

and verification of the facts, as we always do. We conferred not alone with Mr. Turner, but with a number of Mexican liberals and some of the best authorities on Mexican affairs. We ourselves chose the title "Barbarous Mexico," which has done more than any other one thing to impress the idea we had to present. It was a flying phrase that went round the world. We were so anxious to publish all the authentic material that we could get, that we sent Mr. Turner back to Mexico at considerable expense, to study the situation more fully. We also got together material from other sources and published other articles to corroborate Mr. Turner's studies. We tried throughout to do a thorough and honest piece of editorial work. We published all of Mr. Turner's articles, that we, as journalists, felt to be effective. The first articles contained the cream of the whole matter. The later material, though we paid for it, we were not able to lick into a shape so authentic, so convincing and so interesting that we could feel that it would really help. We have not been threatened, nor should we have changed our course if we had been threatened. We have not changed our convictions or our policies in any way whatever. The entire group—Mr. Phillips, Miss Tarbell, William Allen White, F. P. Dunne and myself—believe in what we are doing, and when we can no longer express ourselves honestly and fully in the American Magazine, we'll stop it and find some other way of expressing ourselves.

Mr. Baker's letter is, as we fully believe, frank and true; and while we hope that the Turner articles in the Appeal to Reason may be widely read, we are confident, both from the statements of this letter and our own observation of the American Magazine since its first publication, that its policies are controlled by its editors, and that they are truthful and courageous persons.

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### Be Good and Others Will Be Happy.

A great industrial discovery has been made by the Nashville American. It would end the age-long "conflict between individual greed and social welfare," would give "to the individual full opportunity and incentive to do his utmost in such a way that his labor would redound to the good, not the hurt, of the whole community." And it is very simple. Yet no one can doubt its effectiveness. "We have been pursuing the wrong course." The "motive and aim of human endeavor has been, generally speaking, profit and wages instead of service"; and "there's the root of the whole evil." The remedy? "Let laborers and employers, merchants and manufacturers, policemen and councilmen, Congressmen and Senators," think "half as much of their opportunities to render service to their fellowmen as they do of their wages and profits." And there you are, as Mr. Dooley would say. Surely, surely. Let the skies fall and everybody can catch larks. But the suggestion is really

not half bad. Most men would rather think of the service they can render than of the pay they get, if the pay they get were not so precarious and often so small that their human necessities compel them to think of it first. Might we not reverse this condition, by so altering our institutions that nobody could get pay for service without rendering service? A beginning could easily be made with such of these parasites as get pay, not for rendering service, but in tolls from others for their use of our common earth in order to render service.

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### LAND CONSERVATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Under radical-Liberal influences the British government is establishing in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, a thorough system of land tenure and taxation for the conservation of natural and social resources.

The land is nationalized, private tenures being upon license only and not upon freehold, and the taxation contemplates making land values a common fund. The theory of the system is that occupiers of land shall be secure in the products of their industry, but that values due to natural advantages or social growth shall go to the public.

This is a system which, pursuant to the modern British policy, has its roots in native customs. For in that mid-African country, land nationalization is found to have prevailed under native governments. Embryonic in character it may have been, and crude in form. What else could be expected of the customs of a people whom we with our cozy Caucasian prejudices regard as only semi-civilized or maybe altogether savage? But the form was plainly marked and the character unmistakable.

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Northern Nigeria has a population of nearly 10,000,000. Its area is about five times that of England. It lies between the 7th and 14th parallel of north latitude, and the 3rd and 13th meridian east from Greenwich. At the extreme northeast the boundary line passes through the western waters of Lake Chad. The confluence of the Niger and the Benue, not far north of the southern boundary, is a little way west of the north-and-south center. There are fourteen provinces: Borgu, Sokoto (which includes the old province of Gando), Kontagora, Nupe, Zaria, Nassarawa, Ilorin, Kabba, Bassa, Kano, Bauchi, Muri, Yola, and Bornu.

