

people instead of the politicians should have the power to suppress them or keep them open. In the new Iowa law, which is a better temperance measure than the first dispatches indicated, there is a similar provision, but a better one, which throws upon the liquor-dealers the burden of proving by their petitions that a majority of the voters do desire saloons to be opened. Outside of cities of over five thousand the liquor-dealers must show a majority of two-thirds. The two-thirds requirement is perhaps undemocratic, except upon the ground that a saloon is presumptively a nuisance, and that is not a violent presumption.

The Philadelphia "Record" reports that a private corporation is planning to smuggle through the Councils of that city a bill for selling the city gas-works for \$15,000,000. As to the probability of this report we cannot judge, but we quite agree with the "Record" that such a sale would be a public calamity. Last year the receipts from the works were \$4,200,000, besides \$900,000 worth of free gas for the city. The expenses, including extensions, were but \$3,000,000. There was thus a profit of \$2,000,000, or five per cent., upon a capitalized value of \$40,000,000. This year the city has rightly reduced the price of gas from \$1.50 to \$1 per thousand feet, and the public profit in the form of public revenue may disappear, but the public profit in the form of private saving and convenience will be increased. With such reductions in price there is sure to be an increased consumption, which in turn makes possible still further reductions in price. Under public management in Philadelphia the cost of making coal-gas has been greatly reduced, and the city ought now to purchase water-gas works. The recommendations of Mayor Stuart in his annual message to the City Councils express, we think, the general sentiment of the people of Philadelphia respecting this question: "The franchise and works of the gas system owned by the city are perhaps the most valuable of her many possessions, and any improvement thereto, of whatever kind, character, or description, should be made by the city herself, and under no circumstances or conditions should it ever be allowed to pass out of her possession or from under her control."

The succession of Republican victories which began in November remains unbroken. In Rhode Island, where the Democrats last year had a plurality of 185, the Republicans this year have a plurality of more than six thousand. The overturn in the Legislature is still more striking. Last year the Democrats were nearly strong enough to create a deadlock. This year there are but six Democratic members elected out of one hundred and seven. In the municipal elections, particularly in Wisconsin, Missouri, and Colorado, the Republicans made decided gains—gaining in Colorado at the expense of the Populists. In the municipal elections in the West the American Protective Association again showed itself an important factor. The movement is not, indeed, so strong as that of the Know-Nothings forty years ago, but in all other respects closely resembles it. Like that movement, it comes into prominence at a time of lessened interest in the old issues dividing the two great parties. In Kansas City, Missouri, a hopeful sign of the times was the nomination of a citizens' ticket pledged to the conduct of public business upon strictly Civil Service Reform principles. The ticket was defeated, but a good vote was polled, and the citizens' organization is to be maintained.

The political events of the past week in England are generally taken to indicate the probability of the dissolution

of Parliament at a very early date. The Government has been defeated by a majority of one on a private and local measure—the East London Water Bill. As this is not a Government bill, the vote, which was 228 to 227, does not at all imply that the Government should, on constitutional principles, go to the country. On the other hand, this defeat differs from that which was brought about lately by Mr. Labouchere in that the Liberal Ministers cannot claim to have been taken by surprise. The actual cause of the adverse vote was the absence of many Irish members, both of the Parnellite and the opposing faction. The bye-elections which have just taken place have no great significance politically. There were seven of these elections in all, and the votes in the various constituencies cannot be said to indicate a great change of public opinion one way or the other. The Liberals have held their own in the elections—in some cases with a slightly increased majority, in others with a slight loss. Perhaps the most significant event of the week was the passing, by a vote of 180 to 170, of a resolution declaring that it would be a desirable thing at some time in the future to establish a local legislature for Scotland. This resolution was rather unexpectedly introduced in the course of a debate on the proposition to form what is called a Grand Committee, to be composed chiefly of the Scotch members of the House of Commons, to which committee should be referred all Scotch bills, to be reported back. This bill is in furtherance of the announced intention of the Liberal Government to give the Scotch members a greater responsibility for their own local affairs, and supplements the creation of the office of Secretary for Scotland, now held by Sir George Trevelyan. It is obvious that this legislation would, in a measure, establish Home Rule in Scotland, and the question of Mr. Balfour as to whether the Government would be willing to treat England in a similar manner is certainly suggestive. The resolution, which was interjected into the debate by Mr. Dalziel, and seconded by Mr. Birrell, who is best known to Americans as the author of "Obiter Dicta" and other volumes of charming literary essays, was supported by Sir George Trevelyan, and, after a very slight debate, was—to the general surprise—passed by a majority of ten. It would not be wise to exaggerate the importance of these measures relating to Scotch affairs, and their main object is undoubtedly to relieve the pressure of business in the House of Commons. Yet it must be admitted that logically they look toward a time when the House of Commons may deal solely with imperial affairs. The defection of the Irish party, as indicated by the vote on the East London Water Bill, is really the element in the situation which makes a near dissolution probable. There are not wanting those who believe that the Liberal Government has made up its mind that such a dissolution is not only inevitable, but is the best party policy.

