciliation bill (which provided for the enfranchisement of women householders, but denied to women the property, University, and lodger franchise possessed by men) was proposed, not by women, but by a committee of members of Parliament. The suffragists, while not in any way deviating from their demand for votes for women on the same terms as possessed by men, accepted this bill as a temporary settlement, because it virtually gave women political equality with men and because it made impossible the exclusion of women in any subsequent electoral reform act. "But now that women are to have manhood suffrage," says Miss Christabel Pankhurst in *Votes for Women*, Dec. 15th, 1911, "we cannot tolerate the Conciliation proposals, which would place women voters in a minority of one to twelve. These proposals would abolish one form of political disability of sex merely to substitute another. Because, while men vote by virtue of their manhood, women would vote, not by virtue of their womanhood, but merely as ratepayers."



(1) That the woman suffrage movement in Great Britain "stands . . . for equality of voting rights between men and women," is true enough; and it may verbally declare for adult suffrage, though we doubt if this has ever been done in behalf of the movement as a whole, or by all its organized bodies. But, whatever the verbal declarations may have been, our point in the matter is that such incidents as the violent attack upon Lloyd George in response to his speech for enfranchising 7,000,000 women, and the circumstances of that attack, are evidence of a tory spirit in the violence-wing of the movement.

(2) Miss Paul hardly states with accuracy at this point what the violence-wing is demanding at the present juncture; but further on in her letter she makes the fact clear that their demand is not exactly "for equality of voting rights between men and women," but that it is that *a bill enfranchising women be proposed officially by the Cabinet.*

One must understand that the Cabinet is composed of 19 persons, and that in order to carry their measures in the House of Commons they must be unanimous. Now, the Cabinet is not unanimous on woman suffrage, and nobody can effectively order them to be. But they are unanimous on manhood suffrage and on the abolition of plural voting. The latter questions were decided by their constituencies at the recent general elections. Woman suffrage was not decided at those elections. With a Cabinet divided on woman suffrage, therefore, a Cabinet bill including woman suffrage is a political impossibility. Any attempt by Cabinet leaders to force one would probably result in a dissolution of Parliament and new elections. The best that could be hoped for in those circumstances was the Cabinet compromise that has in fact been made, under which the Cabinet manhood-suffrage bill is to be so drawn as to make an amendment enfranchising 7,000,000 women, including the wives of all workingmen who are voters, easily adaptable to it on the floor of the House of Commons. Any such amendment adopted in the Commons is thereupon to be an integral part of the official bill and to be forced through the House of Lords with the rest.

Upon getting this compromise, Lloyd George stated that he believed he could secure the adoption of such an amendment in the Commons, and would undertake to do so. Instead of being aided in this, or at least let alone, he was assailed by leaders of the violence-wing of woman suffragists as insincere, and his efforts to accomplish the result were rancorously opposed by them and their organs. The politically impossible or nothing was the burden of their demand; and one result of their tactics was the violent personal assault upon George which we condemned in the editorial that Miss Paul criticizes. Such conduct on their part fully implies, as we look at it, that the violence-wing, unless utterly irresponsible, is influenced by un-democratic impulses.

## II.

Miss Paul proceeds:

Second. You state that the renewal of militant methods is caused by the likelihood of the passage of a bill enfranchising men and women on a democratic basis, and that the militancy of the suffra-

gists is part of an attempt to avert the passage of such a bill in the hope of securing, instead, a limited franchise on a property basis, for both sexes.

This also is exactly the reverse of the real situation.

The recent renewal of militancy has been caused by the Government's announcement of a bill to be introduced next session giving the vote to every man but to not a single woman. The militant agitation is being conducted in the hope of forcing the Government to include suffrage for women on the same terms as for men, in its electoral reform bill.

Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey (members of the Government) hold out to women the hope that woman suffrage may be secured by an amendment to the Government's manhood suffrage bill. Such an amendment is only too surely doomed to defeat, and is advocated, apparently, merely for the purpose of keeping the women quiet a little longer by deceiving them into the belief that the amendment may possibly be passed.

The Government is kept in office by a coalition having (Dec. 1, 1911) a majority of 118 votes. If woman suffrage were included in the Government bill it would command the entire coalition vote, regardless of the private opinion of the members of the coalition, and would thus be carried into law; for the defeat of the bill would mean the defeat and resignation of the Government and thereby the destruction of those measures in which the members of the coalition are particularly interested. If, on the other hand, woman suffrage is merely introduced as an amendment to the manhood suffrage bill; the 45 Liberals and the 22 Nationalists, who are personally opposed to woman suffrage, will be free to desert from the ranks of the coalition, since defeat of the amendment will not mean the defeat and resignation of the Government. These 67 adverse votes (counting 134 on a division) will wipe out the coalition majority, and the amendment will be defeated by 16 votes. This conclusion is based on the assumption that since the manhood suffrage bill is a party measure, the voting will follow party lines, so that support for the amendment cannot be anticipated from Conservative ranks. This supposition is strengthened by the recent public letter in which Conservative members of Parliament who have heretofore been active in supporting woman suffrage, declare their opposition to universal suffrage.

As far, therefore, as can be predicted in advance, there seems no hope whatever of the passage of such an amendment. It is for this reason that the suffragists are using every means to secure the incorporation of their measure in the Government bill instead of leaving it to an amendment which is practically certain of defeat.



(1) Miss Paul's second point is answered in part in our reply to her first. Bearing in mind the explanation in that reply, it should be readily seen that the political impossibility of forcing in

a divided Cabinet an agreement on a non-party question, a question not passed upon at the elections which brought that Cabinet into power, is almost absolute. But this is not all. When it is further considered that those suffrage organizations and leaders that are, by verbal and physical violence, now proposing to compel 19 disagreeing Cabinet ministers of a party in power to unite upon a non-party measure, were active at the elections of only two years ago in trying to disturb Liberal meetings at which Mr. Asquith spoke, and altogether peaceable with reference to Conservative meetings at which Mr. Balfour spoke, the futility of what Miss Paul calls their hope "of forcing the Government to include suffrage for women on the same terms for men in its electoral reform bill," would seem to be obvious.

(2) Miss Paul's argument that an amendment from the floor of the House would be "only too surely doomed to defeat," calls for special attention. Her reason, which is that of Miss Pankhurst in Votes for Women of December 1, 1911, is in effect that members of the coalition are free to vote against the woman suffrage amendment, whereas if the disagreeing Cabinet were to unite upon woman suffrage in their official bill, that measure would command the vote of the entire coalition. Why? Because, as she says (again adopting Miss Pankhurst's reasoning), "the defeat of the bill would mean the defeat and resignation of the Government and thereby the destruction of those measures in which the members of the coalition are particularly interested." In other words, if the Cabinet united officially upon woman suffrage, a non-party proposition on which they are in hopeless disagreement, it would make woman suffrage as *strong* in the House as the party measures the Cabinet has been commissioned by the elections to write upon the statute books — Irish home rule, abolition of plural voting, manhood suffrage, land value taxation, etc. There are phrasings which better express that toryistic idea. One of them is that Miss Pankhurst's policy would make those democratic measures as *weak* in the House as woman suffrage. And what then? Simply this, that defeat on the woman suffrage point, the non-party point, would bring on a dissolution of Parliament and at once give the Conservatives a third election in three years at which to utilize the existing un-democratic property-franchise, and its toryistic system of plural voting, in order to defeat the Liberals and the democratic proposals they have twice carried at general elections. If a policy involving this disaster to democracy did not originate in tory

councils, it has, at any rate, a pronounced tory flavor.

(3) And why should woman suffrage as an amendment to the Cabinet measure fail in the Commons? Miss Paul explains, again adopting Miss Pankhurst for authority, that there are 45 Liberals and 22 Nationalists (Irish) in the coalition who are personally opposed to woman suffrage, which would reduce the coalition majority to a minority of 16. The suffrage wing that Miss Pankhurst speaks for therefore demand that a divided Cabinet be forced into unity on woman suffrage, a non-party question, in order that 67 anti-woman suffragists may be given the alternative of voting for a non-party measure they are opposed to or losing the party measures they were elected to carry. If they refuse to yield, who would get the benefit? Not women who want the suffrage, but the tories, who want to baffle the democratic movement in all its phases with a try at another general election.

