

to absurdity that women are not human. If then the democratic basis for woman suffrage be granted, and we rationally recognize existing political conditions, the situation in Ohio plainly demands that the democratic electoral mechanism known as the Initiative and Referendum have right of way at the present election—not to delay other demands of democracy but to facilitate their advance. It has right of way over other phases of democracy because it is the almost indispensable implement of democracy, and because it is at the present Ohio election pre-eminently “the question before the house”—the question on which the people of Ohio are most generally and distinctly dividing. To insist upon thrusting into such a contest a subsidiary question—no matter how democratic and important it may be in itself, if it be subsidiary in respect of immediate political alignments—is to fight against democracy and not with it. For another thing, the policy attributed to Dr. Shaw in Ohio would be a mistake from the viewpoint of woman suffrage. Who can doubt that an authoritative identification of the woman suffrage movement with opposition to democracy must tell against its own progress? Woman suffrage must come through voting by men. Any other possibility is too remote for consideration. If it comes through voting by men, the stronger they are impressed with a desire for it, and the sooner they get control of the means for adopting it, the better for the cause of woman suffrage. But, at one fling, Dr. Shaw throws her influence against both necessities, if she is reported rightly. She makes it in the first place more difficult to convert to woman suffrage men of democratic tendencies and more difficult to hold such men who as yet only incline toward it, for she identifies in their minds the woman suffrage movement with the undemocratic hostility of Big Business to the Initiative and Referendum. In the second place she helps to prevent men voters from getting the power to add woman suffrage to the Constitution. If a majority of the voters of Ohio now favor woman suffrage, which is of course as it may be, they would undoubtedly get a chance to say so from an Initiative and Referendum convention for remodeling the Constitution. But if they are identified with opposition to the Initiative and Referendum, it will be exceedingly difficult to get that concession except from delegates who are for the Initiative and Referendum on principle. In any other kind of Constitutional convention that can be elected in Ohio this year, the woman suffrage cause would be as helpless as a chippy bird in a cyclone.

The Street Car Question in Cleveland.*

An editorial in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of October 11th, is significant of deceptive press bureau work from Cleveland in the interest of Big Business—for its effect, that is, outside of Cleveland. Says the Bulletin:

The Cleveland street railway, which has been operating with a monthly deficit for some time under the three-cent fare experiment which originated with the late Tom Johnson, will probably reach its limit within a few months and return to five-cent fares.

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To appreciate the animus of that statement, the actual facts must be considered. Under the provisions of the Cleveland ordinance, an “interest fund” of \$500,000 was created. To this fund there is added from time to time the gross receipts from all sources, less operating and maintenance expenses; and out of it the company pays the interest on its bonds, and 6 per cent on its approved floating indebtedness and capital stock. The ordinance allowed the company in the beginning to exact three-cent fares and one cent for transfers, a rate which stands about midway in the schedule of variable rates prescribed. It provided also that if at any time the amount in the “interest fund” exceeds \$500,000 by \$200,000, the rate of fare enumerated in the schedule next lower to that then in use shall go into operation, and that, on the other hand, if at any time the amount in the “interest fund” falls short of \$500,000 by as much as \$200,000, the rate of fare shall be the next higher in the schedule to that then in use. Thus the rate of fare is automatically determined from time to time according to a certain increase or decrease of net profits. Bearing those provisions of the ordinance in mind, let the interested reader turn now to the history of the company under that ordinance. It took over the property on the 1st day of March, 1910, beginning operation with the required fare of 3 cents without transfer and 4 cents with transfer. Fifteen months later—on the 1st day of June, 1911—the “interest fund,” less accrued charges against it, amounted to \$780,208. As this exceeded \$500,000 by more than \$200,000, the next lower rate of fare came automatically into use. It was three cents with “rebate” of the transfer charge. That is, although one cent for transfer was still charged, it was returned to the passenger upon presentation to the conductor of the car transferred to. For the next three months, from June 1 to August 31, 1911, the operation at 3-cent fares with “rebated” transfers showed a decline in the “interest fund.” It

