

of a resolution endorsing the governor's enforcement of the prohibitory law in the W. C. T. U. convention at Lubec, July 2. This effort met with a disastrous failure that has undoubtedly hurt the Haines' water wagon campaign, because it called attention to his duplicity in attempting to carry liquor on one shoulder and water upon the other. In addition to this, the governor's brazen defeat of the mileage-book law at the request of the railroad representatives has made him probably the most unpopular executive Maine ever had. His defeat would be assured if the Democrats had not forced the liquor question to the forefront by again declaring for re-submission and license. But it is doubtful if even the W. C. T. U. can save Haines.

Voters in the Third Congressional District have to decide between the present incumbent, John A. Peters, standpat Republican, and W. R. Pattangall, Democrat. As Mr. Pattangall publicly pledged himself to support President Wilson in all his policies, he has a good chance of going to Congress. We hope he will.

R. LEE BUSSABARGER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SLAVERY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Boston, August 28.

Five committees were appointed by the Philippine Assembly dividing the territory of the archipelago geographically among them to examine into the charges of slavery made by the superseded and disgruntled functionary Worcester. "La Vanguardia" (Manila) reports the results and they are appended in a condensed form.

The first committee reports that before the extension of American government over the Philippines, in consequence of the desire of the non-Christians in the Montanyosa Province for education and because in that province there were no schools, they were in the habit of turning over their children and minor relatives to persons in the towns of Isabella and Kagayan. In the times when famine afflicted the inhabitants of Montanyosa Province of Vizcaya they likewise took their infants to the villages below rather than let them die. The people receiving them, who were in a great number of cases childless husbands and wives, gave them religious education and often even made them their heirs. Most of the names of non-Christians alleged as sold in Mr. Worcester's report do not exist and those which exist present no indication of being reared as slaves or even peons. Today neither slavery nor peonage exist in the province of La Union, Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, Kagayan and Isabella.

The second committee enumerating a long list of provinces, says that it finds false most things which have been represented in the report as constituting a permanent general condition since there is no more basis for it than either an isolated case or two and mere conjecture or inference of the report. Certain persons given as sources of information either do not exist or have made lying statements. Many have been garbled by the concealment or omission from them of some part, so that taken in connection with what was omitted they would have led to a different conclusion from that deduced by the report.

Committee number three gives the names of officials who absolutely contradict the declaration of Mr. Crone upon which the Worcester charges were founded, that:

"In Amboe Camarines since the American occupation, boys have been sold as slaves for deportation to China."

The fourth committee asserts that in all the municipalities and places examined by this committee the unanimous testimony is that there does not exist, and never has existed, the alleged slavery, peonage, or involuntary servitude which Mr. Worcester denounces in his report. (Here follow the names of many witnesses examined.)

Committee number five as the general result of its investigation in the South and Moro province agrees upon the following summary: The cases of slavery specified by Mr. Worcester's report in the Province of Misamis are entirely fictitious. In the regions inhabited by Moros, Manobos, Bagabos and other non-Christian tribes, such as Lonaw and Babaw, there have been some cases of sales of human beings, the parties to which have been followed up and prosecuted and dealt with as prescribed for these cases by the laws of the Moro province. Yet the relations of these alleged slaves to their masters have in no case been of such a kind as the African slavery in the United States. There have been a few domestic servants, called "Bidatnanan," who served without pay, but were considered by those whom they served as practically members of their families; not only clothed and fed, but often supplied with live stock and land, to enable them to establish their own homes. The instances of sales of human beings or of bartering them for property, have been in greater part, instead of slavery, really a liberation of those sold or bartered.

ERVING WINSLOW.



INDIANA'S NEED.

Greencastle, Ind., Sept. 1, 1914.