Meanwhile, what about those Conservatives who personally favor woman suffrage, or profess to? Aren't there at least a score who would vote for the amendment in order to make up any loss of Liberals? The amendment not being a party measure, Conservatives could vote it into the Cabinet bill if they wished to, even if they voted against the bill after the amendment had become part of it and the Liberals were bound by it. This would be shrewd Conservative tactics if the Liberals really are insincere in offering opportunity for that amendment. But Miss Paul implies that there are no such Conservatives. She tells of a public letter from Conservative members of Parliament who are in favor of woman suffrage but opposed to "universal suffrage." That is, they are willing to strengthen the Conservative party with more voters on a property basis, but not to let in any voters on the manhood and womanhood basis. In the declaration of those Conservatives you have the whole coconut—milk, meat and all. The Conservative woman suffragists are for woman suffrage with a tory string tied to it. But they are not disciplined by the violence-wing of the woman suffrage movement. The amenities of the missile are reserved for Lloyd George, who is trying, in spite of the obstacles which the violence-wing throws in his way, to secure a majority in the House for an amendment that would give suffrage to 7,000,000 women.

Miss Paul's British friends think him insincere. We think they are mistaken. Be that as it may, however, his way is manifestly the only possible way of getting woman suffrage at the



present time (without a miraculous conversion of Cabinet ministers); and if this wing of British suffragists were democratic, that is the policy they could reasonably be expected to pursue.

But the measure as a House amendment is certain of defeat, Miss Paul assures us. That is quite possible. We don't know, and she is of course only able to make a guess. As good a guess as hers, however, is that it is quite as certain of defeat, in existing political conditions, if a *Cabinet bill* for woman suffrage is the *sine qua non*. Without a unanimous Cabinet, woman suffrage as an official measure is not a political possibility; and unanimity on this non-party measure is beyond hope in a Cabinet some of whose members are as much opposed to universal suffrage as are any of the propertied-woman-suffragist Conservatives.

### III.

For her third point Miss Paul says this:

Third. You refer to the action of the militant suffragists as being in line with "tory policy." May I call your attention to the following facts:

(A) Shortly after the recent militant demonstration, four influential suffragists in Parliament who belong to the Conservative party, the Hon. A. Lytleton, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Mitchell Thomson and Mr. Ormsby-Gore, signed a protest against the renewal of militancy on the part of the women, and, together with other Conservative members of Parliament who are supporters of suffrage, urged, in a public letter (mentioned above), the support of the Conciliation bill which the militants entirely refuse to now accept.

(B) The National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party has recently passed the following resolution:

That in view of the Prime Minister's statement in regard to the proposed franchise reform, the National Council of the Independent Labor Party insists strongly that no measure will be acceptable which does not include both men and women, and urges that proposals for franchise extension which do not confer citizenship upon women should be definitely opposed.

The Council therefore calls upon the Government to introduce not a manhood suffrage bill, but a genuine measure of adult suffrage establishing political equality between the sexes.

Great numbers of local branches of the Independent Labor Party have passed similar resolutions, as have other labor bodies. The Aberdeen Trades Council, for instance, passed the following resolution on Nov. 29th:

That this meeting views with indignation the announcement by the Prime Minister that a Reform Bill extending the franchise for men only will be introduced next year, and decides to oppose by all means in its power any extension of the franchise which does not provide for political equality between the sexes.

The "Labor Leader," the organ of the Independent Labor Party, says in its issue of Nov. 24:

To talk at this time of day of Manhood Suffrage is to insult every woman in the country. The Prime Minister says the Cabinet is divided about Woman's Suffrage and therefore nothing can be done. A Cabinet has to take

action on many matters by majority vote without absolute unanimity being secured. We must unite the Cabinet on this question and that can only be done by outside pressure. The I. L. P. should throw itself valiantly into this campaign. The action of the Government has wiped out all differences in our ranks over policy, and we are all at one as to the line of advance. The purpose of our campaign is to compel the Government to bring in a genuine measure of political democracy, establishing the political equality of the sexes. Here are the three cardinal points: (1) Any fresh extension of the franchise to men that still leaves women deprived of the rights of citizenship should be strongly opposed. (2) We should not be content to wait for amendments to a manhood suffrage bill, since adult suffrage can only pass as a Government measure. (3) We must create such public opinion and bring such organized pressure to bear on the Government that they will be obliged to tear up their proposed manhood bill and bring in a full measure of political justice giving votes to men and women.



Paragraph A of this point does not seem to offer very strong proof against the theory of a tory spirit in the violence-wing of the British suffrage movement. Paragraph B speaks well for the desires of the Labor organizations mentioned; but it does not explain how to unite a divided Cabinet on a question regarding which there has been no party mandate, nor how even a majority in the Cabinet may be got for woman suffrage, if there is not a majority now, nor whether it would be reasonably prudent for a majority to force into an official party measure for presentation to the Commons a non-party measure over the heads of a Cabinet minority. As the Labor organizations quoted by Miss Paul, and the Labor Leader, which she also quotes, are in a political party in general hostility to the Liberal party, no popular strength for such a crisis could be safely looked for from them, if the crisis of another election were precipitated before the Liberals can redeem their pledges to their constituents at the previous election.

### IV.

Finally, says Miss Paul:

In view of the fact, as shown above, that the policy of the militant suffragists, with regard to the Government's proposal, is the same as that of the I. L. P. and numerous other labor bodies, while it is opposed by the Conservatives, it is difficult to see the basis on which The Public describes the attitude of the suffragists as "tory."



The evidence presented by Miss Paul does not, in our judgment, bear out her conclusion. The situation speaks stronger than anything she quotes.

(1) Here is a Cabinet of 19 ministers hopelessly divided in personal opinions on woman suf-



frage—a question regarding which they are under no party obligations.

(2) They compromise by leaving the question subject to amendment on the floor of the House of Commons, the amendment there adopted to be an integral part of the Cabinet bill.

(3) One of the greatest Parliamentary leaders of the day, Lloyd George (perhaps the very greatest and most influential), undertakes to carry through the House an amendment enfranchising 7,000,000 women, including the wives of working-men; and to this end he, perhaps also the most popular leader of his day, goes to the people of the country to arouse Liberal party support in the constituencies.

(4) His efforts are promoted by the woman suffrage movement, its violence-wing excepted; but he is denounced without reason or stint by woman suffrage leaders of the violence-wing. They declare in words that they demand a Cabinet measure or none, and by acts that they will not allow the Lloyd George amendment to the Cabinet bill to succeed as a House amendment if they can help it.

(5) Pursuant to this policy, their followers physically assault Lloyd George upon his concluding a public speech in favor of that amendment.

(6) The pretense for attacking Lloyd George is that he is insincere. The proof of insincerity, as urged editorially by Votes-for Women (the organ of the violence-wing of woman suffragists) on page 1 of December 1, 1911, is that if he were acting in good faith in urging woman suffrage upon the Cabinet, he would reply to their refusal to insert it in their official bill, *with his resignation*. The torystic significance of this alternative is too plain to be overlooked or to be offset by mere verbal declarations of a democratic purpose. If Lloyd George were to resign from the Ministry, the present Parliament would hardly last a week, and the crisis the Conservative party most wants would be at hand. With this, all the democratic legislation to which that party is opposed and the Liberal party is pledged—Irish home rule, abolition of plural voting, manhood suffrage, land value taxation, labor laws—would go by the board until after another election to be held under the present torystic property-franchise voting laws. If that election turned against the present coalition majority, not only would all those reforms be knocked out, but so would woman suffrage—unless for propertied classes of women. Yet the violence-wing of suffragists demand of Lloyd George, and demand with threats of violence and with actual violence, that he abandon the policy

of amending the Cabinet bill in the House, and force the anti-tory coalition out of office by precipitating a Parliamentary crisis through his *resignation*—a crisis not over a party question but over a non-party question, and a crisis which could by no possibility benefit any but Conservatives nor promote any but tory policies.

In those circumstances—to say nothing of further evidence, which, however, is not involved in our criticized editorial—there seems to us only a choice of inferences as to the violence-wing of the woman suffrage movement in Great Britain; they are fatuously reckless in promoting their cause, or else they are moved by tory impulses.

---



---

## NEWS NARRATIVE

---

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

---

Week ending Tuesday, January 16, 1912.

---

### Progressive Victory in the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

Herbert S. Bigelow's election as president of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio on the 9th is generally regarded in that State as a progressive victory, Mr. Bigelow having for years been the principal protagonist of Direct Legislation in Ohio and his election having been secured over the opposition of the Ohio State Board of Commerce of which Allen Ripley Foote is president, and by a union of the progressives of both the Democratic and the Republican parties. An objection to Mr. Bigelow, of which the most was made by his opponents, was the fact that he is a Singletaxer. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, pp. 1167, 1186.]



