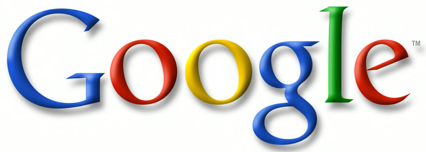

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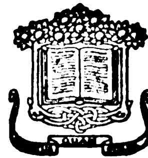
THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXIV

MAY to OCTOBER, 1912

A HISTORY OF OUR TIME



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THE WORLD'S WORK

VOLUME XXIV

MAY to OCTOBER, 1912

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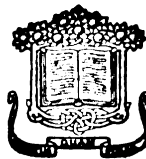

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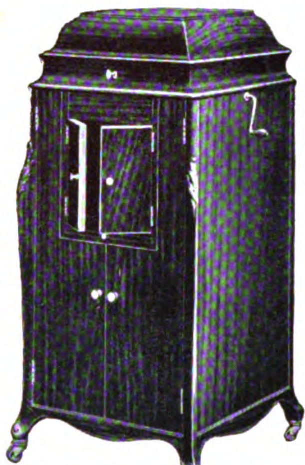

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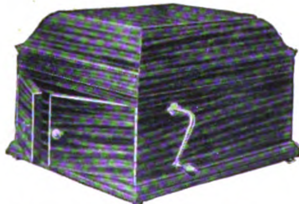

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The World's Work

WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR

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CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN

WHO, ON DEC. 14, 1911, RAISED THE NORWEGIAN FLAG AT THE SOUTH POLE, THEREBY WINNING THE RACE AGAINST FOUR COMPETING PARTIES TO BE FIRST AT THE ABSOLUTE SOUTH

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ALBERT B. FALL, NEW MEXICO
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THE SENATORS FROM THE NEW STATES

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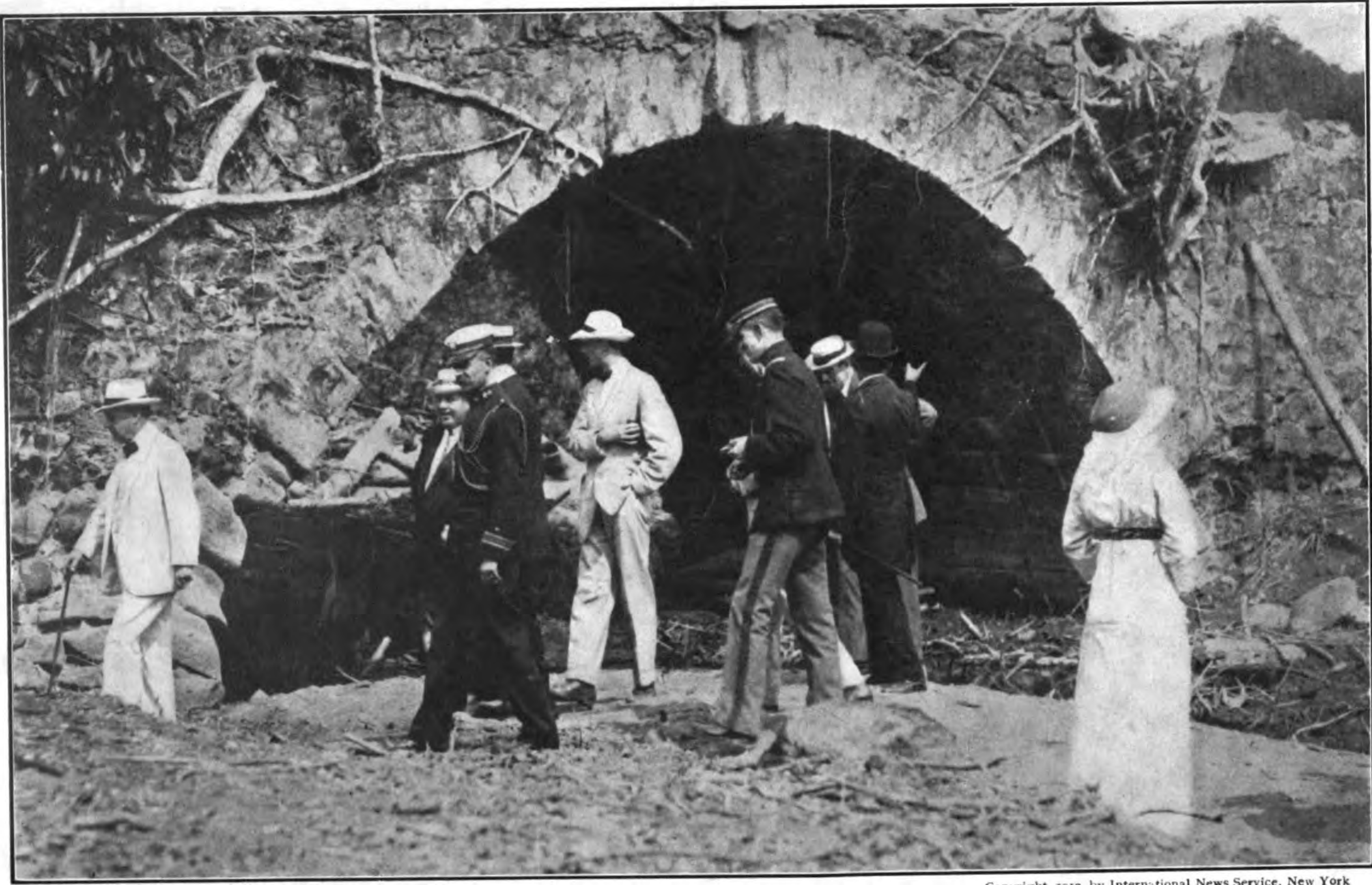

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SECRETARY OF STATE KNOX

ON HIS VISIT TO PANAMA AND THE CARIBBEAN REPUBLICS

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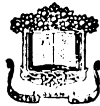
THE WORLD'S WORK

MAY, 1912

VOLUME XXIV



NUMBER 1

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THOUGH in days preëminent for man's conquest of Nature by science and engineering, Amundsen's journey to the South Pole, like Peary's to the North Pole, was made with only the appliances of previous generations. The poles were discovered by the endurance of dogs and men, spurred on by the old spirit of adventure and the lust for difficult and dangerous tasks that stirred the adventurers of old. In another century or two the era of the pole discoveries will be hailed as the good old times when men were still men and civilization had not made the world effete.

The twelve years ending with the discovery of the South Pole are as full of dramatic achievement as the days of Drake and Raleigh, for not even in those times was there a more extraordinary series of discoveries and conquests packed into a dozen years.

In 1900 only one man had been the length of Africa by land, and the Cape to Cairo railroad was but a dream. There was not a railroad across South America. A great part of Siberia was without rail or road except the old caravan trails. China was practically without railroads. Lhassa was unknown, forbidden to the white man. During a century and a half men had tried to reach the South Pole and failed, and the North Pole had baffled the efforts of 400 years.

Within a dozen years white men have traveled over the great desert, visited Lake Chad, made a protectorate over Timbuctoo. The days of the Mahdi at Khartoum are ended and any tourist may travel there comfortably by rail. The Cape to Cairo railroad is an assured fact. The heart of Africa is now no more remote from the popular imagination than Oklahoma City was in 1900.

In South America the Trans-Andean railroad is in full operation across the continent as the Trans-Siberian is across Asia. Even China has her railroads. Lhassa has been visited by a British army and both poles are the common property of every fireside that boasts of books, magazines, or newspapers.

Such a record may justify a feeling of pride that the spirit of conquest and adventure is as alive as ever and accompanied with all the courage and hardihood that blessed any earlier generation.

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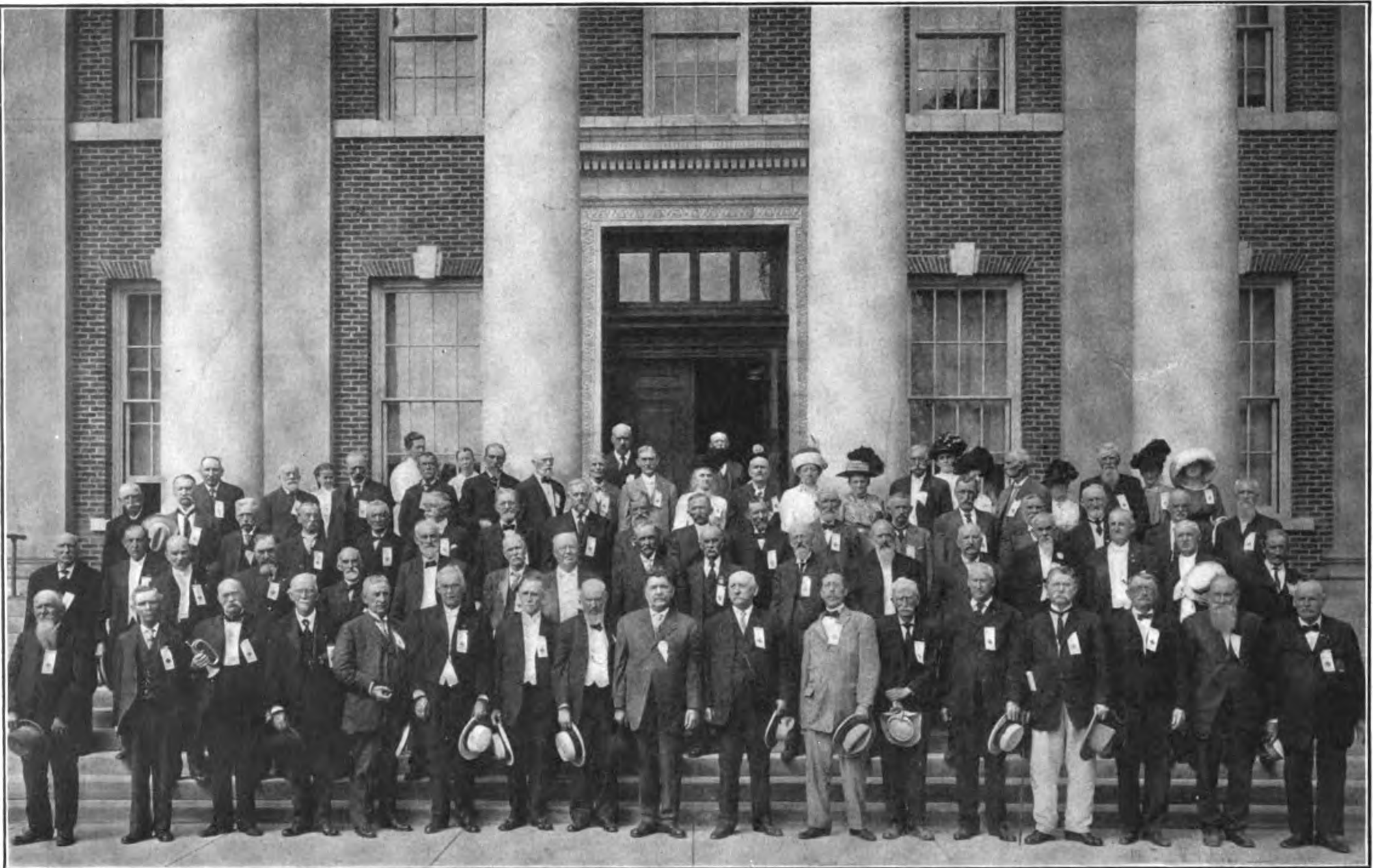

THE ELLSWORTH ZOUAVES AT THEIR FIFTIETH REUNION AT ALBANY, N. Y.

WHERE THEY ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS DEMANDING THAT THE LIST OF CIVIL WAR PENSIONERS BE PUBLISHED AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD CLEANSING THE ROLLS OF FRAUD

[See "*The March of Events*"]

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MR. JOHN P. WHITE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANTHRACITE COAL MINERS IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OPERATORS FOR A NEW WORKING AGREEMENT [See "*The March of Events*"]

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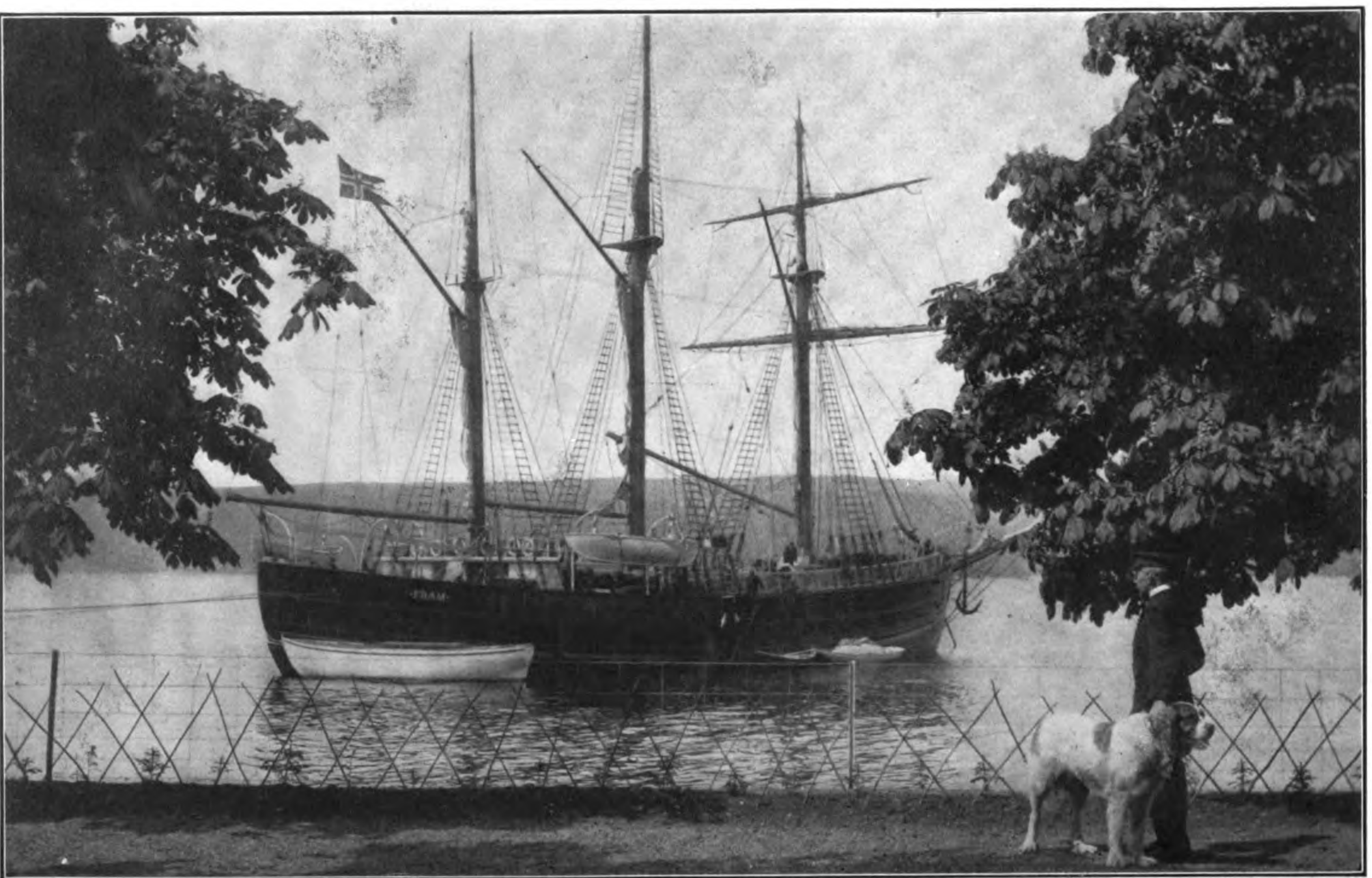

CAPTAIN AMUNDSEN'S SHIP, "THE FRAM"

WHICH BEGAN POLAR SERVICE UNDER NANSEN IN 1893, AND WHICH HAS BEEN FARTHER NORTH AND FARTHER SOUTH THAN ANY OTHER VESSEL

[See Page 113]

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A MEASURE OF THE CANDIDATES

IN SPITE of a certain similarity — in that they all want tariff reduction, strict corporation control, etc. — the personal platforms of the Presidential candidates (given elsewhere in this number) become very different when interpreted in the light of their previous careers.

Governor Wilson, for example, wishes tariff reduction because, from his study of government and politics, he believes "protection" to be a special privilege, a favor to the few at the expense of the many. It is not a question of expediency with him. It is a question of morals. Yet he recognizes that free trade is unattainable and that even the reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis must be accomplished at a pace consistent with business stability.

In Governor Harmon's mind, also, the protective tariff is a wrong, an opportunity given by the Government to a favored few to tax the people. It is the vigorous tariff conviction of Cleveland's Cabinet that Mr. Harmon still holds.

President Taft's views, on the other hand, seem to be based upon the theory of expediency rather than upon any belief in the moral iniquity of the tariff, and his record as a tariff reformer has not been a record of accomplishment. He accepted the Payne-Aldrich tariff and he vetoed the tariff reduction bills that were later presented to him by a Democratic House elected largely in protest against the Payne Bill. His programme to make the tariff equalize the cost of production here and abroad is becoming untenable, for the Tariff Board is unable to say just what that difference is. The President seems more earnest, perhaps, about the method of tariff legislation than about having the tariff lowered.

Mr. Roosevelt's views embody a schedule by schedule revision upon data furnished by experts, but the distinctive part of his programme is the insistence that the protection which the tariff affords shall be given primarily to the wage worker and the farmer. If employers have kept all the added income which the high tariff enabled them to get, Mr. Roosevelt suggests that some department or bureau of the Government shall make them share with labor. In other words, if it can be done, he wishes to have the spoils divided.

For the regulation of corporations in New Jersey Governor Wilson pushed through a legislature in which the House and the Senate were of opposite parties a public utilities law that has been effective and he followed it with an employers' liability law.

Governor Harmon, as Attorney-General in Cleveland's cabinet, won the trans-Missouri Freight case and began other important cases. The Sherman law was almost as much in evidence in his dayas it has been in Mr. Wickersham's. The Northern Securities case was won by Mr. Roosevelt's Attorney General and the Oil and Tobacco cases were started in his administration, though the decisions in these two cases do not satisfy him. Mr. Taft believes that these decisions have been effective.

Thus all the candidates give earnest of a vigorous intention to prevent business abuses and the evils of monopoly, though the methods of dealing with this subject are less settled and defined than the methods of dealing with the tariff.

Aside from the question of tariff reform and trust control comes the measure of these men by the standards of clean politics and the newer ideals which the agitation of the last decade has fostered. As governor of New Jersey, in spite of the machines of both parties, Mr. Wilson led the fight which gave New Jersey a new standard of political morals. In his administration a direct primary law, a corrupt practises act, a reformed election law, and a commission form of government act were passed. He is not tainted with the spoils system and he has a clean and forceful record of political achievement. Governor Harmon, also, has made a record for himself. He has cut off waste, increased efficiency, and saved money in the government of Ohio. Unlike Governor Wilson, however, he is not a believer in new forms. He prefers the old paths of politics with which he has long been familiar to blazing new ones.

Temperamentally, Mr. Taft, also, is

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not a political pioneer. He was nominated in 1908 by a "steam roller" prepared by the Roosevelt administration. A steam roller means patronage. He seems likely to be nominated again by similar tactics.

Mr. Roosevelt on his return to politics is an ardent and sincere believer in the progressive policies of more direct popular rule. His voice stirred up much of the dissatisfaction with the old order of things. Yet he is a follower, not a leader, in advocating the measures of relief. More direct popular rule was not among the many policies which he set in motion during his Presidency. These "progressive" measures and the reform of the tariff have rather forced themselves upon him.

President Taft and Governor Harmon are the choice of that portion of the American people who are temperamentally conservative. Added to this disinterestedly conservative element are those who have had undue privileges in the past and do not wish them disturbed, and the bulk of the old party machines.

On the other side, for Wilson and Roosevelt are the many who believe that the "deal is not square" and who wish a more vigorous intention to make it nearer so than Mr. Taft or Mr. Harmon seem to display.

Yet in spite of all their differences these four candidates hold a more or less middle ground, for neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Harmon is conservative enough for a good many men in their respective parties and Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt fall far short of the demands of the most radical. Mr. Roosevelt is perhaps the most radical of the four, Mr. Wilson next, then Mr. Taft, and Governor Harmon the most conservative.

THE OMINOUS RAILROAD OUTLOOK

LOOKING back upon a year of rather subnormal business conditions and looking forward to a Presidential year, the industries and commerce of the country nevertheless show a quietly cheerful aspect. But at variance with this general condition is the situation in which the railroads find themselves. The painful and laborious study which followed the railroad agitation has made it plain that as soon as commerce begins to move in record volume, the railroad facilities of the country will break down. They are not prepared for it and it will be very hard for them to prepare for it, for the investors of the world are not ready to finance the needed improvements in our great transportation machine.

It is the consensus of opinion not only of railroad men themselves, but of bankers, students, economists both American and European, that the mere maintenance of the present standard of service will call for at least $1,000,000,000 a year of capital for the next five years. Moreover, the present equipment would utterly fail to give service in any trade revival of considerable importance. Unless, therefore, the facilities are increased our railroads, of which we have been prone to boast in the past, will be the most powerful brake upon the industry of the country for some years to come. And the facilities are not likely to be adequately increased, for we have reached a point where the credit of American railroads is falling in the markets of the world. It would probably be almost impossible during the next few years to finance such an era of expansion as the Pennsylvania Railroad financed, for instance, between 1901 and 1906, or as the Union Pacific financed during the same years. Two of the big trunk lines of the East are to-day almost beggars in the markets of the world, and if there is any further strain we shall probably see within a year or two some of our best and oldest main line roads paying from 6 to 7 per cent. for money.

Already, one of the strong old railroads of the Middle West has been forced to close temporarily its best issue of bonds and has come into the market to pay well up to 5½ per cent. for money. And the best railroad bonds of the country are to-day less stable than at almost any other period in our financial history. Some of the most careful students of events are inclined to turn from them to other classes of investments.

The railroads in new and rapidly growing countries have a better chance to get credit than the railroads of the old and

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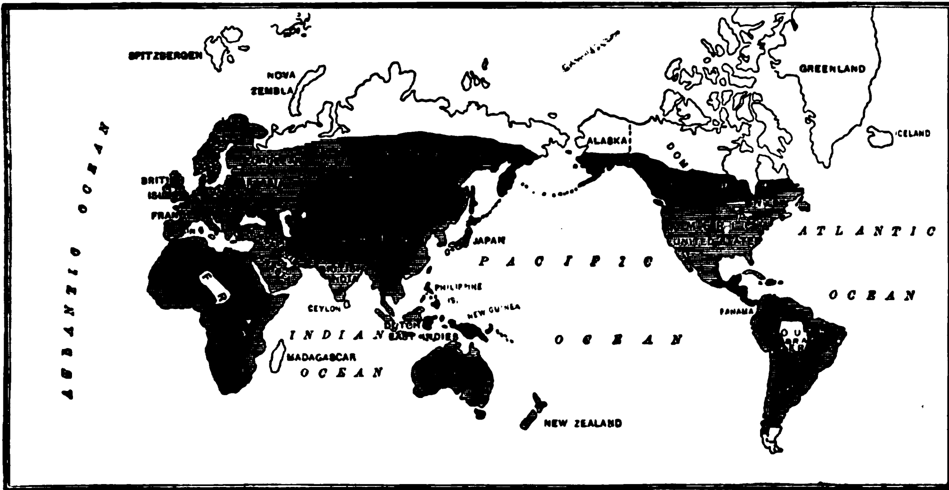

From a cotton circular by Theodore H. Price

APPROXIMATE AREA OPENED TO WORLD TRADE IN THE LAST TEN YEARS

SHADED SPACES WERE OPEN BEFORE 1902: SPACES IN WHITE ARE STILL CLOSED TO COMMERCE

settled districts of the country, partly because the growth of the country itself bolsters them up and partly because the pressure of industrial and commercial interests in their communities is for better service rather than for cheaper service.

But the railroad world as a whole is in need of able and constructive business statesmanship. The bullet-headed, stupid, and reactionary railroad heads, luckily, are being crowded out to give place to men who can meet and treat with the shipping public of the United States. Herein lies possible salvation; but it is hardly too much to say that unless common sense overrules passion and narrow self-interest, real prosperity cannot come back to American industries until we have passed through an era of catastrophe.

THE COMING ERA OF EXPORT

IN 1911 all the nations of the world exported to other nations goods valued at $17,000,000,000. Fifteen years ago, in 1896, the total value of all the exports of all the nations was $7,716,000,000. The growth has been gradual. In spite of all the economic disturbances that have intervened, it is still going on and in all human probability it will be discovered that for every dollar of international trade in 1896 the nations of the world will enjoy an international trade of three dollars in 1916.

All the world is becoming a common marketplace. In the last decade a tremendous area has been opened to trade. It is significant that even Americans, who a few years ago regarded the internal trade of the country as all sufficient and all important are to-day talking more and more of foreign trade and shaping their commercial policies to meet the day when export trade will be even more important than internal commerce. Slowly we are studying and learning the commercial and industrial habits of all races. We are shaping even our governmental policies, uncertain as they are, to meet the commercial necessities of an exporting nation. It would not be at all surprising if the man who writes the economic history of the next decade in this country should be obliged to call it the age of export growth as distinguished from the last fifteen years, which have undoubtedly earned the right to be called the era of industrial combinations.

THE DWINDLING AMERICAN DOLLAR

ONE day in February, 1912, a New Jersey commuter bought a dozen "strictly fresh" eggs, for 50 cents. Among the dozen he discovered an egg covered with pencil marks. They turned out to be the name and address of a man in Tennessee requesting the ultimate con-

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sumer of that particular egg to write the original seller telling him the final amount paid for the eggs and the date on which they were bought.

The correspondence that followed showed that these eggs had been sold in Tennessee early in December, 1911, at 17 cents a dozen. Between that sale and the purchase by the final consumer the eggs seemed to have passed through the hands of many middlemen, including one of the great cold storage companies. The total toll earned by these handlers was 33 cents a dozen, or one cent less than twice the amount received by the farmer.

It is such things that have made the question of the cost of living one of the real questions in the minds of the American people to-day. And somebody has to solve it sooner or later.

Statistics gathered from all the world point with more or less certainty to the conclusion that, although in the past fifteen years the rise in the cost of living abroad has been about 13 per cent or a little more, the rise in the United States has been about 40 per cent. Reduced to plain figures this means that whereas the European citizen's dollar has shrunk to about 83 cents the American dollar, measured by purchasing power of necessities, has dwindled to about 71 cents during this period.

What are we going to do about it? The answer to that question will solve all the economic, commercial, and industrial problems of the next few years. There is one thing perfectly obvious in the foreground — which is that our peculiar part of the problem is to discover and correct the causes that have curtailed the buying power of the American dollar so much faster than that of the dollar in Europe.

It is not the problem, nor is it the habit, of the American people to worry much over economic causes that affect all the world equally. The main underlying cause of the shrinking dollar all over the world is the increasing production of gold throughout the world, brought on by the discovery of the Rand and by the improved processes of gold mining. It accounts for the shrinkage of the European dollar to 83 cents but most emphatically it does not account for the additional shrinkage of our dollar to 71 cents — and that is the thing that we want to find out about. As a nation we are willing to take our chances on equal terms with all the other nations of the world in the production and use of wealth, but we are not willing, unless for some good and sufficient reason, to find ourselves handicapped in comparison with all the other nations of the world by an undue tax of 12 cents in the dollar. Yet that is the condition in which we find ourselves.

It is possible, indeed it is very probable, that the undue rise in the cost of living here is due to our failure to adopt corrective methods and new theories of commerce and of barter that have been adopted with greater or less success by the people of other lands. In Germany, for instance, in almost every hamlet there are banks that lend money to the farmer, to the little merchant, and even to the ultimate consumer at rates far below the rates even in our well settled communities. The total of this business runs into the billions every year. Perhaps in these community banks and in the doctrine of thrift and care that they teach — that they indeed enforce — there is a corrective for our national agricultural extravagance and for a part of the ruinous burden laid upon our poorer community. Again, in the United Kingdom there is in operation a system of coöperative stores that does a business every year of more than $500,000,000, and that saves more than $50,000,000 to its customers, or 9 per cent. on the commodities of life bought through those stores. There may be something in that worth jotting down for comparison with our own ruinous merchandizing system and with the puny and half abortive efforts of our own people to establish in this country a similar system. Perhaps these things are part of the real reason for this great difference in the cost of living; for it is conceivable that commerce in foreign countries has not permitted the growth of the power of the middleman, because that growth was limited automatically by the competition of coöperative merchandise.

In any case, the facts are these: We are in many ways a most inefficient nation and our inefficiency seems to be costing

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us about twelve cents on the dollar. This is the fundamental reason for tariff reform, for a better banking system, for coöperative buying and selling—for national thrift.

IF WE RAISED WHAT WE EAT

Mr. Bradford Knapp, the director of the Farmers' Demonstration Work, tells the following story of the town of Irmo in the Dutch Fork community in South Carolina:

> There were about twenty-five farmers gathered together in the forenoon in the schoolhouse to hear Commissioner Watson of South Carolina and myself. I had been talking at other places on diversified farming and the necessity of producing home supplies as a safe economic basis for farming. After making a brief statement I told the audience that I appreciated that they were doing many of these things in Dutch Fork, and that they would pardon me if I conducted a little quiz to find out just the extent of what I believed to exist there. So I asked them to answer my questions by raising their hands in response to my inquiries.
>
> I first asked them how many of them produced all of the corn that was needed for family use and for feeding the livestock. Every hand was raised. I asked them how many of them grew wheat, and every hand went up. I asked them how many of them took their wheat and corn to the mill there in Dutch Fork and had it ground into corn meal and flour for the use of their families, and every hand was raised. I asked them how many of them produced their own hay, which was a material question in view of the fact that hay was worth about $35 a ton in Columbia at that time, and I found that practically every farmer in that section produced his own hay. I asked them how many of them kept hogs and produced their own meat, and found that this was also the custom of every farmer. They also kept chickens. Finally, one of the farmers from the audience said to me: "Mr. Knapp, we are proud of the fact in this section that we go to Columbia and other market places with our wagons full of produce, and we come back with wagons empty, except for such few things as cannot be produced in this section."

There is no high cost of living worth talking about in Dutch Fork. On the contrary it is such communities as Dutch Fork that furnish the inspiration to the Back-to-the-Land Movement.

The problem is to get the food from the farmer to the consumer cheaper than it is done now. The farmer could have more profits on what would cost the consumer less money if we could learn some of the efficiency which is practised in Europe or, if this sounds unbusinesslike to some people, if we could devise a new brand of our own.

A NEW ELEMENT IN STRIKES

THE strike at Lawrence, which appeared from a surface view to be like many others, is worthy of more careful attention because it marks the entrance into the East of a new element and a new method in labor disputes. The Industrial Workers of the World promoted it and their aim is not merely to increase wages and to secure better conditions but to own the industries themselves. They hope to gain control of the industries by striking for increases in wages time after time until they get all the profit there is in the business and have thus wrested it from the control of capital. There are no conditions of work or wages which satisfy them so long as employers exist. Their plan is to work when necessity forces them to, merely as a temporary truce.

The thing which the American Federation of Labor works for — that is, agreements with employers — is directly contrary to the method of the Industrial Workers of the World. As a body the "I. W. W." is irreconcilable. It refuses to enter into any agreements. It will sign nothing which does not leave its members free to quit work whenever they like or under any conditions.

The Industrial Workers of the World is not a labor union like the unions of the American Federation of Labor. It is a union of socialists and its whole aim is socialism — that is, the control of the instruments of production by the labor classes. Its propaganda is as contrary to that of the Federation of Labor as it is to the interests of the employers; and this explains the hostility to the Lawrence strike that has been shown by President Gompers, and by such union leaders as John Golden of the National Textile

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Workers. The demand of the strikers in Lawrence was for certain specific increases in wages, but the motive behind it was to begin a campaign for the ownership of the machinery of production by the Industrial Workers of the World. Whatever were the conditions in Lawrence, therefore, they were not entirely the cause of the strike. "The battle-field," as William D. Haywood, a moving spirit of the Industrial Workers, called it, might have been selected at almost any other place with equal justification, so far as its propaganda is concerned.

The specific cause of the strike was an act of the Massachusetts legislature which lowered the legal hours of work for women and children from 56 to 54 hours a week. When this law went into effect, the operatives were notified that as the hours had been reduced two hours a week their wages would be correspondingly reduced. The operatives, who included a large number of non-English speaking people, had assumed that the act of the legislature had raised their rate of pay, and on receiving notice to the contrary struck. There has been a good deal of loose talk about the low rate of wages in Lawrence, and the Tariff Board's report indicates that the average wage is not high. On the other hand, the foreign operatives in Lawrence have been in the habit of sending about $700,000 yearly to European relations and the savings banks of that city have deposits of nearly $21,000,000.

But these aspects of the Lawrence strike are not the most important. The main point is that a new, irreconcilable, and militant organization has come among the workers in the East. Its success at Lawrence may be a prophecy of similar strikes elsewhere.

PUBLISH THE LIST

THE Forty-fourth Ellsworth Zouaves were a famous regiment during the Civil War. At their fiftieth anniversary the veterans of this regiment recounted its services at such battles as Hanover Court House, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Bull Run, the Seven Days around Richmond, and in many other engagements. Theirs was a distinguished patriotism in battle. The survivors still maintain that high standard, as the following excerpt from their resolutions shows:

Resolved, That the veterans of the 44th N. Y. Vol. Infantry on this the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the regiment are very thankful to our Government for its great generosity in so liberally bestowing pensions on the soldiers and sailors who served in our late Civil War.

Resolved, That we believe the generosity of our Government has been imposed upon by certain dishonest men for selfish purposes, and we therefore respectfully request: That the pension rolls of the Civil War be carefully examined and revised by the proper authorities and made rolls of honor of which no American citizen need be ashamed.

Resolved, That we respectfully request that the names of all pensioners of the Army and Navy who served during the Civil War, with reasons for and amount of pension, be published in suitable volumes and furnished the State libraries of the various States of the Union where they can be freely examined by the public.

Resolved, That the Senators and Congressmen of the State of New York be requested to use their influence to have the resolutions carried out by our Government.

The resolutions were read a second time, seconded and after brief discussion unanimously adopted.

The WORLD'S WORK has many letters from other veterans to show that the men who bore the brunt of the fighting in the Civil War do not want a secret pension list, and particularly a secret pension list honeycombed with fraud. And in some ways it seems as if it were a more exceptional courage and patriotism to stand out against the pension lobby and for a clean pension roll than it was to serve in the war, for certainly the members of Congress would not be as supine in War as they are before the pension clamor. And just as certainly many vote for such a bill as the Sherwood Service Pension bill when in their hearts they do not believe in it. Privately many admit its iniquity. Publicly they lack the courage. When they fail it is pleasant to see the real old soldier asking that the list be kept clean of fraudulent names.

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FOR PURE FOOD AGAIN

WORCESTER, Mass., is a city of thrifty and intelligent people and presumably its food supply is about as pure as the normal American town's. Just before Easter two investigators went among the Worcester shops collecting samples of food. Easter confectionery was everywhere displayed and tempting things to eat were arranged behind polished windows. The samples which the investigators bought, when analyzed, showed that:

(1) The Easter eggs contained stearic acid, carpenter's glue, glucose, coal-tar dye, and soap-stone;

(2) The Easter rabbits contained carpenter's glue, glucose, coal-tar dyes, and ethereal flavors;

(3) The Easter chicks contained the same;

(4) The maraschino cherries had been bleached with sulphurous acid, dyed with analine, and preserved with benzoate of soda;

(5) The lemon pie contained glycerine, glucose, oil of lemon, starch, coal-tar dye, and benzoate of soda.

This is by no means all the list of adulterations but it is enough to show what the people of Worcester have been getting in their food. With a few exceptions, where the towns themselves have enforced purity, the rest of the country is in much the same condition. This may seem surprising when the national Food and Drug Act is still on the statute books and so soon after a great popular demonstration forced the President to dismiss the trumped up charges against Dr. Wiley. Yet it is true, as Dr. Wiley expressed it, that the pure food law was paralyzed. His efforts were thwarted at every turn. The Bureau of Chemistry under him spent $1,190,784 in preparing 6,206 cases against food frauds. Every one of them was suppressed. The authors of the malicious charges against Dr. Wiley are still in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. Wiley has resigned. The pure food law is in the hands of its enemies. It will take another campaign, another popular awakening, to save it, to bring it to life again.

THE HOPEFUL SIDE IN MEXICO

THE TRIAL of self government in Mexico is at its crisis. President Diaz did not believe that Mexico was ready for it. President Madero has honestly tried to let the people rule and the experiment has been fraught with difficulties. When he was inaugurated he took office over:

1. Several millions of citizens who were trustfully waiting for the Government to give them free farms, stocked and equipped and exempt from taxes forever. For many of the poorer Mexicans had come to believe that the political freedom of which they heard so much in the Revolution was going to benefit them in much the same way that the Negroes believed that freedom was going to affect them after the Civil War, when thousands looked forward hopefully to receiving "forty acres and a mule" from the Government;

2. An incipient revolution being hatched from Texas by Emilio Vasquez Gomez, who had been one of Madero's supporters and a member of the Republic's provisional cabinet;

3. Thousands of men who had helped Madero oust Diaz — or protested that they had — and who were demanding political jobs, the spoils of victory;

4. A large number of adherents of the old régime who distrusted Madero's ability to control the situation and who were disgruntled with him for disturbing the former comfortable order;

5. A large but indifferent element of the population composed of the more solid and substantial part of the country who wanted peace, favored the reign of law and order but were unwilling to take any active measure to help Madero or any one else;

6. Uncounted thousands of vicious men who, in times gone by, had been kept within bounds only by fear of Diaz's iron hand and who had everything to gain and nothing to lose by disorder. A good example of this class is the brigand Zapata, who has long disturbed the peace of the state of Morelos;

7. Lastly, an irreconcilable, irresponsible, and mischievous press that had never

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before been free and that abused its newly acquired liberty by unwarranted license.

Such were the conditions when Madero became President. They pointed certainly to the fact that before things could get much better they would have to get worse. This was exactly what happened. Zapata's uprising in Morelos grew more menacing, the Gomez conspiracy in the North became more formidable, and Pasqual Orozco, who had supported Madero's revolution, turned against the new President because the Government had refused to pay him 50,000 pesos for services rendered and property loss suffered in the revolution, he who eighteen months before had been a mule-driver. Madero had also to contend with the criticisms of the better portion of the population, and with the growing discontent among the peons because their hopes of free land and no taxes were not realized.

Then came the proclamation from Washington. It turned the tide and aroused the better portion of the Mexicans to help the Government. Rightly or wrongly, many Mexicans believed that the proclamation was the prelude to intervention, and no Mexican, whatever side he was on, wished intervention. The press began to advise the people to stand behind the Government. A report that the National Treasury was depleted and had been refused loans abroad gave the Government an opportunity to publish cablegrams from important banking groups in New York offering the Government funds whenever it should need them. The army operations against Zapata seem to have been fairly successful. But all this would have helped more had it come sooner. The Orozco uprising in the North increased to formidable proportions. The revolutionary armies defeated the Federal troops in several engagements and threw the capital into a panic. Arms were shipped to the Americans in the City of Mexico and American troops were held in readiness to intervene.

Madero has a tremendous problem on his hands. He seems to have made an extraordinary beginning toward its solution, for no country torn asunder by a successful revolution settles down quietly, and particularly no Latin American country. As a foundation for his efforts Madero has one great asset: he was elected by a free and untrammelled election, the first that has been held in Mexico in many, many years. Moreover, he has a tremendous faith in his people and he is showing it by trying to give them real representative government, which they did not get under Diaz. He has steadfastly asserted his belief that the Mexican people are ready for democratic government, that they would respond to and be appreciative of fair and kind treatment. In a measure, they have not disappointed him, for the bulk of the people are with him and have not risen in rebellion. They as well as he are on trial.

II

There are many Americans in Mexico and a good deal of American money and yet intervention in Mexico is only to be thought of as a last resort. We, who had difficulty in gathering even a passable division of the army in Texas last summer, are hardly prepared to send 100,000 men to make good our authority in Mexico. Many military critics estimate that such a number would be necessary. Intervention in Mexico would be a costly and troublesome task. Beyond that, it would irretrievably damage our budding opportunity for trade and friendly relations with the Latin-American countries to the south of us in which Secretary Root and Secretary Knox have given so much effort. These countries suspect our motives and intentions, and our intervention in Mexico would give the anti-American feeling much fuel on which to burn.