This country came fully under British control

in 1903. The Royal Niger Company, created in 1882 under the name of the National African Company, for the purpose of securing Nigeria to Great Britain and governing it under a Royal charter, had been divested of its charter in 1900, when a government was set up under a British commission; but the process of complete political occupation took three years more. The territory is within that British sphere of influence in Africa which was conceded to Great Britain by the Anglo-German agreements of 1885, 1886 and 1893, and the Anglo-French agreements of 1889, 1890 and 1898. It is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a cabinet office in the British ministry now held by the Earl of Crewe. The principal British official "on the ground" is called the Governor, an office held at the present time and during the period of the Parliamentary report we are about to describe, by Sir Percy Girouard.

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In the latter part of the year 1907, Sir Percy Girouard, as British governor of Northern Nigeria, had collected, and subsequently he forwarded to the Colonial office in London, a mass of information and suggestion relative to land tenure and land revenue within his jurisdiction. This material was referred by the home office to the committee to whose remarkable report,\* which is of universal interest, we are here calling attention. The terms of reference were that the committee should "consider the evidence collected by Sir Percy Girouard, and any other evidence available as to the existing system of land tenure in Northern Nigeria," and "report (1) on the system which it is advisable to adopt, and (2) as to the legislative and administrative measures necessary for its adoption."

The members of this committee had been selected with regard to special competency for the work. One of them was Kenelm E. Digby, permanent under secretary at the home office. Another was Sir James Digges la Touche, an official of experience in India. H. Berham Cox, legal assistant under secretary at the Colonial office since 1897, was another; and others were T. Morison, Charles Strachey, C. L. Temple and Captain C. W. J. Orr. To these was added later Josiah C.

\*The official report, called "Report of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee," which was ordered to be carried out May 10, 1910, together with the accompanying "Minutes of Evidence and Appendices," is on public sale in London by Wyman and Sons, Limited, 109 Fetter Lane, Fleet street, E. C., and 32 Abingdon street, Westminster, S. W.; in Edinburgh by Oliver and Boyd, Tweeddale Court; and in Dublin by E. Ponsonby, 116 Grafton street. The price for the Report is 9 pence (18 cents); for the Minutes it is 1 shilling and 2 pence (28 cents).

Wedgwood, M. P. (p. 258), who had served in Africa both as a military officer in the Boer War and as a British magistrate after the war, and who is now a member of Parliament as a radical-Liberal.

Thirteen meetings were held by the committee, in the course of which they considered not only the memoranda submitted by Sir Percy Girouard, but also the oral testimony (taken at their meetings) of Sir Raymond Menendez (Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria), and of five officers of the political department of that Protectorate, two of these—Mr. Temple and Captain Orr—being members of the committee. They considered besides, the various laws relating to land in force in the Protectorate, and also a collection of memoranda on the subject of land taxation and native revenue which a former High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria—Sir Frederick Lugard—had issued to his civil subordinates. The views of business concerns having interests in Northern Nigeria were also solicited and placed in the record. Responses from this source were full, except as to the Niger company, which went no further than to express a hope that the committee would afford no opening for land speculators.

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At the outset in their report, which was made July 29, 1908, but not finally acted upon by the Colonial office until March 22, 1910, the committee presented a sketch of the history and present condition of Northern Nigeria. A paraphrase of this will help to an appreciation of the larger conclusions of the report.

Some parts of Northern Nigeria are Mohammedan, others are pagan.

Mohammedanism came through two sources—first the Hausas and Bornuese, and second the Fulani. The Hausas and the Bornuese, though not aboriginal inhabitants, were established in this part of Africa at a very remote time, and became Mohammedan as early probably as the Thirteenth century. Some centuries later, Fulani missionaries (Mohammedan) coming down from the north and northwest, brought on a holy war at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, and established by conquest a large Fulani empire.

Although some of the provinces conquered by the Fulani were already Mohammedan, others contained a large pagan population under Fulani rule, and also large pagan communities that preserved their independence. One of the latter, Argungu, adjacent to Gando, "one of the great seats of the Fulani empire," came to "a relatively high state of civilization under its pagan rulers."

At the beginning of British rule ten of the provinces were Mohammedan and four pagan, as follows:

Mohammedan.—Sokoto, Kano, Kontagora, Nupe, Bauchi, Zaria, Yola, Ilorin, Muri, and Bornu.

Pagan.—Borgi, Kabba, Bassa, and Nassarawa.

