## The Commoner.

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#### MR. DALZELL DISCONSOLATE

Mr. Dalzell, one of Speaker Cannon's lieutenants is disconsolate. He is also mad. Commenting on the recent republican convention in Indiana, Mr. Dalzell says: "I can't see how any self-respecting republican can vote for a single candidate on the Beveridge ticket in Indiana; it is not a republican ticket. His platform is a Beveridge platform and not a republican platform. I believe now that the democrats will carry Indiana. I believe that the new Indiana legislature will be democratic and that a real democrat will be sent to the United States senate in place of Beveridge."

Of course republicans and all good citizens of Indiana should vote the democratic ticket in order that "a real democrat may be sent to the United States senate in place of Beveridge." They should do this on general principles but even if there are some who do it merely on Mr. Dalzell's advice they will be serving their country and their state.

In truth they will also be serving their party, for the best service that may be rendered the republican party today is to turn it out of power \*before it is wholly lost to the consideration of self-respecting men.

### STATESMAN AND DEMAGOGUE

According to the dictionary used by the beneficiaries of privilege, he only is a stateman whose ear is tuned to catch the slightest pulsations of a pocket book, while he is a demagogue who dares to listen to the heart-beat of humanity.—
The Commoner, January 7, 1910.

'Tis the same old story, the same old cry, and the same old tactics, too; while blood is cheap, and mammon high, humanity's annals through. The tribune who stood for the Roman mass, they likened him to a braying ass, did the hireling tools of the "higher class"—the tools of the preying few.

And there came a time when a Lowly Man, from a village in Galilee, was hounded and mobbed by the ruling clan of the scribe and the Pharisee. But the good old Book proclaims the word, that the while the rulers' wrath was stirred, by the common folk He was gladly

heard—for He spake for you and me.

Then on with the fight for the common weal, though the foe be great and strong; today, defeat 'neath th' oppressors' heel—tomorrow, our triumph song. Nor fear to be called a demagogue by those who would fain the facts befog; turn another page in the good ship's log—you're a statesman true ere long.

MONTGOMERY MORLAND.

# Genesis of the Taft National Incorporation Bill

From the Wall Street Journal, Friday, February 11, 1910:

Two years ago, on February 7, George W. Perkins read an address in the Columbia University lecture course of that winter which, received less attention than it deserved. And it is a curious coincidence that exactly two years afterwards, to the very day, the administration's federal incorporation bill was introduced into both houses of congress. What Mr. Perkins, in February, 1908, advocated and expounded, President Taft and his administration have, so far as the general principle was concerned, warmly recommended to congress. And so it is a singular feature of this agitation by means of which there is hope of relief from certain features of the Sherman anti-trust law, that one of the great minds occupied in the construction of great combinations, like that of the International Harvester and the United States Steel corporation, should now find that what he recommended two years ago is advocated by the president and his administration, and has been whipped into the formality of legal and legislative phraseology by Attorney General Wickersham.

It may be that Mr. Perkins finds some occasion for criticism of certain of the details of the federal incorporation bill; and it is observed that the chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel corporation, Judge Gary, speaks in approval of its general principle, still withholding complete commendation until there can be assurances that the bill, if it becomes a law, will furnish practicable remedies.

Of course, it is recognized here and has at Washington, that if some of the master minds of the greater corporations and combinations speak in approval of the principle of the incorporation bill, then the likelihood is that there may be accusation that these minds may discover in it legalized opportunity to continue as they have continued, except that the eye of the federal administration will be upon them.

Still, it is regarded as a reasonable answer to that doubt that the attorney general framed the measure, that the president has studied it and has given it his approval.

In all probability, the men of large affairs, who are sincerely and not with any falsehood at heart, seeking some way by which reasonable combination—that is, combination not injurious to public interest-may be made legal, would prefer that the supreme court should so interpret the Sherman anti-trust law as to declare it is in effect nothing more than a specific enunciation of the common law which prohibits such agreements or combinations as tend to or actually do work injury to the public. Were there an interpretation of that kind, there would probably be no necessity for an incorporation law. Moreover, such a measure as President Taft now approves will, if it becomes a law, be in danger of frequent testing through appeal to the courts, whereas a judicial interpretation by the supreme court would not. Such an interpretation, the great corporation managers say, and President Taft has also intimated of late to his callers, would permit the business of the United States now carried on through incorporations not only to know where it stands exactly, but that it can maintain combinations of capital without violating the law.