The budget speech of Mr. Foster, the Canadian Minister of Finance, sets forth with much clearness the attitude of the Conservative Government toward tariff reform. It makes many concessions to the growing demand—especially of the agricultural districts—for a lower tariff, but insists that all these reductions must be in conformity with the principle of protection. This theory he still justifies, chiefly upon the ground that infant industries ought to be helped by the power of the State; though he would doubtless also urge the vested rights of such industries as had grown up dependent upon State aid. He declares that the Canadian tariff has always been a moderate one, the average duties having never exceeded 28¾ per cent. as against 45 per cent. in the United States. He also urges that Canadian

agriculture has been greatly developed since the protective system was established. Yet he proposes a series of reductions which still further lessen the taxes upon consumers, without crippling the manufacturers. The most important of these reductions is that upon agricultural implements, the duty on which is changed from 35 per cent. to 20 per cent. Some of the Canadian manufacturers express dissatisfaction with the changes, but the Liberals declare them to be grossly inadequate. Sir Richard Cartwright, the Liberal leader, offered as an amendment to the budget speech a resolution that the policy of protecting particular industries at the expense of the community at large should be abandoned, that trade should be made as free as possible, that necessities should be taxed as lightly as possible, and that all taxes should be for revenue only. This, of course, will continue to be the Liberal programme. Whether or not the Conservative Ministry has yielded enough to the new force of these demands to prevent the loss of the Northwest provinces cannot, of course, be determined until the next election. It has certainly, however, shown its wisdom in making some concessions to the demands of the agricultural West, rather than risk such a revolt as in this country followed the enactment of the McKinley Bill.

As was recently anticipated in our columns, the parliamentary elections in Japan have resulted in indorsing the Government's policy as regards foreigners. While extremists would circumscribe the commercial operations of the subjects of the Treaty Powers, the Government has taken a more diplomatic course in its effort to obtain release from those treaty fetters which have so long hampered commercial and personal liberty, and this course is now upheld by a majority of the voters. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the new Japanese House of Representatives (consisting of three hundred members, elected by popular vote) will be less refractory in its opposition to the Imperial policy, which is at once dignified in its stand for national rights and liberal towards other nations.

The subject of forest preservation is of universal importance, but, strange to say, in this country no practical application of it was made before that of Mr. George Vanderbilt on his eleven-square-miles estate, "Biltmore," near Asheville, North Carolina. By cutting only those trees whose tops in falling should crush no infant growth, there was obtained a gain of at least ninety per cent. in the condition of the young trees over that following ordinary lumbering. Biltmore statistics show that it is possible to do this improving and pay the owner at the same time: last year's expenses (which were without stint) being about ten thousand dollars, and the net profits twelve hundred dollars. Advancing from private to State preservation of forests, the complaint to the Albany Legislature of Mr. Adams, the New York State Engineer, emphasizes the general situation. He justly criticises the policy of the Adirondack Commission in granting to lumber companies the right for three years to cut spruce-trees above twelve inches in diameter in certain-districts of the preserve, they paying the State thirty cents a market log. This complaint ought to meet with speedy recognition, for the preserve scattered through New York State comprises over half a million acres, mostly in virgin forest, and exercises a great influence in equalizing water-power and in protecting the streams which supply the canals. Should the forty-one permits already issued, which only await the signature of the Land Commissioner to go into effect, be approved, devastation would take place, and if the tracts be burned