The convention was called to order on the 9th at 10 o'clock by W. W. Stokes of Dayton. At his suggestion, Judge Dennis Dwyer, as the oldest delegate, his age being 82, was elected temporary president. Judge Dwyer was conducted to the chair by Herbert S. Bigelow and Caleb H. Norris, the two principal contestants for the permanent presidency. After the election of a temporary secretary, the oath of their office was administered to the delegates by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. These formalities over, John D. Fackler, president of the Progressive Republican League of Ohio and one of the delegates to the convention, nominated Mr. Bigelow for president in what is described by news dispatches as "a snappy speech" wherein he said that "it was advisable to elect a man in sympathy with pro-

gressive thought," in order that "the new social compact to be drawn might be in harmony with the wishes of the people who dominated the last election;" that "the paramount issues are the placing of greater power in the hands of the people, preparing a more modern and just way for the distribution of wealth, strengthening the character of public institutions and meeting the demand for a larger showing of popular rights." Judge Norris was nominated by J. W. Winn in a speech described by the same dispatches as "of the old spread eagle screaming type." Other candidates were Henry W. Elson, and D. F. Anderson. On the first ballot, there were 54 votes for Bigelow, 27 for Norris, 20 for Anderson, 14 for Elson and 1 for Thomas. Mr. Thomas, a Bigelow man from Cleveland and the only party Socialist in the Convention, voted for himself under instructions from his party organization. Mr. Bigelow fell to 53 on the second ballot. On no ballot did he fall lower, and on the ninth he had risen to 55. Judge Norris got 30 on the second ballot but fell from that to only 3. Mr. Anderson rose steadily to 47. On the eleventh ballot Mr. Bigelow had a majority and was declared elected, the vote on this final ballot being as follows: Bigelow, 62; Anderson, 47; Norris, 3; Elson, 4, and Thomas, 1—a majority of 2 for Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow's election was thereupon made unanimous and he was conducted to the chair by Judge Norris, Mr. Anderson and Professor Fess, the latter having been voted for as a candidate at some of the ballottings against his will and without nomination. In his short address upon taking the chair, Mr. Bigelow said that "great as was the honor bestowed upon him he hoped for still greater honor to himself and all the other delegates in having their work ratified by the people," and that it was his "greatest desire in helping to write a Constitution for Ohio to do effective and worthy work." C. B. Galbreath, State Librarian and a Republican who favors the Initiative and Referendum, was elected permanent secretary of the Convention over W. W. Pollock, a Democrat, who also favors the Initiative and Referendum.



In reporting the organization the correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer described as follows an incident of human interest wherever progressivism has secured a hold upon public opinion:

Thomas Fitzsimons of Cuyahoga county was the only member whose desk was decorated with flowers. A huge basket was placed on his desk just after he was seated, filled with pink rosebuds, lilies, carnations and tuberoses. Wide festoons of pink ribbon decorated the handle. The flowers were from the Washington Reform Club that flourished twenty years ago in Cleveland. It was founded by the late Dr. L. B. Tuckerman, one of the early exponents of political reform in Cleveland. There are only a few

of the old time members of the club left, and the organization long has been inactive. For a dozen years when the club flourished, the members discussed laws and constitutions that would be for the interest of the people. Fitzsimons is the first of the members to find himself in position to help write a State constitution. This evening Fitzsimons had the flowers sent to the charity ward of St. Francis hospital with his good wishes.



Between the adjournment of the Convention on the 9th and its reassembling on the 10th an attempt was made to control its action by means of a "committee on committees" so chosen and organized as to facilitate the designs of reactionaries. This move occupied the attention of the Convention on the 10th. It came in the form of a substitute to a motion of Delegate Hoskins that the President appoint a committee of seven to recommend rules, of which he should be a member, and that he name the standing committees; the substitute being offered by Delegate Lampson, who is regarded as the reactionary leader. His substitute proposed (1) a committee of 9 on rules, and (2) a committee on committees to be chosen by Congressional districts. A long and heated discussion followed. It reached a climax of vituperation that brought the President to the floor in self-defense. Calling Edward W. Doty to the chair, he made a dramatic speech, of which a trusted correspondent of The Public writes:

In the opinion of the best informed, the progressives had the votes to carry their side of the committee question; but their majority though assured would not have been large, and there was much bitterness which would have been intensified by a fight to the finish. So Bigelow's speech could not have been merely to win a motion; it was to win a convention. And it did. He evidently felt when the fight was hottest that if he won the motion he would nevertheless lose; for the inevitable result, whichever way that fight went, would be to split the convention into two permanently warring factions,—the very thing the real reactionaries were aiming at and which the progressives who had been fooled into opposing Bigelow for President did not see. The great victory Bigelow won by his speech, was the unification of the convention. As oratory his speech was perfect. In logic, in manner, in word, it had to be perfect. The slightest slip at any point would have made it go flat and have killed the progressive movement in the convention so dead it would never have awakened. The effect was to compel the reactionaries to back out of their fight, lest they disclose their weakness on roll call. They profess that it was only the fairness of the President they were concerned about; it is, in fact, his fairness that they have feared. When the anti-Bigelow progressives stated, as in response to Bigelow's speech and through Professor Fess they did, that they were willing to trust the President's pledges of fairness, the great bulk of the voting strength of the reactionaries melted away, and their leader gracefully stopped

the fight on committee appointments which he had been waging for hours.

Following is a resume of President Bigelow's speech:

Gentlemen of the Convention: It is perhaps true that a large number of people seriously doubt the possibility of our framing a Constitution for which they will vote. If this be true, our great responsibility from now on is to win public confidence by doing efficiently and well the work that we have been charged to do. Now, what is likely to interfere with our success? Your President was elected by a large and tremendously solidified minority of the delegates. This minority stood for an idea favored by many who voted against him. It stood for an idea that is regarded by many of this convention as a hobby, a fad, not a desirable thing to write into a Constitution. And it was thought that because he has devoted himself for years to that idea, he would be unfit for the Chair. It was thought he would draw a faction line, that his rulings and his conduct would tend more and more to bring those who favor this idea into conflict with those who oppose it, until there would be two parties in the Convention, each suspecting and maligning the other. Not two political parties. It is absolutely impossible to draw political party lines in this Convention. We will refuse to do that. But a line may be drawn; there is danger that a line will be drawn; there is danger that we may not work together as brothers and as patriots, but may contend with each other without reason for supremacy, and at the last wreck the work of our Convention. If this is the danger, then it would seem to be wise to take that course in this matter which, instead of aggravating, will allay hostile feelings, and, instead of promoting, will discourage disorganizing and inefficient tendencies. What is our chance? The only chance is that we shall sink all differences now; forget all roll calls; remember no factions; but stand together and work together with only one great purpose—the successful performance of our great task. Now, if you adopt the substitute to the original resolution, you take away from us the greatest opportunity we could possibly have to unify the Convention. If you adopt the substitute instead of the original, you deprive me of the opportunity of doing what I tremendously want to do—not to appoint these committees; that is not what I want to do. What I want to do is to prove to you, my friends, that there are no grounds for your suspicions of unfairness. I want to harmonize our differences before they widen. I want to prevent irrational conflict right at the start, so that these sarcasms, these tendencies to label one another, to suspect one another's motives, will be impossible from now on throughout the Convention. If I am given the power to appoint these committees, the spirit of division will disappear, and we will become a united body working together for the glory of this great State of Ohio.

I am the only man in this Convention who can stop dissension, and I can do that only by having placed in my hands the power to make committee appointments that will prove to you that there is no purpose of unfairness in the Chair. The power will be used fairly and justly to promote a spirit of

harmony and unity among us all. If I am given that power, I will go to the member from Mahoning, and I will go to the member from Marion, and I will go to the member from Erie, and I will go to the member from Defiance, and the member from Ash-tabula, and I will go as their friend and brother, and I will try to learn from them on what committee they think they will find the most congenial and useful service and do the most good; and when I have learned that, that will be the committee they will be placed on without reference to party lines, and without reference to any roll calls which have been taken in this Convention. And when our work is done, not a man of you will have any of the suspicions that now you very naturally have. Give me, my friends, a chance to save the day. Give me the chance to put a stop to all unnecessary personal and factional controversy. Give me the chance to unify our Convention for efficient work in drafting a Constitution that will be acceptable to the people of our State and will breathe on every page and in every line the spirit of fairness, justice and equality.

At the close of this speech, of which we give but an outline, there was profound silence. It was broken by Professor Fess, a progressive who had opposed Mr. Bigelow but now declared his willingness to trust his fairness. Delegate Lampson then asked leave to withdraw his proposed substitute, and thereupon the original resolution, empowering President Bigelow to appoint committees, was unanimously adopted. The convention adjourned from the 10th to the 16th.



The Committee on Rules, appointed by President Bigelow and consisting of Bigelow (ex officio) and Lampson, Winn, Doty, Shaffer, Leet and Hoskins, has since decided upon a classification of committees designed to help President Bigelow to make his promise to the convention good. Another week will probably elapse, however, before the convention gets down to work. Judged by its strenuous two days' sessions, this Convention is regarded by competent observers on the ground as the strongest deliberative body in Ohio for twenty years.