Mr. Perkins, intimated that one reason why federal incorporation would be desirable, would be the relief from the various statutory exactions of the states of the union. But he emphasized what all business men have said, that federal supervision and regulation should be placed in the hands of men who are not creatures of political favoritism, but who have experience, judgment, ability and a perfect sense of impartiality.

This is also the view taken by the president of the New York Central, Mr. Brown, than whom there is no stronger supporter of governmental supervision of public utilities corporations in the United States. Recently President Brown, speaking to a friend, said that already it has been discovered that the public utilities commissions of New York state are not only of benefit to the people, but of real benefit to the corporations which under the law they have the power to supervise. And in his view the brief experience we have already had with our public utilities commissions makes it clear that in due time, in case these bodies do not fall into the hands of the politicians, they will be of the highest services, not only to the corporations, but to the people.

In Mr. Perkins' Columbia University address, he spoke carefully upon one subject upon which in private he has spoken enthusiastically. It seemed to him that it is not only within the power of the people, through their representatives at Washington to create a very competent body of railroad and corporation control, but that in that creation the people will find themselves best served, as well as the corporation. Mr. Perkins is of the opinion that if to such governmental bodies there be brought men of expert knowledge, high character, free from all political or partisan influence, then in due time these bodies will be regarded as furnishing an appropriate, highly dignified, and distinguishing claims of careers of great achievements. Mr. Perkins thinks that if this idea be well worked out, then it would ultimately be regarded as high an honor relatively to serve for life or for a long term of years upon a body of this kind as lawyers regard the supreme bench as the climax of a professional career.

The feeling here is that there are some details in the bill as at present worded which must be eliminated or modified if the measure is to be practicable. It looks as though the bill intended that there should be nothing in the way of holding companies, but that the great corporations should buy outright subsidiary corporations, and completely assimilate and absorb them

## Practical Tariff Talks

A glittering example of the follies of the tariffmakers may be found by an examination of the schedule relating to burlap cloth. A number of years ago, some twenty of them, it was conceived that the business of manufacturing this cloth might be transferred from India to America by putting a heavy duty on the imported stuff. For twenty years the consumers in this country have been compelled to pay this duty, and today there is no manufacture worth mentioning. Instead India continues to make the cloth and upon this necessity the consumer has been paying a stiff tax. Burlap cloth, or rather the bags which American factories make from it, is used very largely by flour millers, by grain, sugar, cottonseed meal and fertilizer dealers. A tax on them is, therefore, plainly a tax on a necessity transferred bodily to the consumer. The opinion of practically all men in the business is that the fact that the raw material, jute, comes only from the vicinity of Calcutta, makes it not only unprofitable but unsafe as an investment, since the country that controls a raw material can always use an export tax to destroy a business located elsewhere and dependent upon this material for existence.

It is a remarkable fact, quite apropos here, that even with raw cotton at our doors threefifths of our great cotton crop is shipped to foreign countries hunting for cheap labor to make it into goods. Part of this comes back into this country, paying freight and heavy duties, to compete successfully with our own high priced labor. Only 2 per cent of the cotton goods required by the cotton importing countries is manufactured and exported by us. With this being the case, it can be easily figured out what would happen if anybody here would try to import raw jute from a country where the cheapest sort of labor abounds for our high-priced labor to make into low-grade goods like burlap cloth. Last year over 300,000,000 square yards of burlap cloth was imported into the United States. A third of this was used for the bags which contain fertilizer, poultry and stock foods. The tax on this third was \$1,600,000, directly paid by the farmer, planter and stock raiser. market value of this cloth was over \$25,000,000, and the tariff tax amounted to 19 per cent-to protect an industry that does not exist and never can exist in this country. The duty was reduced from 22.91 per cent to 22.12, one of those substantial reductions boasted of by republicans.

One of the audacious raids made upon the tariff-makers was by the rattan and reed trust of the United States, which wanted the tariff increased so that on some items a protection of 500 per cent was asked. Rattan comes from the Dutch East Indies and Ceylon. By the use of automatic machinery the bark is split off. This bark is used as chair cane and the core or reed is utilized for whips, baby carriages, harnesses, demijohns, baskets, toys, etc. Under the tariff as asked for it would be impossible for