CHINA IN CONVALESCENCE

CHINA, like Mexico, has destroyed the old fabric of its government, uncovered its discontent, and laid bare its troubles. Elsewhere in this magazine Mr. Ng Poon Chew tells the story of this upheaval as it is known to the revolutionists. China is now only at the beginning of the convalescent period after the operation of revolution. Many difficulties and perils surround the new Govern-

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ment but there is a great hope that the one operation will be all that is needed.

One fact is quite sure: The transformation of the oldest empire into the youngest republic has been accomplished in the incredibly short period of four months.

In September began serious troubles in Szec-huen, that most populous and westernmost of the provinces of China. The cause of these troubles has been little touched on in the press. The failure of a potato crop helped bring on the French Revolution. The floods of the Yang-tze had a similar effect in China. The annual flooding of the river and its tributaries is an act of God furthered by the complete deforestation of the watershed by preceding generations. But the Chinese people have only recently begun to realize that the Government which took all their taxes has never taken seasonable precautions to restrict these recurrent and avoidable disasters, but has left the labor of relieving the appalling consequent suffering to the foreign missionaries and to foreign state philanthropy. This same government, moreover, had been wrangling for nearly two years with an international syndicate of British, German, French, and American bankers over the financing of a great railroad system that was to exploit Sze-chuen, together with the adjoining provinces of Hu-nan and Hu-peh, the commercial and political centre of which district is the group of cities referred to collectively as Han-kow. The people of these provinces were not, and are not, opposed to railroads; but their state of mind may be appreciated when, after the long and undignified squabble over the terms and the partition of the loan, it developed that all the direct, and most of the indirect, profits of the huge joint enterprise, secured on the provincial revenues, were to be entirely divided between the Peking Government and the foreign banks.

When in September it developed, on top of the floods and the railway bitterness and the famine, that Manchu officials were implicated in an extensive corner of the wheat and rice markets, some seventy million Szechuenese began to demand the reason why, in a very bitter state of mind. Then came the execution of four Sze-chuen patriots, caught spreading their propaganda down the river. This was the last straw. The Wu-chang garrison started the revolution by murdering their Manchu officers and starting a general massacre of all Manchus in that city.

In three days it became clear that this was by far the most serious outbreak in China since the Taiping rebellion. More than that it became at once evident that a great revolutionary fabric, already secretly perfected, had accepted this chance opportunity to uncover itself.

II

In this brief revolution of four months the political and constitutional phases assume greater importance than the military achievement. Of actual fighting there has been very little beyond the brief but severe engagements in and about Han-kow and the siege of Nan-king, and although the Chinese have shown real bravery and patriotism in action, nothing has yet occurred to change the verdict of foreign attachés as to the inefficiency of Chinese military affairs. No great military leader was developed, with the possible exception of General Li Yuan-hung, the rebel chief, the first real personality to emerge from the smoke.

III

Within two weeks of the Han-kow massacre Yuan Shih-kai, who, on the accession of the Regent after the death of the Empress Dowager in 1909, had been banished in disgrace, was recalled to power as the one man who could save the Empire. Since the 28th of October he has remained the dominating personality in China. He did all he could to save the Manchus. Under his direction and advice the Regent promptly dismissed Sheng, the hated official who had concluded with the foreign banks the terms of the Hu-kuan loan. The National Assembly, which had not met since its first convention in October, 1910, was called together at Peking, and in its second session obtained all the reforms it asked for, including a constitution and the expulsion of Manchu officials from the Central Government, the

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concessions being accompanied by an abject apology from the now tottering Regency. For the first time in history the voice of the people of China was heeded and obeyed.

But, as in the French Revolution, the concessions came too late. Yuan could not save the Empire. Then followed one of the most extraordinary events ever witnessed in a revolution — the resignation of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen from the Presidency of the Republic. More than any other individual he had kept alive the cause of revolution during many years of apparent failure. During a life of exile in foreign lands, with a price set upon his head, he had continued to spread his propaganda and accumulate money and munitions of war. His picturesque career and the methods he employed made him the most generally known of all the Chinese Revolutionists, and it seemed that he had at last achieved the supreme reward when, in December, he was elected by the revolted provinces President of the Provisional Republic of China, thus succeeding General Li, whose Presidency had been by proclamation.

Nothing in his extraordinary career so much became this Chinese patriot as this voluntary withdrawal in the hour of his triumph. He recognized the greater fitness of a man beloved by Manchus and Chinese alike, who possesses the confidence of foreign powers, and who has conclusively demonstrated his ability in the highest administrative positions, military and civil. On the 10th of March, Yuan Shik-kai took the oath of office at Peking and was inaugurated to the first real Presidency of what may now be called the Republic of China.

IV

That marked the end of the revolution. Now comes the period of upbuilding.

As this number of the WORLD'S WORK goes to press Yuan seems almost overwhelmed by difficulties. His Government has not as yet been formally recognized by any of the Powers; a body of now independent soldiers variously estimated as between 200,000 and 500,000 in number is idle and unpaid. A formidable mutiny has taken place in Peking and a Manchu general has raised an Imperialist army in Shen-si province with the avowed intention of restoring the fallen dynasty. This last may be ignored; China has passed beyond the Manchus. The same four Powers whose finance was instrumental in precipitating the revolution are now in a position to assist in the restoring of order and in the Homeric task of reconstruction. One of the by-products of the revolution was the calling forth, in response to Secretary Knox's note, of another expression of good-will on the part of the six powers chiefly interested in China, whose integrity, in her time of distress, was thus insured. As in Mexico, there are many difficulties ahead of the new Government but also many fundamental reasons for hope of its success.

THE MEMORIAL TO LINCOLN

ELSEWHERE in this magazine, Mr. Henry H. Saylor describes the design for the impressive national memorial to Lincoln that the Fine Arts Commission has chosen from a competition of the foremost American architects. This design is by Mr. Henry Bacon, and the site is the Mall in Washington City.

The membership of the Fine Arts Commission includes many of the most famous artists, architects, and sculptors in the United States. Every precaution of deliberation, publicity, and authoritative judgment has been taken to make sure that this tribute to Lincoln's memory shall be worthy of its august subject and of the great nation that will build it. And yet it is entirely possible that this reasoned and orderly judgment may be reversed and that this whole conception be abandoned. For almost every imaginable type of memorial has its advocates before Congress, from a careful reproduction of a log cabin, to a road between Washington and Gettysburg. So-called architectural monuments resembling railroad stations, apartment houses, and what not, have been advocated by enthusiastic supporters, with a suggestion of a vocational school system thrown in by way of variety.

Perhaps the most formidable rival of

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the Mall design, is the proposed road between Washington and Gettysburg. Aside from the practical consideration of cost — estimated at $34,000,000 as compared with the $2,000,000 appropriated by Congress — there are several obvious objections to the scheme. First, such a highway would be accessible only to motoring visitors; second, there seems no more valid reason why the nation should build a roadway for Maryland and Pennsylvania than that it should thread together the towns in Sangamon County that are associated with Lincoln's early life; and third, it is not possible to build a highway that would serve to arouse in the minds of visitors the faintest suggestion of the honor and reverence that the nation wishes to symbolize in its tribute to Lincoln's memory.

And it is worth while in building a national monument to such a man as Lincoln to use the best brains of the country so that generations after generations here may feel proud of it and the people of the artistic nations of Europe may admire it.

THE WAR ON THE TYPHOID FLY

IN ANY campaign for sanitation and healthful conditions in the city or the country, getting rid of the fly is absolutely necessary. At best the fly is a nasty insect carrying filth from the filthiest sources and depositing it on our food — a habit that alone warrants its extermination — and at its worst it is a carrier of germs of disease. To the activities of flies whole epidemics of typhoid fever have been traced and many cases of other diseases.

It is possible both to prevent flies and to get rid of them. In this number of the WORLD'S WORK is a little article explaining in a simple way what every house-holder can do to exterminate the pest. In next month's number a similar article will point the way for their extermination by community action.

These articles embody as much information as can well be given in magazine form, but if any one wishes to go deeper into the matter, the Health Departments of many of the states issue bulletins on fly extermination, and the Fly-Fighting Committee of the American Civic Association under the chairmanship of Mr. Edward Hatch at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, are conducting a campaign of information against this common enemy — the most insidious carrier of filth and disease that there is.

A HEALTH COMPETITION FOR $100

A HEALTH officer in Wilmington, N. C., has cleaned up a city. A health officer in Louisiana has cleaned up a state. The work of the Rockefeller commission has rid thousands upon thousands of people of the hookworm. We are at the beginning of the era of health — not merely personal health, but community, state, and national health. The Nation can do much to help if the bill to establish a proper Bureau of Health now before Congress can be passed. The state officers can likewise do a great deal, and special organizations combatting such diseases as hookworm and tuberculosis, or such efforts as the National Civic Federation is making to get rid of the typhoid (common house) fly, can save millions of lives. But in the final analysis the opportunity to make each community healthful rests with the community itself.

To find out what has been done and what is being done and to publish it as an encouragement to other efforts, the WORLD'S WORK offers two prizes of $100 each; the first for the best article telling how a city or town of less than 30,000 people was made healthful and sanitary; the second for the best article telling how a rural community was made healthful and sanitary.

All manuscripts submitted for these prizes should be not less than 3,000 nor more than 5,000 words in length. They should be addressed to the Health Department of the WORLD'S WORK and mailed so that they will reach Garden City before the 25th of May.

If any of the other manuscripts besides those to which the prizes are awarded seem so good as to demand publication the magazine reserves the right to keep them and to send the author a second prize of half the amount of the first prize.

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THE PERSONAL PLATFORMS OF THE

MR. TAFT

THE following summary, taken from the messages and speeches of President Taft, is endorsed by Hon. Wm. B. McKinley, Chairman of the Taft committee, as representing the position of President Taft on the subjects mentioned:

THE TRUSTS

In his message to Congress, December 5, 1911, President Taft discussed the trust question at length. He approved the Sherman anti-trust law as an effective instrument for the regulation of trusts. He cited the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases as evidences of the effectiveness of the law."

Again the President said that "mere size is no sin against the law," and pointed out that it was not the size of the corporation which was contrary to law, but that only when the combination is more for the purpose of creating a combination controlling prices and creating a monopoly the statute is contravened. President Taft favored the enactment of a law which shall describe and denounce unfair methods of competition. He recommended voluntary federal incorporation of companies in trade in commerce among the states and also a federal corporation commission. "Such a bureau or commission," he said, "might well be invested with the duty of aiding the courts in the dissolution and re-creation of trusts within the law."

THE TARIFF

President Taft's latest utterance on the tariff was delivered at the Union League Club, Chicago, March 9, 1912.

"We ought to have," he said, "some means of knowing from facts ascertained by impartial tribunals what we are doing when we are changing the tariff law. Nothing interferes so much with business

MR. ROOSEVELT

The following is an authorized summary of the views of former President Roosevelt:

THE TRUSTS

Mr. Roosevelt takes direct issue with Mr. Taft as to the effectiveness of the Sherman anti-trust law as administered under the present administration in the regulation of trusts. He regards the decree entered by the court against the Tobacco trust as probably, in all the history of the American law, the decree that has been most preposterously ineffective in producing its desired purpose. The way in which the proceedings by the present administration have been conducted against the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts have probably shown the law at its worst, but in any event have shown the law to be utterly ineffective in its purpose. The decrees have unquestionably benefited the big magnates in both the Standard Oil Company and Tobacco trust and injured the small stockholders and consumers. Mr. Roosevelt has continually, as President and since, urged a policy of control of great combinations of wealth, this control to be radical,–thoroughgoing, and effective as the control over the national banks and over the railroads doing an interstate business; and on March 28, 1908, in his message he pointed out that the present anti-trust law is drawn in such form as to become ineffective or else mischievous. The results of the proceedings against the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts show that Mr. Roosevelt was exactly right in these conclusions.

THE TARIFF

Mr. Roosevelt has consistently advocated a tariff commission of experts in accordance with whose findings the tariff should be revised, schedule by schedule, each revision being determined with absolute justice on its own merits. Mr. Taft is now sound on this principle, but

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CANDIDATES IN PARALLEL COLUMNS

MR. WILSON

In an address at Nashville, Tenn., on February 24, 1912, Governor Wilson said:

THE TRUSTS

"If you want to cure men of joy riding you won't break up their automobiles, but catch the men that do the joy riding and see that these very useful and pleasant vehicles of our modern life are left for legitimate uses. If you want to stop joy riding in corporations — for that is what is being done — you will not break up the corporations; we may need to use them; but you will break up the game, namely, that use of corporations. With the necessary legislation, we can say that a corporation, so long as it acts within the limits of the law, is something we won't look inside of. But the minute somebody inside begins to use it for purposes he has no right to use it for, then we are going to turn it inside out and see who is inside. Anything that is wrong must have originated with some person in particular. When you have found that person and given him a season to think it over in the penitentiary the thing will be stopped, and business will be relieved of the embarrassment of breaking up its organization in order to stop these practices."

THE TARIFF

In an address at Nashville, on February 24, 1912, Governor Wilson said:

"In field after field of our economic exchanges, competition has ceased to determine price. Monopoly in one form or another has taken the place of competition, and now, without competition, these gentlemen who lie so snugly behind the high wall of protection are determining arbitrarily what the prices of everything from food stuffs up are to be."

In an address before the National Democratic Club in New York on January 3, 1912, Governor Wilson said:

"All the lifeblood of the country is

MR. HARMON

In his speech before the Democratic Club of East Saint Louis, January 12, 1912, Governor Harmon spoke as follows:

THE TRUSTS

"Now we find the business of the entire country disturbed and halting because this wretched system of favor taxes has brought its certain result. Unnatural competition was stimulated by these and then suppressed by the formation of trusts and combinations, in order that dividends might not cease on stock which was the capitalization of this special advantage. Instead of cutting off the source by reforming the tariff it was sought to control the stream by forbidding these trusts and combinations.

"It is significant that the Sherman anti-trust law and the McKinley tariff law were under consideration at the same time and passed at the same session. That tariff law went far beyond earlier laws in the bestowal of special favors. There was plain warning of its evil effect and the leaders did not dare face the country on it without a law to prevent stifling the competition from which great benefits were promised to the people. For the only element of harm in devices to restrain trade and secure monopoly lies in their effect on competition.

"So we are confronted with a delicate and difficult situation which it will tax our skill, wisdom, and patience to handle so as to let the natural, healthy forces of industry and commerce get into action again, without needless injury to legitimate business in removing the obstructions.

"The first step, surely, must be to redeem the tariff from its perverted use and restore it to its proper place as a revenue measure, by gradual reduction so that all concerned may have time to prepare for the change. With the chief cause of the trouble thus removed I believe we shall

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THE PERSONAL PLATFORMS OF THE CANDIDATES IN PARALLEL COLUMNS—(*Continued*)

MR. TAFT

as changing the tariff, upon which all business rests, without knowing what the facts are."

This statement is in keeping with the veto messages of President Taft when he refused to approve the different tariff bills sent to him during the special session of Congress of 1911. The President was an earnest advocate of a Tariff Commission, and although the Tariff Board was not all he wanted in that direction, he set it at work gathering facts and statistics on different tariff schedules and sent the results to Congress when completed, recommending that the tariff be revised in accordance with the findings of the Board. President Taft has always declared for the principles of protection, the rates of duty to be measured by the difference in cost of production at home and abroad. He always has said that an impartial commission is best fitted to ascertain such differences. He has often commended the present tariff law as the best that has ever been enacted both as a revenue producer and a measure of protection, and though never asserting that it was perfect, has insisted that it should not be amended without adequate information after impartial investigation.

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

In a speech at Columbus, O., August 19, 1907, when Mr. Taft was Secretary of War, he criticized Mr. Bryan's demand for the referendum (initiative was not mentioned) and said: "We must call upon fourteen millions of electors to legislate directly. Could any more burdensome or inefficient method be devised than this? I believe that a referendum made under certain conditions and limitations in a subdivision of a State on certain issues may be healthful and useful, but as applied to our National Government it is entirely impracticable."

President Taft vetoed the joint resolution admitting Arizona as a state solely on the ground that the constitution of the proposed state provided for the recall of

MR. ROOSEVELT

he took no pains whatever, he made no effort whatever, to have it introduced into Congress while he had the power. Moreover he does not now show the slightest understanding of the point which Mr. Roosevelt insists upon as fundamental, namely, the point that the tariff shall be continued primarily in the interest of the wage worker and the farmer. Mr. Roosevelt has recently written to the *Northwestern Agriculturist* stating anent reciprocity with Canada that, in any future agreement to revise the tariff in any way whatever, the revision must be made in such a way that the farmer does not bear the whole burden; that, on the contrary, he simply pays his fair share and gets his fair share in return. In his speech at Sioux Falls, September 3, 1910, Mr. Roosevelt said: "It should be the duty of some government department or bureau to investigate the conditions in the various protected industries and see that the laborers really are getting the benefit of the tariff supposed to be enacted in their interests, and if from any investigation of a certain industry it appears that the tariff supposed to be imposed for the benefit of the wage worker results in such shape that the benefit does not reach him, the tariff on that industry should be taken off."

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

In his Columbus speech, February 21, 1912, Mr. Roosevelt said: "I believe in the initiative and referendum, which should not be used to destroy representative government, but to correct it whenever it becomes misrepresentative. The power to invoke such direct action, both by the initiative and referendum, should be provided in such fashion as to prevent its being wantonly or too frequently used. In short, I believe that the initiative and referendum should be used, not as a substitute for representative government, but as methods of making such government really representative."

Mr. Roosevelt, referring to the Dred Scott decision, said that under our federal

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THE PERSONAL PLATFORMS OF THE CANDIDATES IN PARALLEL COLUMNS—(*Continued*)

MR. WILSON

being drained from the farms into the factories. A great many of the morbid conditions of our society are due to this same excessive fostering of one stage of national life at the expense of the other. And now we have stimulated it so much that we have not a large enough market for the means of disposing of the surplus product. . . . .

"We talk about American laborers competing with the pauper labor of Europe. Haven't you known a machine that cost $500 to compete successfully with a machine that cost $50 that did so much more and better work? . . . .

"The most beautiful theory of all is the theory of the cost of production. The Republican party said they wanted to proportion protection — proportion rate of duty to the difference in the cost of production between the foreign manufacturer and the domestic manufacturer. Which foreign manufacturer and which domestic manufacturer? Where is your standard in the difference in cost of production? . . . .

"The theory of the Republican party has been, if you make the great captains of industry rich, they will make the country rich. It is not so. . . . .

"Now what are we going to do? I wish I might hope that our grandchildren could indulge in free trade, but I am afraid that even they cannot, because it is likely that for an indefinite period we shall have to pay our national bills by duties collected at the ports. Therefore, we are to act upon the fundamental principle of the Democratic party, not free trade, but *tariff for revenue*, and we have got to approach that by such avenues, by such stages, and at such a pace as will be consistent with the stability and safety of the business of the country."

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

The following is taken from a published letter from Gov. Woodrow Wilson to Prof. R. H. Dabney of the University of Virginia:

"About the initiative, referendum, and

MR. HARMON

make our way safely back to normal conditions. But, as Jackson said, we must all 'lay aside mere local considerations, and act with the patriotic determination to promote the great interests of the whole.'"

THE TARIFF

In the course of his speech at Baltimore, January 17, 1911, Governor Harmon referred, in part, to the tariff as follows:

"We believe the raising of public revenue to be the proper object of all taxation; that, whatever the process, the government can and does tax nobody but its own citizens, from whom comes every dollar it gets; that tariff taxes, being laid on articles for consumption, apportion themselves among the people according to the amounts consumed, so that levying them properly means an adjustment of burdens among consumers, according to their ability to pay, and not a distribution among manufacturers of rights to collect tribute from consumers; that what the Government needs is known and the way to collect it without injustice to any citizen is easily found, while no man or body of men can discover or apply a proper rule for levying taxes on all citizens for the benefit of a few, and, besides, what is wrong cannot be made right by the way it is done; that taxes on imports for needed public revenue afford the only advantage to American manufacturers which the Government can justly give, or that the country ought to be burdened with, in view of the cost and risk of the long shipment imported goods must undergo; and that American labor does not get the benefit of exactions from the people demanded and authorized in its pretended interest."

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

In his speech before the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, February 8, 1912, Governor Harmon spoke as follows:

"I am not convinced that the initiative and referendum, applied generally to subjects of legislation, would be an improvement on our system of government by

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THE PERSONAL PLATFORMS OF THE CANDIDATES IN PARALLEL COLUMNS — (Concluded)

MR. TAFT

judges. "This provision of the constitution," said the President, "in its application to county and state judges, seems to me so pernicious in its effect, so destructive of independence in the judiciary, so likely to subject the rights of the individual to the possible tyranny of a popular majority, and, therefore, so injurious to the cause of free government that I must disapprove of the constitution containing it."

At Toledo, O., March 8, 1912, he said: "A most serious objection to the recall of decisions is that it destroys all probability of consistency in constitutional interpretation. . . . . Finally, I ask, what is the necessity for such a crude, revolutionary, fitful, and unstable way of reversing judicial construction? . . . I do not hesitate to say that it lays the ax at the foot of the tree of well-ordered freedom and subjects the guaranties of life, liberty, and property without remedy to the fitful impulse of a temporary majority of an electorate."

MR. ROOSEVELT

system the remedy for such a wrong as Lincoln described was very difficult, but that "the decision of a state court on a constitutional question should be subject to revision by the people of the state." If such a decision should be reversed, "the popular verdict should be accepted as final, and the construction of the constitution definitely decided — subject only to the action of the Supreme Court of the United States." Mr. Roosevelt has perfectly clearly stated his position regarding the recall. He states that our aim is to get the best type of judge and keep him on the bench as long as possible, and if necessary take off the bench the wrong type of judge. But the question of applying the recall in any shape is one of expediency, merely. He does not believe in applying it where it is possible to avoid it. But that sooner than permit the continuance of a system by which unworthy and corrupt judges persist on the bench he would favor any necessary method of removing them.

MR. WILSON

recall: I surrendered to the facts. My whole pre-possession — my whole reasoning — was against these things. But when I came into contact with candid, honest, public spirited men who could speak (with regard, for example, to Oregon) from personal observation and experience, they floored me flat with their narration of what had actually happened. I found in the men who had advocated these things, who had put them into operation, and who had accomplished things by them, not critics or opponents of representative government, but men who were eager to restore it where it had been lost.

"Each state must judge for itself. I do not see how it could be made a subject of national policy.

"The recall of judges I am absolutely against, and always have been. It is a remedy for a symptom, not for a disease.

"As for the recall, it is seldom used outside the municipalities. It is merely 'a gun behind the door.'"

MR. HARMON

representatives, which, while it has shortcomings like all human institutions, I do not believe has proved a failure.

"The measure is confessedly an experiment, and as several states have recently undertaken it, my attitude is like that of 'the man from Missouri.' I have always found it wiser to profit by the experience of others, in matters of doubt, when I could, rather than by my own. And no one can justly claim that this new departure in government has yet passed the experimental stage in other states.

"It is a safe rule to judge others by one's self, and I gravely question whether, as a private citizen immersed in business and personal affairs, I should be able, however willing, to devote to a proposed measure — unless it were a very simple one involving no details — the study of its own provisions and of their effect on other laws or subjects, which is required to qualify one to take part in the important work of legislating for a great commonwealth."

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GETTING TOO MUCH MONEY

A MAN from Pennsylvania sat in a brokerage office in New York a month or so ago talking things over with the head of the firm. He had never done business with that house before and was not sure whether he would this time. He had come frankly asking advice and counsel. This was what he heard:

"Your investment is unsound from top to bottom because you have disregarded two fundamentals. In the first place there is not a security on this list that can be sold in any marketplace. In the second place, you are making altogether too much money for safety!"

"Howdo you mean, 'too much money'?" asked the visitor.

The experienced financial man laughed. "Well," he said, "you seem to me to expect to make as much money out of your investment as though you went into business with it. You seem to think that if you lend a man the money for business purposes he ought to pay you about 15 per cent. a year for the use of it. Yet you know perfectly well, because you are a manufacturer yourself, that 15 per cent, is about all you can expect in your own business on the actual value of your plant and capital. If these people to whom you have lent money are to get as much out of this business as you do out of yours they would have to earn about 30 per cent. on this money so as to pay you your 15 per cent. and have a fair return for themselves."

The visitor had never seen it in just that light. He argued that, since he could make a big return on the money in his own business, he thought that all his money ought to bring him as good a return, otherwise he did not see the use of investing it at all. Nothing could shake him in that view of the situation, and the banker finally gave him up, advised him to stick to business and leave investments alone. He went away from that office, with nothing gained except the single idea, "too much money."

This same thing, in a greater or lesser degree, is happening all over the country all the time. From my own experience in answering letters to this magazine, I believe that the worst victims of the "too much money" habit are women.

That is the reason, of course, why a list of selected women investors is almost always the first list bought by a promoter who is going into the "get-rich-quick" game.

Apart from the "get-rich-quick" game, it is also a fact that in the legitimate investment market a very high rate of interest or dividend is extremely alluring to women. The "too much money" habit seems natural. A man who feels that he is entitled to 7 and 10 per cent. on his money because he thinks he has business sense enough to earn that amount will reckon on getting some of it by the use of foresight in choosing securities selling below their real value and allowing his principal to grow in a natural and spontaneous way. A woman, however, wants it all to come in in dividends or interest.

It may seem invidious and unkind to add that, next to the women of the country, the choicest victims of the "too much money" habit are country doctors and country clergymen.

A business man, who has been a consistent investor for twenty years, made the statement not long ago that, whenever any of the securities which he owns get to a price where they pay 7 per cent. on the market value (as when a security paying 5 per cent. on par is selling for 71 or 72), he invariably sells them. He admits that this rule has brought him heavy losses at times, because the conditions that caused the 7 per cent. basis were only temporary; but he adds that for every loss that he has had on this account there have been two occasions when, if he had not sold on the 7 per cent. basis, he would have had a heavy loss on account of the complete cessation of dividends or interest. Out of his experience he has evolved a theory that, in two cases out of three where stand-

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ard securities sink to a 7 per cent. basis, there is some catastrophe impending.

Such an ironclad rule of thumb, of course, cannot be applied by everybody. There are parts of the country, for instance, where a 7 per cent. rate is as conservative as a 5 per cent. rate would be in the older and more nearly crystallized sections of the country. If one live in the Far West or the Far South it is possible to get a much higher return than one can get living in the East and have almost but not quite as good security. This magazine does not attempt to make easy rules for investors, because there are no easy rules governing the use of money. What is right for one person is wrong for another, and what is right for 1912 may be utterly wrong in 1913. If there is one science that demands adaptability it is the science of investment.

When you come to put away money, consider first of all your own circumstances. Figure, if you will, the very lowest possible rate of return from that money with which you can get along. Use that as your starting point. Work out from it a theory and a plan of investment. Suppose that you have no first hand knowledge about mortgages, bonds, stocks, or any other form for the use of capital. In that case you must seek guidance. You will get it either by personal study or through advice. In either case your object ought to be to find out how much more than your minimum you can get without stepping over the line where the principle of conservatism ends and the principle of "too much money" begins.

Suppose you try to study it out for yourself. You will begin, naturally, with the savings bank in your own home town, or with the insurance company nearby, for these are investors who stand out above the rest of the investment world, like giant trees in a forest of undergrowth. You will find that the savings bank and the insurance company average a return of 4 per cent. to 5 per cent. on their invested funds. They will tell you, if you talk to them through their officers, that their more recent investment has yielded a higher return with apparently equal security as compared with the investment they made a few years ago. If you give them a chance they will try to tell you the reason why, but they probably won't succeed.

You will take their lists, perhaps, and go over them, after you get so familiar with financial terms and descriptions that you can tell a bond or a mortgage from a block of stock. You will discover, after a while, that the savings bank sticks to bonds and mortgages; but that the insurance company varies its investment by buying railroad, industrial, and bank stocks.

So much for the great investors. If you have an opportunity to talk to individual investors who are not guided or ruled by laws or regulations you will discover that they are guided by slightly different principles. The average large investor who is not a business man and who does not think that he is entitled to speculate even to a limited degree, figures in these days on an average income of about 5 per cent. from the securities if he lives in the East and about 6 per cent. or a little more if he lives in the West or the South. He gets his rate, as a matter of fact, quite unconsciously from the average mortgage rate in his own vicinity — that is, from the rate he would have to pay if he were borrowing money on his own property, city or country.

It is not difficult, and it does not require any long course of study to reach a conclusion about the rate of income that you ought to get from your invested funds. You can get plenty of sane and helpful advice. To repeat, it is dangerous and difficult to generalize; but it is probably true that, if one should submit a hypothetical question to the half dozen most careful and experienced financial experts of the United States to-day and obtain from them a complete reply, the average rate that they would indicate for different kinds of funds would be something like the following:

An investor who dare not take the slightest chance with any part of the principal or risk the cessation of interest, and wanted marketability could obtain about 4.40 per cent. An investor who could run a slight risk of depreciation in a part of the principal and was looking simply for good solid securities and market-

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ability might get 4.75 per cent. One who wanted the same characteristics except that marketability is a minor factor can go a little over 5 per cent. The man who can ignore marketability almost entirely and wants simply reasonable safety and a substantial income can probably average close to 5.5 per cent. He who seeks an average return higher than this, particularly in the East and the North, must recognize that he gives up a certain amount of safety and reliability for every decimal of increase to his income.

It is noticeable that the higher the income rate the more restrictions the careful critic will throw around his remarks. For instance, almost any careful banker who is trying to get an average yield of 5.5 per cent. for a supposed-to-be conservative investor will probably suggest that the bulk of the fund should not yield more than 5 per cent., and that the high average income be obtained by putting in some 6 per cent. and even 7 per cent. securities. He will also suggest that the subdivision of the fund be more minute as the income rises. Although it would be perfectly safe, from the standpoint of a banker, to advise a woman to put all her money into a 4 per cent. standard railroad bond selling at 100, the same banker would hesitate for a long time before advising the same client to put half of her fund into one bond at 5½ per cent.— C. M. K.

CHAMP CLARK, OF PIKE COUNTY

A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE — A PLEASANT PERSONALITY — HIS SERVICES TO THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IN CONGRESS — A LACK OF STATESMANSHIP AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

FORTY years ago a young Kentuckian, who wanted to be a school teacher, was advised to apply in writing for the position of principal of a normal school. He did so. His application did not convey any very clear idea of his qualifications as a teacher but in other respects was a model of conciseness.

"I am twenty-two years old," he wrote. "My post office is Lawrenceburg, Kentucky. I am six feet, one inch tall, weigh 175 pounds, am a college graduate, a Democrat in politics, a Campbellite by religion and a Master Mason. Yours truly, J. B. Clark."

The author of that document is now an applicant for a larger job — that of President of the United States. He has not filed a written application, but the information available to the inquirer who undertakes the serious task of trying to ascertain his qualifications is much like that contained in young Mr. Clark's note of 1872 — and just about as satisfying. He is sixty-two years old instead of twenty-two. He weighs fifty pounds more and hails from Missouri instead of Kentucky. He has taught several schools and has been a member of Congress for eighteen years. His hair is white instead of yellow, but his voice is as strong as ever. Incidentally, he has dropped his first name and half of his second. He is now plain Champ Clark.

It would be unfair to Mr. Clark to intimate that those are his only claims to the Democratic Presidential nomination. They are, however, the points that are emphasized and brought forward whenever and in whatever company Champ Clark is discussed. Nobody talks of Champ Clark in connection with any of the great principles of government on

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which the American people are divided. He is not known as the champion of any of the so-called "Progressive" ideals that mark the real points of difference between the factions into which both the great political parties are separated. He has, beyond a doubt, been of great service to his party, particularly in Congress, and if Presidential nominations in 1912 are to be distributed as rewards for party services Mr. Clark is entitled to serious consideration.

Those who are most earnestly urging his candidacy are pleading that he will be more nearly acceptable to all the elements that now make up the party organization than any other candidate who has been put forward. This is probably true, and if harmony among the party workers is all that the Democratic Party is seeking, the Baltimore convention doubtless could do much worse than to nominate Mr. Clark. But there is no evidence that he could hold the radical Democratic voters against Colonel Roosevelt, for instance, or that he could draw to his ticket from Mr. Taft enough of the dissatisfied and detachable Republican vote to win.

Yet, of the first 56 Democratic delegates chosen, Champ Clark got 46. Champ Clark's own state of Missouri gave him its 36 delegates. Oklahoma divided its 20 delegates evenly between him and Woodrow Wilson. The first four county conventions in Kansas instructed for the Speaker. Whatever advantage there is politically in a running start lies with the gentleman from Missouri.

First among the causes that have brought Champ Clark to the point of being a serious factor in the Presidential contest is his personality. Regard him as of Presidential size or not, it requires only brief personal contact with the big Speaker to be charmed and impressed with his quality of friendliness. Everyone likes him and he likes everyone. His bitterest political enemies have been his warmest personal friends. It was this likeableness that won him his leadership in Congress, and enabled him to conciliate the warring factions of his party and weld them into a working unit. And this harmonizing of the Democrats in Congress is easily the biggest thing Champ Clark has ever done.

Champ Clark was born in Anderson County, near Lawrenceburg, Ky., March 7, 1850 — "the day Daniel Webster made the speech upholding the fugitive slave law, which put him out of politics," is the way he fixes the date. Christened James Beauchamp (pronounced Beecham), he was known in early life as James B. Clark, as Governor Wilson and President Cleveland were known as Thomas W. Wilson and Stephen G. Cleveland in their respective youths.

His life story differs only in detail from the stories of thousands of poor boys who have won their way into Congress. It is the typically American story of native ability, industry, and adventurous spirit — farm-hand, school teacher, storekeeper, country editor, lawyer, orator — the progression is a familiar one to every reader of American biographies. His mother died when he was three years old. As a barefoot boy of twelve he got near enough to the battle of Perryville to hear the shooting, and once he saw a little band of seven home guards stand off the whole of Morgan's cavalry brigade. That was all he saw or heard of the Civil War. He read everything he could lay his youthful hands on and acquired the habit, which he still retains, of picking out odd and curious facts from his reading and storing them away in a memory that has a rare capacity for minute details. He taught school when he was sixteen, then entered Kentucky University, whence he was expelled after two years — a fact he does not attempt to conceal. Another student, Ezra Webb, picked a quarrel with him over the meal-hours of a students' dining club of which Clark was steward. Clark was as quick tempered then as now and whacked Webb over the head with a scantling. Webb struck him in the face as another student seized Clark's hands from behind and held him. Clark wrenched himself loose and from under his pillow drew a broken revolver — for which he had traded a Latin grammar and dictionary. He fired at Webb but the bullet went wild. Webb complained to the college authorities and Clark was

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expelled. More than thirty years later Webb wrote to Congressman Clark for help in adjusting a claim against the Government, and got it.

Two years more of school teaching; then, on the advice of Colonel Alexander Campbell, son of the founder of the religious denomination known as "Disciples of Christ," he entered the senior class at Bethany College, West Virginia, from which he graduated *summa cum laude*. With his degree young Clark called on Colonel Campbell, who asked what he intended to do.

"Teach for a year and then go to the Cincinnati law school," said the young man.

"You can get the principalship of the West Liberty Normal School if you will send in a written application for it," said Colonel Campbell, and the document quoted at the beginning of this article resulted. Then young Clark went down to Cincinnati to arrange to enter the law school.

Going home from Cincinnati a stranger he met on the train suggested that he try for the superintendency of the public schools of Paris, Ky. He got off at Paris, and within a day or two was appointed superintendent. But when he got to Lawrenceburg he found a notification of his election as president of Marshall College, at a salary of $1,400. He accepted it and remained at the post a year. Then he began to study law. From the law school he drifted out to Kansas. A casual acquaintance picked up on the train turned his thoughts to Wichita. "Wichita," he said, "was the place for a young fellow — Wichita, where the Texas steers came up in great droves and the Spanish milled dollars fairly rolled about the streets, while the Greasers were always fighting and making practice for lawyers. So I went to Wichita."

He reached Wichita as its first great boom was waning. There were no Spanish milled dollars, no quarrelsome Greasers, and the cattle were all going to Great Bend. Added to that, it was one of the worst years in Kansas history. The pickings were poor indeed. One day, the morning's mail had brought him a check for $25 for a graduation oration he had written for another law student. He paid his board bill and bought a ticket for Missouri, to look for a school.

At Louisiana, Mo., down in Pike County, the superintendent of schools had resigned. Young Clark applied for the place. His recent presidency of Marshall College was a tremendous asset. But the high school principal wanted the place and the trustees compromised by promoting him and giving the high school to Clark — incidentally chopping $300 a year off the superintendent's salary and giving it to the newcomer to bring his up to $1,200.

Young Clark shaved off part of his Kansas beard and taught in side whiskers for a year or so. He ran a newspaper, the *Riverside Press*, and sold it in a year at a $700 profit. Then he hung out his shingle, and began to practice law and the great American game of running for office. He drew some early prizes — Presidential elector on the Hancock and English ticket, city attorney of Louisiana, city attorney of Bowling Green, assistant state's attorney of Pike County, then state's attorney.

By this time Champ Clark had become one of the prominent men of Pike County. He was a law partner of David A. Ball — Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri in 1908. He handled some big criminal trials and gained fame as a cross-examiner.

Mr. Clark was "Champ" Clark by this time. Soon after leaving law school he found that a J. B. Clark was getting mail at nearly every post office in the country. Sometimes they got his letters and sent them back to the writers.

"I tried lopping off the 'James' and traveling as plain 'Beauchamp Clark,' but my friends insisted upon pronouncing it 'Bo-champ,' or abbreviated it to 'Bo Clark'," said the Speaker, telling me how he made the change. "I thought I would save them trouble by abbreviating it myself and began to write it 'Champ Clark.' It has been a good asset. It is short enough to be usually printed in full. Look at any list of 'those present' in the papers. Others are mentioned by sur-

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names only, but my name is printed 'Champ Clark.'" From this it may be inferred that the Speaker is alive to the value of advertising. He is, as I shall demonstrate.

But to get him out of Bowling Green, Mo., and into the Congress of the United States. Personal popularity and oratory did it, just as these attributes have taken many others over the same route. Champ Clark has always been an orator. His voice, even in conversation, is resonant and flexible. When he gets under way there is no hall so big that his voice cannot reach every corner of it. This causes a demand for his services on big occasions. At the St. Louis national convention of 1904 he was permanent chairman. His speech and Martin W. Littleton's were the only ones the delegates really heard. There is a type of oratory in which the manner of the speaker counts for much more than the matter of his speech. It is not unfair to Champ Clark to say that his eloquence is in this class. Not that his speeches are mere sound and fury — on the contrary, they are often crammed with facts. He is at his best when lecturing on some long dead statesman. His favorite hero is Thomas F. Benton, and he can enthrall any audience when he talks of the great Missourian. His eulogy of General Frank P. Blair was included by the late Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court in his collection of the best orations of the world. His oratory and his personal popularity won him an election to the lower house of the state legislature, where he served one term in 1889. As chairman of the jurisprudence committee he reported a bill — he does not claim the authorship of it — prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade and forbidding monopolies to do business in Missouri. It was one of the first anti-trust laws enacted in America. It still stands unamended and it was through its enforcement, curiously enough, that Herbert S. Hadley, as attorney general of Missouri, won the fame which enabled him to defeat Champ Clark's law partner, Senator Ball, for governor. Another legislative achievement of which Mr. Clark is proud was the introduction of a bill providing for the Australian ballot.

His service in the legislature enhanced his reputation; and his marriage, in 1881, to Miss Genevieve Bennett of Callaway County gave him a family connection of considerable extent in northeastern Missouri. Congressional politics in the ninth Missouri district is of the intense variety. In 1888 it had taken 2,100 ballots in the district convention to choose between nine candidates for the nomination. In 1890 there were eight candidates and 2,000 ballots. In 1892 the opponents of the sitting member got together and put up Champ Clark to contest for the nomination against Congressman R. H. Norton. Even with the contest narrowed down to two men the campaign was a protracted and bitter one. From March until the end of August the candidates stumped the district, accompanied by armed guards. The convention sat for nine days and finally split and nominated both Clark and Norton. The state committee settled the matter by ordering a direct nomination at a primary election. Democratic voters chose Champ Clark and in November he became a member of Congress.

There he found himself a member of the majority, swept into power in the Cleveland landslide. Two great issues confronted the Fifty-third Congress — the tariff and the silver question. The new member from Missouri rather prided himself on his knowledge of the tariff. He had been talking tariff reform from the stump and had a head full of facts and figures. It interested him as everything involving minute details interests him. He was a much more earnest advocate of free silver, however, than of tariff reform. That was the big and burning issue of the West. "Silver Dick" Bland of Missouri was the leader of the free silver movement in Congress and Champ Clark became one of his trusted lieutenants. William J. Bryan was one of Mr. Clark's fellow Congressmen, and their common interest in the silver question brought them together in a political and personal friendship that has never been broken.