#### The Democratic Convention.

Besides naming Baltimore as the place and June 25 as the date for the Democratic Presidential convention, as we reported last week, the Democratic national committee adopted a direct primary plan. As adopted the plan is a modification of one proposed by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, the modification having been formulated by a subcommittee of which Clark Howell of Georgia was chairman. The plan adopted by the national committee is as follows:

That in the choice of delegates and alternates to the national Democratic convention of 1912 the Democratic State or Territorial committees may, if

not otherwise directed by law of such States or Territories, provide for the direct election of such delegates or alternates if in the opinion of the respective committees it is deemed desirable and possible to do so with proper and sufficient safeguards. Where such provision is not made by the respective committees for the choice of delegates and alternates and where the State laws do not provide specifically the manner of such choice, then the delegates and alternates to the said national convention shall be chosen in the manner that governed the choice of delegates from the respective States and Territories to the last national Democratic convention.

[See current volume, page 34.]



#### Governor Harmon's Presidential Campaign.

Governor Harmon of Ohio made his first campaign speech for the Presidency at Chicago on the 11th. It was made under the auspices of the Iroquois Club. His platform there declared is reported by the local press as advocating tariff reform, regulation of trusts, and economy. From Chicago Governor Harmon went to East St. Louis, thence to Columbus and thence to Milwaukee and St. Paul. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, p. 1188.]



#### Edward F. Dunne for Governor of Illinois.

Judge Edward F. Dunne, former mayor of Chicago, announced on the 17th his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Illinois. Judge Dunne's announcement is in the form of a letter, addressed to the Democratic voters of the State, offering himself as a candidate at the Spring primaries, and in which he declares his conviction that—

the Democratic party is about to return to power in this State and also in the nation, pledged to the enactment of laws governing corrupt practices at election, election of Senators by direct vote of the people, the abolition of that instrument of venality and favoritism in taxation, the Board of Equalization, the enactment into law of the Initiative and Referendum and other progressive measures which will restore representative government and assure the people of permanent control of the functions and prerogatives that have been wrested from them by the forces of special privilege through the debauching of corrupt public servants.



#### Progressive Republicans of Illinois.

Upon the authority of the recent conference of Progressive Republicans at Springfield, Illinois, the committee appointed there for the purpose issued a call on the 10th for "the co-operation of all those who believe in the constructive principles of progressive Republicanism, whether they be supporters of Robert M. La Follette or Theodore Roosevelt for the presidential nomination," in a conference at the Leland Hotel, Springfield,

Ill., at 10 o'clock in the morning of Saturday, January 27. This call declares in terms that—

the present national administration has failed to carry out the pledges of the Republican party made in the last Republican national convention, and to interpret the deep and settled purpose of the American people to restore popular control of political parties and of government. It significantly cast its lot with those who fixed on the country the burden of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. By its indecision it has failed to meet the problems arising out of the growth of the uncontrolled monopolies fostered by that tariff, thereby continuing an intolerable uncertainty in business and preventing the return of prosperity. Clinging blindly and stubbornly to reactionary leaders and policies, the administration has precipitated a widespread and growing revolt within the party, which its hesitant, vacillating and middle-of-the-road leadership can neither satisfy nor subdue. In Illinois the degeneration of the leadership of both political parties has culminated in the purchase of a seat in the United States Senate and in the legislative jackpot. A group of political barons led by Lorimer, Deneen and Cannon, have for many years made the strengthening of their personal machines their chief political consideration. No one will seriously contend that either their ideals or their methods have been approved by the rank and file of the Republican party, and it is perfectly plain that under such conditions graft, political favoritism and waste are inevitable. It has become clear that this State cannot properly progress until we put an end to that type of political purpose and method represented by Cannonism, Lorimerism, Deneenism and jackpotism.

[See current volume, page 34.]



#### The City Club of Chicago.

During the past week every evening was devoted by the City Club of Chicago to a special civic subject, with guests and speakers appropriate to the subject, by way of opening its admirably arranged club house at 315 Plymouth Place. Monday was "presidents' night," at which ex-presidents of the club were the guests of honor; Tuesday was "government night," at which State governors were guests of honor, and McGovern of Wisconsin made a distinct hit; Wednesday was "education night," Thursday "nationalities night," Friday "civic associations night" and Saturday "labor night." Besides the guests of honor each night other invited guests, men and women from the rank and file of citizens whose interests and work are identified with the respective subjects—State officials, etc., teachers, nationality leaders, civic association promoters, and trade unionists—filled the club house at dinner and listened to the speaking afterwards. The character of the club as a pan-partisan rather than a non-partisan body was interestingly exemplified. The character of its work also was worthily exhibited. Its many private dining rooms, to be devoted to serious committee work instead of games, were decorated

with graphic charts of civic work and facts. Perhaps the most significant, and probably the most interesting of the six club-opening functions, was that of "labor night," when the president, Dr. Henry B. Favill, delivered an exemplary democratic address of welcome; the toastmaster, Prof. Robert F. Hoxie, served with skill and good humor; and many excellent addresses, vital with democratic spirit, were made. The purpose of the occasion was described by Professors Hoxie and George H. Mead, both of the University of Chicago, and the case for organized labor was clearly and strongly made by John P. Frey, editor of the Iron Moulders' Journal (Cincinnati). The other speakers were Professor John C. Kennedy, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Towner K. Webster, Victor A. Olander, W. E. Rodriguez, Mary E. McDowell, Professor Ernst Freund, Matthew Woll, Jane Addams, and George W. Perkins. [See current volume, page 39.]



**Socialist Victory in Germany.**

At the German elections on the 12th the Social-Democratic party made extraordinary advances. Their popular victory is probably vastly greater than may be inferred from the number of members they elect, great as that is, for the distribution of seats is on a basis so antiquated as to have produced, in consequence of shifting populations, the effect of what in this country we call a "gerrymander." The "gerrymander" operates against the Socialists because their greatest gains in popular strength have long been in districts which, though now populous, were not so at the last apportionment. So obstructive has this situation been to Socialist strength in the Reichstag that in the Reichstag just closed, the Social-Democratic party had only 53 (43 at its beginning in 1907, but increased to 53 by by-elections) members in a total of 397, although their popular vote was over 3,000,000 in a total of 11,000,000. [See vol. ix, p. 1065; vol. xiii, pp. 925, 1138; vol. xiv, pp. 230, 1269.]



A considerable increase of Socialist party strength, both representative and popular, was expected before the elections of the 12th, and when these came off those expectations were not disappointed. The popular vote for that party is estimated as having amounted in the aggregate to 4,000,000, and the election returns reported on the 13th from Berlin showed that the party had won 67 seats by the requisite vote of a complete popular majority and will have the right at the forthcoming second elections to contest 109 more, their candidates having been either at the head or second at the poll in that number of the constituencies in which no candidate got a majority.

The results at latest reports tabulate as follows:

Centrists .....	88
Conservatives .....	39
Socialists .....	67
Poles .....	14
Various parties .....	4

The Centrists are the Clericals or Catholics. They co-operate in the Reichstag with the Conservatives, the tory party of Germany. The Poles are racial in their politics.



The Chicago Tribune of the 14th, in an especially intelligent dispatch of the 13th from Berlin, thus sums up the result:

So far as known the Socialistic triumphs at yesterday's elections spelled disaster to the other Opposition parties. The Conservatives are weakened, but the Catholic Center remains impregnable and the Government is unshaken by the net results. The Socialists have already carried sixty-seven seats outright in the first ballot, as compared with twenty-nine in 1907. They have captured seven out of eight divisions in greater Berlin and are likely to carry the eighth, containing the Imperial residences, which is emphatically the Kaiser's own quarter. There will be a tremendous struggle on the second ballot to carry the other district so that the Socialists may have an "all red" Berlin. In addition to their achievement in Berlin the Socialists have got in second ballots for 109 seats, and it is believed the final round will bring their total strength in the Reichstag up to 90 or 100 seats. The Radicals, National-Liberals, and the non-socialist Left have lost more than twenty seats. The once omnipotent National-Liberals carried only four seats on the first ballot out of 200 they contested. The issue of the rebalots, which will be decided between Jan. 20 and Jan. 24, will depend on the bargaining made by the various parties. Generally half of the constituencies won on the rebalots are decided by the political bargaining for support. It is said the Conservatives and Centrists will combine against all comers and will support practically any candidate against a Socialist. Conversely, the Liberals, progressive Radicals, and Social Democrats will consolidate against any candidate of the Conservative-Centrist blue-black bloc. . . . A late analysis of the situation gives some reason to believe that the Radicals, after the rebaloting, may return to the Reichstag in nearly their former strength. They will participate in 54 rebalots, and it is estimated that their chances are good to win in 49, possibly in 53. These victories would include 4 seats now held by the Conservatives and 2 each from the National-Liberals, the Centrists, and Socialists. The Radicals are assisted in their fight by the fact that both the National-Liberals and the Socialists support them in preference to either the Centrists or the Conservatives, and both the latter support them against the Socialists.