over they will be valueless as water-conservers. The methods of foresters, who cut only such trees as enhance the worth of the forest, must supersede the energy of lumbermen, who cut all the trees they can market. This is especially significant in the struggle for existence of the already small proportion of the conifers in our forests; they will disappear altogether if cut with little regard for renewal, and not only water-power but also State revenue will be seriously hampered. Even if a somewhat larger immediate return is preferred by shortsighted lumbermen to the certain greater future proceeds to wise foresters, the State has its own interests to preserve and a clear duty to perform, founded on every consideration of prudence and profit. An article on the general subject of Forest Preservation will be found on another page.

GENERAL NEWS.—Another dynamite bomb explosion took place on Wednesday of last week in Paris; this time it was the Foyot restaurant which was injured; several persons were wounded but no one killed.—Admiral Mello is still maintaining at sea the rebellion against the Brazilian Government; his fleet is now at Rio Grande do Sul, and is co-operating with the Southern insurgents.—In Peru, the faction headed by Caceres is now in power, and it is probable that their leader will be made President at the election next August; the former Second Vice-President, who has now assumed the succession to the late President Bermudez, is in sympathy with Caceres, and has formed a Cabinet made up entirely of that leader's adherents; the report that Caceres had been declared Dictator has been denied; complications between Peru and Chili are feared.—The latest news from Bluefields indicates that, for the present at least, the trouble between the natives and the Nicaraguans is at an end; Admiral Benham is expected to arrive in Bluefields this week, and a report of the state of things may be expected from him at once.—Both branches of Congress have passed a bill to enable the findings of the recent Arbitration Commission on the Behring Sea question to be carried out; a bill for the same purpose has passed without opposition all three readings in the English House of Commons.—The so-called "Industrial Armies" of Coxey and Frye have continued their slow marches through the week; Coxey has now between two and three hundred men in his ranks, and last week passed through Pittsburg and Homestead, in Pennsylvania; Frye's "army" was stopped at East St. Louis by the refusal of east-bound railroads to carry the men in freight trains.—The court martial which has been examining into the circumstances connected with the recent wrecking of the United States war-vessel, the Kearsarge, last week found that Commander Heyerman was guilty of negligence and inefficiency, and suspended him for two years.—In New York City during the last week the hearings before the Senate Committee investigating the conduct of the New York police have continued; the chief witness of the week has been Commissioner Martin, who spoke very freely of the political influences connected with patronage in the police department, but claimed that this system of appointment had no ill effect on the efficiency or honesty of the police. Police Captain Devery has been acquitted by a jury under the indictment brought at the instance of Dr. Parkhurst charging him with refusing to close disorderly houses after his attention had been called to them.—The Iowa Legislature has passed a bill giving women the right to vote for school, town, and city officers and on all questions of issuing bonds.—The German Reichstag has held important debates the past week on the Bourse tax bill and upon

proposed bimetallist measures.—The New York Senate has rescinded its resolution for an investigation of the charges against Superintendent Brockway, of the Elmira Reformatory.



The Silver Question

We devote considerable space in this issue of *The Outlook* to a discussion of the financial policy of the present Administration by two experts, the one of whom criticises, the other of whom applauds, that policy. We have obtained these two articles in pursuance of our habitual policy to give our readers both sides of every great question; for the currency question is a great one. Upon its solution depends the commercial prosperity of the country and the industrial and financial welfare of all homes. The demand for silver coinage cannot be treated contemptuously as though it were made only by silver-mine owners who want a market for their mines, by impecunious debtors who want to scale down their debts, or by financial cranks who imagine that the Government can do anything which the people want to do. Bimetallism, that is, the free circulation of gold and silver on a parity with each other, is advocated, as both practicable and desirable, by some of the most eminent statesmen of England, such as Mr. Balfour, by nearly all of its most eminent professors of political economy, and by such economic experts in this country as President Francis A. Walker and President E. Benjamin Andrews. A view advocated by such men cannot be laughed out of court. We give our readers both sides of the currency question, and we add with frankness our own.

We believe that the world's industrial distress is largely due to the demonetization of silver and the adoption of a gold standard; we believe that the road to prosperity lies through the adoption of gold and silver as a double standard. It is a serious question whether even so great a country as the United States can adopt a double standard without international agreement—whether the attempt so to do will not make it practically a silver monometallic country. But it is also a question whether even the disasters which silver monometallism might produce would be greater than the disasters liable to be produced by a continuance of gold monometallism. These last are questions on which we are not yet prepared to express any opinion.



Woman Suffrage

In previous articles we have pointed out, first, that suffrage is not a privilege but a duty, and that the question presented by the pending petition for woman suffrage is not, Shall a privilege be conferred on women? but, Shall a duty be imposed on them from which they have hitherto been exempt? And we have, secondly, urged that this is a question which must be determined by the women, inasmuch as the men will certainly vote to extend the suffrage on even a moderate evidence that a majority of the women regard it as their duty and desire to assume it. If we believed that women ought to assume this duty, that they owe it either to themselves or to the State, we should say so frankly. But such is not our opinion. We agree that it is their right to vote if they wish to do so. We agree that they are quite as competent to vote as the present voters. But it does not follow that this is a duty which either they are bound to assume, or one which their male companions may impose upon them against their will.

There is no advantage in a mere extension of the suf-

frage. If one million of voters can decide a question, there is no necessary advantage in summoning two million voters to decide it. There is, on the contrary, some disadvantage, since it involves double the amount of human energy. It must be made to appear that this enlargement of the political tribunal is either of advantage to the new voters as an education, or to the community as an accession to its wisdom. These are the two questions which the women of the State of New York have first to determine. If all the women of the State, Protestants and Roman Catholics, in city and country, East Side and West Side, vote, will the vote materially modify the result? will it give a soberer, more self-restrained, more independent, less partisan judgment? On the questions now before the country—the tariff and the coinage questions—or before the State—the government of our great cities, the regulation of the liquor traffic, ballot reform—will the million and a third of women voters bring to the State an accession to its political wisdom adequate to compensate for the burdens assumed? Or will they gain enough themselves to compensate therefor, in the enlarged political education which they will receive, from reading the political press, attending political conventions, and going to primaries and nominating conventions?—for the right to vote is a barren right unaccompanied by a right to aid in making nominations and shaping policies. These are the first concrete questions for the women of New York State to consider.

And these are followed by another. If the women of the State are to assume the duty of suffrage, they must either add it to their other duties, or must lay aside other duties to take up this new duty. Which alternative will they accept? Doubtless there are a considerable number of idle women who could take on new duties without being overburdened. But we do not believe that the proportion of idle women is any larger than that of idle men; we doubt if it be as large. The women in agricultural districts are generally overworked. In towns and cities domestic cares are for many less exacting; but, relieved from household drudgery, women have taken upon themselves the sweet offices of charity and religion. They are increasingly the directors and managers of charitable, educational, and religious institutions. They are the almoners of bounty made possible only by the concentration of masculine energy in the accumulation of means out of which that bounty can be bestowed. In determining the question whether they wish to vote, the women are to consider whether they are prepared to add the duty involved in intelligent and conscientious voting to their present duties, or to lay aside some of their present duties as less sacred or less important than that of participation in the science and art of politics.

It is a great mistake to suppose that similarity of function is necessary to equality of position or influence. We look with sincere regret upon that phase of modern civilization which, under the appearance of opening more vocations to woman, drives her into breadwinning, and often into competing with and lowering the wages of her brothers, so that the husband and wife sometimes earn by their joint labor but little more than the husband might otherwise have earned alone, and the home is deprived of its natural builder and guardian. We look with suspicion upon the well-meant movement which, under the appearance of conferring upon woman a right and a symbol of equality with man, imposes upon her the performance of duties hitherto accepted and assumed by men. We believe that the division of labor which makes man the breadwinner and the administrator of the State, and gives