In the election of 1894, Mr. Clark, like many other Democrats, lost his Con-

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gressional seat. He resumed the practice of law and began to turn to the public lecture platform as a means of livelihood. It has been almost his principal source of income ever since. He is always in great demand by Chautauqua audiences. "Richer than Golconda" is the title of one of his popular lectures. It deals with the literature of the Bible. Other subjects include current political topics and the lives of by-gone statesmen. And after he was reëlected to Congress in 1896 he found that his Congressional debates made valuable advertising for his paid lectures.

In the McKinley Congress that met in 1897 the tariff was the main issue. Free silver had gone down to defeat with Mr. Bryan. The framing of the Dingley tariff bill and the fight against it were in the hands of the party leaders, but the spectacular part of the performance fell largely to Champ Clark on the Democratic side and General Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio for the Republicans. They were beautifully staged, these debates between Clark and Grosvenor. Clark was the younger but Grosvenor could quote statistics with even more facility. Their daily duels filled the galleries. Clark would fairly lash himself into a frenzy of righteous wrath, and General Grosvenor would come back with volleys of deadly statistics. It was all very exciting and dramatic and it drew good press notices for both combatants. And it was just as real as stage duels usually are.

It was profitable, too. Between sessions the team of Clark and Grosvenor commanded the highest salary on the Chautauqua circuit. They were "headliners" — "Hon. Champ Clark of Missouri and Hon. Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio in joint debate on the tariff." That bill never failed to draw crowded houses and put money into the pockets of both the actors. Even the enforced retirement from Congress of General Grosvenor some years later has not interfered with Mr. Clark's activities on the platform. He still works his way via the Chautauqua route from Washington to Bowling Green and back. Incidentally, he has thus been seen by more voters than any other man in public life except possibly Mr. Bryan, Colonel Roosevelt, and President Taft.

Aside from the tariff debates, Mr. Clark's Congressional activities were not of especial interest except for the picturesqueness of his name and figure, which served to keep him in the public eye until he was chosen floor leader of the minority in December, 1908, to succeed John Sharp Williams. Champ Clark was by this time one of the oldest members in point of service; his personal popularity was unchallenged, and, while sympathizing with the Southern viewpoint, he had a clear comprehension of the problems of the Northern Democrats. Moreover, he had the confidence of the entire Democratic membership. For the first time in many years the Democratic members of Congress, through his conciliatory tactics, found themselves working in substantial harmony on every important question.

In the extra session of 1909, Mr. Clark, as ranking Democratic member of the Committee on Ways and Means, took the lead in the discussions of tariff schedules at the hearings before that body. Here his skill as a cross-examiner came into play. "The only truth that was told at any of those hearings was what I brought out on cross-examination," Mr. Clark boasted to me, and the facts justify his claim. His carefully-staged tariff debates with General Grosvenor and his really marvelous capacity for memorizing facts and figures stood him in excellent stead.

In the spring of 1910 a situation arose which called for conciliatory leadership of exactly the kind of which Mr. Clark was capable. It was the beginning of the effective fight on "Cannonism." A coalition of insurgent Republicans with the Democrats gave a working majority which could have won the battle easily. When the issue was put to a vote, twenty-three Democrats, under the leadership of Representative Fitzgerald of New York, voted with the stand-pat Republicans. Their indignant associates were for reading them out of the party. "We haven't got Democrats enough in the party now," Mr. Clark told the indignant ones, "so what's the use of throwing anyone out

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just because he doesn't agree with us on one point?"

It did not worry Mr. Clark that a great principle was at stake. Party solidarity was the important thing and his persuasive powers restored it.

Mr. Clark's chief claim to the Democratic Presidential nomination, as stated by his friends, is that it was his success as a conciliator and harmonizer of the party in Congress that brought about the Democratic landslide in 1910. These advocates go so far as to declare — presumably with the sanction of Mr. Clark, since they are the men who are closest to him — that every Democrat who was elected governor of a Northern state in 1910, who won a Congressional seat from the Republicans, or who was chosen United States Senator by a Democratic legislature elected in 1910, as well as every Democratic party worker who has got on the public pay roll as a result of this landslide, is under an obligation to Champ Clark which can be adequately discharged only by nominating him for the Presidency. That is the statement seriously made to me in Washington by one of the real leaders of the Clark Presidential boom. If it were true it would demonstrate that the Democratic party has not advanced beyond the stage where the spoils of office are of more importance than the public welfare. Perhaps it is an illuminating side light on Mr. Clark's political ideals that he and his friends believe it. It is also characteristic of those whose political breath is the Congressional atmosphere, to believe that the thoughts and actions of the whole American people are guided by and based upon the proceedings under the dome at Washington. The Clark Presidential boom is distinctly a Congressional movement. It is being conducted primarily from the Speaker's office in the Capitol. The men who are running it are members of Congress, former members and attachés, whose point of view is essentially the Congressional one. Its publicity "literature" goes out under Congressional franks.

The result of the Congressional election of 1910 made it a foregone conclusion that Mr. Clark would be the next Speaker. But although this approaching elevation to perhaps the second highest office in the Federal Government gave added significance to his utterances on public questions, it did not cure him of the habit of incautious remarks in Congress. His recklessness in the use of language had been rather amusing than serious in the early days of his Congressional career, and it was easy in heated debate for his antagonists to provoke him into rash and ill-considered utterances. Nobody took it seriously when he made such statements in the course of the tariff debates of 1897, as that, if he had his way, he would raze every custom house "from turret to foundation stone." That happened because Romulus Z. Leonard of North Carolina stuck his tongue out and "riled" Mr. Clark. At least, that is the explanation the Speaker gave me, saying that he never really meant it. But when the man about to become Speaker of the American House of Representatives declared in advocating the Canadian Reciprocity Bill, "I am for it because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole," it aroused, instead of laughter, an international misunderstanding. That this incautious remark of the Speaker had great influence in inducing the Canadian Parliament to reject the reciprocity proposals is not denied anywhere. Nor does any one seriously challenge Mr. Clark's perfectly good intentions toward the Reciprocity bill — he has never been accused of deliberately betraying a cause which he openly professed to favor.

His elevation to the Speakership has not caused Mr. Clark to forget the practical side of politics. Tremendous efforts to detach the old soldier vote from the Republican party are being made by the Democratic leaders. A dramatic opportunity to emphasize his devotion to the G. A. R. came when the vote was taken in the House of Representatives last winter on the Sherwood dollar-a-day pension bill. Mr. Clark never overlooks a dramatic opportunity. The bill was safely passed — 229 to 92 — and there was no more need for the Speaker's vote

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CHAMP CLARK

"IT IS SHORT ENOUGH TO BE PRINTED IN FULL IN THE PAPERS, OTHERS ARE MENTIONED BY SURNAMES ONLY, BUT MY NAME IS PRINTED 'CHAMP CLARK'"

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than for that of the press gallery — not as much. The following two paragraphs, from the *Congressional Record*, tell what followed:

The Speaker — The clerk will call my name.

The clerk called the name of Mr. Clark of Missouri and he voted "Yea" as above recorded. So the bill was passed.

Good Presidential politics — and if Mr. Clark misses that mark, good politics for Pike County and the Ninth Missouri district, where there are plenty of old soldiers. Indeed, Mr. Clark, according to his wont, is much more likely to have had the Ninth Missouri district in mind than the United States. It is his mental habit to think in terms of Pike County, as it were.

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"IT IS HIS MENTAL HABIT TO THINK IN TERMS OF PIKE COUNTY"

In February, 1912, soon after the Clark Presidential boom began to assume serious proportions, the Speaker said to me: "I am against all trusts. There can't be any good restraint of trade. I don't agree with the Supreme Court on that point. I believe the Sherman law if honestly and courageously enforced would break up all the trusts, but if there is any question on that point I would favor amending it. In my opinion it does not need any amendment.

"As chairman of the jurisprudence committee of the Missouri legislature I reported one of the first anti-trust bills. No one has ever found a flaw in it and hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines have been collected under it. We may get a million.

"I have devoted more time to the tariff than to any other political question. I debated it as a boy in school. When I first came here in 1893 I thought I knew all about it. Now I feel like Sir Isaac Newton in the presence of the mysteries of the universe — like a boy picking up shells on the seashore. The question ramifies into so many other things that it embodies all human activities and if one is studious he can learn something new about it all the time. As the Government is conducted at present we have to raise a billion dollars a year. Whether that rate of expenditure will ever be reduced I do not try to say. I have been wrestling with that question.

"We have only two great sources of revenue — the tariff and the internal revenue tax. There used to be a great revenue from the land office but it is about gone now. We have to raise from $325,000,000 to $350,000,000 a year from the tariff. Perhaps if the income tax amendment, which I favor, is adopted we can reduce the tariff considerably. My idea of tariff reform is to levy the highest taxes on luxuries that they will bear and not invite smuggling in large quantities, and the lowest tariff or none at all on necessaries. The whole thing needs overhauling from top to bottom and readjusting to cut out the monstrosities and ex-

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tortions in the Payne Bill and raise the maximum revenue while at the same time taking the minimum of money from the pockets of the people. It is estimated that under the Payne bill every time one dollar goes into the Treasury four or five dollars go into the pockets of the tariff barons. I would make some exceptions to levying the highest tariff on luxuries. Some things are so valuable in small bulk that if the tariff is very high the Government would be defrauded by smugglers. Diamonds are a fine illustration of this. I would have two rates on diamonds, one, the higher on the finished product and a low tax on uncut stones, so as to encourage the development of the diamond cutting industry in America.

"I can take the Payne bill and rearrange the rates so as to get $500,000,000 instead of $325,000,000 revenue and at the same time cheapen the finished products to the people. This can be done in clothing, furniture, machinery, and many food products. A splendid example is in the case of blankets nine feet long, worth not more than forty cents per pound, on which the present rate is 33 cents a pound and 50 per cent. ad valorem. This amounts to a tax of 182½ per cent. on an article of prime necessity. Do you know how many of these blankets were imported into the United States in the last fiscal year? A total value of $40.20 on which the tariff amounted to $60.53. From the tariff on one kind of sheepskin gloves — the sort the women call kid gloves — the Government got a total revenue from importations in one year of $2.40."

The discussion of the tariff was interrupted at this point by a newspaper man who wanted the Speaker to contribute to a "symposium" on Thomas Jefferson. The Speaker obliged with several interesting facts about Mr. Jefferson, such as that he was the only red-headed President, that he was the first to import Merino sheep, that he started the Agricultural Department, and that when Minister to France he succeeded in obtaining some of the precious seeds of the Italian rice, which he sent to America, where they became the progenitors of all the great rice plantations of the South. Then he defined his notion of tariff reform a little more closely by saying that he was in favor of duties that would produce the largest revenue and give a fair degree of protection.

"What about the so-called Progressive issues, Mr. Speaker?" I inquired.

"Well, take the initiative and referendum. We have it out in Missouri. I voted for it. It is a state issue.

"I introduced the Australian ballot bill in the legislature against the opposition of the politicians. I was really the author of the parole bill. I was the cause more than any one man living or dead of the primary law being adopted in Missouri.

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TWO OF MR. CLARK'S TRADEMARKS

THE FARMER HAT AND THE "BARN-DOOR FLAP" TROUSERS POCKET

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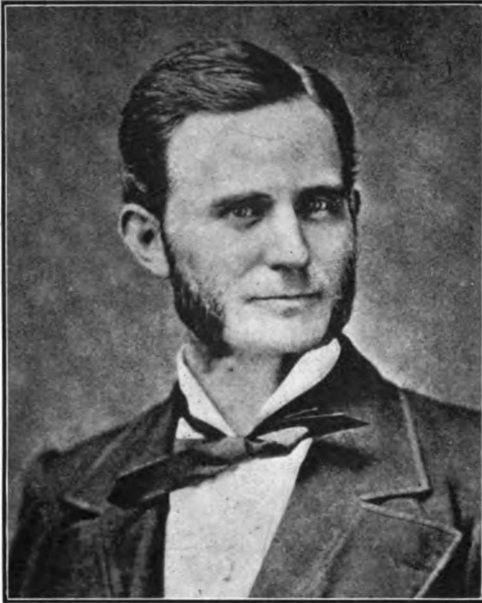


"YOUNG CLARK SHAVED OFF PART OF HIS KANSAS BEARD AND TAUGHT IN SIDE WHISKERS FOR A YEAR OR SO"

The first Congressional primary ever held in the state was the one at which I was nominated; and afterward primaries were adopted by law.

"I believe in Senatorial primaries — we have them in Missouri. I think Senators ought to be elected by the people. I favor any reform in the ballot law that really makes for a free ballot and a fair count and brings elections close to the body of the people. I endorse the principle of the corrupt practices act. It has done a great deal of good in Missouri."

"You wish to be classed as a Progressive, then?" I asked.

"Yes, I class myself as a Progressive. It's in the air — everything is Progressive these days."

"Do you anticipate a realignment of the people into new political parties, Progressive and Conservative?"

"Yes, I think we are coming to that."

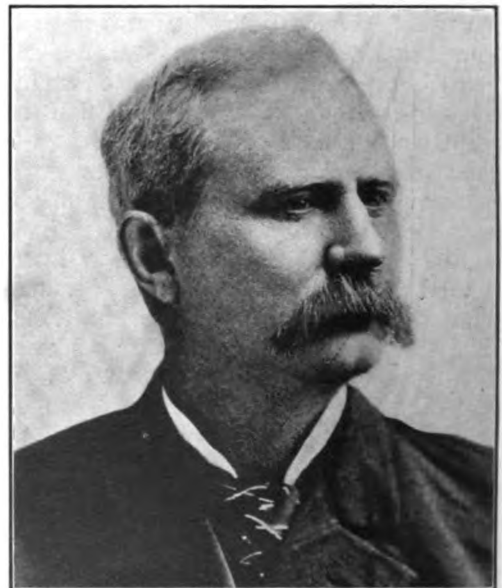
"About the recall?"

"I should rather not state my position on that just yet."

Just then a bell rang in the Speaker's room.

" —— it, they're in trouble in there and I've got to go and fix it up," he remarked, with unconscious profanity, as he strode over toward the House.

A human, likeable old gentleman, this member from Missouri — pleasant to talk with or to listen to, popular, magnetic, devoted to his books and his home and his family. His comfortable old white house at Bowling Green is as crowded with books as a public library. An interesting personality, that of Champ Clark — and if he has any conception of the vital, burning questions the American people are asking, any grasp on the issues and problems on which the voters of the nation are sharply divided as never before since the dark days before the Civil War, any comprehension of the great readjustments that are going on across party lines as the Progressives and Conservatives are reclassifying themselves, one finds no evidence of it in his conversation or recorded speeches — except as some minor symptom of the great unrest has been felt in Pike County. He does not burn with indignation at the encroachments of the special interests on the people's rights, as Woodrow Wilson does; he does not stand firm against all new departures from the traditions of the past, as Judson Harmon does. He is a compromise candidate.



"THEN HE HUNG OUT HIS SHINGLE AND BEGAN THE GREAT AMERICAN GAME OF RUNNING FOR OFFICE." HE WAS ELECTED TO CONGRESS IN 1892

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WHAT THE DICTOGRAPH IS

THE TINY "DETECTIVE'S EAR" THAT BROKE DOWN THE MCNAMARA DEFENSE AND THAT HAS CONVICTED OTHER CRIMINALS

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

ONE day in May, 1911, during the session of the Ohio state legislature, two men stood in a room in the Hotel Chittenden, at Columbus. One of these men held a roll of bills in his hand; and he said that he wanted to get senate bill No. 256 out of committee. The other man was Rodney J. Diegle, sergeant-at-arms of the Ohio state senate. He said that he could get four votes for that purpose, at $200 apiece, provided he himself got $100 for the job. The first man counted out $100. Diegle started to take it. Then he walked to the door of the closet and opened it and looked carefully within. Then he got down on his hands and knees and looked under the sofa. Then he walked back and took the money. And in June — two months later — Diegle was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary. He had made the fatal mistake of being six weeks behind the times: he had looked for a man under the sofa — he should have looked for a dictograph. For a dictograph hung under the sofa, and a stenographer sat in the next room with a receiver at his ear and scribbled down the words that sent Diegle "across." And the Supreme Court of Ohio, in February of this year, sustained the admissibility of the evidence obtained by the dictograph.

The dictograph broke down the McNamara defense in the Los Angeles *Times* dynamiting case; from November, 1911, to February 15, 1912, the dictograph got the evidence in the headquarters of the International Iron-workers' Union that led to the arrest of President Ryan and of forty-four other union leaders throughout the United States; in October, 1911, the

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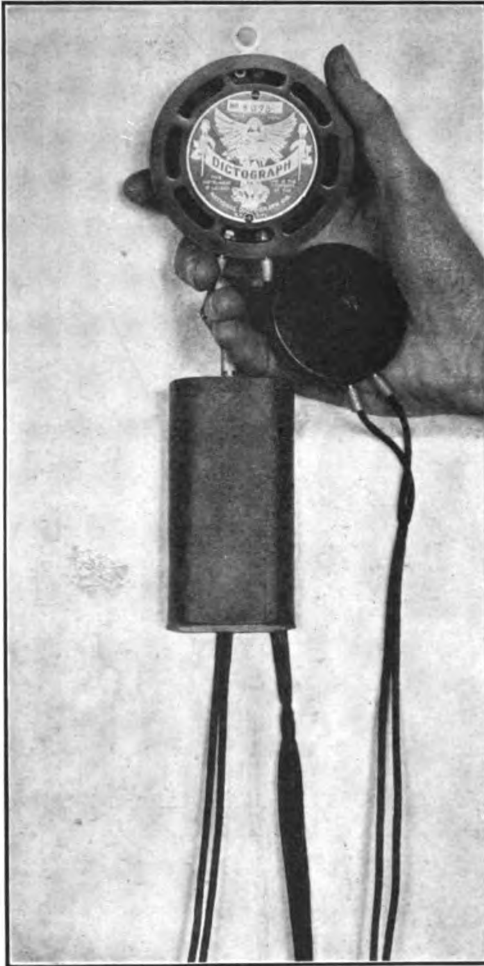

A COMPLETE DICTOGRAPH OUTFIT
TRANSMITTER, EARPIECE, AND DRY BATTERY

dictograph procured the conviction of Mayor Thomas E. Knotts, of Gary, Ind., on a charge of receiving a bribe of $5,000.

What is this mysterious dictograph?

It is a tiny sound magnifier and transmitter. Sounds are gathered by it and are multiplied many times in intensity, by the peculiar construction of the vibrating disc that receives the shock of the sound-waves. These vibrations are transmitted over wires to a receiving ear-piece on the same principle as by ordinary telephone. The novelty of the dictograph is in the extreme sensitiveness of its sound gathering and sound transmitting device — a device the technical construction of which its inventor declines to explain.

The transmitter of the dictograph is enclosed in a round, flat, black, vulcanized rubber case, three inches in diameter and three quarters of an inch thick. The other parts of the apparatus are an ear-piece two inches in diameter, and a dry battery cell about two inches wide, three inches long, and three quarters of an inch thick. The entire apparatus can be held in one hand, and altogether weighs a little less than one pound.

The dictograph is efficient. In the laboratory at Jamaica, Long Island, in which it was perfected, I stood by the side of Mr. K. M. Turner, the man who invented it. At his direction I took up an ear-piece from a work bench while he turned a switch. Then Mr. Turner, speaking merely into the air as if he were talking to another man in the same room, said, in an ordinary conversational tone:

"Mr. Haff, there is a gentleman on the line here in the laboratory who wishes to have you demonstrate the detective dictograph. Will you please talk to him and show him how it can be heard through various materials?"

At once I heard a perfectly distinct voice answer:

"Certainly, Mr. Turner. I am now talking in an open room, with no obstruction between me and the transmitter, though I am standing about four feet from it. Now I shall turn a switch and talk to you through another transmitter that is enclosed tightly in a wooden box." Here the voice began to sound more remote but exactly as distinct as before, as it continued: "I shall now switch to still another transmitter that is imbedded in a solid block of cement," and now the voice seemed very far away, but still perfectly audible and distinct. I asked the voice several questions and received its answers. Then Mr. Turner led me out of the building in which the laboratory is, across a yard to another building, and there introduced me to Mr. Haff, who at once continued the conversation that we had just broken off and showed me the wooden box and the concrete block containing the several transmitters.

The detective dictograph is an outgrowth of the commercial dictograph,

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which is, perhaps, an even more remarkable device. Mr. Turner had been for many years — and still is — the successful manufacturer of an apparatus that was designed to assist the deaf to hear. He applied the sound gathering and intensifying principle of this apparatus to an intercommunicating telephone system for convenience in his factory. The result was the commercial dictograph. It is a wooden box in which, side by side, are a transmitter and an opening that corresponds in its use to the horn of a phonograph. Below is a row of keys, each marked with a name. Standing in front of his desk in his private office, Mr. Turner pressed down the key marked "Engineer." In a moment a marker flew up before a glass above the key, and Mr. Turner now pressed the key upward and began to walk about the room with his hands in his pockets. A voice called out of the opening beside the transmitter, loud enough to be heard all over the room, and said:

"Good morning, Mr. Turner."

"Good morning," Mr. Turner replied, still strolling about the room. "Do you hear me plainly?"

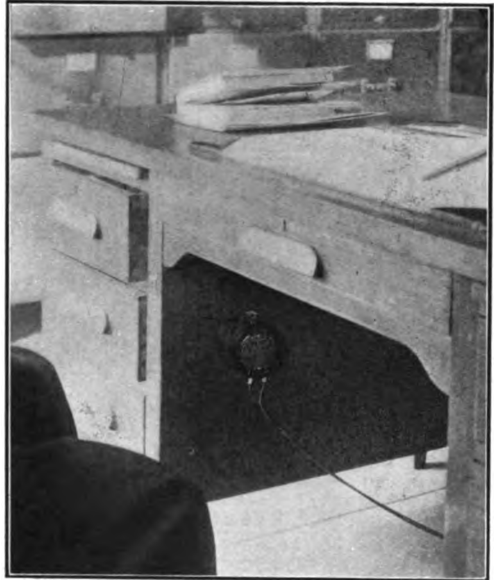
"Perfectly," answered the voice.

"Will you please bring me a Turner telephone? I want to have it photographed."

"All right, sir," the voice replied, "but I hope you can wait about ten minutes for it, as none of those here has a name plate on it."

At Mr. Turner's suggestion I entered the conversation, sitting in a chair six feet from the instrument. Later, he called up two men in different buildings at the same time, and the three discussed a business letter that all of them had seen the day before. No mouthpiece nor earpiece was used by any of them. By the time they had finished and Mr. Turner had shut off the connection, a man had brought in a Turner telephone. It, also, utilizes the same transmitter as the detective dictograph, so that it requires no mouthpiece, but it does require an earpiece.

So, from these three devices — the acousticon, the commercial dictograph, and the Turner telephone — the detective dictograph was evolved. Its operation is perfectly simple: the transmitter is readily hidden — as in the concrete wall of Ortie McManigal's cell in Los Angeles; or as in the space between the back panel of a desk drawer and the back of the desk, in the Ironworkers' headquarters in Indianapolis — and the fine wires that lead to the ear-piece are as easily carried away through a hollowed table leg and a tiny hole in the floor, or by some similar device. In a room of ordinary size it gathers every sound, even whispers from the farthest corner, and



HOW A DICTOGRAPH IS HID

SHOWING THAT IT IS SMALL ENOUGH TO BE CONCEALED BEHIND THE BACK OF A DESK DRAWER

transmits them, magnified in volume, to the receiver. In ordinary detective use the receiver is in a room next door or on the floor below, but in one case the Burns detectives have used it over a wire a mile long. In such cases, of course, the circuit has to be connected with one or two extra batteries like the small dry cell that is used for short distances.

The dictograph has been employed for other such odd uses as these: by Professor Frank Perret to study the minor activity of Mt. Vesuvius between eruptions; by Mr. William Boyce, of Chicago, during an expedition in the jungle of Africa, to hear the sounds made by wild beasts when undisturbed by men; in the Metro-

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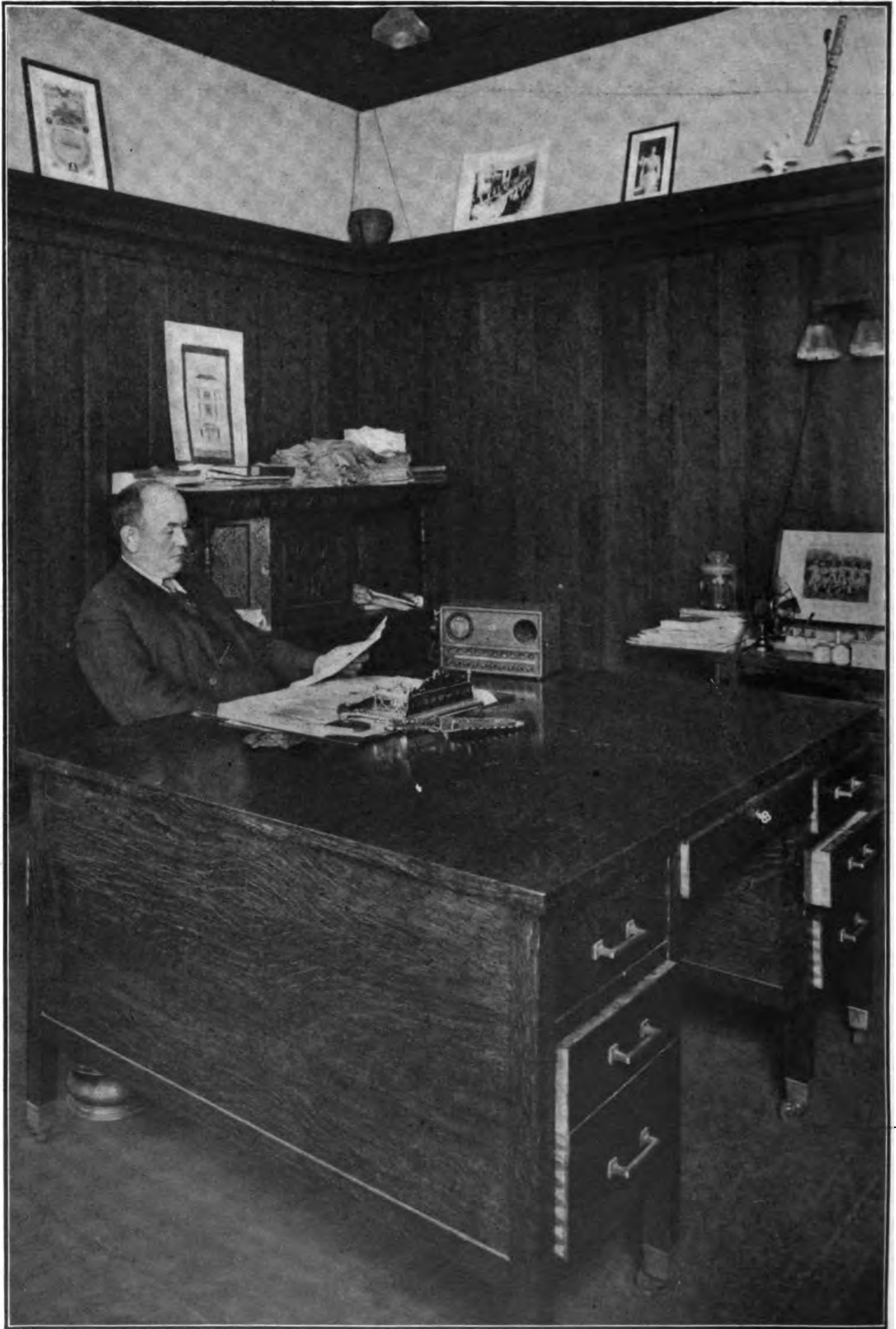

MR. K. M. TURNER

THE INVENTOR OF THE DICTOGRAPH, DICTATING A LETTER TO A STENOGRAPHER IN ANOTHER ROOM BY WAY OF THE COMMERCIAL DICTOGRAPH THAT STANDS ON HIS DESK

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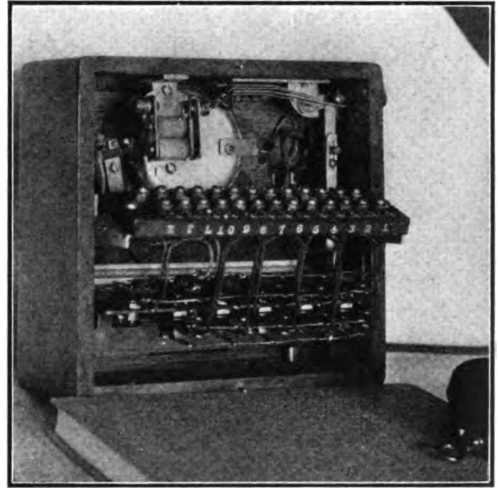
politan Opera House and in the Hudson Theatre, New York, to enable the managers to hear the rehearsals on the stage from their private offices; to enable Representatives in Congress, while sitting in their rooms in the office building, to hear the debates on the floor of the House.

But the most promising field for the detective dictograph is in aiding the execution of the laws. Mr. Turner, the inventor, has this theory about the obtaining of evidence: Reverse the old method of working up confessions of criminals. That method was to put the accomplices in separate cells and then to deal with them one at a time, telling each that the other had given way and urging him to get even by telling his story on the other. The new method should be to imbed a dictograph in the concrete wall of a large cell, put the accomplices together, and have the officers keep away from them, but to let their friends and kinspeople visit them freely. Sooner or later, when they are alone, they are certain to talk of their crime, and to give plenty of clues from which conclusive evidence may be worked up. Human nature cannot endure to keep such secrets locked in silence. And when they talk, a stenographer in the warden's office can take down every word they say. Confront the criminal with the literal record of his most secret conferences, and he will break down.

There may be abuses of the dictograph as well as worthy uses. It has been used in one instance to steal stock market quotations from a broker's office. It could be used for blackmail. For this reason, the detective apparatus cannot be bought; it can be leased only, and by no one except persons who prove their character and motives to be above question. Practically, its use is limited to reputable detective agencies and to officers of the law. To such persons it is rented for $100 a year, or, for shorter periods, for $25 a month.



ONE OF THE PARENTS OF THE DETECTIVE DICTOGRAPH

OUTSIDE AND INSIDE VIEW OF A TURNER TELEPHONE. EXPERIMENTS MADE TO PERFECT THIS DEVICE, THE COMMERCIAL DICTOGRAPH, AND THE ACOUSTICON, LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DETECTIVE APPARATUS

Such, then, is the detective dictograph. It has armed the law with a new weapon for the preservation of the peace. Almost literally, it becomes the voice of conscience made audible in speaking tones. Even experimenting with it one feels a sense of fear and danger as if in the presence of a foe against whom there is no defense. Its terrors for breakers of the law may be imagined from that dramatic moment in Los Angeles when it made the stout hearts of the McNamara's fail, buttressed though they were by the sympathy of millions of workingmen, by the skill of great lawyers, and by the power of almost unlimited money — when a whisper had wrecked a national conspiracy.

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THE WORLDWIDE SWEEP OF SOCIALISM

FIRST ARTICLE

THE RISE OF "THE REDS" IN FRANCE

HOW JAURÉS AND GUESDE HAVE MADE, OUT OF DREAMS AND DISCONTENT, A MIGHTY FORCE IN PRACTICAL POLITICS

BY

SAMUEL P. ORTH

(WHO HAS RECENTLY INTERVIEWED THE PRINCIPAL SOCIALIST LEADERS IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ENGLAND)

SOCIALISM is a ferment that is slowly but surely disintegrating the three hierarchies upon which present day European civilization rests, the hierarchy of privileged government, the hierarchy of standing armies, and the hierarchy of private property. This ferment has worked its way into parliaments and is democratizing all monarchies; it has impregnated the soldier with the restless germs of a new internationalism; and has raised the red standard of revolt against the domain of centralized wealth.

In Europe, standing armies are going to give way, not to the pressure of the taxpayer, nor to the mumbled prayers of peace societies, but to the menace of the Socialist conscript; property is becoming more and more the ward of the state and less the slave of the individual; and you will find many conservatives in every capital who believe that the end of monarchies is at hand.

This Socialism, so powerfully organized in every European country, will, in the next decade, in some modified form, be the strident voice in our own politics, rising shrill and foreboding above the doleful orotund of the old party prophets.

This study of European Socialism was undertaken to ascertain under what con-

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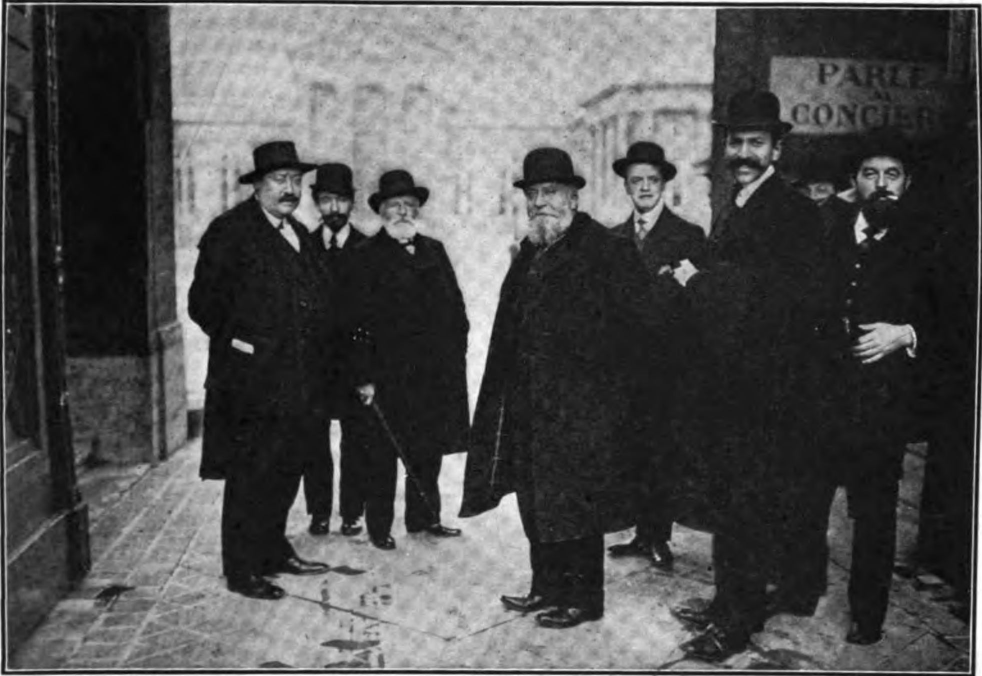

JEAN JAURÉS, PROBABLY THE WORLD'S ABLEST SOCIALIST
AND LEADER OF THAT FACTION OF THE PARTY IN FRANCE WHICH BELIEVES IN TAKING PART IN THE PRACTICAL POLITICS OF THE DAY

ditions Socialism flourishes in the three leading European countries, and of determining its strength and its trend. If it is coming to us, let us know what it is doing in the country of its birth.

The ferment of Socialism naturally began in France, that yeast pot of civilization. It began as all ferments do, in a very humble manner, and it began while that unhappy country was still red with the gore of the Revolution. It gained its power amongst the despised proletarians, who had been the grim and sullen background of the Revolution. Indeed, Socialism is the only political and economic educational force that has troubled itself with the forgotten masses. It is the evangel of hope to the under-one, a hope fed on discontent, a discontent that has to-day weakened every tradition in France, ecclesiastical, military, economic, and political, and that has undermined every source of authority. Socialism has entered politics and is already a determining force in the Chamber of Deputies.

Jean Jaurés is probaby the world's

JULES GUESDE
LEADER OF THOSE FRENCH SOCIALISTS WHO BELIEVE THAT ONLY A REVOLUTION CAN BRING THE CHANGES THAT THEY SEEK AND WHOSE FACTION HAS RECENTLY UNITED WITH THAT OF JAURÉS, FORMING THE UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY

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ARISTIDE BRIAND
WHOM THE SOCIALISTS CALL "TRAITOR" BECAUSE, WHILE PREMIER, HE USED THE MILITARY POWER OF FRANCE TO PUT DOWN THE RAILROAD STRIKE IN 1910

ablest Socialist. He possesses attributes of greatness that make him formidable to his adversaries, and that lift his utterances high above the reckless palaver of the ordinary Socialist agitator. Like the majority of the Socialist leaders, he is of middle class origin. Instead of serving a proletarian apprenticeship in the mills, his is a genteel university preparation, and he fitted himself for the leadership of the masses by becoming a professor of philosophy in a college in southern France. He is well endowed, not only with this world's goods, but with robust health, tireless energy, and an unusually active mind. He is the leader of his party in the Chamber of Deputies, speaks everywhere on all occasions, is editor of *L'Humanité*, the Socialist daily, writes for numerous other journals, writes books and pamphlets, and is considered one of the leading authorities in France upon the original documents pertaining to the French Revolution. He is one of the most brilliant orators of his time, adding the glow of the southern country to his vast store of knowledge. He first entered the Chamber of Deputies as a Radical in 1885. After serving a few years he went back to his professorship. In 1893 he announced his conversion to Socialism, and has since served continuously in the Chamber. Early in his parliamentary career, he formed an independent Socialist group with René Viviani and A. Millerand, two well known Parisian lawyers, a group to whom the violent revolutionary methods of the Marxians did not appeal.

These Marxians are led by a singular personality — Jules Guesde, a typical revolutionist. He was scarcely twenty years old when he led a fearless group of rebels against the prefecture of Montpellier, and captured it. He fled the country to escape a long term of imprisonment and spent his exile in wandering from place to place as an evangelist of violence. Returning to France in the late 'seventies, he set about to organize the workingmen, and has ever since been the leader of the more restless Socialists.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU
LEADER OF THE RADICALS, WHO USED THE SOCIALISTS DURING THE DREYFUS AFFAIR AND THEN RIDICULED THEM

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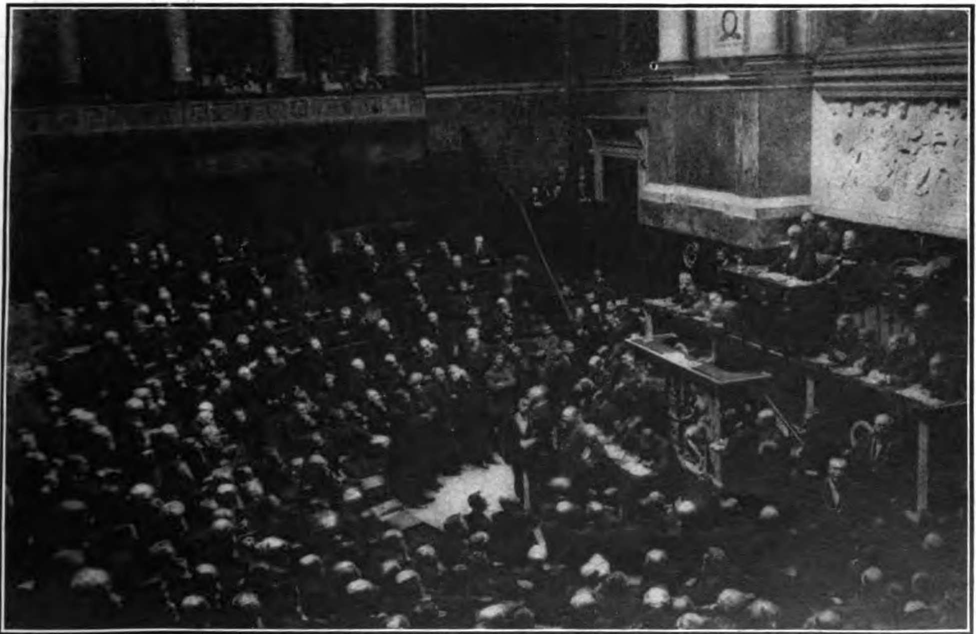
THE LABOR EXCHANGE IN PARIS

A CENTRE OF SOCIALISTIC ACTIVITIES. SOLDIERS CLEARING THE STREETS DURING THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1910

He possesses all the characteristics of a zealot: he is gaunt, nervous, with restless eyes, and a flowing beard: his arms are long and lank, capable of expressive gestures; his voice is high pitched, and when he speaks in the Chamber of Deputies the trembling bourgeois may well believe him an emissary of revolution and upheaval! His experiences furnish an ideal setting for this personality; he has fought constantly not only kings and parliaments and courts, but want, hunger, disease, cold, and sorrow. He is hero, martyr, prophet.



THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

IN WHICH THE SOCIALISTS, WITH 110 VOTES THAT ARE CAST AS ONE, HOLD THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE TOTAL OF 590 VOTES THAT ARE DIVIDED AMONG MANY FACTIONS. HERE, BEFORE CLÉMENCEAU DESERTED THEM, THE SOCIALISTS COALESCED WITH THE RADICALS, MADE JAURÈS VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER, AND PASSED NUMEROUS LABOR LAWS

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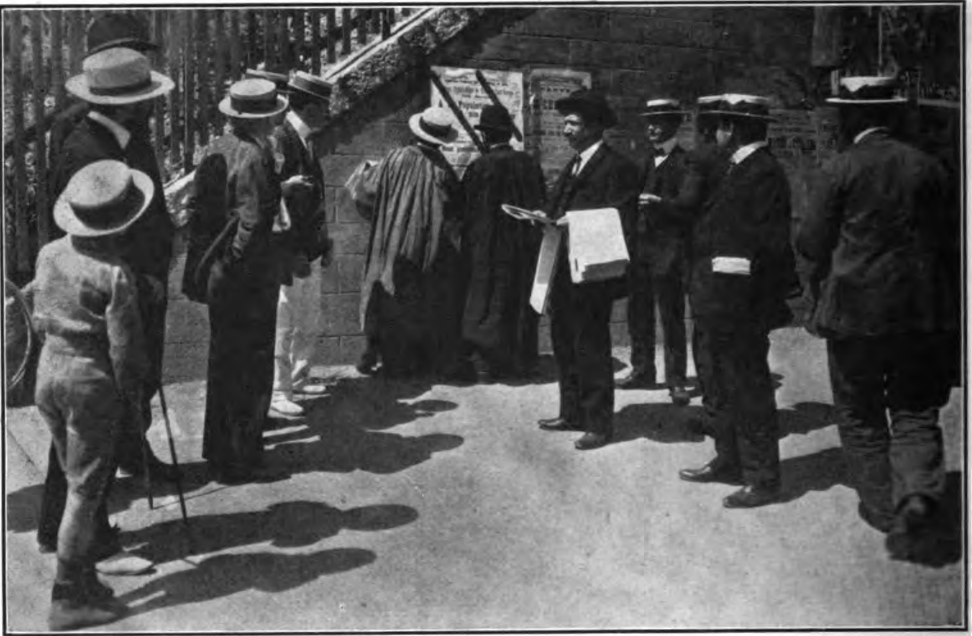

READING POLICE WARNINGS AGAINST SOCIALISTIC DEMONSTRATIONS ON LABOR DAY

SOCIALISTS POSTING A CALL

TO A LABOR DAY DEMONSTRATION — ALWAYS A SIGNAL FOR THE GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND THE POLICE TO BE OUT IN FORCE

Around these two unusual men, the modern French Socialist movement is formed. There have been numberless factions. Frenchmen love to split an idea and fight over the fractions. The most important of these factions, identified by their various leaders and doctrines, are the following: Jaurès leads those Socialists who believe in evolutionary Socialism, to be hastened by their participation in the practical politics of the day; Guesde leads those who believe in political revolution as the only effective method of gaining their ends; M. Griffuelhes leads the revolutionary syndicalists, who believe in violence and class war. Above the Jaurès and Guesde factions are the Independent Socialists, who do not submit to party discipline, though sharing the Socialistic ideals. And there is the group of Socialist-Radicals, who believe in property and patriotism as well as in the Socialistic ideals. In the Chamber of Deputies, the Jaurès faction has once combined with the Radicals, thus forming the temporary Socialist-Radical "bloc," under the premiership of Clémenceau. Just now the Guesde and Jaurès factions have united, forming the United Socialist party — probably also a temporary coalition.

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"CALLED TO THE COLORS"

BREAKING THE RAILROAD STRIKE BY MOBILIZING THE EMPLOYEES AS SOLDIERS, THEREBY MAKING DISOBEDIENCE TREASON. NOTE THE MILITARY BADGES ON THESE PORTERS' SLEEVES

Guesde and Jaurés and all the rest fought one another furiously until the Dreyfus affair divided all Frenchmen into two camps. And all Socialists became Dreyfusards. The Dreyfus affair was the opportunity of the Socialists. Here was the issue clear cut, between the old and the new — the old traditions, religious, social, military, political, against the humble man's idea of justice. It was the heroic period of modern French Socialism. Red and black flags were borne by exulting multitudes through the streets of Paris. The *University populaire* was organized by the scholars to instruct the people in the issues. Inflammatory meetings were held everywhere. Learning united with passion to usher in the New Time. The flame of anticipation spread over the Republic.

In the Chamber of Deputies the Socialists coalesced with the Radicals — who began to call themselves Socialist-Radicals — forming the famous "bloc" which controlled the Government. Jaurés was made Vice-President of the Chamber and became the most potential figure in public life. Millerand was lifted into the cabinet, in 1899, the first Socialist in the world to hold such a place.

France, in the hour of her greatest need, was bowing to the Socialists. They were to save the Republic. In part payment for their votes the Radicals adopted the Socialists' "minimum programme" and passed a number of labor laws.

It seemed but a step from the "bloc" to the Premiership, from the Premiership to the Presidency, from the Presidency to the "Socialized State."

Then something happened, something very human. The Republic had weathered the storm, stronger than ever, and the Radicals forgot their allies. It was the old deception, the old disappoint-

ARRESTING A SOCIALIST AGITATOR

ONE OF THOUSANDS OF SUCH ARRESTS MADE ANNUALLY BY THE POLICE OFFICERS OF FRENCH CITIES AND TOWNS

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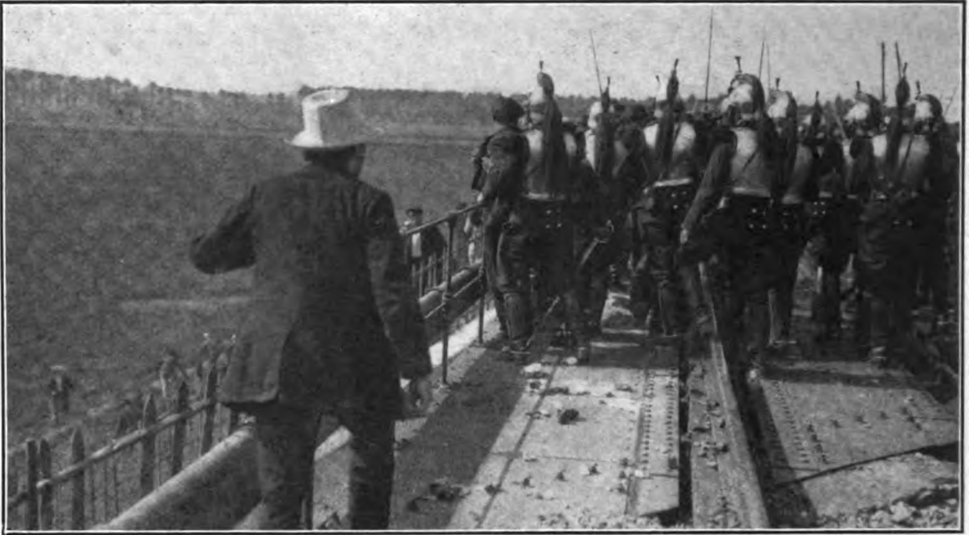

SOLDIERS DEFENDING RAILROAD PROPERTY DURING THE STRIKE OF 1910

A USE OF THE MILITARY POWER THAT AROUSED MORE BITTER RESENTMENT AMONG SOCIALISTS THAN ANY RECENT ACT OF ANY GOVERNMENT

ment, always experienced by the proletariat and its envoys. After the great revolution they were rejected; after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 they were betrayed; after the Commune they were exiled; after the Dreyfus affair they were laughed at.

Georges Clémenceau, the nimble Machiavelli of Radicalism, engaged in a brilliant debate with Jaurés that had the whole country on its tip-toes. He told the Socialist orator that his Socialism was an impractical vagary. Jaurés, stung by the rebuke, answered that he would show France and the world that Socialism is practical. He would put it plainly into print so that everyone could read. This was promised some years ago, and remains unfulfilled. Even this prodigious communist has found it impossible to transmute the Socialist dream into words.

But an immense practical turn did come out of this notable debate. Jaurés was willing to surrender his differences and unite with Guesde, and the "United Socialist Party" was organized on a compromise programme that savors of Marxian orthodoxy and that demands the usual labor legislation — eight-hour day, minimum wage, etc.

So there is now for the first time a united Socialist party in France. At the last election it polled 1,600,000 votes and elected 76 of the 590 Deputies in the Chamber. The French Chamber is divided into a great many little groups. The 76 "United Ones" are the only staunch party in this collection of factions. Yves Guyot, who is no friend of Socialism, but its most distinguished critic, told me "the Socialists have the only compact, disciplined, obedient party in France. It obeys orders like a regiment."

At least there is unity in appearance. But the two leaders often have each other by the ears. Their quarrel is the quarrel of Socialists the world over — Shall the Socialists participate in governmental activities or shall they await the hour of the glorious revolution that is, by some transcendent miracle, to transform society? This is the question between the mundanes and the supermundanes.

Jaurés is quite mundane. I called on him in his home, and he received me in a well stocked library. He is a quiet, ponderous, persuasive man, with a princely courtesy, and a head as large as a bushel basket. I asked him what Socialism is. "Socialism is the splendid ideal of a state in which the processes of production and distribution are owned by society. A condition of civilization in which there will be neither poverty nor wealth. Our

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guiding principle is the coöperation of all for the good of all. Toward this end we are making constant progress. We are gradually undermining the present system."

"By what method are you doing this?"

"By every method. Just now by the parliamentary method. We help make laws, we create public sentiment. This is the method by evolution. It does not preclude revolution. But revolution would do no good until the conditions are ripe. Conditions are ripening. Every centime added to the price of food, every new evidence of the heartlessness of the moneymaker, helps scatter the discontent that forms the proletarian motive.

"Don't misunderstand me. We are not merely wanting control of the government. We aim to control the forces that make the government. When we have the people with us, what is government? A toy.

"Certainly I believe Socialism is practical. Its day is coming. Just when and how no one can say."

Then I sought out Guesde in his simple home. Every gesture and word revealed his vehement enthusiasm. He paced the floor restlessly as he answered my questions, sometimes seating himself on a hassock near my chair, and he spoke earnestly in a voice that could be heard across the street.

"What is Socialism? It is the emancipation of the proletariat from economic unrighteousness. How will it be accomplished? By appropriating all forms of productive wealth to society, and putting humanity in possession, instead of selfish individuals. This means revolution. It may be peaceful. Jaurès thinks so and is content to take a slice at a time. I am restless. I don't believe we can ever attain our ideal through parliaments and politics. We must be prepared to meet the violence of the capitalist. Jaurès believes in the slow method. I believe in the effective method."

"Do you believe the Socialist ideal is practical?"

"Certainly. I have seen a wonderful change in the masses since I first began Socialistic speaking."

Here you have, from the leaders, the vague ideal that forms the potency of Socialism. If it were definite, it would cease to be an ideal, would lose its magic. Whatever danger lurks in Socialism is not in its leaders, nor in its methods, but is in the psychic power which the mystery of an intangible notion exercises over the minds of discontented masses. To what extremes will this idealistic hypnosis lead?

This spirit of humanitarian unrest and individual discontent is the prompter of the united party, with its 76 deputies. It is also the spirit of the Independent Socialists who have 34 deputies in the Chamber, mostly professional men, lawyers, professors, journalists, to whom party discipline and Marxian orthodoxy are distasteful. They are the connecting link between the unified party and the Socialist-Radicals. These latter have 240 votes in the Chamber, and in any other country would be called Socialists. I asked one of their leaders the difference between them, and he said: "We Socialist-Radicals believe in property and patriotism; the Socialists don't."

What has been the experience of this parliamentary Socialism under Jaurès? To the Socialist, disappointing; to the believer in orderly progress, reassuring.

Nineteen hundred and two is the date of the first French democratic Republic. Combes was its premier, Jaurès its master. There were no "best people" in the cabinet. It was a coalition of Socialists and ultra-Radicals — proletarian and petty bourgeois. It undertook three tremendous tasks: separating Church and State, regenerating the army, democratizing the bureaucracy — that system of centralized administration which the Republic inherited from Napoleon.

First, they began with the Church. French Socialists and ecclesiastics have never tried to understand each other. At the time of the disestablishment about four fifths of the wealth of France was in the control of professed churchmen, and four fifths of the poor people never went to church. "Millions of our people never see the inside of a church," a Socialist from Southern France told me. This warfare ended, politically, as soon as the

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Radicals and Socialists became the dictators. The Combes-Jaurès government closed 20,823 establishments, and secularized education.

Here is a typical example of Socialistic methods. Years of gradual, almost imperceptible disintegration; a concurrence of power and opportunity — sudden collapse. No social structure, however ancient and firmly established, that raises the issue of poor vs. rich, in any form, is secure against this lithodomus, this burrowing mollusk, that bores through the hardest rocks and crumbles them into dust heaps.

Simultaneously came the reorganizing of the army. The old families still furnished the officers of army and navy. They were Royalists, and the Republicans would not trust them. The Republic — that was merely a compromise between Monarchists and Republicans — was tilted on a narrow ledge. The Dreyfus affair was intended to tip it into the abyss. The Royalists had failed to reckon with the Socialists, and the time has gone by forever when European political plotters can afford to forget the Socialists.

A system of mediæval espionage was instituted by General André. The footsteps of the suspects were dogged until he had them — either going to mass, or drinking absinthe in some remote provincial town, contrary to regulations. This was sufficient. The one showed his adhesion to the church of the Royalists, the other his disregard for the discipline of the Republic. Before the scandal became so great as to demand his resignation, André had weeded out the undesirables.

The third project, to render the administrative machinery more supple to democratic demands, remains unaccomplished. A powerful political secret society — "Freemasonry" (which is in no way to be confused with our fraternal society of that name) — binds Socialists and Radicals into a compact body, with great influence in every commune. But it has not succeeded in modifying the machinery of centralized autocracy. It may not really wish to do so. The system is useful when the Radicals are in power.

France now has a petty bourgeois army and navy, a petty bourgeois school system, a petty bourgeois government, thanks to the Socialists.

Meanwhile the Socialists saw three of their number elevated to the Cabinet: Millerand in 1899, and Viviani and Briand in 1906. Each successive appointment added to their disillusionment. Too much was expected. Socialism is a ferment; the Socialists looked for an explosion. And Socialists who attain power, like all others who attain power, become conservative in the presence of vast responsibilities.

For example, when Millerand became the first Socialist minister in history, he was heralded throughout the world as a phenomenon. He proposed some splendid labor legislation. But there was no necromancy about his laws! The world moved on as usual, in poverty and plenty.

The disappointed Socialists met in convention, expelled their distinguished comrade from the party, and declared that whenever a Socialist accepts cabinet honors he ceases to be a Socialist.

Viviani proved himself less original than Millerand. But the third member of this Socialistic ministerial trio displayed talents that make him the most hated and most lauded man in France to-day — hated by the Socialists, who call him a traitor; admired by the propertied bourgeois, who call him a sagacious statesman.

Aristide Briand was a country lawyer and a Radical when he appeared on the public stage. He soon became a Socialist of the fire-eating variety. In 1899, at a Socialist convention, he defended the general strike as "lawful insurrection," and when the soldiers are called out to put it down, "if the command to fire is given, if the officers are stubborn enough to try to force the soldiers against their will, the guns might be fired, but perhaps not in the direction the officers thought." This blood hound became, by the miracle of office, the sly fox of officialdom.

While he was minister of education, under Clémenceau, the post office employees decided to test the sincerity of the Radical-Socialist ministry. They de-

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manded the resignation of the under-secretary of posts and telegraphs, whom they disliked; they demanded the right to organize themselves into labor unions; and they asked for stricter civil service regulations, removing them from the influence of politics. The third point was not refused, the other two were promptly rejected. The first one would destroy the authority of the cabinet, the second the autonomy of the State. If the men were allowed the privileges of ordinary labor unions, they would have the right to strike — that is, to annul State authority.

The men did strike. France was isolated from the world for a week. Socialists were holding up the State. The Government promptly dismissed scores of ringleaders, introduced soldiers into the service, local chambers of commerce lent automobiles and hands to sort and deliver letters. Then the men went back to work. In a few months they struck again. This time the Syndicalists — the violent Socialists — called a general strike of all workers to back the State employees. But the call went unheeded, and after some marching, a little terrorizing, and much talking, the men resumed their letter carrying.

During this time Briand's school masters threatened to strike. As minister of education he promptly dismissed one or two of the hottest pedagogues who had signed a virulent circular. This stopped their scholastic threats.

So ended the first attempt of Socialist State employees to wring concessions from a Socialist-Radical Government. "The State is a greater tyrant than the private employer," they complained in their anger.

Briand was now made prime minister — the first Socialist prime minister in the world. And he showed himself the most adroit Frenchman since Gambetta.

The employees of the railways struck for better wages and better conditions of labor. Briand, before the strike, had met a committee of the men and promised to do what he could for them. The companies, through his mediation, granted the raise in wages and promised to consider the other points. But the restless men struck and tied up all the traffic of the country. Briand anticipated every action. He was schooled in the craft of the conspirator. An old law made it an offense to stop railway traffic, or to conspire to stop it. Under sanction of this act the Socialist prime minister promptly arrested the ringleaders while they were in a conference with Jaurès, Guesde, and other party leaders in the office of *L'Humanité*, the Socialist daily, for which Briand had often written editorials.

A FRENCH SATIRE ON SOCIALISM

"GUESDE EXPELLING JAURÈS FROM THE TOWER OF BEBEL." (BEBEL IS THE LEADER OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS AND HIS NAME IS PRONOUNCED BABEL) — A PUNNING HIT AT THE MANY WARRING FACTIONS INTO WHICH SOCIALISTS ARE DIVIDED

Next, he called out the militia-reserves. Most of the strikers were members of the militia. If they donned the uniform they could not strike; if they did not don the uniform they were guilty of a very serious offense. In a week the strike was over. There had been violence and destruction of property. Quotations from Briand's earlier speeches, in flaming red posters, were pasted on every wall. His life was threatened. "Give us only Briand for vengeance," they said.

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In the Chamber of Deputies he told the Socialist group that the railway strike was a conspiracy against the State, and that if he had not found legal means for putting it down he would not have hesitated to use illegal means. Words cannot describe the scene that followed. Desk lids were slammed, yells and cries filled the air, excited deputies rushed, shouting, down the aisles toward the tribune where the premier stood smiling at the tumult. Above the turmoil were heard the strains of the "International," the Socialist war song. In a twinkling the ministerials started the "Marseillaise," and for the first time in history in a parliamentary assembly the strains of the hymns of the political and social revolutions were blended.

L'INTERNATIONALE

Musique de DEGEYTER Paroles d'Eugène POTTIER

THE SOCIALIST WAR SONG

THAT HAS SUCCEEDED THE MARSEILLAISE AS THE HYMN OF RADICALISM. "ALL SOCIALISTS ARE INTERNATIONALISTS, PLACING HUMANITY ABOVE PATRIOTISM"

Within a few months Briand fell. His former comrades voted, with their enemies, to end the rule of the man they consider an arch-renegade.

To recapitulate: parliamentary action by Socialists, following years of agitation, has disestablished the Church and secularized education; it has reorganized the army and made it representative of the lesser bourgeois instead of the aristocracy; it has failed to alter the character of the bureaucracy, though the gradual coloring of public opinion by propaganda makes this achievement certain of ultimate accomplishment. Actual control of the Government by Socialists has been uniformly a failure, from the Socialistic point of view, because of the conservative effect of office holding.

Forsaken by their allies, disowned by their own ministers, the Socialists keep on growing at the rate of 10,000 a year. The present Chamber of Deputies has twenty-five more Socialists than the last. Their most significant growth is among the peasantry of southern France, where, under the leadership of Compère Morrel, a gardener, they are flocking to the red flag by the hundreds.

All Socialists are opposed to standing armies. They are internationalists, placing humanity above patriotism.

In France, anti-militarism has reached its highest point. At present it has somewhat subsided under the shadow of Morocco. But in 1906–7 it had the country frightened, and many anti-republicans fled across the border. Anti-militarism had found a prophet in an obscure school-master from Auxerre, Gustave Hervé, who had said the suitable word: "The flag arose from dirt," and who was made famous in the way France lifts men to fame, overnight. He came to Paris and started a daily paper. The Socialists adored him. Jaurès espoused him.

Hervé has a simple remedy for militarism. The way to stop war is to refuse to fight. Join the army, he exhorts his followers, but fire on your commander, use your guns on the capitalists and your bayonets to emancipate the poor — because war, soldiers, and governments are the instruments of the capitalist. The flag is only a ragged symbol of oppression. "Plant the flag in the dung heaps of your barn yards," he cried to the peasantry who flocked to hear him.

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He was several times imprisoned for his virulent rhetoric. He is now serving a four-year sentence. I contrived to call on him in prison, and found him the most inoffensive little man imaginable, with mild eyes and an attractive, childish manner.

"What will happen to the nations when your ideal is realized?" I asked him.

"There will be no nations, only an inter-ethnic fraternalism. Governments have been made a fetish, and humanity forgotten. I want to reverse this — humanity first, all else afterward. Some country must begin to abolish the army. France, that has begun so many splendid movements, will begin disarmament under compulsion of the proletariat."

There is a good deal of unrest in the army. Some years ago when the soldiers were sent to the Midi, to quell the wine growers' revolt, the officers found their companies sullen and disobedient. One third of the conscripts came from workingmen's homes, where soldiering is not loved. Seven hundred thousand young men are constantly in the army; 350,000 every year are transferred from the ranks of toil into the ranks of idleness. The economic burden on the workman is enormous. He willingly lends his ear to the lesson of revolt. It is only a matter of time when the leaven will saturate the lump.

In 1907 the Socialist national convention determined to oppose war by every means, "even unto a general strike and workers' insurrection." There are thousands of humble people in France to whom this is gospel.

The feeling between France and Germany is extremely bitter. Yet last summer, when the Morocco affair threatened peace, the Socialists held anti-war demonstrations. And the International Socialist Bureau met in Zurich to consider how the workingmen of both countries might unite to prevent war. Of course, many Socialists would become soldiers in the event of war. But who would have dreamed, twenty-five years ago, that the workingmen of Europe would be united into a vast international, anti-military brotherhood, so powerful that even the Kaiser dare not ignore them?

Anti-patriotism does not bear the obloquy in France that it does in America. Among a people where there is no spiritual fervor for their country, where patriotism may mean adhesion to any one of several forms of government, there is not much reproach in being called unpatriotic.

The bureaucracy has been very irritating to the workingmen. Its army has been used to suppress their demonstrations. On the 1st of May, Labor day in Europe, I walked the streets of Paris, and everywhere were soldiers. The Place de la Concorde was an armed camp, and at regular intervals troops of cavalry galloped significantly down the avenues.

The most significant phase of Socialism in France is the revival of the anarchistic teachings of Proudhon. It is called Revotionary Syndicalism, after syndicates, or labor unions. These syndicates form a national organization whose doctrine is revolution, whose policy is violence, and whose method is the general strike. The philosopher of this movement is Georges Sorrel, a shrewd thinker and clever rhetorician, always a dangerous juxtaposition of talent. The basis of his logic is violence. Society is wrong because the oppressed are complacent. If they were volcanic, the surface of things would be changed. Everything that condones complacency is evil. The parliamentary Socialists are a failure because they are "no longer thinking of insurrection." The only political principle that will survive is "class war."

This destructive teaching attracted not only violent labor agitators, but scholars like Professor Hubert Lagardelle, and brilliant leaders like Victor Griffuelhes. These prompters of violence are men of ease and comfort, who receive you gently in carpeted libraries, far removed from the gore of rebellion. They have revived the tradition of conspiracy—the eruptive spirit of the masses must be wielded by an "active, conscious minority."

These masses, organized into the General Confederation of Labor, were incited to strikes and all manner of violence, which resulted in constant collisions with the police and the soldiers. This turbulence was at its height a few years ago. There

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was the most outrageous use of adjectives. "Rip up the bourgeois," "Cut button holes in the capitalistic skins," were war cries. There was an abundance of talk about putting vitriol into wine, ground glass into flour, and dynamite in the coal bin. It all ended in Gallic panic, and composure. Sorrel has now left the Syndicalists for the Royalist camp. And Paul Louis, a little journalist, is writing for them. He was anxious that I should not regard him as a "mere anarchist."

"We believe in organized society," he said, "but not for the exploitation of capital. Such a government would be local, not national. Each locality would have its economic functions taken care of by the local government. There would be a league of all communes for purposes of coöperation. At present the Government is a government by property for property. We can overthrow it only by the general strike."

"But is the general strike possible?" I asked.

"Why not? We have had strikes of almost a million, why not of 15,000,000? There have been general strikes in Belgium and Italy and Scandinavia. Why not in all countries on the same day? It is merely a matter of organization."

The Syndicalists claim more than 300,000 members, and are growing. The most significant additions to their ranks are the school masters who have formed an organization for protecting themselves against unjust political demands, and for raising their pay. Thiers, before he became President, while still a functionary of monarchy, objected to the establishment of government schools in every town because he did "not want a red priest in every village." To-day he would find these red priests of Socialism everywhere. I was told that 70 per cent. of the primary and secondary school men are inclined toward Socialism. Some of the text books are written with a Socialistic bias. Herve, for instance, has written a school history of France.

But in spite of the numbers of those who have embraced Socialism, in spite

CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL

Leurs Retraites et celles qu'ils nous offrent

A SOCIALISTIC LABOR PROTEST AGAINST A PENSION BILL

UNDER WHICH PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES WOULD RECEIVE LARGE REWARDS AND AGED LABORERS A PITTANCE

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of its power, you are impressed with the vagueness of it all. There is that elusiveness about French Socialism which, to an Anglo-Saxon, is exasperating. In vain you try to pin down a French Socialist to something definite. He always slips away from you with his unctuous rhetoric. "We French so dearly love the dramatic, the romantic. We adore triumphant insurrection," one of them said to me after I had tried for half an hour to glue him down to a definite proposition.

Now, this zeal and this vagueness are just the two characteristics that you must find in a propaganda, a ferment that is to work lasting changes in the established order of things. Its indefiniteness lures, its zeal propels, the unthinking masses.

In France the movement has gradually democratized the populace. It has made war increasingly difficult. It has driven employers of labor into the defensive. It has not yet destroyed the ancient bureaucracy, but it is at work.

It has not made very deep inroads upon the domain of private property. France is a country of men of modest property. It has more land holders than Germany, Austria, and England combined. It is a frugal, income-loving land. But thousands of peasants and small shop-keepers are Socialists. Their Socialism is speculative, their property is actual — a duality that never troubles a Frenchman.

Meanwhile Socialism is spreading rapidly. It has multitudes of adherents among the educated classes. One is amazed at the number of college professors, scholars, lawyers, and authors that are Socialists. And even Anatole France, the last of the great French literati, aristocrat of aristocrats, has taken his place by the side of Jaurès in the warfare for the poor.

Socialism is spreading into every corner of France. Nothing seems able to check it. It is an ever-increasing current of discontent and protest. And it will require great genius to guide it — if it can be guided.

HOW A BUSINESS WOMAN FOUND HERSELF

A TYPICAL STRUGGLE TO SURMOUNT THE BARRIER OF AN IMPRACTICAL COLLEGE COURSE — NEW AIDS TO GIRLS WHO SEEK A CAREER

BY

CLARA BROWN LYMAN

IF SOMEONE could only have told me before I left college, how different my business life would have been! Even now, I seldom pass the great hotel that, like a giant sentinel, confronts the traveler as he emerges from the Grand Central station into 42d Street, without being mentally transported to the time I arrived in New York to begin a business career.

College days were not very far behind me then and life was still enshrouded in that nebulous glamour without which no one can ever live and succeed. To me, that great, towering thing did not mean "thou shalt not enter"; it simply stood against the dark sky as a sort of exhilarating promise — as real to me as its massive sides of stone and steel. To this sense of material charm and hope, to youth, abundant vitality, and a Puritanical home training, I owe the fact that I never faltered during the long, weary years that have intervened.

I have always promised myself and others that, if the day ever came when I felt that I had found my life work, I would lose no time in telling the story of my struggle, in the hope that those who are giving their lives to the education of

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women and to their preparation for the world might read between the lines a lesson to be profited by in shaping future educational courses. Here is also a special message to any woman who has not yet formed her future. May it help her to decide before she takes a step; otherwise, she may find herself wandering around in a seemingly aimless circle, as I did, filling the part of a misfit, until she hits upon the thing for which she is temperamentally, as well as mentally, fitted. For this floundering means physical and mental despair, and from that I would save all women, if it were possible.

I had had a fair preparatory school education and my whole idea in taking up college work was to fit myself to be a teacher, for there was no other profession open to women that offered like opportunities just then. Four happy, care-free years in college, and I was launched upon the world, ready to do and dare.

Then the trouble began. A brief career of teaching in my home town very clearly showed me that my heart was not in the work. I was successful, because of energy and perseverance, but I well remember how I had to pretend that I was doing something else, all through the day, to put the necessary snap into it. There are plenty of teachers, this minute, who are doing the same thing — some of them have confessed it to me. Isn't it a pity?

Opportunity came in a strange manner. I had an inherited taste and love for music and the drama. The leading morning paper in my home town — a city of about 100,000 people — needed someone temporarily to report musical and dramatic happenings. I heard of it, applied, and my reportorial career started at the princely sum of $3 a week. That first $3, however, gave me a greater sense of richness than my large pay envelope from the school, for I began to realize that here, at last, was the thing I was fitted for — a life in the business world where I could see the world and be part of it. And, when I was allowed to do general reporting and my "scoop" on a certain baseball story made a New York editor think that it had been written by a man, I felt that all that was necessary was to pack my trunk, go to New York, and receive immediately a staff position on any paper I deigned to select, at a princely salary! Well — I had to learn, but I shouldn't want any daughter of mine to go through what I did in the learning.

You will laugh when I tell you that it was midsummer when I came to New York. It is laughable because everyone knows that no one in the business world is taking on assistance of any kind during the summer months. So, although my newspaper friends did their very best, I had to give up the idea of entering upon a literary career, because I could not hold out financially.

This lesson I learned only after months of living in a room without any daylight or air, eating only when I could get money enough from what I had written to pay for my meals, writing at night and tramping the streets all day, trying to sell my stories, until I began to feel the inroads of discouragement upon that enthusiasm which had, so far, carried me over the rough places.

At this point I made up my mind to learn stenography and to follow no matter where it led. A wealthy woman living not far from New York engaged me as companion because of my knowledge of music and because she said I never looked worried! Through her kindness, I was enabled to study at night, and three times a week to go to a business college in New York until I had progressed far enough to be able to "rattle around" in a stenographer's position at $8 a week. I ground away for a year in that first position — hammered the typewriter. It is significant that I instinctively kept from my employer the fact that I was a college woman. I set my teeth when facing office discipline, bad tempers, smoking, profane language, uncongenial associates, and many other things against which my whole being cried out. During that year, I got my business training.

Still I floundered. The next position was a little better than the last. There was a little more salary and more responsibility. My executive ability began to be recognized. My training as corres-

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pondent brought me to the attention of a prominent house which was doing advertising through this means and here at last I stumbled upon the path that was to lead me back to where I started six years before. Finding to their astonishment and my own that I had distinct ability for promotive and advertising work, I was placed in charge of that department. The results of my work there brought me to the notice of the promoters of a magazine requiring just that combination of editorial and advertising experience which the last two years had given me. From that, it was a natural step to the work I now have in hand; and so, at the end of all these years in New York, I have only just begun. The point I want to make is that this is too long a circle for any woman to traverse merely to find herself, for it presumes perfect health, sound common sense, boundless patience, unlimited faith, and an intuitive knowledge of people and things; and these are qualifications that not everyone possesses.

My story is, of course, only one of hundreds of similar experiences among women of education, whether they have had college training or not. Every day they drift into the employment offices in the big cities — stenographers who want to learn decorating, decorators who want to do editorial work, teachers who are lured by the strange fascination that advertising seems to have, women who want to be secretaries but who don't know the first thing about stenography and who actually resent the suggestion that it is a necessary qualification for the profession they wish to enter. The unrest manifested by the majority of women in business shows very plainly that they are not happy in the sort of work into which they have stumbled through an early lack of knowledge of the profession they were best qualified to enter. And the conclusion that has been reached by those of us who have come by the long and thorny road is that the real place to begin the shaping of a career is in the preparatory or high school.

Fortunately, the high schools in the large cities throughout the country have recently begun to introduce into their work some suggestion of domestic training, and musical courses that have done a great deal of good; but, even so, girls in their high school days need guidance as to the course that will best prepare them for the future. I believe that every preparatory school of the grade just beyond the ward school should have a woman whose sole duty should be to study carefully the case of every girl who gives any indication of promise and to advise her what to choose as a profession; and especially to show the girls that not all are fitted to enter public or professional life and that there is a wider field for them than any offered by business — the field of home. If the same plan of having advisors were also to be followed in the women's colleges, there would be fewer misfits in business and more girls who would realize the important places they might occupy after graduation in the life of their own homes and of their home towns.

Happily, within the last year or two, groups of educated women in a number of large cities have begun to realize the importance of helping young girls to shape their future. To that end, they have arranged for some woman who has succeeded in her chosen profession to lecture before the high school girls, to tell them of the possibilities, the hardships, and the requirements in her own particular field of work, so that they may hear, from women who have made the struggle, just what it means to succeed. For example, in the high school at Syracuse, N. Y., Mrs. Van Rensselaer, of the Household Art Department of Cornell University, addressed the girls; and a prominent dressmaker, a teacher, a public stenographer, and others representing a variety of professions open to women, told of their experiences while making a career. As a result their young hearers began to realize that not every girl has to be a teacher if she has her own living to earn. Certain professions of which they thus heard made a peculiar appeal to some of them; while many finally decided that, after all, home was a pretty good place.

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Equally important, because of its practical assistance to wage-earning women, is the bureau of employment for educated women, founded in New York about two years ago by graduates of all the prominent women's colleges. It has the support of the colleges thus represented, and on its board of directors are women prominent in philanthropic and social work. It is open not only to college women but also to non-collegiate applicants whose experience and training place them in the same relative position in professional work. One of the chief aims of this bureau is to aid women who are beginning their careers, as well as to find larger opportunities for those of long experience and thoroughly tested efficiency. Although it has been in active operation less than a year, its success in finding the right people for the right places has been so great that branches are now to be formed in other large cities.

The promoters of this bureau have recognized not only the importance of advisory work such as I have outlined, but also the lack of it in the colleges. To help supply that deficiency they have engaged a woman of long experience in settlement work to consult with and advise those who come to the bureau in search of work, and also to visit business firms throughout the city, to find out the opportunities they offer to educated women and to gain their coöperation. Another member of the staff assists her in the most important work of fitting applicants to positions for which they are suited. This involves a careful study of the requirements of the position offered by the employer and a thorough inquiry into the experience, qualifications, and tastes of the applicant. Without revealing the identity of the firm offering the position, the general scope of the work is outlined to the applicant, together with the present salary offered, possibilities of advancement, and any other details that would enable her to decide whether it is the kind of opening she is looking for. If it does not make a distinct appeal to her, she is not sent for an interview, but other applicants are questioned until just the right person is found. When a position is filled in this way, it is apt to stay filled to the satisfaction of both employer and employee.

The chief officer of the bureau was invited early this year by the faculties of Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, and Holyoke colleges to appear before the students and to tell them of the work of the bureau, of the necessity for practical training for various careers, of the requirements of the several professions, and of what to do to prepare themselves in certain lines before leaving college. These things may lead to the introduction into the curricula of elective business courses to be offered during the last two years of college. Such teaching of stenography, typewriting, office detail, secretarial work, editorial work, and commercial art, supplemented with frequent lectures by prominent men and women actively engaged in these lines, would soon limit the work of the bureau to the mere filling of positions. In the meantime, however, they are planning to reach out still further, investigating existing business conditions and requirements, studying the possibilities of every new field that opens up for women.

This story of mine has made no mention of the loneliness, with its consequent temptations, that is the lot of the woman who is blindly groping her way alone in the great business centres. Those of us who have experienced it are aghast at the wish of some women with happy homes and children to follow a career. Ask the next business woman you meet which she would choose — if she had her choice. I know now what her answer will be. To some business women, of course, comes the chance to enter the divine field of wifehood and motherhood; but a larger proportion are too busy, too tired, too discouraged, to be able to have much social life, and so the years pass and they find themselves among the number of women who are called "self-sufficient," "self-reliant," "independent" (how I have come to hate these words), when in reality they are longing to exchange the empty glory of success for the home-coming of someone and the clinging of chubby arms.

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"WHAT I AM TRYING TO DO"

AN INTERVIEW WITH

HON. W. R. STUBBS

(GOVERNOR OF KANSAS)

BY

DANA GATLIN

HERE are some of the political reforms that Kansas has obtained since Walter Roscoe Stubbs has come into politics — less than ten years ago:

State institutions under high class boards, out of politics.

All banks, state and national, operating under a guarantee to pay the depositors.

A statute requiring licenses from sellers and promoters of stocks.

A state treasury that pays interest to the people.

Sound control of all public utilities — railroads, telephones, express companies, telegraph lines, gas and electric companies, and street cars.

A just inheritance tax law.

A workingman's compensation law.

A judicial ouster established against recalcitrant public officials.

A compulsory referendum for all franchises granted in Kansas cities.

Two cent passenger fares.

A maximum freight law.

A direct advisory vote on United States Senators.

Commission form of government for cities.

Abolition of passes, registry of lobbyists, and establishment of the primary, providing for a direct vote for the nomination of all elective offices.

"What are you trying to do?" Stubbs was asked.

"I am trying to run a state as I would run a business," was his characteristic reply.

Look at his picture; it portrays a stubborn man — a fighter. Stubbs has graying red hair, thinning around a full, bulging forehead. His grayish blue eyes are inclined to squint. And they are set in a hedge of wrinkles. A hard, firm mouth, that his enemies think brutally cruel and crafty, is slit into a loose-skinned, pinkish face, above a lean, angular jaw. A neck that takes a sixteen collar — small for the large bony frame beneath it — adds to the cast of cruelty of his mobile features. Shoulders that bow easily, a slight stoop in the top of the lank frame, and an impression of a velvety foot beneath the long straight legs, complete the picture of the man known in the Kansas railroad lobby as the "old red fox."

He was born — extremely poor — in Richmond, Ind., November 7, 1858, the year of Roosevelt's birth. He came to Douglas County, Kan., forty-one years ago. As soon as he was old enough he had to follow the plow, but at eight years of age he began business. He borrowed a team of mules and went over to Lawrence, where a railroad was being graded, and worked by the day. He was a frugal lad (though he now knows how to spend what he's got). In time he had invested in two or three teams of his own and got a small grading contract. Then he got more teams and more work. He took to feeding "Bohunk" camps; he had a feeding contract at the time of the building of the big drainage canal in Chicago, in 1893. He became a millionaire — one of the few in Kansas. Just before he entered politics, at Lawrence, his home town, he was declaring that the Y. M. C. A. business was the greatest thing in the world, and that he was going to devote the rest of his life to it. His enthusiasm is a hardy perennial, but it thrives ever on the yet unaccomplished.

Stubbs is a driver: he has followers but

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not friends. Many of those who are closest to him in politics have no social relations with him. He consults little with his supporters. He issues orders, but takes little advice. He had lived to be nearly fifty years old without even taking the time or interest to vote at elections, being too engrossed in his business.

Stubbs, besides being a railroad contractor, was a wealthy bank president in a college town, and influential in Y. M. C. A. circles, when in 1902, M. A Low suggested that he run for the state legislature from Douglas County. M. A. Low was a general attorney for the Rock Island Railroad, and also he was Stubbs's friend. It meant nothing coincidental to Stubbs that a big Senatorial fight was coming off the next year (in 1903) when the Rock Island people wished to see Curtis go to Washington, and that he lived in Douglas County, the natural territory of Stanley and Long, who were the candidates opposing Curtis. Stubbs ran for and was elected to the state legislature in 1902, utterly innocent, on the old "popular man" gag. And he voted for Curtis.