Following are among the demands of the Socialist Democratic party in Germany:  
Abolition of the monarchy; abolition of the

Bundesrath and the upper houses of the State legislatures; abolition of the standing army and creation of a national guard; responsibility of the cabinets to the Parliaments; election of all officers by popular vote; initiative, referendum, recall, and per capita representation to all legislative bodies; nationalization of all means of production; heavier taxation of the great fortunes and incomes; manhood suffrage and ballot for women; abolition of indirect taxes and of the duties on the necessities of life; shortening of hours of labor by law; prohibition of child labor; stringent women labor laws; compulsory better safety devices; creation of industrial courts on broader lines; improved inspection of industrial plants and home industries; home rule for municipalities.



#### China.

The position of the Manchu dynasty becomes every day more untenable. Peking is threatened by the Republicans, still at long distance. It was reported on the 12th that the Manchu princes had resolved to retire from Peking to Jehol, about 120 miles northeast of Peking, where they usually spend the summer months. A formal abdication of the throne is regarded as pending. President Sun Yat Sen continues to state that he will resign the Presidency when the Manchu dynasty is ousted and peace is restored. Within a few days the old National Assembly which elected Dr. Sun Yat Sen President of the Republic will be dissolved. A Senate will then be convened, consisting of three representatives from each Province, each of whom will have a vote. The quorum has been settled at thirty-three. Twenty Senators have arrived at Nanking. The Provinces of Shen-Si and Shan-Si, in the northern part of China proper, have been from early in the revolution the seat of grave disorders. Reports relate that during the time of disorder from 8,000 to 10,000 Manchus have been massacred in these two Provinces.



American troops are being sent from the Philippines to China to share with Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan in the protection of the foreign-owned Peking railway.



#### Persia.

W. Morgan Shuster, late Treasurer-General of Persia, is reported as safely embarked on the Black Sea, en route for Paris by way of Batoum and Constantinople. His authority and office Mr. Shuster transferred before leaving to F. S. Cairns, an American associate, to be in turn transferred to a commission composed of four Persians and the Belgian ex-director of customs, as previously arranged for. Mr. Cairns has cabled to the United States that Mr. Mornard has forcibly taken possession of the treasury offices, ignoring the rest of the commission, and that the cowed,

reactionary ministry has acquiesced. The American employes in the treasury offices have refused to work under Mr. Mornard, but they are in doubt as to whether their contract rights to the salaries they were to receive for three years will be recognized. [See current volume, page 37.]



#### Foreign Unrest.

Outside of China and Persia—both passing through crises—China undoubtedly to greater self-government, Persia apparently to foreign enslavement—the political world seems restless. Cabinets are dissolving and being replaced, and little nations furnish more revolutions than usual.



In France the Cailloux ministry was forced out on the 10th over its inability successfully to deny that the Franco-German Moroccan treaty of a few months ago had been secretly negotiated by French and German financiers with reference to railroad concessions in the Congo, the Kamerouns and Morocco. Senator Raymond Poincare responded favorably to President Fallières' request that he should try to form a new ministry, and on the 13th its chief members were announced, including Aristide Briand as minister of justice, Leon Bourgeois as minister of labor, Alexander Millerand as minister of war, Theophile Delcasse as minister of marine, L. L. Klotz as minister of finance, Jules Steeg as minister of the interior, and Jean Dupuy as minister of public works. Including as it does some of the greatest statesmen of modern France, the ministry is regarded as an unusually powerful one. It represents the Republican Union, to which Mr. Poincare belongs, the Democratic Left, the Socialist Radicals, the Radical Left and the Socialist Republicans. The platform of the ministry includes electoral reform, and the quick ratification of the Franco-German agreement in regard to Morocco and the French Congo, despite its history, which will permit of the speedy organization of the longed for French protectorate over Morocco. [See vol. xiv, pages 229, 419, 1146, 1285; current volume, page 39.]



In Spain the Canalejas ministry was forced out on the 14th over the question of the King's exercise of clemency toward a rioter convicted of murder at the time of the general strike in Valencia last September. The trial of the strikers was seized upon by the Radicals as a weapon with which to attack the Government. Premier Canalejas advised the King to exercise clemency in the case of six other prisoners, but stood for the death sentence for Chato Chuqueta. So great an outcry was raised that the King commuted the death sentence, and Canalejas resigned, admitting a political error. Upon the request of the King, how-

ever, he agreed on the 16th to resume office with the same ministry. [See vol. xiv, pages 976, 1001.]



The island of Crete in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, long restive under Turkish control, is said to be once more plotting a union with Greece, and to be preparing to send Cretan deputies to Athens when the next session of the Greek parliament meets. As Greece does not wish another war with Turkey the Cretan deputies may be kept out of Greece, as they have been on a previous occasion. [See vol. xii, page 825.]



In Central America, Honduras has ratified the election of General Manuel Bonilla as President as a wind-up to her recent revolution. Salvador is consulting the United States about dangerous signs from her neighbor, Guatemala. [See vol. xiv, pages 229, 539.]



In South America, Chile, like her sister nations of Europe, is losing her cabinet. Paraguay continues her revolution. The death of President Estrada of Ecuador has been followed by civil war. The armed cruiser Maryland has been ordered by the United States government to join the Yorktown off the coast of Ecuador to protect American interests, especially the valuable American railway property between Guayaquil and Quito. [See vol. xiii, page 1001; vol. xiv, page 1312.]

---

## NEWS NOTES

---

—Congressman Ollie James was on the 9th elected to the United States Senate by the legislature of Kentucky.

—Charles Frederick Adams of New York is to fill lecture engagements for the Henry George Lecture Bureau of Chicago next week at Boise, Idaho.

—Fighting still continues in the Philippine island of Jolo, between the American troops and the Moros. On the 11th 26 Moros were killed. [See vol. xiv, p. 1313.]

—The Eighth Annual Conference on Child Labor under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee, will meet at Louisville, Kentucky, January 25, 26, 27 and 28.

—By 58 to 6, the Senate of the United States voted on the 15th to admit the public to debates on the British and French arbitration treaties and to print the debates in the Congressional Record.

—John Grier Hibben, Ph. D., LL. D., professor of logic and philosophy, at Princeton University, was on the 11th elected the fourteenth President of the institution by the unanimous vote of the board of trustees. He succeeds Woodrow Wilson, who resigned, Oct. 20, 1910, to accept the Democratic nom-

ination for Governor. Dr. Hibben is 51 years old. [See vol. xiii, page 1021.]

—The Supreme Court of Louisiana decided on the 15th that Negro passengers in street cars cannot be moved from seats in the "white" section unless there are seats which they can occupy in the Negro section.

—It was reported on the 14th that Postmaster General Hitchcock intends to recommend that Congress establish government ownership and operation of all telegraph lines as part of the postal service.

—Owing to a reduction of wages in the Lawrence (Mass.) mills, caused, as the employers explain, by a law reducing working hours where women are employed from 56 to 54 a week, 30,000 workers were reported as idle on the 15th.

—Dissatisfied with the type of amusement furnished by the local theaters of Pittsfield, Mass., fifty citizens of that town have conducted the Colonial Theater there for several weeks, and have succeeded in having good plays produced to crowded houses.

—New Mexico's first State Governor—W. C. McDonald, Democrat,—was inaugurated at Santa Fe on the 15th. The inauguration took place at the capitol. A reception and ball followed at the old historic palace of governors. [See current volume, page 38.]

—George A. Neeley, a Democrat, was elected to Congress on the 9th from the 7th district of Kansas (Jerry Simpson's old district) to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Madison, a Progressive Republican. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 979.]

—At a large meeting of the Political Equality League of Chicago at the Fine Arts Building on the 13th, the principal address was by Louis F. Post, on "What One Man Thinks," and the response by Professor Frances Squire Potter. Mrs. Charles W. Thompson presided.

—A decision by the Supreme Court of the United States was unanimously made on the 15th, sustaining the Constitutionality of the employers' liability Act of Congress, passed in 1908, to take the place of a similar Act of Congress which the court had held to be unconstitutional.

—The constitutionality of the income tax law enacted by the last legislature of Wisconsin was sustained in a decision by the State Supreme Court on the 9th. The exemptions under this law include individual incomes up to \$800; for husband and wife up to \$1,200; for each child under 18 years of age and for each legal dependent an additional \$200. Higher incomes are taxed on a graduated scale.