*See current volume, pages 228, 444, 674, 697, 747.

had shrunk on the 31st day of August to \$506,877. This rate of decrease, if maintained, would automatically cause an increase of fares some time in November, for the "interest fund" would then be reduced to less than \$500,000 by as much as \$200,000. But the increased fare would not be 5 cents. It would be the rate specified in the ordinance schedule as next above the present rate. As the present rate is 3 cents *with* "rebate" of the transfer charge, the higher rate would be 3 cents *without* rebate of transfer charge. It would be, that is, the same as the rate for the first fifteen months of operation under this ordinance, namely 3 cents without transfer and 4 cents with transfer. This rate, as shown above, was so profitable during the period it was in use as to raise the "interest fund" above \$500,000 by more than \$200,000, a fact which makes it altogether improbable that any rate higher than 3 cents, plus 1 cent for transfer, will be necessary. At all events, no higher rate than that is anywhere in sight yet.

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It should be explained, too, that economical management of the company is very gravely questioned in Cleveland. The company tried hard, prior to June 1, 1911, to prevent an accumulation in the "interest fund" of \$200,000 in excess of \$500,000; and it is believed to have reduced that fund to \$500,000 again by purposely extravagant management. More will be known about the company's management in this respect when Newton D. Baker becomes Mayor of Cleveland, which will probably be on the 1st of next January.

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Accounting for "Oregonian" Editorials.

Newspaper readers inclined to yield to the pertinacious attacks by The Oregonian upon the Singletax movement in Oregon may learn some things pertinent and worth knowing if they read this paragraph from the Portland Labor Press: "The 'heir apparent' of The Oregonian has standing in his name 40,000 acres of the railroad timber lands, and worth not less than two million dollars. No wonder the organ of plutocracy is worried over the prospects of being made to use or let others use that idle land."

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Education.

The man of an earlier time who was proud of his inability to write his name was probably a stronger man, other things being equal, than the man of our day who is proud of his ability to do it. In this thought there is a moral for educators. To

have a modern education strengthens one by giving him larger equipment; but if one exalts his education, its advantages as a mental equipment are thereby probably more than offset by consequent deterioration in mental power. To make a more general application, peoples of the past who had no book learning and were proud of it were probably, man for man, more capable intellectually (even with their limited but for their own time and place sufficient mental equipment) than peoples of the present who boast of their education. For education is a mental tool, not a mental quality; and the prouder we are of our possession of the tool the more deficient are we likely to be in the quality for using it. So our boasted era of education may be expected to remain inferior in true intellectual power until we take education off its pedestal as a fetish and practice using it more as an implement. This is doubtless the essential truth in the movement for vocational education. It is education *for use* instead of polish. But that truth is not limited, as sordid minds try to limit it, to the specialties of production and trade. It applies to all education.

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SIGNING A BLANK CHECK.

"And a Great Country with its Wealth and Splendor Stood Before It, and the Life of its Deluded People Made the Hills and Valleys ring with Their Demented Laughter."

Press dispatches from New York inform us from time to time that the reorganization of the Tobacco Trust is being proceeded with and that the ambassadors of the Trust are in almost daily conference with the equally potent representatives of the Government, looking to a carrying into effect of the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States which not only dissolved the Trust but ordered it to "re-create out of the elements now composing it a new condition which shall be honestly in harmony with the law."

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The order of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the American Tobacco Company, commonly referred to as the Tobacco Trust, was the most unheard of order that ever emanated from any court of justice in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. The court exhausted its jurisdiction when it rendered a judgment dissolving the Trust, as prayed for in the bill of complaint; but to exceed that jurisdiction and to order it to re-organize in harmony with the law, is quite in keeping with the friendly attitude of the court to the Princes of Privilege.