The first thing he noticed was the enormous retinue necessary to run things at the Capitol. There were doorkeepers and janitors of all grades, supervisors and assistant supervisors of ventilation to the fifth and sixth degrees. He stood this for about thirty days; then he asked for an inquiry, and found out that it was considered that he had made a wrong move. Stubbs took lessons in political mismanagement; three times he saw that special new offices were created. To organize for Long, a combination was tied up for state printer (two men, in reality drawing money for this job); the payroll was loaded with men to support Curtis because the Long and Stanley elements had combined. But Stubbs didn't like superintendents of acoustics and ventilation in the Kansas people's state house while he was representing Kansas people. So, with the Long-Stanley machine and the Missouri Pacific element in control — the real fight was between George Gould and the Moore brothers in New York — in came Stubbs with his inquiring mind, his business knowledge, his genius for organization — and mad clean through. Probably he was plain mad long before his moral sense got to working. He was ignored, and his side was losing, and it didn't sit well with him. When he was a boy twelve years old, working for a farmer named Davis, another young fellow said a certain hedge couldn't be got down inside of five hours. "It can," persisted young Stubbs, and in three hours and a half he had tramped it down with his feet. Stubbs, aged eighteen years, heard that a murderer was concealed in a barn in Lawrence and that Sheriff Moore was going after him. "Mr. Moore," said the youth, "You have a large family. Let me go." And he went in after the murderer, single-handed. Down in the Panhandle, contractor Stubbs had a crew of 4,000 men. Along came a joint outfit to sell liquor, and the first night the boss went out and, unassisted, did the Carrie Nation act himself. Stubbs didn't lie down when his first session of legislature left him unrecognized.

The combination that defeated Curtis defeated Hoch for state printer. Hoch was extremely popular, and he was defeated by trickery. The people rebelled but they could do nothing for they could express themselves only at the county conventions (controlled by doorkeepers and assistant superintendents of ventilation) and at state conventions (controlled by the interests). But red-headed Quaker Stubbs, jeered at for his bill of inquiry, saw in the record of the Curtis machine remnants out of which to build another machine and make Hoch a governor; and he machinated. The end, at any rate, was the nomination of Hoch for governor in 1904.

Stubbs ran again for the state legislature in 1904; he said he wanted to "clean up." He was elected chairman of the central committee before the election of November, 1904, and became speaker of the house of representatives.

Here enters the new Stubbs. During the preliminary fight for Hoch he began to see the evils of corporate money in politics, the little influence of the people and of the individual man. He an-

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nounced, as state chairman, that the committee would accept no money from corporations or railroads. He started in on his reform campaign; exit section boss, and enter statesman.

He elected Hoch, but within three months the machine men had more influence with Hoch than he had himself; Hoch "joined." When Stubbs lost the friendship of his governor he went ahead into the state convention of 1906 and tried to get his remaining reforms into the platform. He had no standing in the platform committee, and he was incontinently licked. He lost his prestige, he lost his state chairmanship, he was a far poorer figure than when he entered politics.

But the section boss enters again. Stubbs, deposed, began organizing Kansas voters' leagues, and giving to them as principles his planks that were thrown out of the Kansas Republican convention. He made speeches — many of them — and he convinced the people of Kansas that he was honest; he blurted out things pleasant and unpleasant, but he proved facts. He probably would not have succeeded as he did, however, had he not been used to organizing construction work employing 3,000 or 4,000 men and 2,000 or 3,000 teams — $1,000,000 jobs.

He talked to the men of the state over the telephone. When he began his fight there were many influential men in Kansas who were unused to the sensation of being called to the long distance office to have a state leader converse with them at lunch, and vanity always is vanity. And it is estimated that he sometimes spent $25 a day on telegrams — phenomenal in Kansas.

He ran for the legislature again, in the fall of 1906. Beaten and thrown out in June, he had his leagues going in August, had the majority of the legislature pledged in September, was a candidate for the legislature in November, was elected, and began his third term in that body the first of the year following.

Thus far Stubbs had been doing his political work on the side — keeping up his business interests. He now decided to sell his business; railroad contracting does not flourish when one is regarded by the railroads as a bitter enemy.

In the legislature of 1907, the Long machine and the Curtis machine allied against him. Stubbs got the maximum rate law through, and the anti-pass law, but he failed to pass the primary law. Probably he could have compromised on the bill and got half of what he asked for. He let it go altogether. But the next year he had an issue, just what he needed, and he went before "the folks." This made Stubbs a leader, and he went up and down Kansas, talking primary.

Governor Hoch had a brother-in-law who was candidate for United States district judge in Oklahoma. The forces that had elected Long five years before were interested in another candidate, and Long refused to support Dickerson, Hoch's brother-in-law. Dickerson was defeated.

Hoch then played even with Long. He called a special session of the legislature to pass the primary law. In that session Stubbs stood up as the principal leader and a bigger feature than ever before. He stood squarely out against all compromises. Hoch, having delivered one strong blow, in convening the legislature, was incapable of following it up, and himself went on the floor of the legislature and pleaded with the members of the house to pass a weak compromise measure. But Stubbs controlled enough votes to bring an adjournment without any measure if the complete primary law could not be passed. That was the big fight of February, 1908, when Stubbs conquered the compromise.

He was now the logical candidate for United States Senator against Long. People told him to get into the race, that he could win because of his five years' fight for state reform. But Bristow appeared on the scene as a candidate for Senator. He represented many things in National affairs that Stubbs stood for in local; he was against the machine and machine domination, and against railroad control.

"There is no doubt that Stubbs, through his four or five years of struggle, had carried this very ambition," says William Allen White, who persuaded him to

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renounce the Senatorial contest, "and he didn't want to be governor. But he took the job he knew he could handle, and turned in and helped elect Bristow, who became a winner."

Stubbs yielded because he was persuaded that Bristow, who had been in Washington for a dozen years and had gotten a National training, would make the better Senator.

Stubbs became candidate for governor and was elected in 1908. The changes he has affected in the state's administration in that time have been a cause for National wonder.

"What am I trying to do?" says Stubbs. "I am trying to run a state."

"There was a law in Kansas," he says, "that taxes collected in the one hundred and five counties should go to the county treasurers, who should send a certain proportion to the state treasurer. The law prohibited depositing in banks, and all was supposed to be kept in the state vaults. This was only a supposition. In fact, there was a scheme of long standing by which the banks would send out to a certain county the information that the treasurer wanted some money; the money then became in correct terminology 'in process of collection.' The state treasurer is regarded as having generally received from $10,000 to $15,000 a year from the banks for the use of this state money. I hired a room in the National Hotel, installed a telephone, and put my attention on the depository law by which the treasurer is required to deposit the state fund in banks, duly credited, and turn the interest over to its rightful owner — the state. In one term, in comparison with the rate of the old steal, $51,700 has been saved to the state through the depository law.

"During my second legislature, I saw the new railroad commissioners' law passed and the form of the old State Board of Charities changed and the employees of all charitable institutions put under civil service regulations. The state printer had for years been making $100,000 a year out of the job. Now the printer has a salary; it is $2,500 a year. It is estimated that Thomas A. McNeal, under state ownership of the plant, has saved $50,000 of the peoples' money during each of the last four years.

"During the next legislature was abolished the free railroad pass and the delegate convention, and the direct primary was adopted. A law was passed making it an offense for an assessor to assess any property at less than its value. Then the legislature fixed a maximum levy — which was about one fifth the rate of that which had been in use. The rate of the levy was raised five times. The property owners then saw their $4,000,000 become, the next year, $27,000,000; in 1907, $425,281,214; in 1908, $2,414,320,127; more than $2,700,000,000 at the present time.

"Kansas is required by law to have uniform text books, and this gradually entailed a problem. The old state law fixes the maximum price of text-books. Once in four years the state text-book commission was selected. The commissioners would get together in the state house and representatives from the publishers would come out to call on them. A contract meant furnishing books for every school in Kansas. I determined to stop this scandal. I named a new board, dismissing a man that had been named by every governor since the institution of the board and who was notoriously a tool of the book trust. On the board I put men I thought fitted in, regardless of party or creed; there was a progressive Democratic member of the state senate, George M. Hodges, my late rival for governor; Chas. M. Sheldon, author of "In His Steps"; and Bishop Lillis of the Roman Catholic Church.

"In pursuance of this same policy I made a non-partisan board of regents for the state agricultural college, an institution which is the pride of Kansas. There was an efficient man across the line, Prof. Henry J. Waters, dean of the Missouri agricultural college, and I got Waters, a Missouri Democrat, to be the Kansas agricultural college's president, and Waters has delivered the goods in an unparalleled manner. I named a Democrat as one of the three members of the state tax commission. The state tax levy was reduced 20 per cent. last year by reason of economy

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in state administration and the increase in valuation — personal property added in 1910 over 1909 being $46,956,657, of which $6,500,000 were real estate mortgages."

Stubbs was elected in 1908 on the issue of effective prohibition. While Kansas had substantial prohibition for twenty-eight years, it has had absolute prohibition since May, 1909. The Governor attributes most of this effectiveness to the Attorney-General, Fred S. Jackson, and his aides — a just accrediting beyond a doubt.

"Two years ago," says the Governor, "prohibition states received absolutely no support from the Federal Government. If a liquor dealer had his receipt for having paid the internal revenue tax, the Federal Government would not prosecute him; the stamp was his protection. I paid a personal visit to President Taft. 'Your law requires,' I told him, 'that a liquor seller have a place to display his receipt; we keep him moving about, and when a man peddles liquor without a fixed license, you should coöperate with us.' Taft said he would talk the matter over with Attorney-General Wickersham. Time passed and nothing was done. I wrote him letters; sent telegrams; kept on hammering at him. When no action resulted, I had to send him telegrams and give them lots of publication. One morning President Taft made an order requiring the United States District Attorney to prosecute that class of itinerant offenders whether they had licenses or not. New regulations for Kansas resulted, and the state rallied to a man."

"I assert," said Governor Stubbs, in a speech delivered at Chicago a year or so ago, "that drunkenness in Kansas has been reduced to such a point that I have not seen a drunken man in the city of Topeka, a place of 50,000 inhabitants, during the last twelve months; that I do not have any recollection of having seen a drunken man in my home town of Lawrence, a place of 15,000 people, for several years; that in making a campaign throughout the entire state and delivering public addresses in ninety-two counties, I do not recall seeing a drunken man during the year."

"If I had nothing else to do, I think the work at the penitentiary would be worth all the time of my governmental position," he has said in personal conversation. He induced J. L. Codding, a Topeka lawyer, to give up a lucrative law practice and a life's profession for a much smaller income and the duties of prison management at Lansing, where he is accomplishing wonders with his splendid sense, knowledge of men, and humanity.

"He is foolish about it," says the Governor proudly. "And he should be, for he has revolutionized the penitentiary. Better food is served the men; he has provided better quarters and better food in the insane wards, with three meals a day instead of two, resulting in the return to work of nearly half of the insane patients; prisoners working in the shops and mines are given two hours a week for outdoor recreation, when 'silence' is removed; the number of inmates of the hospital has been reduced more than half, giving to the state vastly more labor from the men; not a single new case of tuberculosis has appeared in a year."

The penitentiary gives economic returns before undreamed of to the state. The brick plant, employing half the number of men it had before, now doubles profits. It now turns out half a million brick a month, and the prison mine is producing $15,000 worth of coal every month. It is one of the best managed mines in the West, and is thoroughly equipped with safety appliances. The twine plant pays a considerable profit to the state. A dairy herd now furnishes all the milk for the prisoners' use and saves more than $1,000 per year. Vast quantities of food products have cheapened the cost as well as improved the condition of prisoner maintenance.

Stripes are reserved for extreme punishment; caps may be worn at the angle individuality dictates; the lockstep is a vanished night-mare; uniformity is banished. Three hundred and twenty men attend the prison school, 400 voluntarily attend the night school, in 15 months the membership of the Prison Church has grown from 60 to 260 voluntary members. Preparations are afoot for raising the

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institution's own tobacco leaf and broom corn. And the Governor has conceived an idea that it is not right to make money out of crime, so his scheme is to divide proceeds, from $75,000 to $100,000 anually, among the unfortunate wives and families of the prisoners.

The Guaranty Bank Act, which went through the last legislature but one, guarantees to bank depositors a security they never had before. Eight hundred state banks, with more than $800,000,000 in deposits, comply with it, not because they are compelled to do so, but because they would not now have depositors otherwise. Under the management of J. N. Dooley, State Bank Commissioner, the new idea is to put up a certain percentage of the total deposits in public bonds, the interest going to the banks as though in the vaults. These bonds may be sold in case of necessity to recoup the possible loss to depositors. The Governor, in the wind-up of the fight for this bill, went himself before the senate, argued and labored, and got the bill passed. An information bureau to advise prospective investors in the proper worth of stocks and bonds saved the people of Kansas more than $1,000,000 the last year.

Governor Stubbs cleaned out the state grain department. The delinquent officers were not only impeached but criminal proceedings were instituted against them, and civil suits to recover shortages. The force of the grain department was reduced; the padded pay-roll was purged of straw men. The year before Governor Stubbs came in, the expenditures exceeded receipts by $26,000; in his first year of office, they exceeded by $11.

The Governor modestly attributes the success of these changes to the men he has chosen; yet not too modestly he reiterates that he knows a man for a job when he sees him.

Here is part of his platform:

We declare for the following policies;

(A) To submit to the people in the election of 1912 a constitutional amendment giving the people the power to recall officers of city, county, and state governments, whom they believe to be derelict or unfaithful, under procedure similar to that now granted to cities of the first class adopting the commission form of government, and to give the recall promptly to the people upon every officer under legislative authority.

(B) To submit to the people of Kansas a constitutional amendment in 1912 giving them the right to initiate legislation and to vote upon certain legislative enactments, with a 5 per cent. petition for a referendum vote.

The main issue during the last campaign was the public utilities law:

In campaign speeches, Stubbs takes off his coat and goes after his subject in his shirt sleeves. His manner on the stump is not that of a conventional after-dinner speaker nor is his language that of a grammarian. He has no idea of what dramatic ability means. His speech and his manner are homely, but both are unforgetable.

"I've been Governor now for four years; almost four years — not quite. I told you I would do what was right. If I haven't, kick me out now, and put in the other fellow."

That is the way he says it. He is the most popular speaker in Kansas with the possible exception of oratorical Victor Murdock. His sincerity carries.

Stubbs knows little of parliamentary usage and cares less. He was chairman of the Republican convention in Wichita once when some one made a motion that was quickly seconded. "Alright," bellowed Stubbs. "All in favor — just a minute, just a minute," he interpolated to someone on the side who was clamoring for remarks, "All in favor, aye. All opposed, no. The ayes have it. Now what is it you want over there?"

During the state convention in which was fought the bitter fight against Curtis, he was chairman. For four years Curtis had been jibing and jeering at Stubbs from afar, for he knew Stubbs only casually. It was Curtis's last stand. In the convention he represented the forlorn hope, but he is a finished parliamentarian, and he played off his tactics and sparred for position. This was fake fighting to Stubbs; he knew Curtis had only agility and adroitness against his own bull strength. He waited till Curtis made some inconsequential motion, then he

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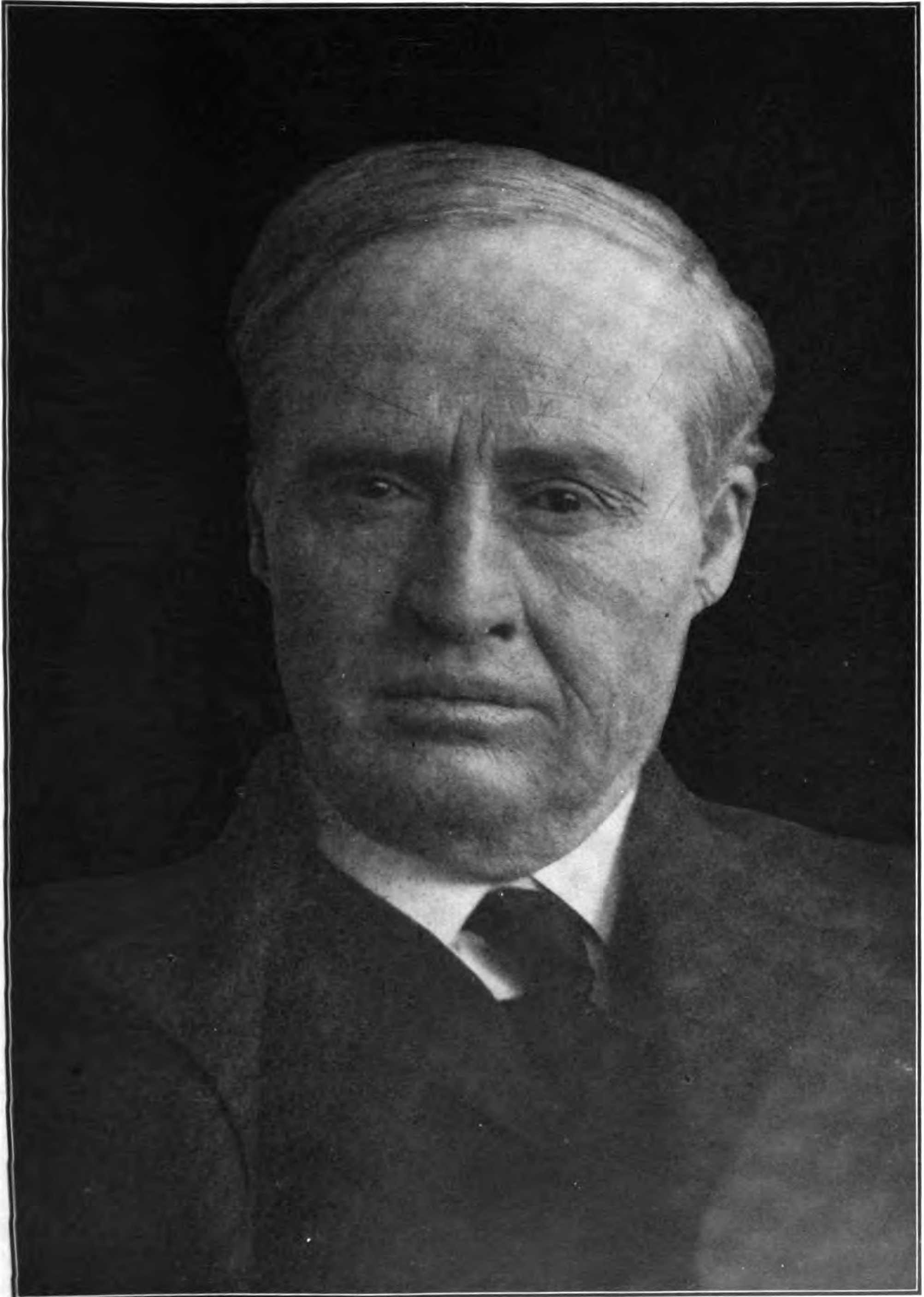

GOVERNOR W. R. STUBBS

WHOSE BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION HAS DRIVEN THE GET-RICH-QUICK PROMOTERS FROM THE STATE, THUS SAVING THE PEOPLE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS EVERY YEAR; HE HAS DOUBLED THE EFFICIENCY OF THE STATE INSTITUTIONS AND GREATLY REDUCED THEIR COST

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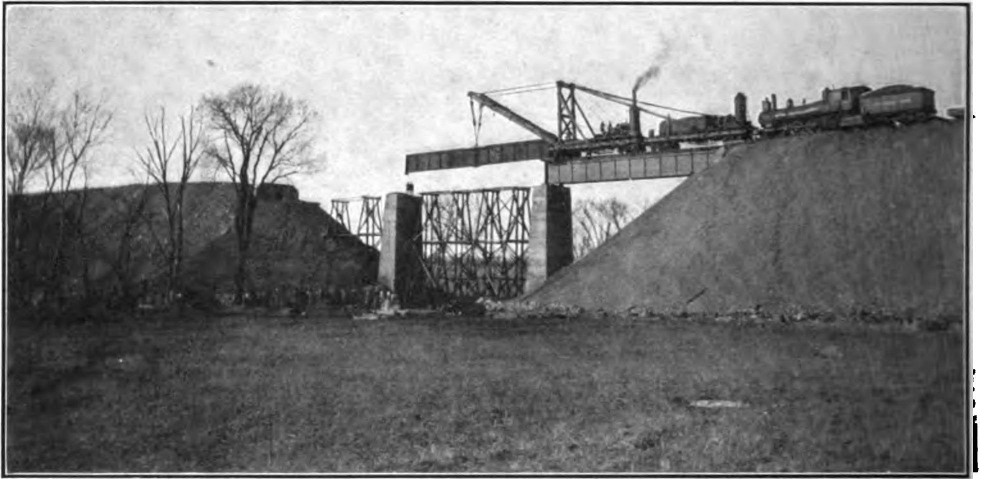

A RAILROAD BUILDER IN POLITICS

GOVERNOR STUBBS, AS A CONTRACTOR, BUILT THOUSANDS OF MILES OF RAILROAD THROUGHOUT THE WEST. HE MADE A REPUTATION AS A DRIVING AND EFFICIENT BUSINESS MAN, WHO EMPLOYED GREAT NUMBERS OF MEN AND WHO HANDLED MILLIONS OF MONEY. WHEN HE WAS CHOSEN GOVERNOR OF KANSAS, HE WAS ONE OF THE LEADING BANKERS OF THE STATE — PRESIDENT OF THE LAWRENCE NATIONAL BANK AND OF A CHAIN OF STATE BANKS. HE IS NOW DIRECTING THE AFFAIRS OF KANSAS JUST AS HE BUILT RAILROADS AND DIRECTED BANKS — AS A BUSINESS.

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came loping down the platform to Curtis like a cat to gloat over its prey.

"The gentleman's motion is out of order. The ayes? — the ayes have it. No noes. The committee is named, I have it here in my pocket" — and out it came. "Ha! Ha! Ha!" he laughed that horrible, maniacal laugh that is famous over the state. Stubbs smashed Curtis out of the convention with that laugh.

Stubbs grins often; he doesn't lose his temper — though he is as bull-headed as a mule. About eight o'clock the morning after he had fought the all-night fight which won the direct primary from the machine, he was crossing Kansas Avenue with his secretary, Dave Leahy, on his way to a restaurant for breakfast. An automobile came whizzing down on them and Leahy jumped, as almost any man would. Stubbs looked up and, seeing that the car was driven by Dave Mulvane, the leader of the whipped political machine, he stood stock still. Both men grinned, but Mulvane turned out and gave Stubbs the right of way.

GOVERNOR STUBBS ON THE STUMP

IN SPITE OF HIS LACK OF ORATORICAL TRAINING, ONE THE MOST EFFECTIVE PUBLIC SPEAKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

George Gould had experience of his stubbornness when Stubbs wanted the murderous Central Branch tracks of the Missouri Pacific in Kansas set in order. Stubbs sent a telegram to Gould saying that he would put the railroad in the hands of a receiver unless the tracks were fixed. Vice-President Clark of the road appeared in Topeka with a retinue, took up quarters in the State House and asked what was wanted of them. "Fix the tracks," said the Governor. Clark sparred, and Stubbs took the train to New York and invited Gould to come to see him at his room in the Waldorf. He didn't propose going to see Gould. The railroad president came. "We must have a stenographer take down what we say," said Stubbs. "No," said Gould. "Yes," said Stubbs, and the stenographer appeared. Gould balked at Stubbs's demand that he should tell what the underwriting of the Missouri Pacific's $28,000,000 loan would cost, so that the loan could go back into the property. "Yes" — "No" — "Yes" — it went again. Stubbs won.

The Governor's sense of fair play showed itself during the coal strike in southwestern Kansas when 35,000 miners were on strike for higher pay. The coal operators wanted to import some Alabama Negroes to take the place of the strikers and asked that the state militia be sent to the mining camps. Stubbs refused the request on the ground that it was for the purpose of forcing the miners to accept terms. At the same time he told the miners that if they caused any trouble to property he would send the militia after them. The result was that though the strike continued five months, not one blow was struck. Both sides equally feared and respected the Governor.

So Kansas hails the controversial fighter who went into the 1905 convention jeered at for a fool. They now know what he is. He has become the most prominent figure in his state, and when he feels that he has done all there that he can do, let the larger territory beyond watch out!

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THE UNKNOWN WONDERS OF OUR NATIONAL PARKS

THE Grand Cañon of the Colorado, the Yellowstone and Yosemite Parks, and the Big Trees are well known by name and by pictures, and an increasing number of Americans are gaining the understanding which comes with actually seeing these wonders of nature. But few people even know of the other nine parks, some of which contain scenery as inspiring and unusual as that of the Yellowstone or the Yosemite. The average acquaintance does not include a person who knows anything of the sixty-three living glaciers and the countless snow clad peaks of the Glacier National Park, the top of the continent in Montana, from which the waters run into the Arctic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific. Mt. Rainier, the great volcanic mountain between Seattle and Tacoma, is well known — from a distance — but even the name of Crater Lake, nestled in the centre of that great Mt. Mazama which caved in, is almost unheard. Yet there are few natural phenomena more worth seeing. The General Grant and Sequoia National Parks in California preserve perhaps the oldest living things in the world — the big trees; and the Mesa Verde Park in Arizona holds the earliest traces of human life in this country, the ruins of the homes of the cliff dwellers.

These cliff dwellings were in ruins three hundred years ago when the Spaniards first saw them; but they still retain many evidences of a well developed art of living — the masonry of their houses shows that they had engineering skill; their pottery gives proof of an advanced artistic taste; and the remains upon the mesas above their dwellings show that they tilled the soil successfully. Few more picturesque rides can be found than those that lead up the narrow trails to these cliff homes. The principal ruin is the Cliff Palace, 300 feet long, that contains 200 living rooms and many larger assembly rooms that were used for tribal councils and for religious ceremonies. The park contains at least 375 cliff houses.

But the care of the parks has been neglected by the Government as their true worth (with perhaps the three exceptions noticed above) has been unappreciated by the public. For the last forty years parks have been created and maintained by acts of Congress without much of any system. But the twelve existing parks, with their nearly five million acres, the forty-one national monuments, and such proposed reservations as the Park of Living Volcanoes in Hawaii, are important enough now to merit more attention from the Government as well as from the public.

In this Hawaiian park, for example, are the wonderful active volcano of Kilauea, with its seething caldron 1,000 feet in diameter; Mauna Loa, that towers 13,675 feet to its crest where is the still active crater of Mokuaweoweo; Mauna Kea, 200 feet higher; and the extinct Haleakala,

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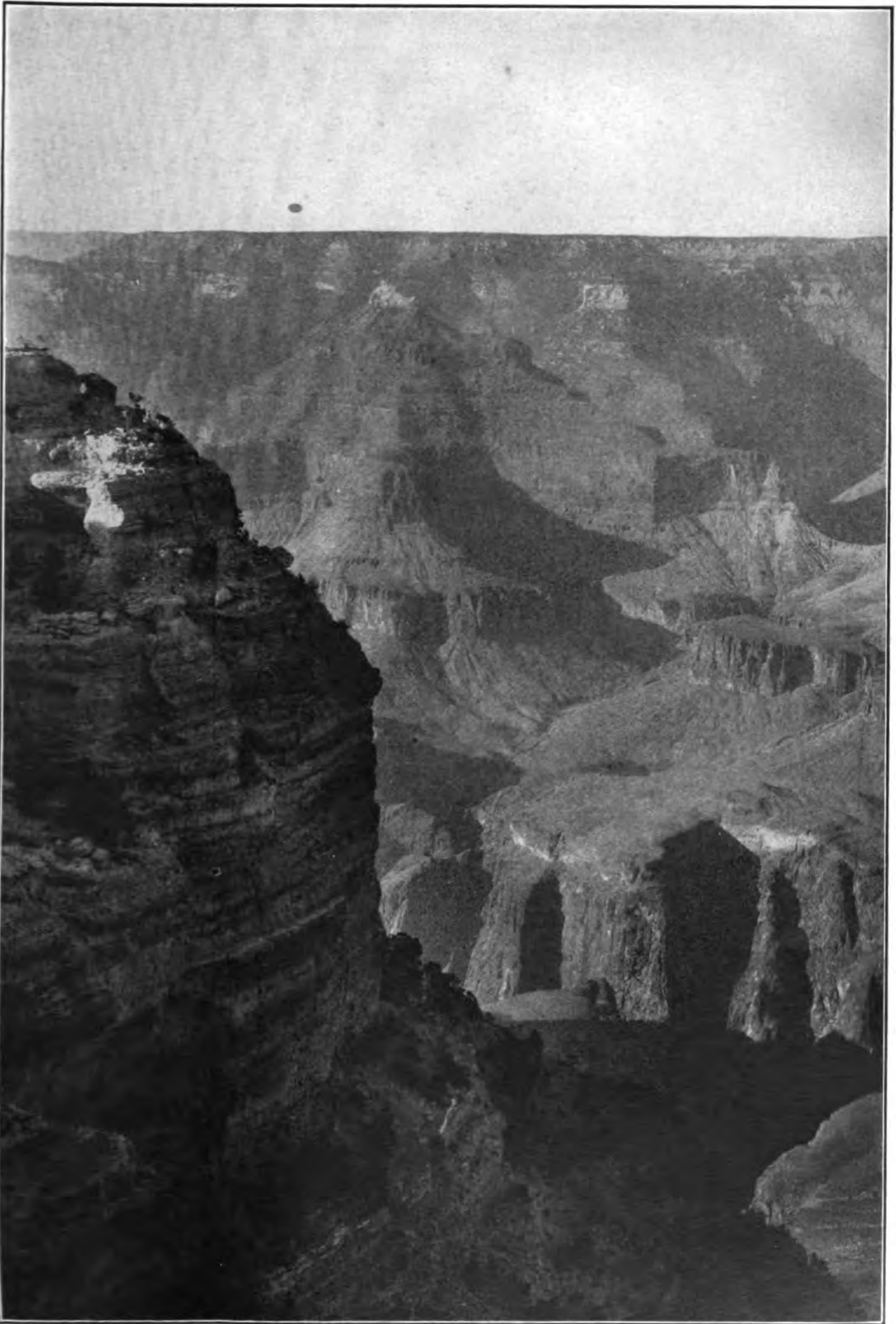

THE GRAND CAÑON OF THE COLORADO

A MILE DEEP AND PAINTED WITH THE GORGEOUS AND EVER CHANGING COLORS OF THE DESERT

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"THE CORKSCREW" ON HANCE'S TRAIL INTO THE GRAND CAÑON

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THE PHANTOM SHIP, CRATER LAKE

A SPIRE OF ROCK THAT SURVIVED THE CAVING-IN OF MT. MAZAMA'S CREST

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CRATER LAKE FROM THE RIM

THE HEIGHT OF THE SIDES OF THE LAKE CAN BE JUDGED FROM THE APPEARANCE OF THE PHANTOM SHIP ROCK OFF THE POINT, NEAR THE CENTRE OF THE PICTURE

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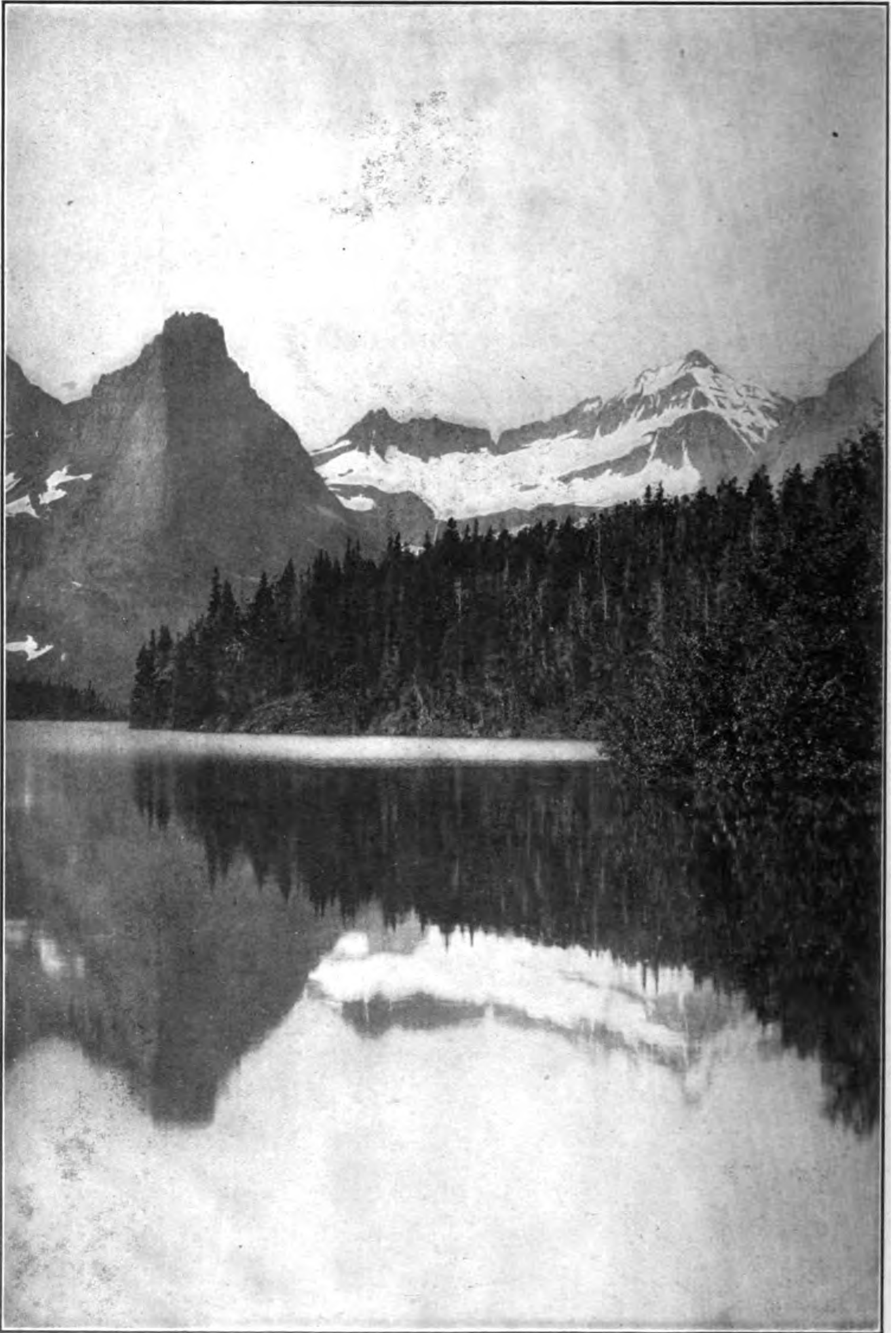

GRINNELL GLACIER FROM GRINNELL LAKE IN THE GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, MONTANA

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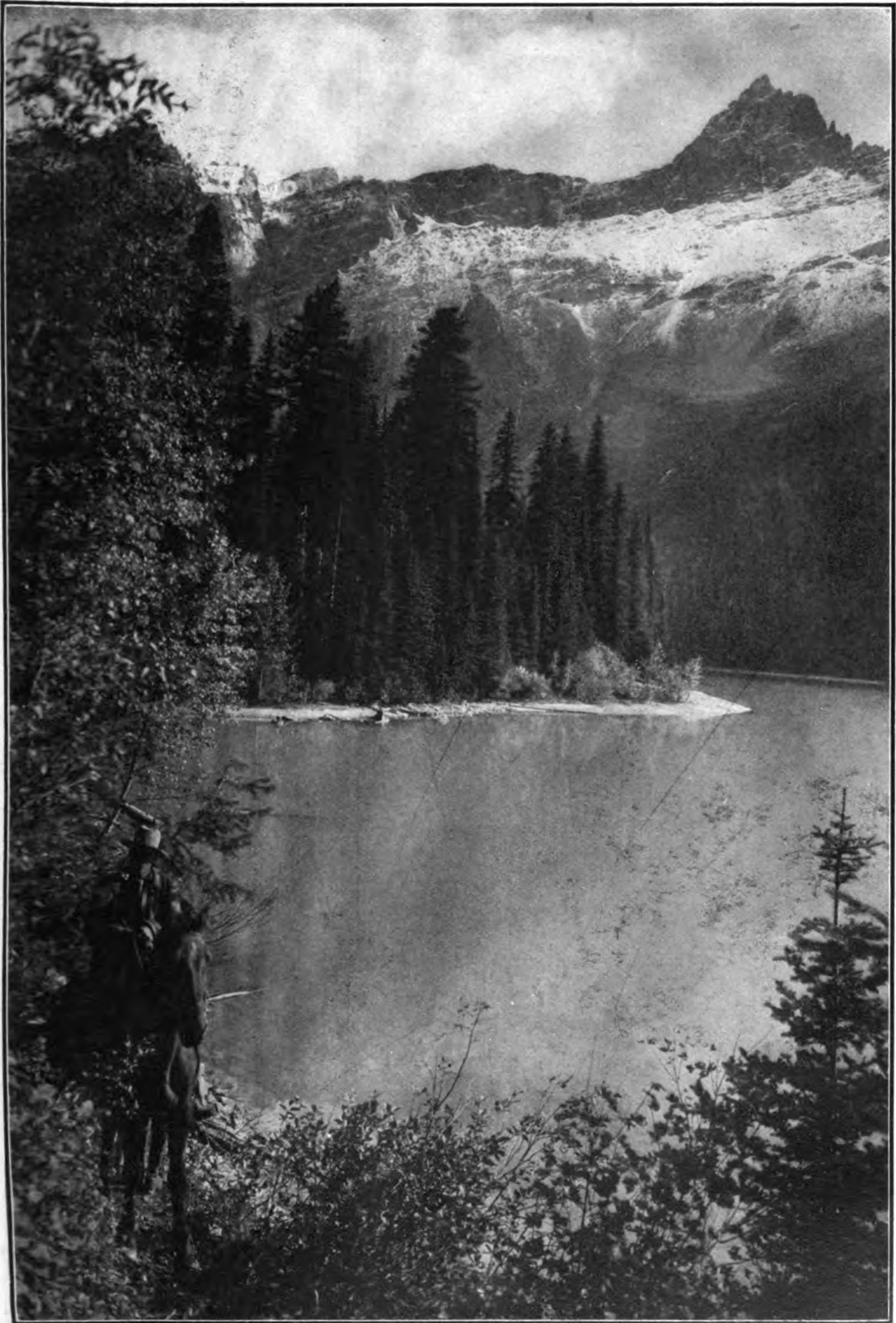

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IN THE LAKE-DOTTED GLACIER PARK

FROM WHICH THE WATERS FLOW TO THE PACIFIC, TO THE GULF OF MEXICO, AND TO THE ARCTIC OCEAN

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LAKE MCDONALD IN THE GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

THE LARGEST EXTINCT CRATER IN THE WORLD, HALEAKALA, HAWAII.

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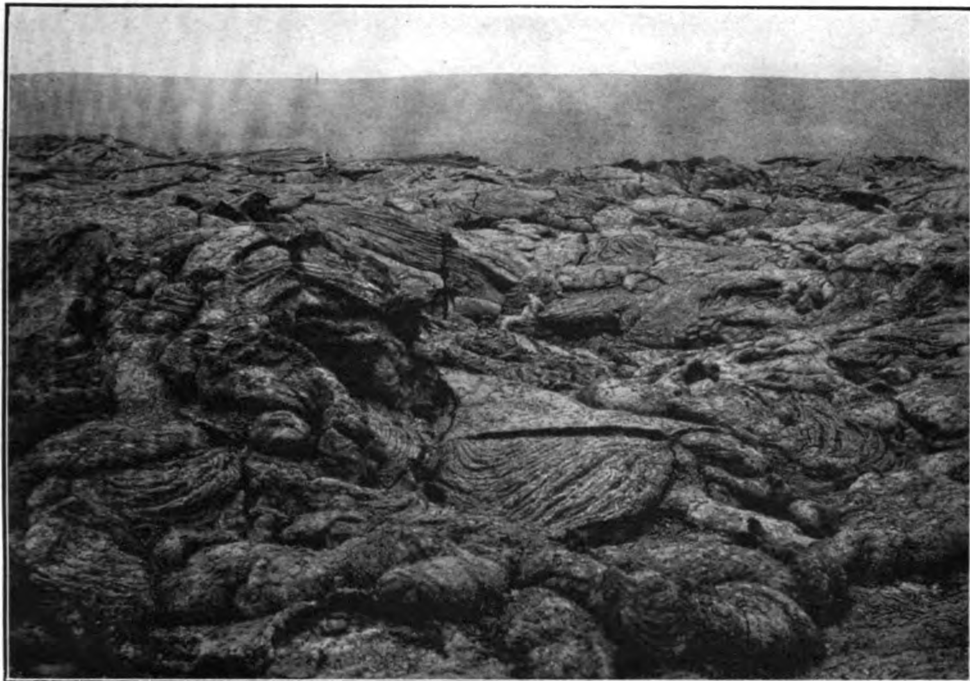

FANTASTIC LAVA SHAPES ON KILAUEA

NEAR THE STILL LIVING CRATER HALAMAUA IN THE PROPOSED NATIONAL PARK OF VOLCANOES, IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

A FISSURE ON KILAUEA

CALLED THE SAFETY VALVE OF THE PACIFIC BECAUSE IT HAS NEVER ENDANGERED HUMAN LIFE — A VOLCANO WITH A HOTEL ON THE BRINK OF ITS CRATER

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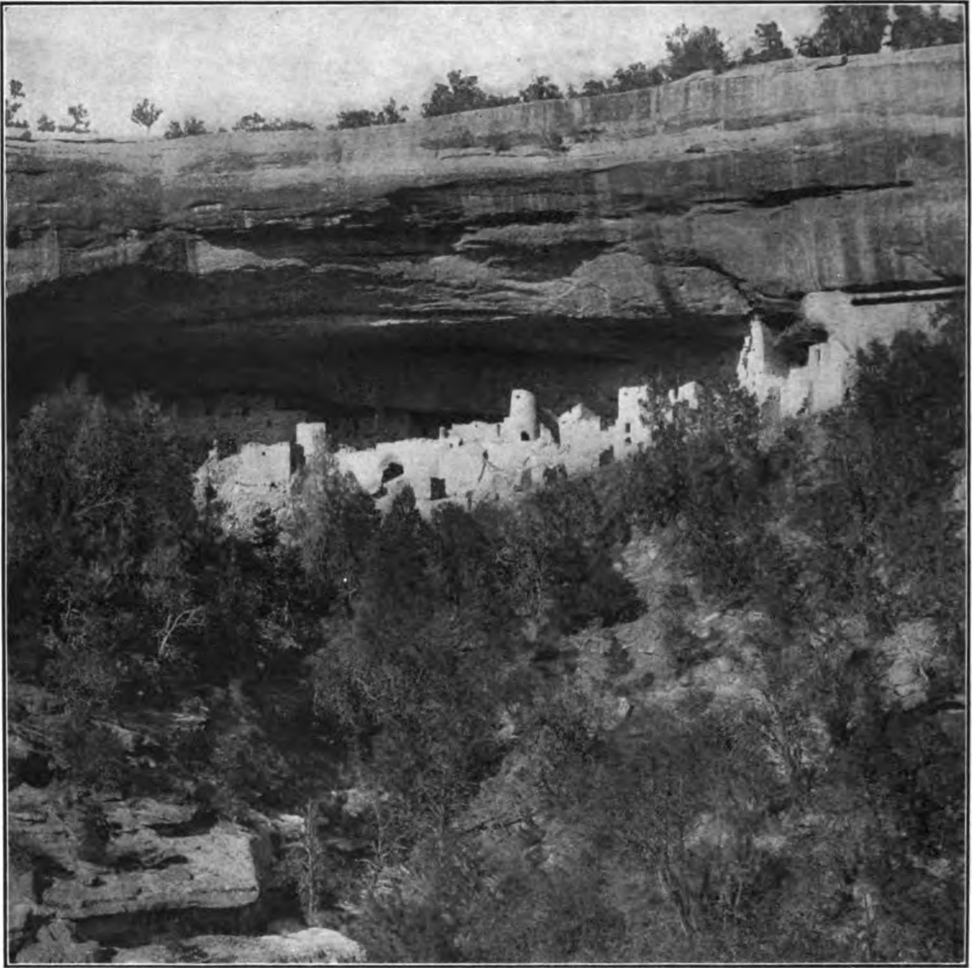

Photo by the Detroit Publishing Co.

THE CLIFF PALACE IN THE MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK

THE OLDEST SIGN OF HUMAN LIFE IN AMERICA

whose bowl is seven miles in diameter — the largest known extinct crater in the world. Haleakala's rim rises 10,000 feet above the sea level, and its crater floor is sunk 2,500 feet below the rim.

In the Crater Lake park is a lake, 2,000 feet deep, surrounded by the sheer cliff walls of an extinct volcanic cone, a thousand feet in height, fed by no streams but only from the snows that melt from its own sides, feeding no known streams, a wondrous, lonely, and serene body of transparent blue water set in the inverted peak of what was once probably the greatest mountain in Oregon.

In the Glacier National Park, one of the largest of the ice-fields is the Sperry Glacier which spreads fan-shape from its source on the crest of Glacier Mountain for a distance of five miles and then pours its melted ice over two waterfalls into the lake 5,000 feet below. The Wilber Mountain Glacier towers 1,000 feet above Iceberg Lake and drops from its frozen lips great masses of ice that grind against each other in the water with a sound that goes wailing down the cañons.

But in spite of the fact that these parks are dedicated to public use and enjoyment, they do not as yet really fulfil their mission. The development and maintenance of the parks could be greatly improved.

The Secretary of the Interior, in his report to Congress, says:

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"At present each of these parks is a separate and distinct unit for administrative purposes. The only general supervision which is possible is that obtained by referring matters relating to the national parks to the same officials in the office of the Secretary of the Interior. Separate appropriations are made for each park and the employment of a common supervising and directing force is impossible. Many of the problems in park management are the same in all the national parks, and a great gain would be obtained and substantial economies could be effected if the national parks and reservations were grouped together under a single administrative bureau. Bills to create a bureau of national parks have

A PREHISTORIC TREE
IN THE PETRIFIED FOREST IN ARIZONA

heretofore been introduced in Congress, and in my judgment they should immediately receive careful consideration so that proper legislation for this purpose may be enacted. Adequate appropriation should also be made for the development of these pleasure grounds of the people, especially through the construction of roads and trails, and their proper care and maintenance."

As the Government and the railroads are making the parks more easily visited Americans will more and more get the habit of seeing these "dramatic" points of American scenery before going elsewhere — not as a patriotic duty but because there is nothing in natural scenery more worth while.

ONE OF THE BIG TREES
THE OLDEST LIVING THINGS IN THE WORLD, WHICH ARE PRESERVED IN THE THE SEQUOIA, NATIONAL PARK AND IN THE GENERAL GRANT NATIONAL PARK

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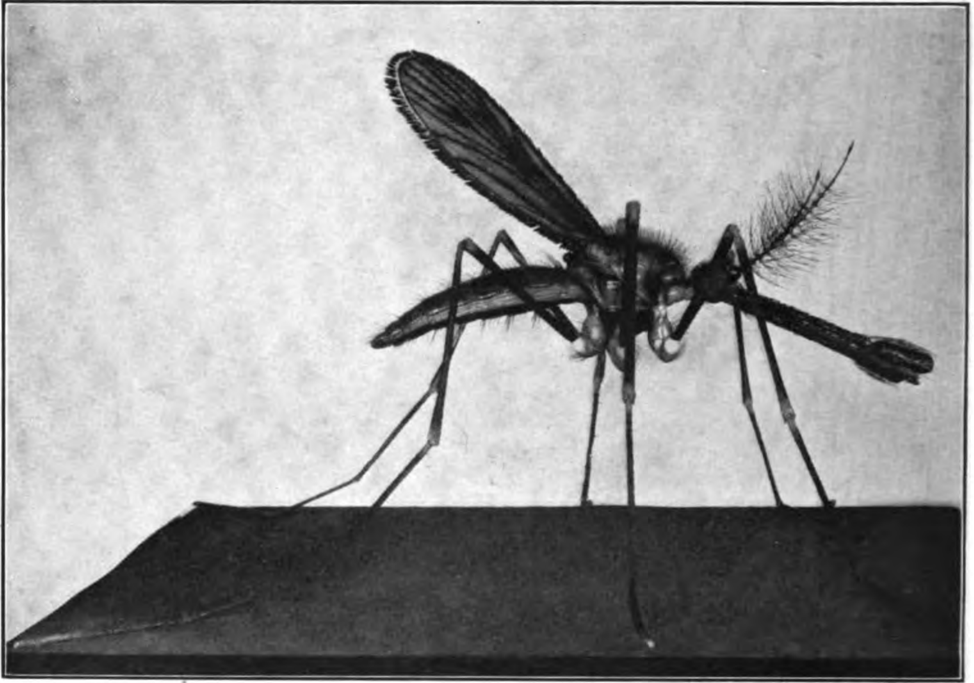

HOW TO GET RID OF MOSQUITOES

WAYS TO KILL THEM AND WAYS TO KEEP THEM OUT OF HOUSES AND OUT OF COMMUNITIES

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

SCIENCE has definitely fixed upon the mosquito the responsibility for every case of malaria and for every case of yellow fever. Even the varieties of mosquito that do not carry the parasites of these diseases are recognized as being important contributors to the increase of nervous affections. The mosquito is no longer regarded as merely a nuisance, and the resources of states, counties, and municipalities have been brought to bear in the effort to exterminate it.

It is easy to get rid of mosquitoes. There are few sections of the United States that are entirely free from them. The largest and most numerous varieties prevail along the Atlantic Coast. These are the "Jersey mosquitoes" which have given that state an unenviable reputation. They breed in the salt marshes all the way from Massachusetts to Florida, where-ever a fresh water stream dilutes the ocean saltiness sufficiently to attract the mosquito, which will not lay its eggs in undiluted salt water. But the salt marsh mosquito, although capable of causing the most intense annoyance, is not so dangerous as some of the fresh water varieties. The malaria (Anopheles) mosquito breeds only in fresh water pools and the "Stegomyia" variety (which is the carrier of yellow fever) propagates its kind in any stagnant body of water, even in the houses. The commonest of all mosquitoes, the "Culex," of which fifty-seven varieties are known, also breeds wherever water stands.

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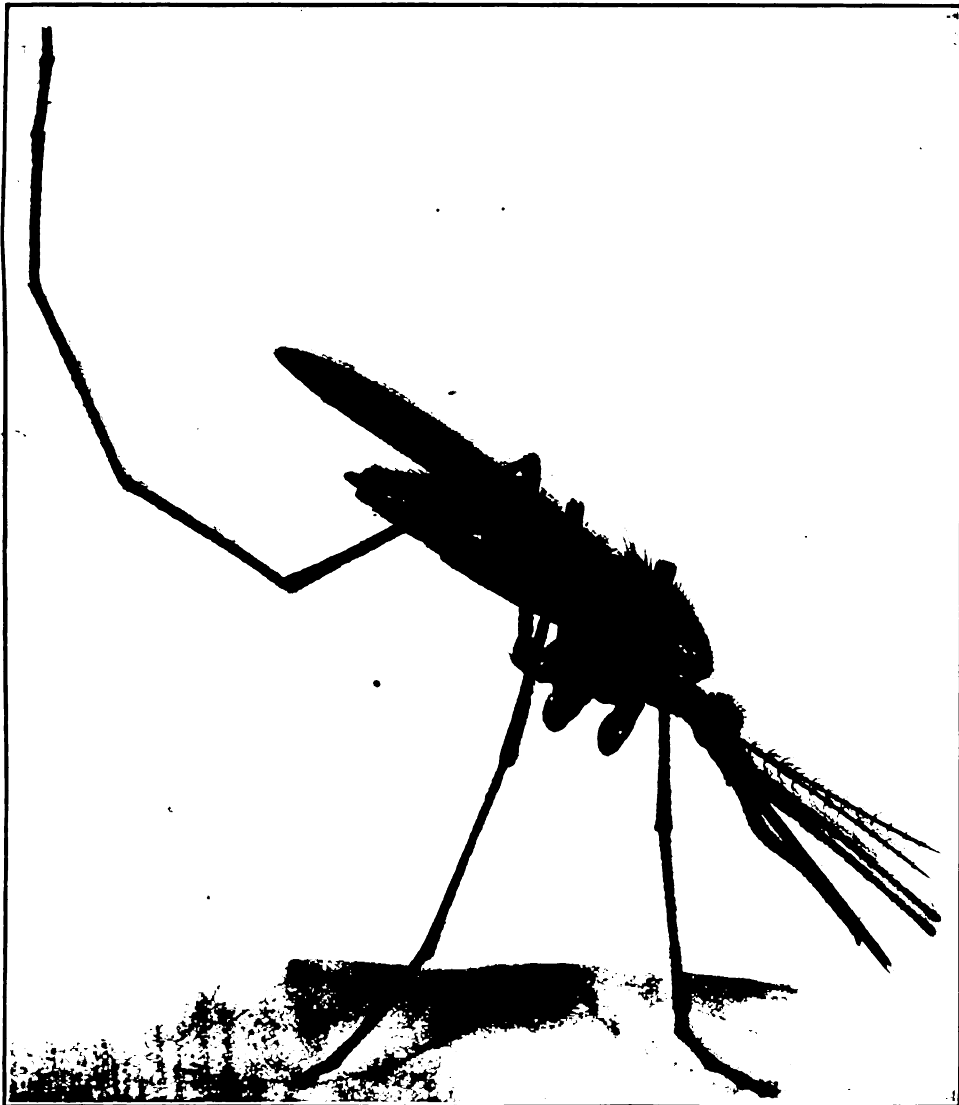

From the cast in the American Museum of Natural History, New York

THE DEADLY FEMALE

THAT CAUSES MOST OF HUMANKIND'S TROUBLES WITH MOSQUITOES. A MALARIA-BEARING MOSQUITO (ANOPHELES MACULIPENNIS) SHOWING THE CHARACTERISTIC ATTITUDE WHEN STINGING

Protection from the mosquito would be almost impossible but for the fact that the commonest varieties never travel more than one hundred feet or so from the place where they were hatched. When driven by strong winds, the big striped-legged "Jersey mosquitoes" sometimes travel miles from the marshes in which they were bred, but so thoroughly have the states and localities in which the worst of these marshes are located gone at the work of extermination that it is a question of but a short time when this particular form of the pest will not be a serious factor in the mosquito problem. The real problem is for the individual householder, or, at most, the immediate communitv to solve.

It is easy to rid a house of mosquitoes, only a little more difficult to keep them out, and far from a Herculean task to prevent new broods from arising. Nor is it impossible to keep from being bitten, even when mosquitoes are fairly thick.

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THE ATTACK ON THE BREEDING PLACES

OILING A POOL OF STAGNANT WATER — A METHOD THAT WAS VERY EFFECTIVELY USED AGAINST THE YELLOW FEVER MOSQUITO

If bitten by a mosquito, moisten a piece of toilet soap and rub it on the bite. This is the advice given by Dr. L. O. Howard, Chief Entomologist of the United States Department of Agriculture, who has made extensive researches into the habits of the mosquito. Dr. Howard also recommends, as the most effective application for keeping mosquitoes away from one's person, rubbing the hands and face with a mixture of two parts each of oil of Citronella and spirits of camphor with one part of oil of cedar. "A few drops of this mixture on a towel hung over the head of the bed will keep the common house mosquitoes away," says Dr. Howard. "A few drops on the hands and face will keep them away for hours. The evaporation of the mixture may be retarded by mixing it with castor oil or liquid vaseline."

Ridding a house of mosquitoes may be accomplished by catching the individual mosquitoes and by fumigation, provided there is effectual screening and full precautions taken to prevent others from breeding in the house. While some varieties of mosquito, including the yellow fever varieties, bite more freely in the day time than at night, most of them are active only after dark. It is easy to find them on the ceiling or light-colored walls, and they can be caught by means of a shallow tin can attached to the end of a pole and containing a teaspoonful of kerosene. One must catch every mosquito in the room, to insure a good night's

EXTERMINATING SWAMP MOSQUITOES

DRAINING THE MARSHES BY MEANS OF A MACHINE THAT DIGS A MILE OF TRENCHES A DAY

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quito in the room to insure a good night's rest. If the cup is pressed against the ceiling so as to inclose the mosquito the insect, attempting to fly, will be caught in the kerosene and killed. A mosquito trap used in India consists of a box lined with dark cloth and with a hinged door at one end. This is placed in a dark corner of the room, as mosquitoes always seek a cool, shady place in which to rest. If driven out of all other dark places they will gather during the day in this box which can then be closed and the mosquitoes killed by pouring a teaspoonful of benzine through a hole.

The most effective way of killing all the mosquitoes in a house, however, is by fumigation. Tests made by various experimenters indicate that the ordinary pyrethrum, or "Persian insect powder," if pure and reasonably fresh, is the best fumigant for this purpose. If heaped up in a cone and lighted at the top, this powder will burn slowly and give out a dense smoke, or it may be moistened and molded into cones which will burn readily after drying with less waste of powder. The smoke stupifies the mosquitoes which must be swept up and burned after the fumigation. It takes about a pound of insect powder for every thousand cubic feet of interior space. Another effective fumigant, known as "Mimms Culicide," is made of equal parts by weight of carbolic acid crystals and gum camphor. The melted crystals are poured slowly over the gum, which is absorbed, and the result is a clear liquid which may be kept some time in tight jars. Three ounces of this Culicide placed over a lamp or other moderate heat, will give off sufficient vapor to kill all the mosquitoes in an ordinary sized room.

Screens for mosquitoes must be absolutely tight and with a mesh of not less than twenty to the inch. A mesh of fifteen to the inch will admit the smaller varieties of house mosquitoes.

There can be no permanent relief from mosquitoes, however, without the destruction of their breeding places, and these breeding places may be any place where water can accumulate and stand for a few days. And it is in the discovery of these breeding places, rather than in their destruction or sterilization, that the ingenuity of the householder who wishes to free his home from the tiny pests will be most severely taxed. It is comparatively simple to drain a marshy spot in the lawn or garden, or to grasp the fact that a fish-pond or fountain is a good place for mosquitoes to lay their eggs, but it does not occur to the average individual until his attention is sharply drawn to it that there is no body of water too small to furnish a nursery for the infant mosquito. Large broods have been found to be produced from rain water puddles in hoofprints by the roadside. A little used horse-trough is a very common source of mosquitoes. Chicken pans in poultry yards, the water cup standing on the frame of the grindstone, and even the water that accumulates in garden furrows, especially where the soil is clayey, may produce mosquitoes in myriads. Houses that have been carefully searched have still been infested with mosquitoes until the source was found in water pitchers in unused guest rooms. Mosquitoes have been known to breed in flower vases in which the water was not frequently changed. It is customary to attribute the presence of mosquitoes to swamps or ponds in the near neighborhood, but more often the cause will be found in a discarded tomato can in the back yard or in some overlooked receptacle for water in the cellar. Every effort to exterminate the mosquito in one of the large state hospitals failed until, in a dark corner of an unused cellar, the investigators came across a half barrel partly filled with water. In another case the mosquitoes in a house originated in a beer bottle partly filled with water in the cellar, and Dr. Howard reports a veritable plague of mosquitoes that was traced to a case of empty beer bottles allowed to remain in a back yard. Mosquito larvæ have also been known to breed in the holy water fonts in churches, while in one house where every possible breeding place had been, it was thought, discovered and drained, they were found to originate in the water tank of an acetylene gas machine. Fire buckets, fragments

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of broken bottles placed on top of stone walls, disused wells, open ditches by the roadside, sewer catch basins, old boxes and cans thrown on the dump heap, unscreened water tanks, rain water barrels and cesspools — in short, any place where half a pint of water or even less is allowed to stand for ten days or more, becomes the mosquito's breeding place. The only exception is the aquarium, for gold fish and almost all kinds of fresh water fish eat the young mosquitoes as fast as they are hatched.

Since mosquitoes breed only in standing water their elimination is a matter only of finding the possible breeding places. Once these are found it is perfectly easy to keep mosquitoes down. Every receptacle that can contain water should be emptied and so placed that it will not fill again the next time it rains. If it is a tank or barrel or cistern which must be kept filled, it is easy to fit it with a tight screen cover that will keep out the female mosquito that is looking for a place to lay her eggs. The draining of marshes and useless ponds is usually comparatively easy, but where this is impossible the application to the surface of the water of a very small quantity of kerosene oil will kill all the immature mosquitoes that may be present and keep the adult mosquitoes from depositing their eggs. The oil must be so applied that it will spread over the entire surface of the water. This can be done by pouring small quantities at intervals around the edge or by spraying marshy areas with any kind of a spraying device such as is used in orchards. The oil forms a thin film that prevents the young mosquito from coming to the surface to breathe. If the body of water be a large one a heavy wind will sometimes break the film of oil and in a few sunshiny days much of the oil will evaporate. Frequent attention and a very little kerosene will, however, keep a good-sized farm entirely free from mosquitoes all summer. One ounce of kerosene is sufficient for fifteen square feet of water surface.

The common mosquito requires but ten days for development from the laying of the egg to the final hatching of the full-fledged, biting mosquito. The malaria mosquito takes about twenty-one days from egg to adult. Water that stands exposed less than ten days, therefore, is not dangerous, but a large brood of mosquitoes may be hatched in a roadside puddle that completely evaporates in two weeks. Very often depressions that hold water temporarily go unnoticed by reason of high grass that surrounds them, and this is frequently the case in city parks, which are the most prolific sources of mosquitoes in most Northern cities.

The common inland mosquito deposits its eggs, 250 to 400 at one time, on the surface of the water at night. The mass of eggs is held firmly together and floats like a small raft. The eggs hatch in from fifteen to twenty hours, producing the larvæ — the "wrigglers" often seen in rain-water barrels and cisterns. When fully grown, which is within a few days, they are about one quarter of an inch long and move through the water with a rapid, jerky motion, coming to the surface to breathe every minute or two. In from eight to ten days the larvæ pass into the pupa stage, in which the head is apparently greatly increased in size. In from two to three days the full-fledged mosquito bursts through the pupa-case and flies away on its quest for blood.

Easily the most annoying of all mosquitoes is the huge striped-legged "Jersey mosquito" of the Atlantic Coast. The first efforts toward eliminating this particular variety were begun in 1905 by Dr. Alvah H. Doty, Health Officer of the Port of New York for many years. Staten Island, in New York Harbor, on which the Quarantine Station is located, is bordered by salt marshes in which innumerable mosquitoes developed and made almost the whole of the beautiful island uninhabitable for persons sensitive to mosquito bites. Doctor Doty's method was that of drainage and oiling. Ditches which drained the marshes on both sides of the island were dug and at frequent intervals kerosene oil was sprinkled over all the undrained or undrainable portions. The result was a real decrease in the number of mosquitoes, and after three years of this work the demand for porch screens on Staten Island began to fall off.

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To Doctor Doty must be given the credit for having pointed the way to mosquito extermination. In New Jersey they followed his Staten Island demonstrations so that in the next seven years considerably more than half of the salt marshes had been ditched and drained with a result, according to competent observers, of reducing the annual mosquito output more than 80 per cent.

The method of ditching is simplicity itself. The soft earth of the marshes is as easy to cut as so much butter. Most of the work has been done by Mr. Jesse P. Manahan, of Red Bank, with machines of his own invention: a hand cutter, with which two men can dig 500 feet of ditch, ten inches wide and thirty inches deep, in a day; and a power digger operated by a gasolene engine that can do a mile of the same sized trench in a working day. In the vicinity of Newark and Jersey City, oil has also been used on the marshes at the expense of persons interested in reclaiming the marsh land, but even in sections where only drainage has been used the effect has been almost magical. No exact statistics are available, but thousands of acres of useless marsh land have been reclaimed and now produce a large tonnage per acre of excellent hay, and the only mosquitoes now regarded as a serious menace in Northern New Jersey are those that are found everywhere else in the United States — the fresh water varieties. Similar ditching and draining has been undertaken by other states, notably Connecticut and South Carolina, and by many isolated counties and individual land owners in other states. A similar method of draining fresh water swamps has been adopted in several inland states.

That most of the mosquitoes in cities are developed in the cities themselves has been repeatedly demonstrated. The report for 1911 of the mosquito inspections in Newark, N. J., shows that, in all, 9,777 house-to-house inspections were made in that town. Thirty-five hundred sewer catch basins were oiled once every fifteen days during the summer. The inspectors found 638 rain-water barrels, 125 rain water pools, 49 unused tannery vats, 10 fire tanks, 12 manure pits, 19 cisterns, 28 cellar foundations, and 16 sewer basins on private property, all breeding mosquitoes. And these do not take into account the minor and much more numerous breeding places inside of buildings themselves. All these breeding places, as soon as found, were treated with kerosene. This work was in addition to the city's own share of the ditching and draining of the salt marshes.

A very complete municipal campaign against the malaria mosquito was begun several years ago in the progressive little city of Hartsville, S. C., and has been continued annually ever since. The methods employed in Hartsville may be very easily adapted to the requirements of any community. The board of health first published a circular pointing out the danger of mosquitoes and recommending screening and constant supervision of premises to prevent their breeding. This was placed in the hands of every householder. Then the town council made a survey of the entire city, drained a few low places where rain water was accustomed to accumulate, and inaugurated a system of weekly inspection of all premises and ditches in town, putting kerosene oil regularly upon any water which could not be drained or emptied. They quickly found that most of the mosquitoes were being bred in the back yards, and the importance of preventing water from standing was again emphasized to the individual citizens. Though statistics are not available, Dr. William Egleston, Health Commissioner of Hartsville, reports that malaria, though extremely prevalent up to ten years ago, is now practically a negligible disease, and that constant attention to the work of extermination has made it possible for the inhabitants to sit on their porches on summer evenings without the discomfort of mosquitoes or the expense of screens.

New Orleans is the largest city in the United States in which there has been anything like concentrated community effort at eliminating the mosquito. The object of the New Orleans crusade was to get rid of the yellow fever mosquito, and the results obtained in the Crescent City

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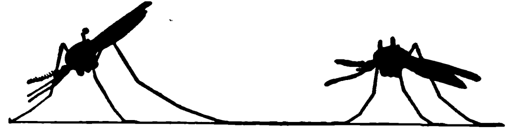
demonstrated two things — first, that it is possible to abolish the mosquito and, second, that the abolition of the mosquito puts an end to yellow fever. The yellow fever mosquito breeds, not in swamps, but in cisterns and pools of fresh water. The beginning of the campaign in New Orleans was the establishment of a sewerage system at the cost of $14,000,000, the city having, prior to 1900, been without sewers. This was followed by stringent ordinances requiring householders to screen all cisterns and other permanent receptacles for water that could not be abolished, because the city was dependent upon them for its entire water supply; and empowering the board of health to drain and oil every other possible breeding place of the mosquito. Heavy penalities were imposed for failure to obey the terms of the ordinance and for a period of several years not a single case of yellow fever, which theretofore had hardly failed to appear annually, has been observed in the city.

The story of the elimination of yellow fever in the Cuban cities, with its tale of heroism on the part of the courageous investigators who demonstrated the mosquito theory of yellow fever at the cost of their own lives, has been often told.

The only really dangerous mosquito in most parts of the country is the one that carries malaria parasites from the blood of infected persons and deposits them in the circulation of healthy individuals. Wherever a case of "chills and fever" is found the malaria mosquito has been there first. Swampy countries are generally known to be malarial districts, but all that is needed to make them as healthful as the uplands is to get rid of the mosquito. The ancient superstitution about the dangers of night air and the mists arising from swamps had a solid foundation in scientific fact. Night air itself is less likely to be polluted with smoke and dust, and mists do not produce disease; but the mosquito that carries the malaria parasite flies at night and the vapors from the swamps are nature's danger signals to mark his hunting grounds.

It is very easy to distinguish the malaria-carrying mosquito. When biting or standing at rest the hinder part of its body is elevated at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees from the surface on which it stands.



THE SIGN OF DANGER

THE MALARIA-BEARING MOSQUITO PITCHES ITS BODY AT AN ANGLE OF 45 DEGREES AND HAS PRETERNATURALLY LONG LEGS

All other varieties of mosquito maintain a horizontal position when at rest, but this peculiar attitude of the malaria mosquito, combined with its disproportionately long legs, distinguish it at a glance. And although Mr. Kipling did not specifically refer to the mosquito, it is nevertheless true of it that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male." Although the males outnumber the females by tens to one, the male mosquito never bites and, in fact, seldom eats. His life is a brief and joyless one. The female mosquito, however, although preferring human blood when obtainable, will eat plant juices and the blood of reptiles when warm blooded animals are not accessible. Indeed, it is probable that not one mosquito in a million ever gets a taste of human blood. The female mosquito often lives through the winter, hibernating in dark places like attics, clothes-presses, and the crevices between floor and base-board, or outdoors in the cracks in the bark of trees. As soon as the pools of water are warm enough in the spring so her eggs will not freeze she begins to lay, and ten days to three weeks later the young mosquitoes sally forth for their first taste of blood.

Just why the mosquito insists upon leaving its visiting card in the shape of a tiny drop of poison has not been fully explained. The best theory is that the saliva that the insect injects into the wound through which it sucks the blood of its victim serves the purpose of preventing the blood from clotting as it is sucked in. It is through this injection

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of saliva that the malaria parasite is transmitted by the mosquito, after having been previously taken into the mosquito's system from the blood of an infected person.

But the most important, if not the most interesting fact about the mosquito is, again, that its elimination is not only possible but comparatively easy, and that no one need suffer from mosquitoes if individuals and communities will coöperate toward its extinction.

THE NEW COMPETITION

FIRST ARTICLE

THE OPEN PRICE POLICY

A PRACTICAL AND LEGAL WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT BUSINESS MUDDLE THROUGH THE FORMATION OF ASSOCIATIONS WHERE THE MEN ENGAGED IN THE SAME INDUSTRY PUBLICLY FILE ALL INQUIRIES, ALL BIDS, AND ALL CONTRACTS

This article and those that follow it are the result of a long and intimate association with business conditions and the remedies for the evils of competition and for the evils of monopoly outlined herein have been demonstrated and are in actual operation

BY

ARTHUR J. EDDY

(AUTHOR OF "THE LAW OF COMBINATIONS," ETC.)

THE basis of the new competition is the open price policy.

There was a time when the secret price policy prevailed in the retail trade in this and all other countries, when every merchant large and small sold his wares at as many prices as he had customers, even to the tricky or inadvertent charging of the same customer for the same goods different prices on different days.

That practice has fallen into disrepute in America and England. It has been abandoned by the best dealers on the Continent. But as the traveler approaches the Orient he finds the secret price with all its inherent evils, chief of which is lying, elevated to a fine art. Every purchase is a matter of bargaining, the customer never expects to pay, the dealer never expects to receive, what is asked. Even in Paris there are comparatively few places where one is absolutely sure the price asked is the one and only price; offers bring responses and there is a pretty general conviction that tourists pay more than natives.

Generally speaking the secret price policy is a thing of the past in the retail trade in this country. In the largest and best places of business goods are marked in plain figures and both customers and competitors are free to note and use these figures. Here and there a perfectly reliable merchant clings to the old habit of marking the price in cipher — why? Heaven alone knows, since his cipher is known to every employee, to every competitor who cares to give the matter ten minutes' investigation, and to every bright customer who prices a dozen articles and compares the letters that stand for the figures. The cipher is a relic of the old furtive policy and is bound to go; customers resent it because they are becoming accustomed to plain marks and distrust the man who looks at a few cryptic letters and says the price is so and so — if it really is so and so, why not mark it for everybody to read? Why make a confidante of every cash-girl and alienate every customer?

In the manufacturing and contracting world the old, discredited policy prevails.

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Manufacturers and contractors, large and small, still do business on a par with the wily Oriental. From the president down to the least important salesman, everybody is clothed with "discretion," everybody can "make" or "shade" a price; if a list is published no one expects to get the prices therein named, there are always discounts, and discounts upon discounts, with a further concession for cash, or an added inducement in terms, and so on endlessly, depending upon the resourcefulness of the salesman, the flexibility of the employer, and their desire to "land the order."

The buyer is never certain when the last word is said; even after the contract is closed he has the feeling that he might have done better if he had held off a little longer — it is all a gamble, demoralizing to everyone concerned.

No men should have more respect for their calling or stand higher in the commercial world than the able representatives of great manufacturing and contracting companies, but — judging from what they themselves say of one another — few men command so little respect and confidence in even their own circles as "successful" salesmen. This is the fault of the system.

It is the aim of the new competition to change the conditions which produce these results, and the first, the fundamental, the vital step is the adoption of the open price policy.

What is meant by an "open" price?

Exactly what the word signifies, a price that is open and above board, that is known to both competitors and customers, that is marked in plain figures on every article produced, that is accurately printed in every price list issued — a price about which there is no secrecy, no evasions, no preferences. In contract work it means that every bid made and every modification thereof shall be known to every competitor for the order; it means that even the cunning and unscrupulous competitor may have this information to use or abuse as he pleases. In short, the open price policy means a complete reversal of methods now in vogue.

Many strongly established manufacturers who make a practice of adhering quite closely to their prices will say, "Why, that is what we are doing now!" A dozen searching questions will convince them that they are not, and a half dozen crucial propositions to reform their methods along the above lines will lead a goodly number of them to settle back and say, "No, no, that's too advanced for us."

The writer's experience has been that the men who are loudest to insist that they follow the open price policy are the last to adopt it. What they want is a "fixed" price policy.

The *secret* price is the mark of the old — *false* competition.

The *fixed* price is the mark of the illegal combination — *suppressed* competition.

The *open* price is the mark of the new — *true* competition.

Since no two industries follow precisely the same methods in marketing their outputs it is impossible to set forth in detail in a single article the steps that should be followed by all to establish the new policy. Though the fundamental propositions are the same, each industry requires its own reporting scheme. For instance, take the two great divisions in the manufacturing world: (a) those who produce goods that are sold to jobbers and dealers, (b) those who produce only to specifications, each contract differing more or less from all others and calling for a special price or bid.

Obviously, the steps necessary to establish the open price policy among the former (a) will differ from the steps required with the latter (b). Furthermore, it may be said that with any set of manufacturers or contractors the open price movement must be a matter of growth. However willing, no body of men will come to it at a single jump, it is too revolutionary. It takes time to eradicate traces of habits which have become second nature, habits of thought, of speech, of conduct. Even when men are honestly trying to think along the new lines they will talk and correspond along the old, the old phrases will crop out, and their letters will bristle with language that heretofore has been used only in "fixing" prices and suppressing competition.

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On first impression it would seem comparatively easy to outline an open price scheme for industries belonging to class "a," but difficult to do so for those in class "b". Such is not the case, it is simply a matter of detail in both cases. As a matter of fact the same scheme — except in general outline — will not fit any two industries, however alike they may be in their methods of marketing outputs.

Take a set of large manufacturers whose work is altogether contract work, where each unit of output is made for special service in a special place and is therefore built to order. It may be a steel bridge, an engine, a turbine, a printing press — anything, in short, that is sold on contract.

A prerequisite is the formation of an association. Without coöperation an open price is impossible.

In forming an association it is important to avoid the slightest cause for distrust on the part of the public and customers. The fundamental propositions underlying the organization and every agreement relating in any way to price or competition must be reduced to writing, and the sooner customers and everybody in any way interested are made familiar with the workings of the association the better.

Hold all meetings with open — literally, not figuratively — doors, invite competitors to attend as visitors whether they wish to join or not, and urge any curious or doubting customer to come and observe what is done.

Do nothing you are afraid to record; record everything you do and keep your records where any public official, in the performance of his duties, may have easy access to them. In short, preserve so carefully all evidence regarding intentions, acts, and results, that there will be no room for inference or argument that anything else was intended, done, or achieved.

The writer constantly hears men say, "We have a little association, but we never talk about prices."

"Then why do you meet?"

"Oh, just to lunch and discuss things generally."

Such child-like pretenses deceive no one, not even those who utter them, and no self-respecting lawyer would permit clients to make such futile statements in court.

It is almost as common to hear men say, "We have an association, but we don't agree upon prices."

"What do you do?"

"Why, I get up and say, 'My price is so and so;' and the others get up and say their prices are 'so and so.'

"And the result is, everybody's price is 'so and so.'"

"Naturally, but we don't *agree* it shall be, we just exchange views and let prices take care of themselves."

This set of men is much franker than the former. They do admit that they come together to help conditions, that they freely discuss prices; and, so long as there is no agreement fixing prices or otherwise suppressing competition, their action is probably legal even though, as the result of their interchange of views, prices are more or less constant. But the danger lies in the argument that the several statements, "My price is so and so," amount to indirect promises or moral assurances that the price named will not be changed, and that this indirect or moral obligation may be inferred from results.

To go a step further, it probably would not be illegal for men to meet in good faith and compare costs and prices for the purpose of preventing, if possible, disastrous competition and of getting reasonable returns for their products; but to what extent such frank and straightforward efforts to do only what is reasonable and fair from a sound business point of view will be held legal, depends upon the application that the courts may make of the general principles laid down in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases. However, no man whose aim in life is to bear himself creditably among his fellows cares to split hairs with the law, or to take any chances on a court's decision as to whether his acts are "reasonable" or "unreasonable."

The one safe course is to have nothing to do with any conference or association the objects of which are not clearly expressed in black and white and the proceedings of which are not fully preserved.

If the prime object is to help trade con-

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ditions, then that object should be set forth frankly, and the means adopted should be described so fully that judge and jury can see that they are fair and legal beyond question and quite sufficient to attain the end without resorting to any unexpressed agreement, any moral obligation, or "gentlemen's understanding."

It is believed that the open price policy supplies the means, that it is sound, sensible, and perfectly legal; it involves no action, no agreement of any kind or character that is not well within a man's constitutional rights. The right to publish prices, to exchange bids freely and openly, to deal frankly with customers and competitors, are rights that cannot be curtailed by any legislative body in this country. Congress and legislatures may so provide that the exercise of these rights shall not be abused; that sound and healthful coöperation shall not take on the features of arbitrary and oppressive combination, but coöperation itself cannot be prohibited.

With a central office in charge of a secretary, the members of such an association are ready to establish the open price by filing with the secretary:

1. All inquiries.
2. All bids.
3. All contracts.

1. The information contained in reports of inquiries is *not* interchanged. Members are not furnished any information regarding prospective bidders, though there is no legal objection to giving such information, providing it does not lead to collusive bidding; however, the safe course is not to give it. From the reports of inquiries the secretary makes up a weekly bulletin containing statistical information that clearly indicates the amount of business hanging over the market. This report in itself is of value, especially to the small manufacturer who has no means of keeping track of what is going on, and it is of advantage to the large producer since it helps the small to bid more intelligently, and intelligent competition is never so demoralizing as ignorant competition.

2. Information contained in bids *is* interchanged. No member is allowed to say what he expects to bid or even that he does or does not intend to bid; but as each member makes a bid he sends by same mail a copy of his proposal to the secretary. As bids are received they are immediately interchanged among the bidders; the filing of a bid on a particular job is the key that opens to the bidder all other bids on the same job.

Now comes another fundamental proposition. No bidder is bound to adhere to his bid for the fraction of a second. After ascertaining the bids of others each is free to lower his own bid to secure the work, but in all fairness he must immediately file all changes so as to give other bidders chances to come in and compete further.

"That is a rotten scheme!" exclaims the man who has come to the meeting with the sole purpose of "boosting" prices.

"Talk about competition! That will fling the doors wide open," protests another, and so on.

The writer has heard many such remarks, and it may be said here that most old-time manufacturers are slow to try the new policy; it appeals more strongly to younger men who are not saturated with price-fixing notions.

As a matter of fact the free and frank interchange of bids with perfect liberty to cut and slash as members please does not result in fiercer competition. On the contrary, while it does not lessen true competition, it takes out the bitterness, the ugly elements that go to make up the old "cut-throat" competition. Since members are free to bid as they please, it removes the one prolific source of complaint and recrimination incidental to old-time associations, namely: that "some one is cutting under" and thereby violating an agreement, expressed or implied, to observe some price.

It is impossible to keep men to a fixed price, therefore why waste time trying to? It is possible to keep them to an agreement to tell others what they *have done*.

Note the distinction: the fixed price means an agreement of some kind to maintain a price, to do something, to live up to something. That sort of an agreement is never kept for long. No penalty

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scheme can be devised that will compel men to keep it. Quite aside from all questions of legality the agreement is worthless because it is no stronger than each man's belief in the good faith of all the parties to it; and, since every man feels sure that at least some of his competitors will be quick to violate it and reap a profit, he secretly violates it himself.

The agreement to tell one another what *has been done* is quite another matter, since after all it simply provides for the systematic exchange of information that is sure to come out sooner or later. This obligation is so fair and works out so many good results that the trickiest competitor in the end sees that it is to his advantage frankly to live up to it. It takes, however, months of patient effort to educate all to the point of frank and prompt compliance.

3. The filing of contracts as and when closed is the final step in the reporting plan; it marks the termination of the competition. The secretary's office will thus have a complete file of each transaction — the (a) original inquiries, (b) all bids and changes in bids, (c) the contract as finally awarded.

With this data the association is ready for an intelligent discussion of the business of the month, and the plan is not complete without this discussion. The open price policy means not only open prices but open discussions.

To this end regular weekly, semimonthly, or — at the longest — monthly meetings are necessary, at which members must be represented by principal officers who are familiar with business details and can speak with knowledge. Meetings attended by subordinate agents are a waste of time.

At first there will be a strong tendency on the part of members to reproach one another for "cutting prices," "reducing bids," etc. — the old story. This tendency to complain must be firmly repressed. In time all will come to understand that they are free to cut, free to change. Then the discussions will turn upon whether notifications have been filed promptly in good faith. For a long time there will be numerous evasions by members who are eager to get orders regardless, but as these evasions come to the surface, at meeting after meeting, they become less and less numerous, the crookedest member falls in line with the straightest, the open price becomes an accomplished fact.

Now what are some of the results?

First, "vicious" bidding disappears. By "vicious" bidding is meant bids put in by competitors who know that they stand no chance of getting the work, simply to "make the other fellow do it for nothing." Of all competition that is the meanest. No purchaser has the right to encourage it, no producer the right to indulge in it; it means the sure elimination of the weak, the ultimate monopoly by the strong.

Second, with open bidding there is the natural, the automatic tendency for prices to approach normal levels, the wide variations so frequent under false competition — secret bidding — are minimized. There is less bidding below cost at one extreme and fewer or no arbitrarily high prices at the other. The customer is surer of fairer treatment in the long run, the producer of fairer prices. The open price policy is both a safety valve and a governor, it works toward stability.

Third, by eliminating secret prices it eliminates secret rebates, concessions, graft; by bringing all dealings into the open it ends four fifths of the fraud and misrepresentations that now attend the letting of the simplest contract; the purchaser will no longer be able to secure a fraudulent advantage by saying that he has a lower bid when he has not. In all their dealings both purchaser and producer will be more nearly on a footing of equality.

Fourth, the business will be placed upon a more scientific and rational footing. Instead of competitors working under conditions of jealous distrust and suspicion, wasting time and money in doing things that they either should not do at all, or should do with a fraction of the expenditure, they will coöperate to accomplish as a unit the things they rightfully may do.

Finally, the open price policy — the New Competition — with the friendly association it involves, will tend to make commercial life a little pleasanter, a little better worth living.

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WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR BANKS?

MAKING THE METHOD FIT THE JOB

DO THE WESTERN BANKS AID KITE-FLYING? — DO THE EASTERN BANKS ABET STOCK-GAMBLING? — GETTING THE MONEY TO START THINGS IN INDIANA

BY

C. M. KEYS

A BOY brought in a message to the bank president that Mr. Blank wanted to see him about a loan. The president went over to the door, and beckoned to a tall and rather rough-looking man who stood outside the rail. They talked at the open door.

"How much and what for?" asked the president. The caller said that he was doing some contract work for the new railroad coming into town, and wanted credit to meet his payrolls and supplies, pending the railroad's payments. They talked a few minutes about the work, about rates, about dates of payment and some other matters of that sort, and the president finally said he would "fix him up." He referred him to another officer of the bank. The visitor went back and the president came in to talk about matters of banking.

This was in Seattle. I noted that there was no talk about security, as we understand the term in the East. The president explained that he knew the man fairly well as a live and energetic small contractor, who always did good work, paid his debts in time, and was a good customer for the bank.

"He has no assets, probably," he said, "except the tools of his trade and possibly a house in the city. All the security we need is his name and his promise backed by his work. If we demanded the same sort of security on our loans that you demand in New York this bank might as well quit right away. Our job is to finance the legitimate needs of our customers, and we have to take our security as we find it or somebody else will."

There is the function of a bank put into a phrase. The business of a commercial bank is to make commerce move, using the word "commerce" to mean every form of legitimate money-making and wealth-producing function in the country. The method must be such as to impose the least unnecessary check upon the movement of commerce. The traditions of New York must not be imposed upon Seattle industry. The habits of Seattle must not be taken as the criterion for sound banking in New York.

In all the West, I found the rules entirely different from the Eastern rules. A national bank is a national bank, East or West, one may suppose; but the method of Seattle or Los Angeles may not be the method of New York or Philadelphia. Therefore it is not at all surprising to find that on a day in June last, six little banks in Seattle had lent on individual or firm notes without any other security than the names $8,597,000; while the whole national bank group in New York had lent on similar paper only a little more than $9,000,000. On that same day, in San Francisco, the loans of this sort amounted to more than $47,000,000.

The first impulse of an Eastern man, looking into the bank loans of the West, is to call it "kite-flying" — as one famous European student did — and thereby do the Western banks a grave injustice. It is really an adaptation of the first prin-

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ciple of banking, namely: that the assets of the people who use the bank must be good security for loans or the bank must cease to live. Just as the little coöperative bank in Germany will lend a farmer five dollars to buy a sow, and time the loan so that it may be paid off from the sale of the first litter, so the Western bank in our national system will finance any legitimate and sound money-making venture of its customers. It is a system of credit based upon industry, and upon much closer and more accurate knowledge of the man himself than can ever be possible in the bigger Eastern cities.

The real point of this illustration is that the bank does not make the commercial habits of the city or the customer. On the contrary, the commerce of the city and the customer shape and dictate the habits of the bank. Thus, in a flour-making city, the banks will lend freely against wheat in process of manufacture, and for the full term required to complete the whole transaction, from the purchase of the wheat to its sale for cash in Eastern markets. In a cotton country the banks shape their policies to help in the widest possible way the planting, cultivation, picking, and sale of cotton. In one city one finds the banks adapted to short loans and quick turn-over, money flowing in and out in short and rapid waves; while in another city, the centre of another sort of trade, loans are long and slow, and perhaps for months at a time money is hardly in use at all.

This is but a glance, of course, over the banking practice of the commercial banks throughout the country. To analyze it in detail, to tabulate the average length of loans and discounts in New Orleans, a sugar and cotton market; in Kansas City, a merchandizing centre; in Omaha, a corn and wheat market; in Minneapolis, a flour city; in Portland, where they handle lumber; in Duluth, a city of ore; in Grand Rapids, where furniture rules; in Lynn, where shoes are made; or in Los Angeles, a city of diversion and diversity — to tabulate and classify the habits and the whims of the banks of commerce in these many cities might make an entertaining book for a banker's holiday, and might even help to clarify the banking questions of the day, but it would be a task too long and wearying to be handled in such a series as this.

Let it suffice to summarize and say that by long practice, by the use of common sense, and by the help of an understanding government, the commercial banks of the country as a whole have worked out methods of their own whereby they handle in normal times a gigantic commerce and do it, on the whole, not badly.

This is one side of a picture. All men approve it. Here and there a critic, looking upon the banks at work in all the South and North and West, concludes that here must sound banking end; and that anything beyond is not of the commercial banking world but of some other kind of banking. Sometimes he calls it "financial banking," and draws a fearful picture of it. It is well to look upon that picture too, if one would know what banks may do with the money of the people.

On the same day that in Seattle they were lending nearly as much money on plain notes as they were lending in New York, the banks of New York had other loans of $332,000,000 made to people who put up in the bank certain collateral — stocks, bonds, etc. — and who agreed to pay off these loans on demand. For comparison, the Seattle banks had less than $5,000,000 out on such loans. Still other loans made in New York on similar collateral but not callable except at a stated date — time loans — brought the total up to more than $500,000,000.

Half a billion dollars lent in New York on collateral — there is the rub! This is the thing that every critic of our banking system siezes hold of as the handle for reform. This half billion dollar fund has been depicted always as a gambling fund lent to Wall Street to carry on speculation, to finance great money making pools in the stock market, to pander to the ambitions of a Harriman or to the schemes of market cliques led by speculators of the Gates and Keene stripe. It is the very heart and centre of the great popular distrust of our banking system.

One day, in my office, a man from the Middle West spent nearly an hour telling

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me the tale of his oppression by the "money trust." He had come East to raise $2,000,000 to finance an automobile factory. He found automobile factories quoted at a discount.

"Why," he said, "Morgan is the banker for the General Motors Company, and a Morgan broker has just lent a lot of money to the United States Motor Company. You have no chance if you ain't a trust. These banks throttle business. They tell me they won't lend on anything I've got because it isn't 'Stock Exchange collateral.' What in h—— has the Stock Exchange got to do with a buzz-wagon factory in Indiana? They lend all their money to Stock Exchange gamblers!"

By way of adding fuel to the flames, I turned over the pages of the last Washington report on the national banks and pointed out to him that on one page this report showed that the New York banks held $322,000,000 of money belonging to country banks; while on another page it appeared that the "call" loans on collateral in New York on the same day were $332,000,000. He gazed at the figures for a minute and then said:

"I wonder where they got the other ten millions!"

In his temper, he expressed the popular superstition about collateral loans by commercial banks. He believed that the sole aim and purpose of all this lending on collateral was simply to carry on gambling operations in Wall Street and to pander to the trusts, all securely tucked under the wing of Mr. J. P. Morgan, "the King of all the Trusts"—according to my Middle Western visitor.

Yet this man had come to New York, his pocket bulging, figuratively speaking, with $2,000,000 of bonds and $2,000,000 of stock in a new automobile company, hoping and expecting to put those securities up under a collateral loan and get $2,000,000 of money out of the banks! When it was pointed out to him that what he wanted to do, in reality, was to raise that total to $324,000,000, and he was asked whether that, too, would be a "gambling" loan, he looked a little dazed. Finally, he told the truth in words something like this:

"When it comes to paper, I can get my bills out of the local banks in Indiana; but when it comes to getting the capital to start things, of course, I've got to head East!"

Here is a function thrown upon the broad shoulders of New York. I am going to illustrate it by some extracts from the news of the day; but it is well to say, in passing, that it does not account for all or nearly all the collateral lending in New York. A very large amount of money is used at all times in the turning over of stocks and bonds on the New York Stock Exchange. Much of it is pure gambling. Much of it, on the contrary, is not. A good deal of it is simply a laborious process of making standards of investment value and expressing those standards in concrete terms. A lot of it is the ebb and flow of a sea of invested capital. There is no possible method of analyzing it in more than a very perfunctory way.

Quite apart from it, and different in character as day is from night, is this big task of "getting money to start things," as my Indiana friend put it. Take up the news and see the thing going on. This is no sermon; it's only a bit of a reporter's job.

One day in the early winter, the responsible officers of the Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation, a California giant engaged in making water work in various ways, came to their bankers in the East and demanded $18,000,000. The bankers had seen the thing grow. They found it first some years ago, a big, awkward, watery, weak-legged calf of a corporation, and nursed it through its gigantic infancy as best they could. They fed it on money drawn from almost every land where money grows, drawn in driblets, as it were, and siphoned through the bond market in New York across the continent to San Francisco. So they brought it to maturity.

Then it demanded $18,000,000. Its own bankers looked it over, said that it was good, and sent it over to Morgan's. The partners of that house listened to the story, asked questions, examined its treasury, its income, its outgo, its license to

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live, and all the other things that go with such a concern, and finally handed it the money — at a banker's discount, of course; for Morgan charity begins at Morgan's.

So it got the eighteen millions, more or less. Its officers handed over to the Morgan firm $20,000,000, par, of Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation bonds. The Morgan firm is not making a collection of bonds. It has no use for bonds until it has gotten rid of them. Therefore it called upon two other houses that deal in bonds with the general public to come and take these away. They took them away and gradually sold them to the public. That job is still going on.

All these long months, theoretically, the Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation is spending that money. It came out of the banks. First of all, possibly, it was borrowed, on collateral, by J. P. Morgan and Company. Then the load was transferred, and it was borrowed, from other or the same banks, on collateral loans, by the other two banking houses. Then they sold it, to dealers and brokers, hundreds of them, and to the public. The dealers took their little lots of bonds around to their banks and put them up as collateral for loans.

Thus the load was scattered, so that nobody had too much. First it was one big loan; then two big loans; then a hundred little loans; and after a while it will gradually dwindle away, as investors buy the bonds for cash, until all this money that the Pacific Gas and Electric Corporation is spending these next few years has finally been borrowed from the final lender on collateral, the little man with his few paper bonds, maybe in China or in England, or anywhere else where men reside and buy.

Just about the same time that this thing happened, and appeared in the item of "loans on collateral" in the New York banks, a threshing machine company, called the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Company, also wanted $8,000,000. It had borrowed in the West until the job got too big for the West. Then it, too, marched down to the corner of Broad and Wall Streets and asked for its money and got it. It had stock instead of bonds; but it does not matter much so long as its initial garb is a "J. P. M. temporary certificate." It is all good collateral in the banks, if the right people hand it in. So, for a time, it, too, abode in Wall Street collateral loans, waiting for the patient process of distribution to the ultimate consumer, the man who lives on dividends.

This is not a chronicle of the year's finance, and I am writing without notes; but it is well to take notice of a few of the contributors to "loans on collateral" this last winter in these financial banks that are such vampires on the commerce of the nation. They came trouping from all the sections of the country. From Mexico came a great petroleum concern to borrow millions to carry on its work under the shadow of a revolution; and from Canada I remember best a cousin of the Sherwin Williams Paint Company of Cincinnati. The City of Tokio, Japan, came for $10,000,000; and Seattle herself was heard from for a few more millions.

The mightiest visitors of all are the great railroads. Here the Rock Island gathered in its $20,000,000 to build a terminal in Omaha, to buy a line or two into outlying regions, to get ready the over-taxed equipment for a rush that may or may not come; there the ancient Northwestern, through a subsidiary, tapped the unfailing springs of capital. The Santa Fé raised money — again from the Morgan firm — on branches and main line in the far Southwest. The Pennsylvania, an honored visitor, asked and received in a hurry. The little Monon Route begged for a new coal supply and it was supplied by the Equitable Trust and its friends. The Southern Pacific, the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Vanderbilt lines — all these and dozens of lesser corporations came and lined up at the banking windows to add to the swelling list of "loans on collateral." Only the New Haven did not come, because she borrowed instead almost direct from the vaults of the savings banks of Massachusetts.

"When it comes to getting the capital to start things, of course, I've got to head East!" So said the man from Indiana;

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and so, too, have said, within the last six months, three of the greatest industrial corporations in that same state and almost every railroad that crosses its plains.

That is the function of the so-called "financial" commercial banking in New York. It is the oldest and truest activity of Wall Street, of Capel Court in London, of the Bourse in Berlin, and of every financial market in the world.

That it has been abused no one denies. We paid for some of the evils of the system in 1907; and we shall pay for others in other days no less dark and dangerous. But the pivoting of banking power on one man and one house, the piling up of hall-marked bonds and stocks on the counters of banded banks and trust companies, the rigging of stock-market traps by banking pools, the stringing of flimsy chains of banks about the town, one hanging by the other, the secret pools and treaties, the handing to and fro of other men's business secrets for private gain, the peremptory demands made by the underwriters upon the funds of banks and savings institutions, the stealthy use of other men's money for speculative profits — all these and many other greater or lesser sins do not obscure the fact, and should not obscure the fact, that the task of "getting the capital to start things" is, first of all, the business of the New York banks. That it is not the sole business of these banks is another story perhaps worth telling.

THE LINCOLN AND PERRY MEMORIALS

THE DESIGNS FOR THE COLOSSAL ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS THAT ARE TO COMMEMORATE THE DEEDS OF THESE TWO NATIONAL HEROES

BY

HENRY H. SAYLOR

CONGRESS last year set aside $2,000,000 to provide a fitting memorial to Abraham Lincoln. It also appropriated $250,000 for a monument to commemorate the victory of Commodore Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie and the termination of one hundred years of peace between this country and Great Britain. And Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Minnesota have swelled this Perry Memorial fund to $700,000. Both of these memorials are of such dignified character and of such impressive size as to arouse the interest and satisfaction of everyone who treasures in his heart a pride in the nation's past and in her great historical figures.

A little more than a year ago Congress created the Lincoln Memorial Commission with President Taft as chairman. The members of the commission are Senators Shelby M. Cullom and George Peabody Wetmore, former Senator Hernando de S. Money, Speaker Champ Clark, former Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, and Representative Samuel W. McCall. The Commission's first corporate act was to call upon the Fine Arts Commission for its advice regarding a suitable site for the nation's tribute to Lincoln's memory and regarding the employment of an architect.

The Fine Arts Commission consists at the present time of Messrs. D. H. Burnham, Thomas Hastings, Cass Gilbert, Daniel C. French, Charles Moore, Francis D. Millet, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Col. Spencer Cosby, U. S. A., Secretary. It is a standing commission, appointed by an act of Congress that provided for the appointment of "seven well qualified judges of the Fine Arts, whose duty it should be to advise upon the location of statues, fountains, and monuments in the public squares, streets and parks in the

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District of Columbia, and upon the selection of models for statues, fountains, and monuments erected under the authority of the United States, and upon the selection of artists for the execution of the same."

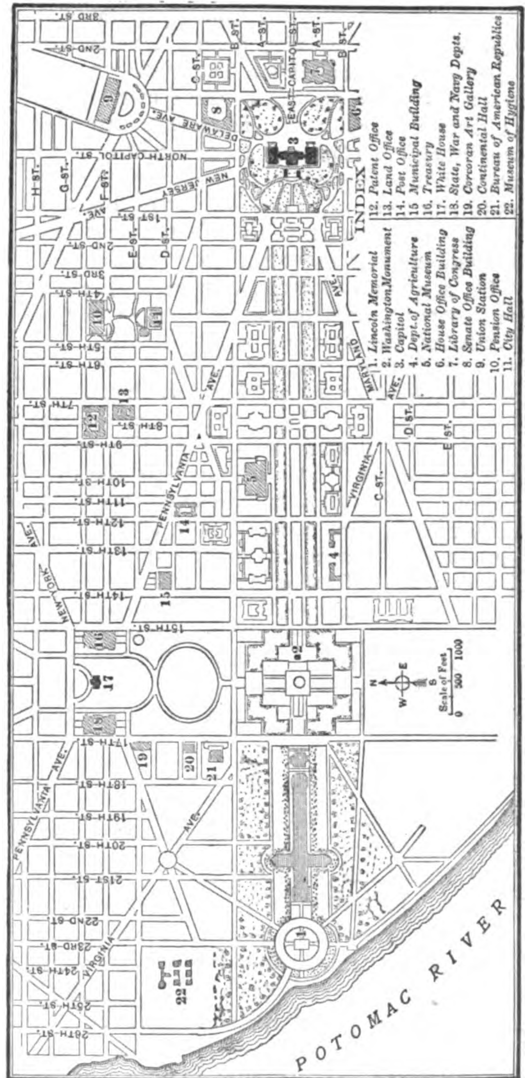
Acting upon the request made by the Lincoln Memorial Commission, the Fine Arts Commission called attention to the fact that, a decade ago, the Park Commission presented to Congress a plan for a better Washington, modeled on the famous plan evolved by Major L'Enfant; and that the Park Commission, in this plan, had suggested a site at the end of the proposed Mall as a most appropriate location for a monument to Lincoln. The Fine Arts Commission reported that it felt that no other site could compare in fitness with this one.

The Mall is to be the wide plaisance starting from the Capitol at the eastern end and centring upon the Washington Monument. Prolonged beyond this, it ends upon the bank of the Potomac River, having a total length of a little more than two miles. Across the river at this point are the heights of Arlington.

There is a symbolic significance in the site in Potomac Park that every one will note. At one end of the city's chief monumental axis stands the Capitol, the home of the legislative and judicial bodies of the Government; at the other end there is the possibility of a fitting memorial to Lincoln, the man who saved that Government; and between the two is the monument to Washington, its founder. Each of these three focal points is sufficiently far from the others to stand serenely above the necessity for intimately related design, yet the three, stretching in one grand sweep from Capitol Hill to the Potomac River, will be visually related and each will have its value increased by the associations and memories binding the group together.

Such is the site advised by the Fine Arts Commission. To carry out the design for the Memorial itself and its setting, the Commission suggested Mr. Henry Bacon, an architect of New York. In accordance with the Memorial Commission's invitation, Mr. Bacon examined the proposed site and, after four months' study, submitted a design. Here is a part of his report to the Lincoln Memorial Commission.

I propose that the memorial to Lincoln take the form of a monument symbolizing the union of the United States of America, enclosing, in the walls of its sanctuary, three memorials to the man himself; one a statue of heroic size expressing his humane personality, the others memorials of his two great speeches, one of the Gettysburg speech, the other of the Second Inaugural Address, each with attendant



GENERAL PLAN OF WASHINGTON

SHOWING THE PROPOSED SITE OF THE NEW LINCOLN MONUMENT ON THE POTOMAC AND AT THE END OF THE MALL ON WHICH STAND THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT AND THE CAPITOL

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sculpture and painting telling in allegory of his splendid qualities evident in those speeches.

The statue will occupy the place of honor, a position facing the entrance which opens toward the Capitol. This position is in a central hall, separated by screens of columns from the spaces at each side, in each of which will be one of the other memorials. Each of these three memorials will thus be secluded and isolated and will exert its greatest influence.

By means of terraces the ground at the site of the Lincoln Memorial will be raised until the same level is obtained as the ground at the base of the Washington Monument. First a terrace, 1,000 feet in diameter, is raised 11 feet above the present grade. On its outer edge will be planted four concentric rows of trees, leaving a plateau in the centre 750 feet in diameter, which is 4 feet greater than the length of the Capitol. In the centre of this plateau, surrounded by a wide roadway and walks, will rise a terrace 16 feet high and 500 feet in diameter, making the total elevation of grade 27 feet above the present grade.

On a granite rectangular base is placed a series of plinths or steps, thirteen in number, typifying the thirteen original states. The top step supports on its outer edge a Greek Doric colonnade of thirty-six columns, symbolizing the Union of 1865, each column representing a state existing at the time of Lincoln's death. This colonnade of the Union surrounds the wall of the Memorial Hall which rises through and above it, and at the top of the wall is a decoration, supported at intervals by eagles, of forty-eight memorial festoons, one for each state in the Union to-day. The above three features of the exterior design represent the Union as originally formed, as it was at the triumph of Lincoln's life, and as it is when we plan to erect a monument to his memory.

The memorial Hall itself is 60 x 135 feet; the colonnade around it is 108 x 171 feet; and the granite base is 168 x 231 feet. The Doric columns are 40 feet high and 6 feet 9 inches in diameter at their base. Above the finished grade at the granite base the structure attains a total height of 88 feet. Inside the hall the columns forming the two screens are 50 feet high and are of the Ionic order.

The plan provides that the exterior, above the granite base, shall be built of white marble. Inside the hall the walls and floor will be of colored marble to form a suitable setting for the statue, which will be of white marble. The ceiling, 60 feet high, will be supported by heavy bronze beams.

Mr. Bacon intends to introduce a large lagoon to the east of the memorial, thus contributing to the setting a further element of beauty in the tranquility and repose that a reflection of the memorial will add. And to the west of the memorial he proposes that a memorial bridge shall join the end of the Mall with Arlington.

The National Government and the governments of nine states intend to commemorate in 1913 the victory of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and the officers and men under his command at the Battle of Lake Erie, as well as the hundred years of peace that have since then been enjoyed between Great Britain and the United States. An important feature of this celebration will be the erection of the Perry Memorial at Put-in-Bay. Commissioners representing the National Government and the states have organized under the title, The Inter-state Board of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners.

Through its building committee, consisting of Mr. George H. Worthington, Chairman, Col. Henry Watterson, and Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, the Inter-state Board organized a competition among architects to decide upon a suitable design for the memorial. Mr. Frank Miles Day, past president of the American Institute of Architects, was appointed a professional advisor to assist the committee in the preparation of a programme and in the conduct of the competition.

The competition for the selection of an architect was admirably arranged. Eighty-one leading architects, from all parts of the country, were permitted to compete. Their designs were submitted anonymously, and were judged by the National Commission of Fine Arts. The commission to design and supervise the erection of the memorial was awarded to Messrs. J. H. Freedlander and A. D. Seymour, Jr., associate architects, of New York.

Enclosed between South Bass Island, Gibraltar Island, and the isthmus that connects them, lies Put-in-Bay, at the western end of Lake Erie. It was here that Commodore Perry's squadron lay

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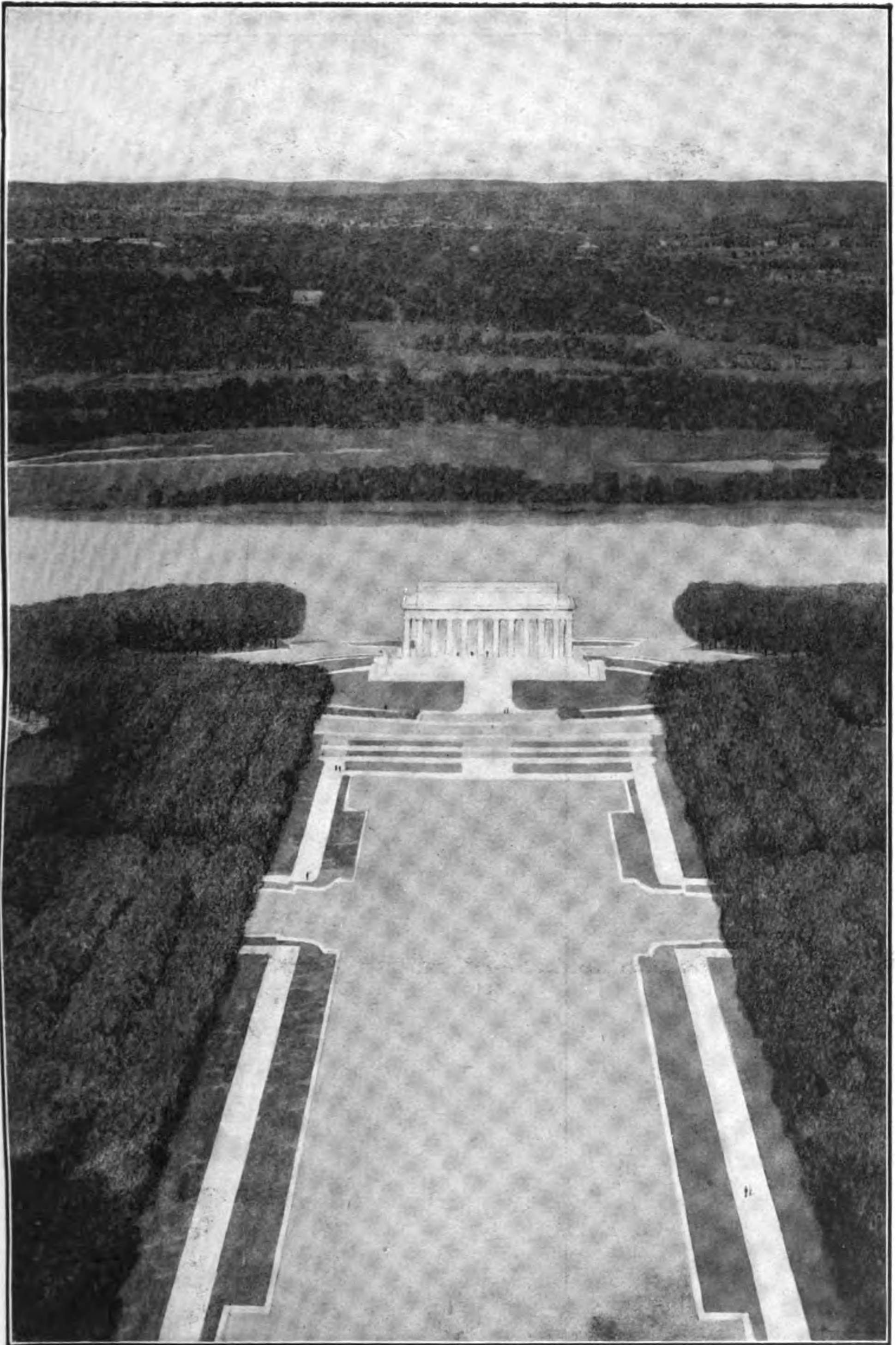

THE PROPOSED NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO LINCOLN

LOOKING WESTWARD FROM THE TOP OF WASHINGTON MONUMENT DOWN THE MALL TOWARD THE POTOMAC RIVER. DESIGNED BY MR. HENRY BACON

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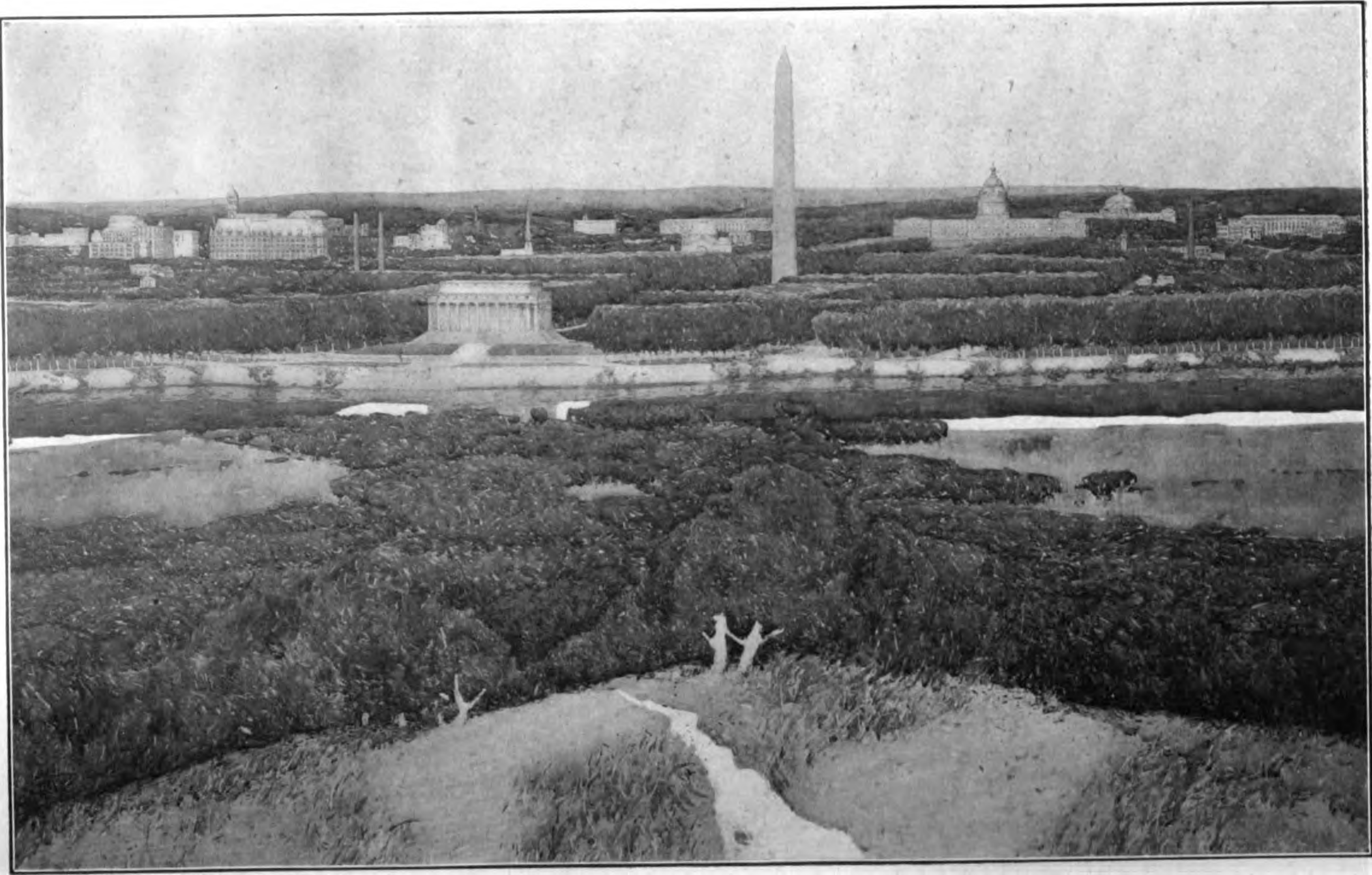

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE POTOMAC

SHOWING HOW IT REALIZES MAJOR L'ENFANT'S PURPOSE TO MAKE THE MALL THE AXIS OF THE CITY PLAN OF WASHINGTON, BY COMPLETING ITS SERIES OF NATIONAL SYMBOLS — THE CAPITOL AT THE EASTERN END, THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT AT THE CENTRE, AND THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT THE WESTERN END

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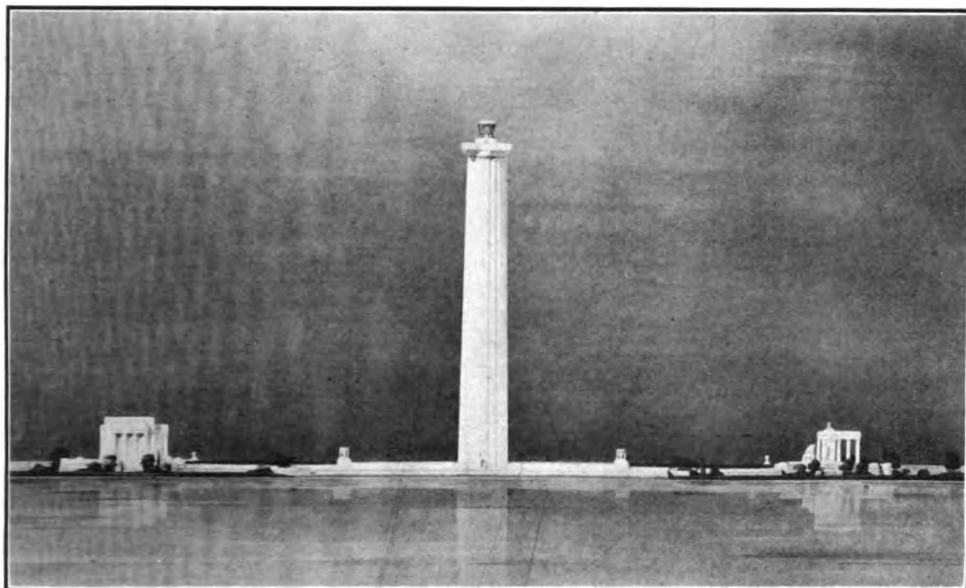

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THE PERRY MEMORIAL AT PUT-IN BAY, LAKE ERIE

THE SHAFT WILL BE 320 FEET HIGH AND WILL BE SURMOUNTED BY A MARINER'S LIGHT. TO THE LEFT WILL BE A MUSEUM OF HISTORICAL RELICS, AND TO THE RIGHT A STATUE, SURROUNDED BY A COLONNADE, TO COMMEMORATE AMERICA'S HUNDRED YEARS' PEACE WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE. DESIGNED BY MESSRS. J. H. FREEDLANDER AND A. D. SEYMOUR

before the battle, and to this sheet of water the squadron returned with the captured British ships. The high bluffs of Gibraltar Island were occupied by the look-outs that kept watch for the opposing fleet. The battle itself took place about eight miles to the northwestward. After the victory, troops under command of General William Henry Harrison were brought in Perry's ships to South Bass Island. There they were drilled and from there they set out for the Battle of the Thames and the capture of Detroit.

The accepted design consists of a plaza 1,000 feet long by 200 feet wide, in the centre of which is placed a simple shaft in the form of a Doric column, towering to a height of 320 feet and bearing on its top a light of the first order to illumine the adjacent waters. Flanking the shaft, at one end of the plaza, is a Museum of Historic Relics, and at the other a statue surrounded by a colonnade in commemoration of the hundred years of peace.

The plan provides that both the museum and colonnade shall occupy terraces that are raised slightly above the main plaza. In the Museum there are to be mural paintings descriptive of the more important events in connection with the Battle of Lake Erie. Another proposal is to re-inter, in a crypt underneath the shaft, the bodies of officers and sailors, both British and American, that are now buried on the island.

A feature of the design that doubtless had much to do with its choice from among the many submitted was the complet isolation of the shaft, so that the two minor buildings in no way interfere with the view of its full height from the water on both sides of the isthmus.

An interesting fact in connection with these waters is a provision of the treaty made after the war. Each of the two contracting powers was permitted to maintain in the vicinity only one gunboat, armed with one twelve-pounder, to preserve its respective rights. I believe the two ships are still on duty. The Commission will try to arrange for a suspension of the treaty during the Centennial celebration so that there may be a naval pageant and perhaps a sham battle between American and British warships as a feature of the dedicatory ceremonies.

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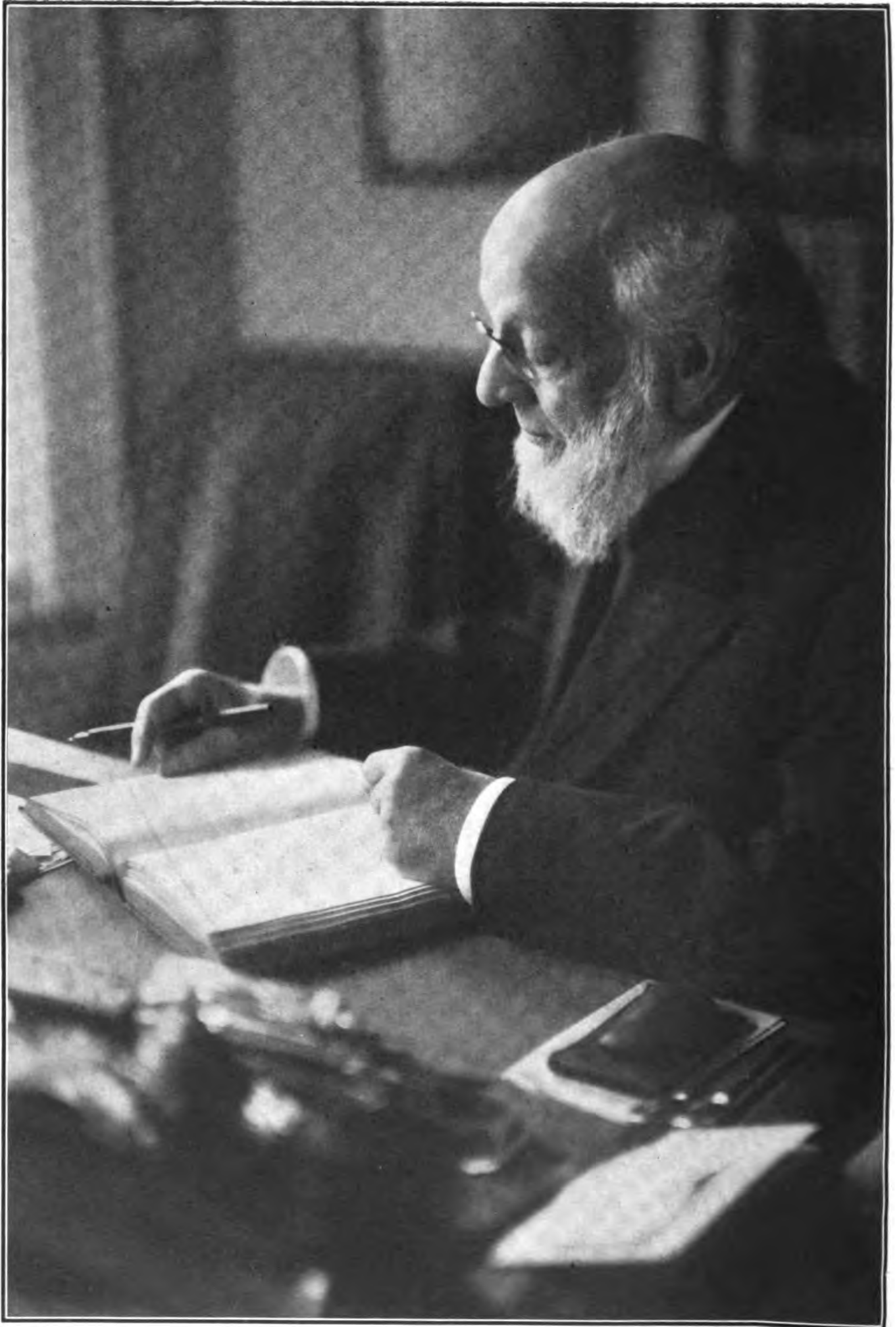

Photographed by Moffett Studio, Chicago

BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT

WHO FOUNDED THE CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT AND WAS THE PIONEER OF THE MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL — A VIGOROUS WORKER AT EIGHTY

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THE FOUNDER OF "CHAUTAUQUAS"

THE VARIED AND HELPFUL CAREER OF BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT

BY

HENRY OYEN

BISHOP John Heyl Vincent couldn't go to college, and as a consequence nearly three quarters of a million people all over the world have had an opportunity for self education through Chautauqua reading courses and lectures. On February 23, 1912, representatives of this army showed that they remembered the "father of the Chautauqua idea." It was the Bishop's eightieth birthday, and from the far and near corners of the world, from Keokuk to Calcutta, there came a flood of letters to Bishop Vincent's home in Chicago, homage from people of all races.

Sixty-two years ago, in 1850, Circuit Rider Vincent, carrying his message from cabin to cabin in the Pennsylvania hill country, was forced to face the fact that a university course was not for him.

In 1874 the circuit rider, now in charge of the Sunday School work of the Methodist church, caused the first Chautauqua Assembly to be held at Chautauqua Lake, N. Y. Primarily, his idea was to stimulate and broaden the work of Sunday School teachers of the Methodist Church. But in the eagerness with which it was received Bishop Vincent saw the opportunity for its broader mission of popular education.

He understood young folks, because he always has been young at heart himself. He knew the yearning of the young for knowledge, and their bitter disappointment when circumstances kept them from acquiring it. He had educated himself, by the light of a cabin fire-place, as Lincoln had; now he began to educate others.