The Italians won their first important naval battle in the Tripolitan war in the Red Sea on the 7th. Seven Turkish gunboats were sunk after a short, sharp conflict. Victories on land officially claimed by the Italian government in the effort at acquiring Tripoli are being somewhat discounted by private letters received in Italy from officers and privates serving with the army in Africa, in which some so-called victories are reported as reverses. [See vol. xiv, page 1172.]

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club of New York has changed its headquarters from 125th street and



8th avenue to room 305 at No. 47 W. 42d street. Its new officers are John T. McRoy, president; John J. Hopper, vice president; Fred R. Seemans, treasurer; Jos. Dana Miller, general secretary; E. H. Underhill, financial secretary; Grace Isabel Colbron, recording secretary, and the following directors: James MacGregor, Benjamin Doblin, F. C. Leubuscher, Ernest Engholm and Otto David.

—The Federal court at Indianapolis on the 13th, on writ of habeas corpus, discharged William J. Burns, the detective, from custody under indictment of a State grand jury for kidnapping J. J. McNamara. The Federal judge, A. B. Anderson, decided that the requisition of the Governor of California, when allowed by the Governor of Indiana, created a right of arrest and extradition under the Constitution of the United States which Federal courts have jurisdiction to protect. The indictments have consequently been quashed by the State court. [See The Public, vol. xii, p. 682.]

—The old great granite building of the Equitable Life Assurance Society in New York City, covering the block bounded by Broadway, Nassau, Cedar and Pine streets, was, except for its fire-proof vaults, entirely destroyed by fire on the 9th. The property loss was roughly put at \$6,000,000. Six lives were lost. Cash and securities to from \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 were removed intact on the 11th from the vaults of the Equitable Trust Company and the Mercantile Trust Company in the ruined building. The vault of the Equitable Assurance Society contains about \$300,000,000 more and is still to be reached.

---

## PRESS OPINIONS

---

Herbert S. Bigelow.

Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer (Dem.), Jan. 10.—Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati is to be president of the Constitutional Convention. He was the logical man for the place. The convention is composed of a clear majority of radicals, and the person who best represents this prevailing sentiment among the delegates is he who has preached the now triumphant doctrines in and out of season for years past.



Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 13.—Mr. Bigelow has been an ardent advocate of the Initiative and Referendum for a decade, and will use all his influence to write them into the new Constitution. He places this first among the measures he represents.



Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator (Ind.), Jan. 12.—The majority of the Constitutional Convention showed in its first short session that it is not made up of a set of gullible amateurs as the leaders of the minority plainly supposed. The attempt to commit the Convention to the rule of a Committee on Committees, to be made up of one member from each Congressional District to be selected by all of the members from each District, was a transparent

device to hand over the Convention to the control of a designing minority. The scheme on the surface looked plausible, but it took Doty of Cuyahoga but a few minutes to expose the clumsy attempt at cunning, crafty manipulation so that its failure was inevitable and prompt. The majority of progressives will have to keep themselves awake, but the first session proved them much keener witted than their adversaries.

---

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

---

#### PERSIA—MORITURA.

John Galsworthy in the London Nation of December 30, 1911.\*

Home of the free! Protector of the weak!

Shall we and this great grey ally make sand  
Of all a nation's budding green, and wreak

Our winter will on that unhappy land?  
Is all our steel of soul dissolved and flown?

Have fumes of fear encased our heart of flame?  
Are we with panic so deep-rotted down

In self, that we can feel no longer shame  
To league, and steal a nation's hope of youth?

Oh! Sirs! Is our star merely cynical?  
Is God reduced? That we must darken truth,  
And break our honor with this creeping fall?

Is freedom but a word—a flaring boast?

Is self-concern horizon's utter sum?

If so—today let England die, and ghost

Through all her godless history to come!

If, Sirs, the faith of men be force alone,

Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth!

If life be only prayer to things of stone—

Come death! And let us, friends, go mocking  
forth!

But if there's aught, in all Time's bloody hours,

Of justice, if the herbs of pity grow—

O native land, let not those only flowers

Of God be desert-strewn and withered now!



## LITTLE STORIES OF MINOR REFORMERS.

### 3. The Woman Who Only Wanted Facts. For The Public.

The young school teacher had been working hard in a new district, trying to settle neighborhood quarrels and build up a run-down school. He felt that something quite worth while had come out of his long winter's work; but when the term ended, and his friend Roberts came in one midnight, down from the pines of Shasta, and

\*See recent news articles in The Public on Persia's loss of independence and constitutional government under coercion from Russia supported by England. Volume xiv, pages 1196, 1219, 1244, 1267, 1312; current volume, pages 37, 62.

shouted at his window: "Come out, and saddle, and take a trip with me, and have adventures," he rose with joy to the suggestion.

They slept awhile under some oaks by the river; they breakfasted with the ferryman, and crossed the Sacramento, to ride into another county. The old ferryman heard them telling mountain stories to each other, and he laughed aloud.

"Better go back, boys; don't go down into Tehama with such yarns. The Woman who asks Questions will pick you up and make you sorry for yourselves."

"And who is she?" asked the young school-teacher.

"She is a good, honest lady, an' well brung up. Everybody respects her. But she has taken to the business of straightenin' every mis-statement or piece of careless talk she hears, an' she is in dead earnest about reformin' all of us. Them stories you've been relatin' to each other is good ones, but she would say: 'Air them yarns gospel truth in all particulars?' An' she would make you sing small. Onc't she rose up right in a public meetin' an' called time on the speaker. You boys had better go back to Shasta."

"This is the adventure," said Roberts. "Never mind her name, nor where she lives. The fates will arrange a meeting."

They rode on together, and into one of the larger towns of the valley. "Real oysters for us, not out of a can," said one of them, as they entered a restaurant. It was crowded, and a tall, quiet, well-dressed, middle-aged woman sat on the opposite side of the same table. They bowed to her and went on with their talk.

"Really," said the young school teacher, "We ought to have some beer, for we have been living over a year on fried pork and Missourian coffee, with nothing else whatever."

"Stop slandering Missouri," said Roberts. "It's truly a fine American State, and lots of good coffee-makers come out of it. You never seem to get over Mrs. Sammy Parm's five-gallon coffee pot which she kept on the back of the stove all winter without emptying it, merely dipping out a cupful of grounds and putting in a cupful of coffee three times a day. Her coffee sent three teachers to the county hospital before you boarded there, and when you persuaded her to empty and scald the pot and make a new start we heard of it all the way from Igo to Horsetown by a special messenger."

At this juncture the woman opposite took a hand in the conversation by leaning forward and saying to Roberts in a well-bred and attractive voice:

"Pardon me, but I wish to ask you if it is the exact truth that the coffee you speak of did actually send three teachers to the hospital?" Then turning to the young school teacher she added:

"And did you really live a year on nothing but coffee and pork?"

"Madam," said Roberts, "we are your obliged servants, but I trust you will still further enlighten us on this matter."

She knit her brows and shook her head gently. "Sir," she said, "I fear I shall find it hard to explain myself. But you and your friend may not be aware that you appear to have been telling falsehoods. Do you think that your remarks set forth the plain, unadorned, literal and exact truth, as if you were a sworn witness in a courtroom?"

"No, madam," replied Roberts. "My feeble story was an innocent exaggeration, meant to promote cheerfulness and aid digestion."

She sighed, a long, heart-felt sigh, and at once nailed her colors, so to speak, on the outer walls.

"That is just it," she replied. "And you are teachers! Everywhere there is a departure from the good old rule that absolute truth-speaking is the one great virtue. Children are told fairy tales; young persons read novels, romances and poetry. There is even a belief in Santa Claus. Of course, we live in an atmosphere of what you call innocent exaggerations, but which seem to me plain perversions of the truth. Under such circumstances it becomes extremely difficult for anyone to really recognize a fact when they meet it. In my own case I may as well admit that I very seldom meet a person whose conversation simply gives the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

The young men looked around the room; everyone within earshot was listening with delighted attention. They looked at the troubled and very earnest fact of the woman before them. They looked in doubt at each other. Then Roberts rose to the occasion.

"Madam," he said with profound earnestness, "you can believe me when I say that both of us recognize and respect your point of view. There is far too much falsehood in our social sayings, and in most human affairs. There may well be differences of opinion in regard to the best methods of combatting this evil."

"There is only one way," she answered, "and that is to speak the exact, unadorned truth yourself, and to bear witness on all occasions against everything which departs from that standard."

"Madam," said Roberts in a voice of utter sincerity and persuasiveness, "how many men and women in this imperfect world have reached that level?"

Her air of gentle but profound combativeness slowly disappeared. In a voice as quiet as Roberts' own, she replied: "I cannot tell, but certainly not myself."