Acknowledging a higher state of native civilization than most of us have supposed to exist in this part of Africa, the Parliamentary report here under review attributes it largely to the Hausa race. "The very complete system," it says, "of native law and administration found today in Hausaland is believed to have been adopted by the Fulani\* from the Hausa\* under whom it had been built up."

After its historical investigation, the committee concludes, with reference to possible differences between Mohammedan and pagan rule prior to the British occupation, that no "national differences exist as regards the native customs and practices relating to land and taxation between the parts where the inhabitants or ruling classes are mainly Mohammedan and the parts where they are mainly pagan." The report thereupon describes at length the prevailing native customs regarding land and taxation, and, adding an explanation of the policy pursued by the British since the Royal Niger charter was revoked in 1900, makes its recommendations.

This brings us to the core of the whole matter.

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It is found by the report that "there is no room for the development of the conception of private

property in land;" for, "by the customs prevailing throughout Northern Nigeria, grants of use and enjoyment of land are merely revocable licenses to cultivate the land." The report therefore declares it to be the "duty of the government to protect the occupier from disturbance," and if the government needs land for public purposes the occupier "should have full compensation from the government for the crops, buildings and improvements, though not for the land."

The danger of the development of a proprietary right is foreseen by the report, which, to guard against it, advises that the annual tax assessments "be so employed as to prevent as far as possible land from acquiring a marketable value other than that derived from the improvements made upon it." The administration should, in the opinion of the committee, "be directed rather to measures for giving security to the occupier against outside interference than attempt to create the new and strange idea of an estate or property in the land itself."

In case of revocation of an occupier's right, the report emphasizes its recommendation of due compensation "for crops, unexhausted improvements, and buildings, though not for the land itself."

On the subject of taxation the report recommends that "the system of taxation now imposed should be such that," with general increase of wealth, "the government revenues will partake of this increase of wealth automatically"; and it points out, quite in harmony with the well-known

\*The following quotations from the Century Dictionary throw additional light upon the civilization with which the British government has come in contact in Northern Nigeria:

"Fulah or Fula (fū'-lā) plural Fulbe ['light brown,' 'red']—A great African nation, scattered through the Sudan from Senegal to Wadai, and south to Adamawa; Their language is called Fulfulde. They are variously classed with the Hamites, the negroes, and in the Nuba-Fulah group, with the Nubas of the Nile Valley. They seem to be essentially Hamitic, having branched off from the Berbers or the Somal. Their color is reddish-brown, nose straight, lips regular, hair curly. Where they are mixed with the negroes the skin is darker, the lips are thicker, the hair is more bushy and the temperament more merry. In their pure state they are proud and grave. The Futa-Toro or Toucouleurs are a mixture of Fulah and Wollof. Pastoral, industrious, warlike, and intelligent, they rule over the agricultural negro tribes of the Sudan. They are dominant in Gando, Sokoto, Adamawa, Massina, Segu, Kaarta and Futa-Jallon. In Bornu, Baghirmi and Wadai they are not strong enough to command. In religion they are Mohammedans, but tolerant except the fanatic Toucouleurs. They have a national literature written with Arabic characters. It was in the beginning of this century [the 19th], under their poet and leader Otman dan Fodio, that they revolutionized the Sudan, spreading Islam, and founding their great kingdoms, which are not yet on the wane. Their language is peculiar by its initial

formations. It is spoken in its purest form in Massina and Futa-Toro. Owing to admixtures of neighboring negro languages and Arabic, five dialects are distinguished, according to the countries where they are spoken: namely, Futa-Jallon, Futa-Toro, Sokoto, Hausa and Bornu—also called Pul Fetata Filani."

"Hausa, or Haussa (hou'-sä). A country and nation situated north of the junction of the Niger with the Benue river, in Central Sudan. Hausa-land is almost co-extensive with the modern kingdom of Sokoto. The Hausas form the most important nation of the Sudan. They belong to the Nigrific branch of the Bantu-negro race, slightly mixed with Hamitic elements. According to their own tradition their father was a negro and their mother a Berber. The Guber section is of Coptic descent. The Hausas are Mohammedans, semi-civilized, great traders, and able craftsmen. In the slaving times Hausa slaves were in great demand; today, Hausa soldiers constitute a large portion of the British and Congo state forces. In the Middle Ages the Hausas formed a great negro kingdom, which subsequently broke up into small states. About the 16th century the Fulahs or Fulbe began to get a foothold among them, and in 1802 Othman dan Fodio founded in Hausa-land a great Fulah empire. From this, divided among his sons, sprang the modern sultanates of Sokoto, Gando and Adamawa. The Hausa language is spoken far beyond Hausa-land. It is euphonious, simple, and regular in structure, and eminently fit to become a literary language. The principal dialects are those of Katsena (the literary standard), Kano, Guber and Daura."

