

The Commoner.

ISSUED WEEKLY

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DEMOCRATIC DATES

Democratic primaries or conventions will be held as follows:

March 14—Kansas democratic state convention.

March 19—Primaries for North Dakota.

March 26—Primaries for New York.

April 2—Primaries for Wisconsin.

April 9—Primaries for Illinois.

April 12—New York democratic state convention.

April 13—Primaries for Pennsylvania.

April 17—Illinois congressional district conventions.

April 19—Primaries for Nebraska.

April 19—Primaries for Oregon.

April 27—Primaries for Tennessee.

April 29—Colorado democratic state convention.

April 30—Primaries for Florida.

May 1—Connecticut state convention.

May 9—Iowa state convention.

May 28—Primaries for New Jersey.

June 4—Primaries for South Dakota.

to make them worse in the belief that out of it good would come because the people would be waked up.

"I believe that philosophy is unsound. I have never been willing to participate in making any condition worse, however sure I might be that good would come out of it. If I ever get it into my head that I can raise a man from the dead I shall try it on a dead man. I shall not kill a man first.

"I believe this illustrates exactly what we have to meet in the political world. I believe it is the part of wisdom therefore that those who agree as to the desirability of a certain reform should join together and get it now, on the theory that no good thing secured today will prevent the securing of some other good thing tomorrow.

"I congratulate you, therefore, on having been able to co-operate in this state, and from what I have heard you have already secured some things by co-operation that neither of your forces could have secured alone.

"In the short time that I have to speak to you I think I can best serve you and reward you for the honor you do me by saying to you a word of encouragement, and encouragement is always needed by reformers. Great reforms come slowly. It is not strange that people should be discouraged. The great reformers of history have had their hours of sadness and discouragement.

"Tonight we gather here—democrats and progressive republicans—I take it for granted that you are all progressive republicans if you are progressive at all. My sympathy is entirely on the side of the progressive republican politics. The stand-patter is a very lonesome man. The world is moving and there is no place but the grave where a real stand-patter can find himself at home and have congenial company.

"My criticism of the progressive is that he does not progress fast enough. When people have asked me if Roosevelt is a democrat I have

The Commoner.

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 9

said that he was not and I have explained his position somewhat as Peter Cartwright explained. Some one asked him if he was satisfied. He said 'In spots.' I feel that Roosevelt is democratic in spots.

Mr. Bryan then devoted several minutes to a discussion of progress in the world. He divided present day progress into three kinds—moral, intellectual and civic or economic. He illustrated intellectual progress by referring to the greater number of schools and the decrease of illiteracy. He said, "It is not strange as the people grow in intelligence that they understand better the science of government. As they understand it better they have a higher appreciation and a larger faith in the principles of popular government."

Mr. Bryan then dwelt at some length upon the progress in popular government in foreign nations in the past six years. He cited the examples of Russia, which secured a douma, of Persia which secured a constitution, of Turkey which also secured a constitution, and of China which has thrown off the yoke of monarchy and has become a republic. He called attention to Great Britain and the struggle between the house of commons and the house of lords, wherein the latter made peace with the rising tide of democracy.

The speaker then took up the discussion of reform legislation in the United States. He touched upon the history of the movement for direct election of senators by the people. He defended the direct primary as the foundation principle of representative government. He eulogized the national corrupt practices act and the requirement that political parties give publicity to their campaign contributions. He advocated the income tax, the initiative and referendum and the recall. He cited Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt as recent converts of the initiative and referendum and stated that when it was first advocated before the Nebraska convention some fifteen years ago, the republican papers said that one delegate asked another what it meant. The second delegate replied that it was a new kind of democratic whisky. The paper asserted that it was therefore adopted unanimously.

Mr. Bryan characterized the recall as the "simple process by which the people remove a man from the public crib before he is ready to leave."

He said of Governor Carey, "I am glad to sit by the side of a man who, while calling himself a progressive republican, has shown himself interested in a real progressive movement. Back of the action of both democrats and progressive republicans is the same essential force.

"We are entering upon a great campaign. I have just one interest in this campaign. I want the republicans to put up their best men and I want the democrats to do the same. Then whichever side loses, the people will win.

"Our party has been making a brave fight, and speaking for myself, I would rather be a part of a party in the minority, as our party has been, and yet dominate the political situation and the legislation of the majority party. I would rather coerce a majority than belong to a majority and be led by the minority."

STEEL

Said Louis D. Brandeis recently: "Under the guise of protecting American labor, J. P. Morgan and the management of the United States Steel corporation * * * has subjected the laborer to grossly excessive toll and deprived him of industrial liberty. While in England employees * * * work on the average only 55.2 hours per week, one-half of our steel workers work 72 hours or more a week; about a third work more than 72 hours, and a fourth 12 hours a day for seven days a week. To work men 12 hours a day seven days a week, with an occasional 24-hour work-day when the shift is made, makes not only 'old men at forty,' but necessarily degenerates the race physically, intellectually and morally."

The Carnegie company sold out to the Steel trust for \$420,000,000, of which Mr. Carnegie got half. He was already immensely rich. He has given away \$208,000,000 presumably out of his income without trenching upon his capital. He has boasted repeatedly of "making" thirty-five other millionaires.

For years Americans have been familiar with Mr. Schwab's statement that in America we could make steel rails at a profit for \$16 a ton; and with such incidents as the sale of rails in Syria, freight free, at \$22 a ton, while they were selling here at \$28. Before the Payne-Aldrich bill was passed Mr. Carnegie told the ways and means committee that American steel manufac-

ture needs no protective tariff. He has just repeated the statement to the Stanley committee.

The federal bureau of statistics reports today "the high-record exportation of practically a quarter billion dollars' worth of iron and steel manufactures" in 1911. We have one-quarter of all the steel-export trade of the world, and nearly half the production. The Steel trust alone makes more steel than Belgium, France and the United Kingdom combined.

And yet—if a bill reducing the tariff on steel to a revenue basis were presently to come out of the democratic house, should we not hear once more from senate stand-patters the old hypocritical whinings about retaining the "protection of the American workingman?"—New York World.

FOOD FOR SERIOUS THOUGHT

Huntington, W. Va., Dec. 27, 1911.—In my study of social and political as well as the economic, ethical and religious phenomena of this age I found the inclosed prophecy of Thomas Babington Macaulay and it struck me that we are in that very season where the government is helpless and I wish you would give your opinion in some articles in The Commoner. I am a constant reader of your paper and note your favor to the initiative, referendum and recall and other reforms that appeal to the sovereign powers of the people. Is it your opinion that this republic is struggling with a foe that is too great for it, and will ultimately put us in the hands of a Caesar or Napoleon? I believe we are on the verge of civil war and pillage and plunder and the government is too weak to handle the great problem. Or will we have a "Moses" to lead us out. Have we a man that is brave enough to risk popularity or even life to thwart the oncoming struggle between the two classes? Is it not a fact that the constitution is all sail and no anchor? Please deal with this in the immediate future. Respectfully yours,
E. W. WEBSTER.

LORD MACAULAY'S PROPHECY

Thomas Babington Macaulay, statesman, historian, and essayist, wrote a letter to an American, Mr. Henry S. Randall, in 1857, from which the following is an extract:

"Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you good deliverance; but my reason and my wishes are at war, and I can not help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For, with you, the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always in the minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the state of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has more than half a breakfast, or expect to have more than half a breakfast, choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a legislature will be chosen? On the one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; on the other is a demagogue, ranting about the tyranny of the capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folk are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workman who hears his children cry for bread?"

"I seriously apprehend you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things that will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should, in a season of scarcity, devour all the seed-corn, and thus make next year not one of scarcity, but of absolute famine.

"There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on its downward course, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth."

J. R. Holt, Ark.—Enclosed you will find four subscriptions—three renewals and one new. Please put them on your list at once. This makes thirty-seven names I have sent you within the last twenty days. Send me more sample copies and I will give them careful distribution; also send me more stationery. I sent you twenty subscribers last year.