"And I myself, wish to become more truthful," said Roberts. "So we agree in this respect and doubtless in much more. Let us go into the pub-

lic square yonder, and sit on a bench under those elms and talk together, the three of us."

"I should like that," she told him, "but you must finish your meal, and I will wait over there."

"Madam," said the young school teacher, "according to its sign this restaurant is open day and night. There will be many more oysters later. My mother and sisters would be grieved, believe me, if they thought that we could keep you waiting like that." He paid for the untouched oysters, and the three went out together to the elms.

"There," as Roberts afterwards said, "We introduced ourselves to each other, and then the Woman who asks Questions told us more of her views, and how she came to take them up so hard. She had suffered even more than is usual in life from the petty and bewildering prevarications, concealments and dishonesties of those who were closely related to her. She was high-minded, and intensely loyal to her ideals of truth, but with all her abilities and really good education, she had not even the smallest gleam of humor, and practically no sense of proportion. She was desperately and painfully literal. So pathetic and yet so terrible a social reformer we had never before met with. And still we somewhat helped the situation; and then we went back, and had two plates of oysters apiece."

"What on earth could you and the other teacher say to that foolish woman?" asked the man to whom this last was told.

"We tried to show her that much of what she bore witness against was unimportant, and a thing to laugh at. She said she couldn't laugh at anything of the sort. Then we showed her the importance of concentration, and as we found she could really write very able articles—she showed us several—we told the proofreader story."

"What was that?"

"O! just about an old proofreader on a big newspaper who had the inside and was a tremendous student and worker. He pointed out by letter the next day every error of fact in the previous issue."

"Over his own name?"

"No, over an assumed name. And he became a terror, a wonder, a walking pestilence of fact-speaking. But we didn't tell her that. We showed her how she could give up all the lesser lines of her work, and center herself on letters to the newspapers, and articles and pamphlets, correcting every misstatement of facts that could be proven by quoted authorities. We urged her to sign the big and important ones with her own name, and the little ones 'Truthseeker' or 'Veritas.' So we left her, somewhat modified, and greatly encouraged."

"When this matter gets out," said the listener, "you will be slammed by every newspaper in the Sacramento Valley!" She has begun it already. And she does it very well indeed. When she finds

a glaring error in a newspaper article, and the editor doesn't wish to take it back, 'Veritas' just sends it to the rival sheet, with a scorching little footnote."

"Tell those editors," responded Roberts, "that if they will thank her, and then send her lots of novels to cut to pieces in their review columns, she may develop into a famous critic, and let up on the rest of it."

"Not novels," said the young school teacher, who had heard all this. "Tell them to let her review histories, and every sort of so-called fact-books, especially those that we use in public schools and other institutions of learning. Thus she will have much happiness and great fame."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

---

## BOOKS

---

### THE GIFT OF SLEEP.

*The Gift of Sleep.* By Bolton Hall. Published by Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

Although Mr. Hall tells many good and beautiful things about sleep, the best thing he tells us about it is that we ought not to worry if we do not get it. "The fact," he says, "that we confound rest and sleep makes us regard wakefulness as an evil." The popular notion that all of us need eight hours is sheer nonsense. One man may need less than another, and may need less at one time of his life than at another time. "Sleep," says the author, "is a natural need, and, like any other natural need, varies in degree in different persons. . . . Drowsiness is a sign that we ought to sleep, just as hunger is a sign that we ought to eat. Natural wakefulness means that we ought not to sleep. . . . We are slowly learning that there is no need or function of the body or of the mind that is exactly the same in all individuals, or that is always the same even in the same individual." Napoleon, Frederick of Prussia, and Richard Baxter were satisfied with four hours of sleep, and the author says that Paul Leicester Ford told him that he found four hours enough. Bishop Taylor is cited as believing in three hours, and I have somewhere read that Helmholtz predicted that with the great improvement in artificial light men would come to two hours of sleep.

However, the author gives us in this book many wise suggestions about going to sleep, some physical, such as deep breathing, and some spiritual, such as peace of mind. Much of the book deals with the ideas of harmony, peace, and rest, tells how we may attain these blessings, and so becomes a sort of philosophy of life. The reader is in danger of suspecting that some of the sermons might have been condensed into one, for there is nothing startlingly new in the wise and

helpful message which the author brings. How can there be when he is saying the old truths that selfishness is at the bottom of our being worried and ill at ease, and that the man who believes in God and seeks first the wide Universal Peace does not worry or fret?

Toward the end of the book there is a new and important note for a work of this kind. It is where the author deals with the social and economic unrest which affects all of us, more or less. He well shows how the general feeling of uneasiness arising from wrong economic conditions enters into the life and habits of the individual, creating antagonisms and destroying harmony.

J. H. DILLARD.



## PROBLEMS OF NEW CHINA.

**The Changing Chinese.** By Edward Alsworth Ross.  
Published by The Century Co., New York.

We may not judge of the Orient by Western standards of conventional morality, but the nations of the Orient are nations of men and women living in communities with community problems to settle just as are the Western nations. To them, therefore, we may apply what is far more fundamental than standards of so-called morality differing with clime and language,—we may apply the basic rules of economics, seeking through these rules for cause and effect. Sufficiently seldom is it done, however, amid many books each year on Oriental countries. Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, of the University of Wisconsin (favorably noted for the clear minds in its economic department), has given us a volume on "The Changing Chinese," which is in many ways a notable contribution towards our better understanding of the ferment now boiling in the heart of China.

This book is an attempt to understand China through an intelligent application to her troubles and her needs of the now better understood rules of economics. In an early chapter the key-note is struck. Hastily rehearsing a number of causes given in China and elsewhere for the lack of originality and inventiveness in the Chinese of today as contrasted with the abilities of their forefathers, Professor Ross states that to him "it seems more likely that the Chinese intellect is sterile because of the *state of the social mind.*" (The italics are his own.)

Then he shows clearly in many a vivid description, many a striking narrative passage, how utterly lacking is this great Empire of the Orient in any sort of a Civic Conscience. The family is the great unit, but once outside the bonds of family all human fellowship of interest seems to cease. Private right is everything, public rights, the rights of the Other Man, do not seem to exist at all. Public Spirit is lacking, and the fanaticism of religion is all that binds the communities

together. Cleverly and logically Prof. Ross shows the difficulty in awakening a nation to modern thought where the Civic Mind is lacking. And the danger of the awakening is clear to him also.

He sees the bright young men of China turning from the ideals of their own religion, bent on acquiring the superficialities of Western mechanical advance without an understanding of the Western standards of civic morality. This to him is the one field for Western missionary endeavor, the attempt to instill, not creeds and sectarian doctrines, but the principles of the Golden Rule, and to show wherein all true religious teaching of any creed, meets.

Another terrible drag on China is the position of her women, Professor Ross asserts. Along this line the new spirit now awakening in the Celestial Empire is full of interest and fraught with hope for the future. With the revolt against foot-binding among the modern-thinking men and women in China, must come the revolt against all that foot-binding symbolizes. The confining of woman to the home so closely and unintelligently that she has "forgotten how to make a home"; the utter barrenness of all social intercourse where the sexes are so completely segregated, have in Professor Ross's opinions made potently for much of the mental and physical deterioration of the Chinese of today. His reasoning is clear, his arguments convincing.

In one respect, however, this clear-sighted economist fails to explain the terrible poverty of the Chinese masses. He claims that it is not due to the system of land tenure, as most Chinese farmers own their own little plot of land rent free. But in a later chapter he tells of the aversion of the "upper classes" to work of all kinds, tells of the pitiful attempts of even the hard-worked coolie to pretend he is a gentleman of leisure when he has earned a few pence more than usual; he tells of the long finger nails which are the badge of freedom from labor. Now, where a large class refuses to work in any way, refuses to render service to the community, and yet it is this very class that lives in luxury—may not this be an explanation of the heart rending poverty of untold uncounted millions? This, and not altogether a too great pressure of population against the producing power of the soil, as Professor Ross seems to imply? How does one class live in luxury except from the labor of the others?

But apart from this little indefiniteness in the train of economic reasoning the book is one of intense interest. It should be read by all who are earnestly striving to understand the problems that confront civilization today.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law.—  
Goldsmith.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—History and Problems of Organized Labor. By Frank Tracy Carlton. Published by D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1911.

—The Creator's Plan and Man's Work. By Charles G. McDougall. Published by the author, 9441 Pleasant Ave., Chicago. 1911.

—Social Evolution and Political Theory. By Leonard T. Hobhouse. Published by the Columbia University Press, Lemcke & Buechner, Agents, 32 W. 27th St., New York. 1911. Price \$1.50 net.

Inoculations and the Germ Theory of Disease. By Dr. Levenson. 1911. For sale at 27 Southampton St., London, W. C. Price, threepence.