Indiana very much needs amendment of its Constitution. In 1912 and 1910 both Republican and Bull Moose platforms promised such a convention. Tom Taggart runs Indiana and has since 1908. He wants no such convention. So the Democratic legislature instead of calling one after the 1912 election, staved it off by referring it to the people in 1914, and we vote in November. But they required a favorable vote of a majority of voters, not of a majority of those voting thereon. It cannot carry unless something arouses the public. In June the Indiana University at Bloomington called a three days' conference on the proposed constitutional convention. The intended program contained lawyers, editors, business men, professors, and one labor representative. There was not a single farmer! and we the main thing in the world! I sent an indignant criticism of such a preposterous program and Prof. Woodburn telegraphed me to come and talk for farmers. I am not a professional speaker, and the time for convention was immediately at hand. But I felt strongly that some things ought to be said. They received my remarks very kindly.

The intention is to print the speeches in a pamphlet, but at last accounts that was still in the state printer's hands. However, the professors went to the trouble of getting some galley proofs of my remarks and kindly furnished me with copies. A part of this speech, or rather, talk, follows:

The eminent legal representative who has just addressed us said in his speech, "The people make their own laws and elect their own officers." But before he finished, he spoke of large election tickets or ballots containing a hundred or two of candidates with only sixty seconds in the voting booth and said that bosses really elected the successful men. Of course, if bosses elect the men, then not the people, but the bosses, make

the laws also. I suggest that he discussed his own speech, proved his own error, and thereby made it plain something must be done to let the people destroy political slavery and gain freedom by making their own laws. That is easy. Let them vote directly on their laws, which means the Initiative and Referendum must be adopted in Indiana, as has been done by many other states. The Initiative and Referendum is the right to ballot or vote on any subject called for by a petition of the people. Any law which the legislature or city council passes can by petition be referred to the people to veto or endorse, and, when the legislative bodies fail to vote on some law, then the people can by petition compel a vote on the law, by ordering the question put on the ballot at the next election. At present nothing is ever referred unless the bosses are willing to refer it. Under the Initiative and Referendum the people themselves determine what shall be referred for a general vote. Unless the people can themselves determine what they will vote upon they do not possess freedom.

As to officers, he wants what he calls the Short Ballot. For instance, it would be something like this, though the details vary in different states: we would at our biennial elections vote for the Hon. Bill Jones as Governor and the Hon. Bill Smith as Lieutenant Governor, but for no other state officers. The Governor would appoint his entire cabinet of state officers. . . . Also in counties we would vote, perhaps only for three men, these three to be commissioners and to appoint every other officer from township road supervisor and trustee on up. Thus we would vote for not more than five men besides a legislature candidate, just one representative, perhaps, as some have suggested, doing away with the State senate and having a legislature of only one chamber. Only six names to be voted on at an election, instead of the present large number, would, indeed, present some advantages. If the farmers do not care to turn over, from elective to appointive officers, so many as proposed, we could at least undoubtedly turn over some, such as the heads of the State employment and geological bureaus. But whatever may be thought of these proposals to reduce the size of election tickets, the point I wished to call attention to is that whatever his explanation may be of the failure of the people to do the real electing and law making, he did acknowledge that the people do not make their own laws nor elect their own officers, but that the bosses do it. That is just what we farmers have been asserting for many years, and objecting to, and now demand a constitution revision convention to provide us with means to overcome the bosses.

By farmers we are to understand the rural population, since, if not actually residents on farms, the citizens of villages and small towns of less than 2,500 population are usually reckoned with farmers as "country jays" by city dwellers, and as belonging to the agricultural division of the social order by business men, United States census, and political economists. . . . The 1910 census shows in Indiana:

Rural population	1,557,041
Urban population	1,143,835
Rural excess	413,206

It is therefore not as a concession that we farmers and rural citizens are given this opportunity to take part in this State conference, but is merely just recognition of both the moral and political right of the rural voters to predominate influence in Indiana's affairs, if our State government and constitution are to be an accurate expression of a free, self-governing people. . . . Something must be done to enable the citizens of Indiana to get a free ballot, an equal ballot, a final, deciding, effective ballot, a united ballot, a worth-while

ballot, freedom. We cannot get these things in Indiana except through an Initiative and Referendum amendment proposed by a Constitutional Revision Convention, therefore we must have such a convention. . . . We must get a good direct primary law, as Senator Kern says, "with teeth in 't," such as is in use in Wisconsin, in Cleveland, and elsewhere, which by providing for second and third choices enables voters in a party to unite against the machine's candidates. A similar form of ticket can be used in November elections to defeat machine rule. We might mention proportional representation and similar things, but it would be talking trigonometry in a kindergarten to mention such things to general audiences in Indiana at present. . . . It is, of course, true that oligarch machine bosses in editorial chairs and lawyers' offices and elsewhere do complain even where good primary laws exist. This is to be expected. As we farmers say, "It is the stuck pig that squeals!"

Besides overriding the machine politicians' opposition to a direct primary law, the main constitution alterations which the farmers-of Indiana demand, are all based on the idea of securing greater freedom.

I. An article making it necessary for any constitutional amendment or other question voted on at any election to receive the majority of votes cast only by those who vote on the matter. Experience throughout the United States shows this is the only practical method for securing progress. People who do not care how an issue is decided are satisfied with this plan, and the majority voting on the issue are satisfied, and the defeated minority of active opponents have no moral, and should have no legal right to overrule the larger number of voters. We must secure freedom from minority control.

II. A state-wide liquor-making and selling prohibition amendment satisfactory to the Anti-Saloon League, giving freedom from the liquor traffic.

III. A woman suffrage amendment giving women every right of freedom they may wish to exercise.

IV. A Torrens land law title registration amendment giving freedom from the cumbrous, expensive, uncertain, abstract-of-title system.

V. Several amendments that will give us better enforcement of laws throughout the State. . . .

VI. An amendment providing the Governor of Indiana with the right of Initiative and Referendum. He has the right of veto now, but no Initiative rights except to recommend. Let him have the right to demand a vote upon the things he recommends. . . .

VII. An amendment giving the citizens the right of Initiative and Referendum without waiting for the Governor to demand Referendum of some issue, for he, like the legislature, is not supreme, but merely an employee of the people, and he, like the legislators, might be submissive to the political machine; indeed, too generally is. The citizens of the State must have full freedom for political action.

VIII. The tax provisions in the constitution should allow wide latitude for experimentation. The tax subject is one of the most puzzling there is. At present the farmers and city laboring men of small means pay taxes out of all proportion because our small assets are all plainly visible, whereas bonds, stocks, money, etc., of the wealthy are listed only in proportion to the owner's own notion. Various States and smaller sections in States, are trying different schemes. One idea is to assess everything at full value, but at a fixed low rate, trusting that a low rate will result in more complete lists of assets being filed. Another is to decrease or omit all taxes except tax on land, regardless of improvements. At first glance this would seem to hit the farmer. But while he holds the largest area, he does not hold the most valuable area. One city lot would often buy many farms. Meanwhile their taxes on improvements being removed, many farmers would find

their taxes on mere land values to be less than the total they now pay. I am not going to offer any solution of the tax question, but merely to call attention to the fact that the constitution should allow as much freedom for changes and experimentation as any locality in the State may desire. Indeed in all its sections the constitution should give the greatest freedom possible, so that we and our successors will always be able to do any new thing we may desire. . . .

The eminent attorney, whose address we have just listened to against recall of judges, apparently intimated that Jesus Christ was crucified by a mob of the common people. He is mistaken. Jesus Christ was not crucified by a mob of the common people, but by a conspiracy of "prominent citizens," and the judges involved showed every one of themselves to be either a criminal, scoundrel, a blind bigot, a political side-stepper or a craven coward. Personally I am not and never have been a supporter of the political proposition known as recall of judges at special elections. I favor our present Indiana system of elected judges, short terms, and recall or re-election of judges at regular elections at the expiration of their terms. But, if, like our lawyer friend, I believed in the supremacy of the lawyer caste in our civilization and that a court judge was the top feather of the head of the gilt eagle surmounting the flag-staff above Old Glory floating from the top of the capitol dome at Washington, it seems to me, I would be careful, indeed quite extraordinarily careful, not by the slightest whisper to remind anybody of the greatest miscarriage of justice in history, when courts, laws, judges, all faded in spite of the fact that no law granting recall of judges existed for a conquered nation—failed to protect this innocent man from a foul conspiracy of "prominent citizens" and their local city machine adherents. . . . I should like to take up one by one various charges falsely made against the common people and rip out the sawdust and straw these scarecrows are filled with, but time will not permit. Suffice it to say that it must never be forgotten concerning this particular accusation against us that it was not the masses, not the real multitude, the common people, who crucified Jesus, but the "prominent citizens," the Sanhedrin and the servants and adherents of the machine oligarchy, working at night for fear of the multitude and finally having hastened the tragedy beyond release before the general mass of the common people were astir in the morning, the latter arrived only in time to have it recorded, "There followed Him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented Him." Rule by "prominent citizens," by an oligarchy, instead of by all classes united in a common mass, always means selfishness, Bourbonism, and disaster. In the case of Jesus, the masses spread palm branches at His entry and lamented His crucifixion. If recall of judicial decisions had existed the masses would have overruled the Sanhedrin and Herod and Pilate's decree. But they had no chance. . . .

The spirit of farm life is never for standpat Bourbonism. The farmer is by nature the pioneer, the independent, the free man. Read our farm papers and see how decidedly superior in progressive-mindedness they are to many city newspapers. . . . Here is the April 1914 "Farm Journal." It demands on various pages, farm business roads before automobile roads, claims for the Farmers' Grange, the Interstate Commerce Commission law, conservation of national resources, endorses international arbitration, local clean-up days, woman suffrage, farm credits, taking taxes off from farm improvements and leaving on the land, and prohibition of the liquor traffic, all in one issue. . . .

I do not wish it understood that farmers are alone in demanding change by revision of our State constitution. It is a movement of all us common people. . . . The American Federation of Labor, with its membership

of 2,069,157, reported in April, 1914, stands particularly for the Initiative and Referendum. . . .

When one considers the number of voters who are farmers and city laboring men and knows that the organized bodies of both these classes have declared for a revised constitution and for the Initiative and Referendum, it is plain that the little bunch of complacent, self-satisfied, self-seeking emissaries of political machines, who spout their contempt of all who oppose and call us agitators, reformers, cranks, populists, anarchists, demagogues, from every boss-ruled platform and in every Tory newspaper, are in reality a very small sized bunch indeed. There is no reason why they should rule us longer and a constitutional convention giving us direct primaries and the Initiative and Referendum will break the back of boss domination in Indiana. The door of political freedom will open to us, and public opinion supersede boss rule.

I say it again. Turn the people loose and trust in God, not in your own little attempts at control.

DAVE S. DUNLOP.

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, September 8, 1914.

The European War.

Military activities continue along the lines in which they started. Germany has continued her advance in France, Russia has advanced to the Carpathian mountains in Austria, England maintains control of the sea and Japan continues her attack on Kiao-Chau. All military movements are reported only in general terms, and only after having passed the severest censorship ever known. Details as to losses, the strength of the armies and generals in command are almost wholly lacking. [See current volume, page 851.]



The Franco-German Campaign.

The net result of the week's campaign in France shows the French right wing holding its position in the Vosges and Lorraine. The center has fallen back slightly and rests upon Verdon and Nancy. At the latter point a spirited attack is reported under the personal supervision of the Kaiser, with unknown result. The main strength of the invading army is in the west, where it has steadily forced the French and English back from position to position until the army that came down through Belgium holds the left wing of the Allies in a line nearly north and south, instead of east and west, as at the beginning of the invasion. On the 6th the Germans had reached La Ferte, thirty-eight miles northeast of Paris. Instead of going on direct to the capital the invading army, after passing within thirty miles of the city, has swung to the east, as though intending to get in the rear of