single tax theory, that "the construction of roads and railways, the introduction of new industries, and the general progress of Northern Nigeria, will, independently of the exertions of the cultivators, augment the profits derived from the use of land;" whereupon, also in harmony with the single tax, it recommends that "taxation should be such as to aim at securing for the state this increment in value."

Inasmuch, however, as there are temporary practical difficulties in the way, so that "the immediate introduction of a land revenue of the nature indicated" cannot be recommended, the report advises "that the tax on the use of land should be separated from the taxes on trade and crafts," to the end that land values may in the future be automatically absorbed by the land tax.

In summing up their views, the committee advise that the "government should retain the dominion and control of all the land in the country," grants of land to "be in the nature of leases or licenses and not of grants of the absolute property or freehold interest," that no distinction should be made "in this respect in point of principle between urban or rural land, or building or agricultural land, or otherwise;" and that, "for the purpose of avoiding misleading associations, the subject matter of such leases or licenses should not be the land itself, but the use and enjoyment of the land for the purposes for which it is granted."

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The recommendations of the committee have been ordered by the British government to be carried out, and the work is now in process.

That it is being done in no perfunctory way may be inferred from the letter of the British Governor of Northern Nigeria, set out in the Parliamentary document here under consideration. He writes of the principles laid down by the committee, that they are "in substance a declaration in favor of the nationalization of the lands of the Protectorate;" and that they have his "whole hearted acceptance." Adding an expression of his confidence that they will "prove of unique and incalculable benefit to present and future generations of Nigerians," he says: "By securing forever the rentals on land for the upkeep of central and local governments, the principles if applied will prove to be the greatest developing factor in the future moral and material welfare and progress of the country and its inhabitants whether native or immigrant."

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Statistics are generally used to prove the things that we know are not so.—Puck.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### INSURGENCY IN IOWA.

On the Road, June 18.

I was in Iowa just after the primary election and was eager to take testimony on the ground as to the significance of the result.

My first witness was the barber. "Well," said I, "what do you people out here think about the fight?" "Oh the most of 'em seem to think Jeff will win" was the unhesitating reply.

The next time I indicated that it was the primary fight I was interested in. "What primary fight? I didn't know there was one," said the porter in the hotel. The next two witnesses were railroad employees. They were not keen on the subject but did recollect that there had been an election. Neither had voted. One never voted.

The next was a drummer and a bitter Standpatter. "What does it mean?" said he, with feeling. "It means the end of Cummins, that's what it means. It means that Iowa Republicans will not stand for an attack on a Republican President." This man had been a Florida Democrat until the first Bryan campaign. He was intelligent, however, though vehemently partisan and I put this question to him: "Is it not true that if the Democrats who can be relied on to support Cummins at the polls, could have participated in this primary, the Standpatters would have been easily defeated?" He frankly admitted that this was so. The same admission was made by a Standpat State Senator.

The grievance of these men seemed to be that Cummins beats them with Democratic votes. They explained that it would be another thing if he made Republicans of the Democrats, but that he has not done this. These Democrats are confessedly and boastfully unregenerate, and they vote for Cummins not because they have turned Republican, but because Cummins has turned Democrat. This is the indictment. But a hot progressive Republican explained to me that the Standpatters were nothing but Democrats anyway, and a dead weight to the Republican party in Iowa.

My observation is that Iowa is almost indisputable Progressive territory. But in these days when independent votes determine elections, party primaries are no test of public sentiment.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

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"Why do we send missionaries to the savages?" asked the man.

"To civilize them."

"What good does that do them?"

"It educates them out of habits of idleness."

"And what then?"

"They go to work."

"What do they work for?"

"To become prosperous and rich."

"What good does prosperity do them?"

"It procures them leisure and comfort."

"Which was what they had before you started stirring them up. What's the use?"—Cleveland Leader.