The Recall and the Political Responsibility of Judges. By W. F. Dodd, University of Illinois. Reprinted from Michigan Law Review, Vol. x, No. 2, December, 1911.

The United States Supreme Court as Final Interpreter of the Federal Constitution. By W. F. Dodd. Reprinted from the December Number of the Illinois Law Review.

Address of Robert Baker at the National League for Medical Freedom Mass Meeting, Carnegie Hall, October 24, 1911. Price, 10 cents. Address 315 Fourth Ave., New York.

Pasture the Plagiarist: The Debt of Science to Béchamp. By Dr. Levenson. Copies obtainable from the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, 32 Charing Cross, London, S. W. Price, twopence.

## PAMPHLETS

### Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Incentive Under Socialism. By Warren Atkinson. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

A Constructive Suggestion. Address by George W. Perkins. Chamber of Commerce, Youngstown, Ohio, December 4, 1911.

A Tariff Primer. By Thomas E. Watson. From the Press of the Jeffersonian Publishing Co., Thomson, Ga., 1911. Price, 25 cents.

Recall of Judges. Address by James Manahan of Minneapolis before the Minnesota State Bar Association. Duluth, July 19, 1911.

## PERIODICALS

### The Seamen's Strike.

The Story of the Lake Seamen and their able leader, Victor A. Olander, is told in *Life and Labor* (127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago) for January by Mary Gray Peck. The press has had very little to say about the strike of these thousands of sailors—a strike begun three years ago and still continued—and citizens of the Great Lakes region, at least, would do well to read this account of the "Hellfare Plan." For this strike is not about hours or wages but for freedom of contract. It is a protest against a most pernicious blacklisting plan which the Lake Carriers' Association (controlled by the Steel

### PAUL M. CLEMENS

Architect

Winnipeg, Man.

When You Select a Shorthand School  
be sure that it teaches

#### BENN PITMAN PHONOGRAPHY.

The Standard Shorthand of America. Written by more than half the Government employees. Taught in the best schools. Briefest, most legible, most easily mastered.

Published by the Phonographic Institute Company,  
Cincinnati, Ohio

BENN PITMAN, Founder. JEROME B. HOWARD, President.

## Are You Looking for Investments?

We have been selling securities for the last fifteen years. No bond issue placed by us has ever defaulted an interest payment or failed to pay principal at maturity.

Maybe we can help you. Our financial weekly paper will be sent gratis on request.

### A. J. OREM & CO.

Developers of Natural Resources

BOSTON, MASS.

Boston Office  
79 Milk Street

Western Office  
Salt Lake City, Utah

## A Political and Social History of 1911

Edited by Louis F. Post. That's really what the bound volume of *The Public*, now in the binders' hands, is. Enuf sed. You know.

The volume will be handsomely bound in half leather, uniform with the preceding volumes. It will be ready in February. Price \$2.25; expressage extra. Shall we hold one for you?

There is already a premium of \$20.00 on Vol. I, which is out of print. But we can supply all the others at \$2.25 per volume. If everyone else got your presents recently, here's an opportunity to treat yourself right royally.

**Stanley Bowmar, Mgr:**

Trust) tried to force upon the seamen after one unsuccessful attempt to lock out union men.

A. L. G.



"Father, what does it mean when it says, 'A kid-gloved reformer'?" "It means a man who's trying to stop graft without injuring the business of the grafters."—Life.

## Fels-Naptha

Soap is more than a help—it's a right arm in your fight against dirt.

When you've soaped your clothes with Fels-Naptha and put them to soak in cool or lukewarm water, you can turn to something else or fold your hands and rest.

The Fels-Naptha works on.

At the end of a half hour it has dissolved all the dirt.

All that remains for you to do is to rub lightly, rinse and hang out to dry.

Clothes are whiter, cleaner, sweeter than ever before.

And all this in cool or lukewarm water, mind you.

No boiling, no hot suds to stew over.

More than a million women employ Fels-Naptha Soap as an ally every washday.

To make it aid you in Summer or Winter, just follow simple direction on the red and green wrapper.

## CANADA A LAND OF CHEERFULNESS

### Ready Money Easily Made Keeps the Great Northwest in Good Humor.

Money may not be the sum total of happiness, but the prosperity of a country has a good deal to do with how its people feel.

Canada is a land of such big enterprises and such quick money returns that the spirit which is most manifest is one of hustle and good cheer. And who wouldn't smile if his investments turned out like they have in scores of railroad towns in the Dominion, where lots were bought one year for \$200 and were sold in comparatively a few months for five, ten and twenty times what they cost—with prices rising all the time until now the choicest corners in Calgary, Prince Rupert and other bonanza cities bring \$30,000 to \$60,000 each.

It is pleasant to make big money and that is why Canada smiles—and all the time the smile grows broader. The Canadian Pacific made the fortunes of thousands in opening up new towns and now the new and greater Grand Trunk Pacific is about to make the fortunes of thousands more who snap up lots in towns along the route before the connecting rails are laid.

Fort Fraser, B. C., is the most likely place for the next great boom to start. Being situated on the main line of the registered right of way of this new Grand Trunk Pacific, and, already having a big prestige as a land and water trading point, it cannot fail to make a remarkable increase in population and value of real estate.

Lots in Fort Fraser, if taken now, before the railroad comes, can be had for from \$150 to \$200, but long before the rails are laid, a year or so hence, the prices will begin to jump. The present opportunity is especially good for the small investor, because easy terms are offered of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent per month, with no interest at all and no taxes until lots are full paid for. The British Columbia Government guarantees the titles.

The best way to get in touch with this chance to make some good honest dollars is to write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. G, 312 Marquette Bldg., Chicago, who are the official representatives of the Town Site, and will send you plat and full information.

# OUR BOOK LIST

## PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

By Henry George.

Anniversary Edition. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 30c, postpaid.

## OUR LAND AND LAND POLICY.

By Henry George.

This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come." Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

## THE LAND QUESTION.

By Henry George.

This volume includes "Property in Land: A Passage at Arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George," and "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII." Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 30c, postpaid.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

By Henry George.

Light green cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 30c, postpaid.

## PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.

By Henry George.

Blue cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper 30c, postpaid.

## A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER.

By Henry George.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 30c, postpaid.

## THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

By Henry George.

Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

## THE LIFE OF HENRY GEORGE.

By Henry George, Jr.

In two Volumes. With fourteen illustrations. Dark blue cloth, the set, \$2.00, postpaid.

## ADDRESSES AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY GEORGE.

Compiled by Edmund Yardley.

Dark blue cloth, 40c, postpaid.

## NATURAL TAXATION.

By Thomas G. Shearman.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

## BISOCIALISM: THE REIGN OF THE MAN AT THE MARGIN.

By Oliver R. Trowbridge.

Dark blue cloth, 60c, postpaid.

## LABOR AND NEIGHBOR.

By Ernest Crosby.

Stiff drab paper cover, 25c, postpaid.

## GARRISON, THE NON-RESISTANT.

By Ernest Crosby.

With portrait of Garrison. Blue cloth, 50c, postpaid. In stiff drab paper cover, without portrait, 25c, postpaid.

## THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION.

By Patrick Edward Dove. Abridged by Julia A. Kellogg.

Dark red cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 30c, postpaid.

## ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY.

By Louis F. Post.

With portrait of author. Blue cloth, \$1.25, postpaid.

## ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

By Louis F. Post.

Blue cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

## SOCIAL SERVICE.

By Louis F. Post.

Blue cloth, 75c, postpaid. Stiff blue paper cover, 40c, postpaid.

## THE CONFESSIONS OF A MONOPOLIST.

By Frederic C. Howe.

Green cloth, 65c, postpaid.

## COMMON HONESTY.

By O. M. Donaldson.

Buff cloth, 60c, postpaid.

## LAND, LABOR, WEALTH: THE COMING CIVILIZATION.

By Lee Francis Lybarger.

With portrait of author. Paper, 25c, postpaid.

## HARD TIMES: THE CAUSE AND THE CURE.

By James Pollock Kohler.

Paper, 15c, postpaid.

## SHORTEST ROAD TO THE SINGLE TAX.

Containing "The Condition of Labor," etc. Paper, 10c, postpaid.

## THE HUNGRY FORTIES: LIFE UNDER THE BREAD TAX.

Descriptive Letters and Other Testimonies from Contemporary Witnesses. Orange paper cover, 20c, postpaid.

## LIVE QUESTIONS.

By John P. Altgeld.

Cloth (1,000 pages, with portrait) \$2.50; by mail, \$2.80.

## FELLOWSHIP SONGS.

Compiled by Ralph Albertson.

With music. Stiff cover with cloth back, 25c, postpaid.

**THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago**