

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