The growth of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle has been one of the remarkable educational movements of this country. From the beginning in 1874 at Chautauqua the movement has spread to most countries of the world. Close to 750,000 names now are on the rolls of the Chautauqua courses. They embrace all the races of mankind and most of the nationalities. Fifty thousand visitors come to the original home of the movement, Chautauqua, N. Y. every summer; and there are few towns in this country in which Chautauqua assemblies are not an influence at assembly time.

Bishop Vincent has worked longer than most men live. He was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala., in 1832. He grew up in Pennsylvania. He became a minister in the Jersey District of the Methodist Church in 1850, when he was only 18. His talents made the Sunday School his natural field of work, and Sunday Schools as they exist to-day are largely due to his efforts. He was the pioneer in this work. He established the Sunday School "Quarterly," and he was one of the originators and promulgators of the system of International Sunday School Lessons, that have carried their message to the young of all peoples. He worked for sixteen years to complete his scheme of Sunday School labor. These years won him international fame before he was 35.

He became Bishop Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888, and served as bishop in Buffalo and Topeka. In 1900 he was placed in charge of the European missionary work of the church, with headquarters at Zurich, Switzerland. He remained there for four years. His work in the mission field has taken him on seven journeys through Europe, two African tours, and once across the Andes. In 1904 he was retired, but he has continued serving as preacher to Harvard, Yale, Wellesley, Cornell, and other colleges. He is equally at home in the cabin of the settler and in the halls of a great university.

At eighty, after sixty-two years of work, Bishop Vincent lives, and enjoys living, in his home near the University of Chicago.

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COUNTRY SCHOOLS FOR COUNTRY CHILDREN

THE SIMPLE MOTTO BY WHICH MISS JESSIE FIELD HAS MADE A WONDERFUL TRANSFORMATION IN EDUCATION IN PAGE COUNTY, IOWA

BY

W. K. TATE

(STATE RURAL SCHOOL SUPERVISOR FOR SOUTH CAROLINA)

IT WAS my privilege recently to spend two days with Miss Jessie Field, County Superintendent of Education in Page County, Iowa, in an endeavor to discover the secret of the reputation that her schools have attained among the country schools of the United States. I found it in Miss Field herself, and in the application of her motto. "We must teach a country child in terms of country life."

Page County lies off the beaten travel routes, on the Missouri line in southwestern Iowa, and Clarinda, the county seat, is somewhat hard to reach. As our train moved leisurely through the fertile, rolling valley I saw everywhere the signs of rural prosperity. The homes and farm buildings were comfortable and attractive, the roads were fair, and the rural telephone was universal. The shocks of corn, the harrowed fields ready for the wheat crop, the hay stacks, the barrels of apples under the trees that were being stripped of their red and golden burden, and the bluegrass pastures with their droves of cattle, hogs, and sheep, told a story of intelligent, diversified farming.

Miss Field herself greeted me at Clarinda; she was expecting my visit.

"Your train is late," she said, "but I have a runabout here, and we will have time to see one school before closing time."

Without further ceremony we stepped into a little car and were off to a country school three miles from Clarinda.

It didn't take us long to reach the school — it never does in Iowa. The consolidation movement has made little headway, in this country at least, and there is, in general, a one-room school every two miles. As we entered the room Miss Field was greeted by a battery of smiles from the teacher and the children, who knew her and rejoiced at her coming. She knows by name most of the school chil-

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"TEACHING COUNTRY CHILDREN IN THE TERMS OF COUNTRY LIFE"

AFTER A BOY HAS LEARNED HOW TO JUDGE SEED CORN HE HAS SOMETHING DEFINITE TO SAY WHEN HE WRITES HIS COMPOSITIONS IN ENGLISH; AND HE HAS A NEW INTEREST IN ARITHMETIC WHEN THE PROBLEMS ARE MADE TO DEAL WITH CORN

dren of the county. They also knew how to welcome a stranger, and in a quiet way each endeavored to show me a thoughtful attention. I was soon decorated with the Page County badge — an enamelled clover leaf bearing three H's and the words "Page County, Iowa." The spirit that pervaded the school made it easy to guess what the H's stood for — "head," "hand," and "heart."

In the school room I immediately perceived a wholesome country atmosphere that characterized all the schools we visited. Many of the boys were dressed in "jumpers" and they wore them proudly as a uniform of a most honorable calling. In addition to the maps, globes, and other equipment of the ordinary school there were tables and seed testing boxes made by the boys with ordinary farm tools, while collections of seeds and exhibits of insects were displayed on the walls. The composition book of one grade was entitled, "Things we should know about home," and the index showed such subjects as, "Why I like to live in the country," "How to make a loaf of bread," "How to make a bed," "How to use the

MAKING SCHOOL WORK REAL TO THE GIRLS ALSO

BY TEACHING THEM COOKING AT THE ANNUAL SUMMER CAMP

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MISS JESSIE FIELD
AND ONE OF THE BOYS WHO WON A TROPHY FOR PRIZE CORN

Babcock milk tester." A grammar lesson was in progress. Even in this formal subject there appeared many applications of Miss Field's motto: "We must teach a country child in terms of country life." The boy who was called on to illustrate a compound sentence did not struggle vainly to remember some sentence which he had seen in the book or had read in ancient history, but, looking quite naturally out of the school window on a neighboring orchard, said, "It is the 9th of October, and the farmers are gathering apples."

At the close of the school I was honored with a special introduction to the girl who took the prize for the best cookies at the last industrial fair, to the boy who had taken the prize for the best ear of corn, and to the school representative in the industrial fair organization, with whom Miss Field held a brief consultation about the next school exhibit.

In the meantime the children who had been dismissed were waiting outside the school room on the lawn for Miss Field and the game that she had promised to teach them at her next visit. The next ten minutes on the well-kept lawn cemented more closely the friendships of the school room and left each child richer in social possibilities.

On the way back to Clarinda, Miss Field stated briefly her educational principles and her methods of work as county superintendent.

When she entered the office, the schools of Page County were little better or worse than the ordinary country system in Iowa. The teachers were, for the most part, without special training and there was little professional enthusiasm. It was no unusual thing to change positions at the end of each school term of two or three months. Most of the country pupils dropped out of school at the end of the period of compulsory attendance, and only about fifty per year completed the eighth

THE CHAMPION BREAD MAKER
FROM MISS FIELD'S SCHOOLS. LOIS EDMONDS, WHO WON THE PRIZE IN A STATEWIDE COMPETITION FOR THE BEST LOAF OF BREAD IN IOWA

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grade. The teachers taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the other elementary subjects in the ordinary, conventional way. Hence they believed that, if you developed a boy's general intelligence by means of parsing, he would instinctively know how to select a milch cow or how to organize a coöperative fruit grower's association; or if he learned about the German Empire thoroughly, he would in some way develop later into a good corn grower or an enthusiastic poultry breeder; or if he learned to solve problems in cube root, he would of course know how to estimate the capacity of a corn crib or test a sample of milk for the percentage of butter-fat. They assumed that if a pupil worked hard enough on the ideas and ideals connected with the history of Egypt, he would thereby eventually develop a patriotic devotion to Page County.

Miss Field adopted a very simple philosophy. It was this: "If mental discipline acquired in one field of study spreads over the border and enables the student to work better in another, why shouldn't we begin with the actual life of Page County and spread out from there? Instead of trying to teach a love for the whole United States in general and trusting that in some mysterious way this will eventually percolate down to the school district, why not aim to develop an intense love for the school and a loyalty to Page County and let this gradually expand into a larger patriotism?"

Miss Field's philosophy has worked. Her first task was to inspire and train her teaching force. As she visited the schools of the county she picked out from the 130 teachers a dozen who were willing to meet regularly and led them to organize themselves into a Progressive Teachers' Club. These began a systematic study of the specific rural school problems of the county and made a steady effort to relate their schools vitally to the life of the community. Certain definite things to be done by the teachers were fixed as prerequisites to admission to the organization, and one by one the other teachers applied for membership and were received until now every teacher in the county is a member of the Progressive Club. Few of these teachers are college or normal school graduates. Most have received their professional training as the result of their experience under Miss Field's supervision, in the discussions of the Progressive Club, in the county institute, or in the summer session of the state normal school. Thirty-five teachers from the county attended the state summer school during the past summer. The county institute is held for ten days during the summer. I asked Miss Field if attendance at the institute were compulsory. She replied that it was purely voluntary. "How many of your teachers attend?" I asked. "They were all there," she answered, as if it were a matter of course.

Miss Field is a sincere friend to all her teachers, and they are loyal to her accordingly. The salary schedule in Page County is higher than the average in Iowa. Miss Field's own example is a continuous lesson in appreciation, and the school patrons have not been slow to learn to express their appreciation in those ways which mean quite as much as money to the conscientious worker.

The ideals for the year are set before the teachers in a list of questions on school progress that is sent out early and that is returned at the close of the school term. The blank contains such questions as these:

Has your school year been lengthened? Are the teachers' wages higher than last year? Have the number of classes on the programme been lessened? How many attendance certificates have you issued? How many diplomas and pins? Have the older pupils remained through the school year? Can your school sing "Iowa"? Did your school take any part in the county essay contest? In the county boys and girls' industrial exposition and corn show? Are there boys and girls in your district enrolled in the state junior agricultural work? Have you taught the farm arithmetic work? What have you done in manual training and hand work? State anything else that you have done to connect your school more closely with the farms and homes in your district and to serve their interests.

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Have you a school garden? State all that has been done to make the school house and grounds more beautiful and useful. Are your pupils thoughtful and courteous? Is there improvement in habits of study? Has your school done anything for your district in the way of literary societies and social recreations?

We may easily imagine the effect of such definite and concrete ideals set before the teachers.

Early next morning I found Miss Field in her office with her secretary, opening the day's mail. Many of the letters were from members of her student coöperative committee, which has a representative in every school. They were in response to inquiries from Miss Field concerning the pupils of the district who had not yet started to school. She finds the student committee one of her strongest helpers in the county organization. On display in the office were the state trophies that had been won by the schools of the county.

We were soon in the car again and on our way to the Olive Branch school. Although the morning was inclement most of the pupils were on hand. We arrived for the opening exercise. Among the songs were "Iowa" and "The Whistling Farmer Boy."

The morning nature lesson was a recognition and discussion of weeds that had been gathered on the way to school, and a drill on the recognition of the varieties of apples that were being harvested in the community. It was October 10th, the day on which seed corn is selected in Iowa. A pupil gave the reasons for picking seed corn at that time, and two boys with a string exemplified the best way to hang up the corn after it has been selected. The primary reading lesson that followed was based on a chart that had been made by the teacher in which she had used the pictures of birds common in the community, with sentences about the appearance and habits of each.

The arithmetic class was studying mensuration. The pupils had each been told to measure a corn crib at home, and the problems that were given them to work at the board had to do with the capacity of the crib, the amount of corn that it would hold, and the value of the corn. For the guidance of her teachers and pupils along practical lines, Miss Field has written a farm arithmetic, that she calls "a book of real problems for farm boys and girls," and which she says "contains nothing about longitude or time, cube root, English money, or the binomial theorem, but is devoted to the sort of work that the farm boys and girls will use every day in actual life."

The manual training work for the boys displayed in the school room was related to the practical work of the farm, and included such pieces as kitchen tables, milk stools, and models for farm devices that had been made during the year.

This same common-sense adaptation of the conventional course of study to the needs of every day life characterized all the schools we visited. Not that the knowledge of the pupils is confined to local material, but in their contemplation of the distant Italy beyond the Alps they habitually recognize the solid earth of Page County beneath their feet.

Miss Field has not found it desirable to develop extensive school gardens. The school grounds are covered with bluegrass, are well-kept, and are usually ornamented with beds of tulips and other simple flowers. The dominant motive in Page County is to centre in the home the larger part of the pupil's activity. The summer holiday prevents a full development of the school garden, and the work at home under the inspiration of the school enlists a more active interest on the part of the parents.

The motive for the manual and industrial work is furnished by the county industrial fair that is held every December. At this fair prizes are offered by the business men of the county for all kinds of handiwork, and the boys and girls of the county are busy months in advance preparing for it. The county superintendent of education and the teachers furnish the suggestions, directions, and the inspiration for this work, and the pupils do it mostly at home. As we rode over the county Miss Field pointed out the home where the boy lived who had taken first prize

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on his acre yield, or where the girl lived who had been a member of the cooking team that had won the state trophy at Ames.

Occasionally we came to a section of the road that was very much better than other sections over which we had passed. Miss Field explained that one prize at the industrial fair was given for the best model of the King road drag, and that the automobile association had offered a prize to the Page County boy who, with a road drag, would keep a half mile of road in the best condition. She pointed out the home of a boy who had been thought incorrigible, but who had been changed into one of the most reliable boys in the county through the activity and interest that had been aroused by participation in a corn raising and corn judging contest.

She told how handy farm devices, model kitchens, and devices for lightening the labor in the home are becoming universal in the county through the influence of the models exhibited in the school contests at the industrial fair; how prizes offered for miniature model farms, showing the placing of house, barns, orchard, pasture, and giving a crop rotation plan for five years, had resulted not only in a creditable exhibit but also in a universal knowledge of the best crop rotations for the county.

Entry in the industrial fair may be made by the individual boys and girls or by the school. A silver trophy is awarded to the school making the best exhibit. The child who does not win in these contests is not forgotten, and every exhibitor is presented with the clover leaf pin of Page County.

For the last two years a specialty of the agricultural and industrial work has been the boys' farm camp. This is held for two weeks in connection with the Chautauqua Assembly at Clarinda. Prof. E. C. Bishop, formerly state superintendent of schools for Nebraska, but now in charge of the extension work at Ames, has charge of the camp and directs the games and sports of the boys. Prof. R. K. Bliss and Prof. Murl McDonald of Ames offer short courses in stock judging and in corn and grain judging. From the boys who take this course, teams are selected and sent to take the agricultural short course offered at the state college of agriculture in January. The Page County team has won the state trophy in corn judging for two years in succession, and hopes next January to win it for the third time and thus to keep it permanently. The boys who go to Ames come back to the county and help teach the younger boys who will later hold up the banner of Page County.

The boys' camp was such a success that the people thought they must have a camp for the girls also. They called it "The Camp of the Golden Maids." The girls at the camp study cooking and sewing under Mrs. Knowles and Miss Campbell of the state college. The county cooking team was selected and sent to the state college for the short course, and, as you may easily guess, brought home the state cooking trophy which now keeps company with the other trophies in the county superintendent's office.

All this work has resulted in a Page county school spirit that is almost invincible. One noteworthy result of the new educational spirit is the almost total elimination of the school discipline problem. The boys and girls are too busy for mischief, and the teachers are too busy and interested to indulge in those morbid mental states that make school management difficult.

At the close of the school session every spring, graduating exercises are held at convenient points in the county, and those who have finished the course in the elementary schools meet and, in the presence of parents and friends, are awarded the county certificate.

Two years ago the Omaha Exposition offered an automobile as a prize to the county whose schools would send the best agricultural and industrial exhibit. Page county won. What should be done with the automobile? "Why, give it to Miss Field, of course, so that she can come to see us oftener," was the answer in one voice. Miss Field has the automobile yet, and almost every day in Page County you may meet her out among the county schools, an inspiration to all who come in contact with her.

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HOW THE CHINESE REPUBLIC WAS BORN

THE UNEXPECTED AND DRAMATIC SUCCESS OF A LONG PLANNED AND MODERNIZED REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

BY

NG POON CHEW

(MANAGING EDITOR OF "CHUNG SAI YAT PO," A CHINESE DAILY PAPER, SAN FRANCISCO)

IN THE winter of 1910 and the following spring, I made an extensive trip through a large portion of China, from southern Manchuria to Canton and from Shanghai to Han-kow, studying the condition of the Empire. I was amazed to find the revolutionary spirit so great among the people in all the large centres that I visited. Revolutionary topics were openly discussed in the commercial guilds, in the literary clubs, in the schools, in the inns, and in official circles. Among the well informed officials, the breaking out of the revolution was confidently expected at any time, as they knew that it could not be delayed much longer, and they accordingly had taken measures to safeguard their interests. Such men as Dr. Wu Ting-fang, the former Chinese minister at Washington; Lord Li Ching Fong, the adopted son of Li Hung Chang and former Chinese ambassador at the court of St. James's; Viceroy Sen Chun Shun, Marquis Tseng, and others made feverish haste to convert into cash whatever property they had that was within the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government and to invest only in the foreign concessions under the protection of foreign governments! One of these men told me that he was afraid that at any time a revolution might come and leave him penniless if he did not invest his wealth in foreign concessions.

Was the Manchu Government blind to this state of affairs? It had eyes to see but it had no strength to cope with the situation. What could it do? There were no able men in the Government's service, for the few really able men had been dismissed through personal grudge. It simply resigned to the inevitable, and adopted an "after me the deluge" policy, hoping that those then in the service might be permitted to live in peace and grow rich in graft, and that the storm of popular wrath might break on others' heads.

The Chinese revolution is the realization of the long centuries of dreams of the Chinese race. The alien Manchus had firmly established themselves on the Chinese throne and soil in 1644, and the first revolutionary society was organized in 1646 under the title of "Heaven and Earth League," by Chiang Ching Kung, a great Chinese scholar and patriot. Since 1644 fifty-three rebellions and attempts at rebellions have taken place, and each one was crushed by the Manchu Government with more or less bloodshed. All the former rebellions sought only to place a Chinese in place of a Manchu on the throne — to substitute a native monarchy for a foreign monarchy. But the present revolution was animated by a more lofty and modern policy, namely: to expel the Manchus from political power and to establish a republic.

The change of political faith among the revolutionists from monarchism to republicanism was definitely decided upon in 1897 at a conference of revolutionary leaders at Tokio, among whom, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, China's first provisional president, was the moving spirit. After thorough discussion, the idea of establishing a Chinese dynasty in the event of a successful revolution was found to be impracticable and hence was abandoned. To these enlightened leaders the establish-

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ment of a native monarchy not only presented serious difficulty but also a standing menace to the future peace and prosperity of the country. In the first place, no living descendants of former royal houses could be found. But even if one could be found that would be acceptable to the leaders, still the question of permanent peace was not solved; for sooner or later strife and struggle would result from dissatisfaction with a monarchical form of government as modern education and intelligence increased among the people, so that ultimately a war for freedom and equal suffrage would have to be waged all over again. They were sure that the ultimate form of government of the whole world is republican. They then decided to spread the propaganda of republicanism among the younger and enlightened circles of the Chinese people, especially the student body, so that when the time should be ripe for the launching of another revolution, the banner of a great republic might be unfurled. A flag of the Republic was then designed and accepted by the leaders — the flag that is now floating so proudly over the ancient land of China. The leaders were gratified to find that the idea of establishing a republic in China, in the event of a successful revolution, was well received. The enlightened portion of the Chinese living in foreign countries was especially enthusiastic over the republican idea.

The scheme devised by the revolutionary leaders for the government of a Chinese republic is different from the governmental scheme in the United States. The leaders in the movement were thoroughly aware of the mental condition of the Chinese people at large, and knew that many years must necessarily elapse before the masses are sufficiently educated to be able to appreciate and exercise the full rights of suffrage. Therefore, during the period of reconstruction and education, they intend that the suffrage shall be very limited, and the selection of public servants is to be very simple. The right to vote will be conditioned upon educational and property holding qualifications. The qualified voters will elect the members of the district council, the council will select officials of the district and enact laws for the government of the district, and will also select representatives from the district as members of the provincial assembly. The provincial assembly will select the officials and enact the laws of the province. The provincial assembly will also select representatives to the National Assembly. The National Assembly will pass all laws for the central government, will approve all treaties with foreign countries, will elect a president and a vice-president and a premier, and will approve or reject all appointments made by the president.

Obviously, this scheme contemplates very limited suffrage rights as compared to those enjoyed by the citizens of the American Republic. But it was understood that as the people increase in intelligence and knowledge, suffrage is to be enlarged gradually until in time the people are to enjoy the right as fully as the citizens of the most modern republics.

In the meantime the leaders in conference at Tokio decided to devote all their energy to spreading the propaganda of a revolution that they intended should be the most civilized known in history. They resolved to work among the younger generations and especially in the army and navy. They then thought that it would require about fifteen to twenty years of preliminary work before a successful *coup d'etat* could take place. But recent developments in the Orient accelerated the progress of the revolutionary spirit throughout the vast Empire of China, and thereby hastened the doom of the Manchu régime. Immediately after the conclusion of the disastrous war with Japan in 1894–1895, mutterings of discontent against the Government were heard among the modernized portion of the Chinese. Though these were insignificant in number at the time, they increased rapidly until they were represented in every locality. Between 1895 and 1900 great unrest manifested itself almost everywhere. The people were greatly concerned about the safety of the country. They were intensely bitter against the Government because it had shown crimi-

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nal negligence and incompetency in every undertaking.

It was during this period that the Powers were conspiring to bring about the dismemberment of China. In fact the wedge of dismemberment had already been driven into the country's vitals through concessions of harbors, ports, railways, mining, spheres of influence, etc. The reform measures launched by the late, good intentioned emperor, Kwang Hsu, for a few months gave the Chinese a glimpse of hope, but these hopes were blasted by the reactionaries, headed by the late Empress Dowager, who rendered all the reform measures abortive. The Boxer movement, in the summer of 1900, was backed and encouraged by the Manchu Government under the late Dowager, as a reactionary policy primarily directed against the progressive spirit of the Chinese. Then it became apparent to the Chinese people that there could be no hope from the reactionary Manchus for the salvation of the country.

After the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, 1904-1905, the Chinese were utterly sick of the effete Manchu régime. They knew that it was through the weakness and criminal negligence of their Manchu rulers that Russia and Japan fought the late war. They regarded it as an everlasting disgrace and irreparable injury to China. They lost all faith in the Imperial Government's outward show of reform and in its empty promises. They had diagnosed the disease that afflicted the Manchu body politic as a malady beyond the power of remedial treatment.

And it was not only the Chinese that regarded the Government as hopeless, for some enlightened Manchu officials had also viewed the situation in the same light and felt the same despair. Prince Pu Lun, the most enlightened of the Manchu princes, who came over to this country as Commissioner to the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, had often discussed with his intimate friends the hopelessness of Manchu reform, and he considered the case as too far gone. His private secretary related to me that the Prince had anticipated the utter collapse of the political structure set up by the Manchus in 1644.

After the fanatical and reactionary so-called Boxer movement in 1900, the anti-dynastic spirit manifested itself everywhere and the revolutionary activity took fresh start. Revolutionary writings, printed secretly in China and openly in foreign countries (especially in Japan), were to be seen and read in every community throughout the whole Empire, in spite of the prohibitive measures taken by the Imperial Government. Revolutionary newspapers increased in number with remarkable rapidity in the foreign concessions of the treaty ports, where they were outside the jurisdiction of the Manchu Government, and among the Chinese colonies in foreign countries. It was against the law to circulate these newspapers in China, but they had readers everywhere.

There were great accessions to the revolutionary societies. These organizations were known by different names in different parts of the country. The society in Shan-tung province was known as the "Big Sword League," and that in the provinces of Kiang-su and Che-kiang as the "Little Sword League." In Hu-nan and Hu-peh it was called the "Elder Brother League," while in Sze-chuen it was known as the "Younger Brother League." In Shen-si it was called the "White Lotus League," in Kansu the "Heaven Clear League." In Kwan-tung were three organizations, namely: the "Three United League," the "Three Dot League" and the "China Reviving League." There are many similar organizations among the Chinese in foreign countries. There are five among the Chinese in America: the "Most Impartial League" — commonly called the Chinese Free Mason Society — the "Great Harmony League," the "Golden Orchid League," the "Middle Reviving League," and the "Covenant League." The two last named were organized by Dr. Sun Yat Sen through hard personal endeavor. In the Straits Settlements they have the "Middle Harmony Company." They give the name of "Company" to their organization because the British Colonial Government does not permit the organization and maintenance of secret societies.

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In Tokio the revolutionists call their society the "Covenant League."

The most ardent workers for the revolutionary cause were the students. Their enthusiasm and devotion to the new ideal were without bound, and the reckless and fearless manner in which they carried on the preaching of the gospel of political emancipation cost many of them their lives in recent years, but that did not deter others from following this dangerous calling.

During the last two years the growth of democratic tendency among the leaders of the people was remarkable, and the boldness of the press in advocating the rights of the people was no less remarkable. In December, 1910, I was in Peking and there listened to the speeches made on the floor of the National Assembly. These speeches and debates were very democratic, even revolutionary, in spirit. In one of the sittings the Prince Regent was denounced in the severest terms for siding with the grand councilors in opposing the actions taken by the Assembly on the day previous. A member got up on the platform and in a ringing voice said:

"We wish to let the Government understand that the Empire is no longer the property of a few men. It belongs to the people, and we are the representatives of the people; therefore we must take measures to safeguard the interest of the people. If the Prince Regent continues to side with the obsolete and useless grand councilors, in obstructing the progress and the interest of the people, we shall be compelled by our sense of duty to impeach the Prince Regent, to show him that he is not so indispensable to the well being of the nation. Let him take notice of this."

Could a speech more democratic and fearless be heard on the floor of the American Congress in Washington?

After the death of that remarkable woman who had held the reins of government with such a firm hand for so many years — the Empress Dowager, Tze Hsi — on November 15, 1908, the government fell into incapable hands, and had no settled policy either in foreign relations or in internal administration. Seeing the weakness of the Imperial Government, and taking advantage of it, the revolutionary advocates lost no time in pushing ahead the doctrine of political liberty and national regeneration. Special efforts were made to win over the entire army and navy to the side of the people. And in fact these two parts of the Manchu Government were thoroughly honeycombed with revolutionary propaganda, with or without the knowledge of the officers in command. It was the intention of the revolutionary leaders to destroy the Manchu Government without much loss of lives and property.

On the clear and peaceful day of October 10, 1911, the long looked for spark started at the viceregal city of Wuchang. The Viceroy, Juicheng, blind to his own helplessness and to the formidable strength of the revolutionary portion of the army, beheaded thirty-eight soldiers and officers for being involved in a revolutionary conspiracy. At once a large portion of the troops, under Col. Li Yuen Hung, raised the standard of revolt and unfurled the tricolor of the Republic, and proclaimed the principle of the revolution to the people. Almost immediately one province after another fell into line and declared for the Republic with hardly any struggle or loss of lives. Within four months, the political machine of the Manchus, which had held on to the Chinese throne for two hundred and seventy years, completely collapsed and became a thing of the past. The oldest monarchy became the youngest republic on earth. The emancipation of four hundred and fifty million human beings from despotism and political slavery had been accomplished. The first great republic of Asia was born.

Now despotism has been at last dethroned and the people have come to their own. The leaders of the revolution have shown themselves to be really great patriots and capable of great deeds. It is their intention to work together to build the Republic on a firm foundation and to bring about the materialization of the following aims:

A strong central government, modernization of all institutions, complete development of natural resources, absolute separation of church and state, close and harmonious relations with the world.

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HOW TO RID THE HOUSE OF FLIES

"HOW can I get the flies out of my house and keep them out?"

First, kill all the flies in the house. Close the windows and doors, heat a small coal shovel, and pour twenty drops of carbolic acid on it. The fumes from the acid will kill all the flies in a large room. Another way is to burn pyrethrum powder — ordinary "Persian Insect Powder" — which, if pure and freshly ground, will give off a dense smoke that will stupefy every fly within reach of its fumes, so that they can then be swept up and burned. Kill them with "swatters." A very simple home-made "swatter" can be made of a piece of wire window screening four or five inches wide and six to eight inches long, inserted in a cleft in the end of a two-foot stick.

For the stray fly, use sticky fly paper and poison. The most effective poison is a solution of formalin in the proportion of eight teaspoonfuls to a quart of water. This is a safe poison where little children are about, for even if they should drink it, it would not kill them. Break a small nick in the edge of a bottle's mouth, fill the bottle with the solution and stand it inverted, in a saucer. Enough of the poison will flow into the saucer to answer the purpose, and as it evaporates more will flow down from the bottle. A piece of bread covered with sugar placed in the saucer will attract the flies. If placed where dogs or birds can get at it, cover the poison outfit with a screen of coarse wire, so as not to poison anything but the flies.

Another cheap and reliable fly poison which is not dangerous to human life is made by dissolving one drachm of bichromate of petroleum in two ounces of water, sweetened with sugar.

Fly traps can be easily made at home by rolling a piece of wire netting into a cylinder eight inches in diameter and a foot high. Another piece of the netting is folded into a cone and placed over the top and another cone placed inside the lower end of the cylinder, this cone having a hole punched in its apex through which the flies can crawl readily. The device should be set up so the flies may crawl under it, and baited with sweets.

A form of fly trap that is especially effective in stores and restaurant kitchens consists of a trough of tin three quarters of an inch wide and of the same depth, and as long as the width of the window. If this is placed close against the window on the inside and kept half filled with kerosene, every fly approaching the window will fall into it, for the fumes of the kerosene have an overpowering effect on the insect.

Screen doors are a favorite gathering place for flies, which hang about them waiting for someone to let them in. Mix a teaspoonful of carbolic acid with a quart of kerosene and rub the solution on the screen door. It will at once cease to attract the flies. A weak solution of formaldehyde may be applied in the same way.

The same carbolic acid and kerosene solution may be used in an ordinary plant sprayer to spray the garbage can, which is the principal attraction for flies indoors. A better plan, however, is to keep the garbage can outdoors and put a fly trap in the cover of it. Any local tinsmith can attach a trap to the cover readily, and at a very small expense. Fly traps can also be easily attached to window screens so that flies which do get in will be caught as they are going out.

There would be no flies to kill if there were no filth for them to breed in. Ninety per cent. of all flies are bred in horse manure, so keep the stable tightly screened, with fly traps set in the window screens. Spray the floors around the horse stalls with a good disinfectant. Pyroligneous acid, a by-product of the distillation of turpentine, is a very valuable spray because it is effective and non-inflammable. It can be bought in New York for $4.25 a

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barrel and may be obtained wherever paints and oils are sold. Kerosene is good, but increases the fire risk. Keep the stable refuse in a bin tightly covered with a wire netting cover. This will prevent the female fly from getting access to the contents to lay her eggs.

Clean up every place where decaying animal or vegetable refuse accumulates. Spray every receptacle for refuse with one of the kerosene or pyroligneous acid preparations, or with any good commercial disinfectant. Remember all the time that flies and filth begin with the same letter and mean the same thing.

Keep the flies away from the sick room, especially where there are contagious diseases.

Don't let waste paper or old rags accumulate where they can decay. Flies will breed in them if exposed to moisture.

After the refuse pile has been removed sprinkle the ground thoroughly, as the fly maggots crawl down into the earth to develop.

If the house drains empty on the surface of the ground, pour kerosene into them. If your sewerage system leaks pour kerosene into it.

If possible, burn all garbage. There are garbage incinerators that may be attached to the stove pipe that reduce the garbage to a combustible mass without odor.

If you cannot trace the flies about your premises to any other source, look in the cuspidor.

Keep flies away from food. Hemispherical wire screens to place over dishes may be bought anywhere in all sizes. Any one who will follow these directions can get rid of flies.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUTH POLE

AS VIEWED BY THE DISCOVERER OF THE NORTH POLE

BY

REAR-ADMIRAL ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. N.

ON THE 14th of December, 1911, Roald Amundsen, the first man to navigate a ship through the Northwest Passage, and four companions raised the Norwegian flag at the South Pole.

This expedition left Christiania a year and a half before, in June, 1910, in Nansen's ship, the *Fram*, ostensibly bound for Behring Strait via Cape Horn, to attempt a three or four year drift across the North Polar basin and over the Pole itself. From Madeira Amundsen cabled home, apparently much to the surprise of his friends, that he was going to the Antarctic regions and make an attempt to reach the South Pole. He was next heard from at Buenos Ayres. A few months later it was reported that Scott's ship had found Amundsen in the *Fram* in Balloon Bight or the Bay of Whales near the Eastern end of the Ross Sea ice barrier, and not far from King Edward VII Land. On the 10th of February, 1911, Amundsen's land party commenced establishing advance depots for the polar sledge journey which actually began October, 20th, and ended January 25th, with their return to the Bay of Whales, one year from the time of landing.

Leaving the Shackleton route to the Scott expedition, as he was bound to do according to exploring ethics, Amundsen set a direct course for the pole west of the coast of King Edward VII Land, developing his own route. To my mind Amundsen had one great advantage over the Scott expedition. His tractive power was dogs. His experience with them in the

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South proved their effectiveness as my experience did in the North. After landing Amundsen and his party, the *Fram* put back to Buenos Ayres for the winter, going south again in time to drive her way farther south than any ship had ever been before and to take on board the successful explorers.

In the meanwhile the British expedition, commanded by Captain Robert Scott, R. N., the most complete expedition of them all, is unheard from. It may have reached the South Pole either before or after Amundsen. It is exceedingly probable that it has reached it, for the men on this expedition have had more Antarctic experience than those of any other one. (There is a German, a Japanese, and an Australian expedition besides the English and Norwegian expeditions.)

The English ship, the *Terra Nova*, was not originally designed for exploration as the *Fram* was, but it was the finest of the New Foundland sealing fleet, built especially for ice work and strengthened for exploration. Captain Scott's equipment includes twenty ponies and thirty dogs, and one or two ice automobiles, giving him with his men four different kinds of tractive power for dragging his sledges. But the number of his dogs is comparatively few. Captain Amundsen lost thirty-six of his, or six more than Captain Scott took. The British seem to have put their main reliance on their ponies and motors, and in this, though I may be mistaken, I feel, both on general principles and from a study of Shackleton's experiences, that they may be handicapped.

This expedition is working along a route discovered and persistently exploited and completely preëmpted by the British. The navigable part was developed by James Ross in 1841; 277 miles of the sledge journey from winter quarters toward the Pole were blazed by Captain Scott himself in 1902; 366 miles more were added by Shackleton in 1909. From Shackleton's farthest south to the Pole is 97 miles.

Three fundamental natural conditions stand to the advantage of the seeker for the South Pole, as compared with the seeker for the North Pole.

First, a sledge expedition having for its object the South Pole has a permanent fixed surface (for all intents and purposes, land) uninterrupted by lanes of open water, on which to work and travel. On such a surface depots can be established at intervals of fifty miles if desirable, all the way to the South Pole, thus greatly reducing the loads upon the sledges, and enabling the sledges on the return journey to travel almost without loads. A sledge expedition having for its object the North Pole must traverse the surface of a frozen ocean that breaks up completely every summer, and that, under the influence of a severe storm, will crack into impassable lanes of open water almost under the traveler's feet, even in the fiercest cold of midwinter. On this surface no depots can be established. The last depot must be on the most northern point of the land, 413 miles from the North Pole, and that entire distance out and back must be covered with the provisions that can be carried upon the sledges, with no chance to lighten their loads.

Second, the sledging season in the Antarctic regions is limited only by the length of the long Antarctic summer day, and is, therefore, eight or nine months long, whereas in the North, the sledging season, commencing with the first returning light of the summer day, is ended by the breaking up of the sea ice in June, four months later at the best.

Third, the sledging season in the Antarctic regions is late spring and summer, the warmest part of the year; while in the Arctic regions it is late winter and early spring, the coldest part of the year, though this is not of vital importance to an experienced party properly clothed.

These great advantages far more than balance the fact that the distance to be traversed by sledge to reach the South Pole is 700 miles each way, as compared with 450 miles each way to reach the North Pole.

There is the disadvantage in a South Polar journey that the last third of the distance is at an altitude of 7,000 to 11,000 feet above sea level.

Conditions at the two Poles are as unlike as the Poles are far apart. An explorer at the North Pole would be stand-

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MAP SHOWING AMUNDSEN'S ROUTE TO THE SOUTH POLE

AND THE PROPOSED ROUTES OF THE BRITISH (SCOTT), GERMAN (FILCHNER), JAPANESE (SHIRASE), AND AUSTRALIAN (MAWSON) EXPEDITIONS. NOTE THAT THE COAST LINE OF THE SOUTH POLAR CONTINENT CORRESPONDS ROUGHLY TO THE LINE OF THE ANTARCTIC CIRCLE

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ing on the frozen surface of an ocean two miles or more in depth. An explorer at the South Pole would be standing on the surface of a great snow cap two miles or more above sea level. The most northerly North Polar lands known possess a comparative abundance of animal life — musk-ox, reindeer, Polar bear, wolf, fox, arctic hare, ermine, lemming, and land birds, as well as forms of insect life — and during a few short weeks in summer numbers of brilliant flowers. Human life ranges to within some 700 miles of the North Pole. On the Antarctic continent, there is absolutely no form of animal or vegetable life, though two or three species of sea birds breed during a few weeks in summer at several localities on the coast. No human life is to be found nearer than Tierra del Fuego, some 2,000 miles from the South Pole.

Efforts to attain the North Pole have been going on for nearly 400 years.

Efforts to reach the South Pole date back 140 years.

The history of North Polar exploration is studded with crushed and foundering ships, and the deaths of hundreds of brave men.

The history of South Polar exploration shows the loss of but one ship, Nordenskjold's *Antarctica* in 1902, and the loss of one or two men on some of the other expeditions. In one respect, they are alike: In the struggle for the attainment of both, success depended in the last analysis on the first primitive machine, the animal — men and dogs.

LAND A-PLENTY

BY

J. A. BONSTEEL

(SCIENTIST IN THE UNITED STATES SOIL SURVEY)

FOURTEEN of the forty-eight states of the Union possess sufficient improved land of the proper kind of soil with proper climate and sufficient rainfall to produce all the staple crops now growing in the country. To make them do so, all that is necessary is for the average yield to come up to a reasonable standard — a standard which many American farmers already have achieved, which some whole counties have achieved, and which is still below the standard of European countries. This could be done and still leave 26,000,000 acres of improved land in these fourteen states to be devoted to minor crops or to the increase in production of the staples.

The corn crop of the United States could be produced upon the present improved land in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, and there would be 10,000,000 acres left over. The improved land of Texas could grow all the cotton and rice that this country now grows, and nearly 7,000,000 acres would be left over. All the hay and forage of the United States could come from the present improved land of Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and 8,000,000 acres would be untouched. North and South Dakota could produce the total wheat crop and have an overplus of already improved land sufficient for the accommodation of the barley crop. All the oats and flax and rye and buckwheat which are now grown in the United States could be handled in Minnesota and Wisconsin. A potato supply equal to the great crop of 1909 could be raised in Maine, and leave nearly a half million acres unused. Massachusetts might grow all the American tobacco crop on her own improved land and keep 109,000 acres for other crops. All this could be done if the average yield per acre were only raised to a reasonable figure. If our yield of corn was 40 bushels instead of 25, if our cotton was half a bale instead of a third, if our potatoes were 200 bushels instead of 106, etc., this could be done. Any one familiar with good farming knows that such yields are possible.

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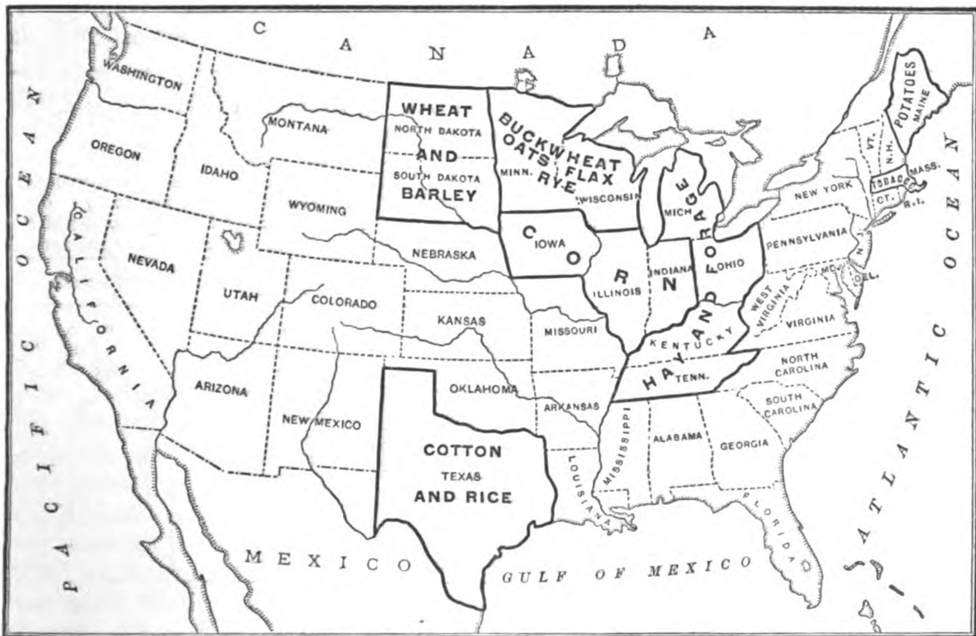
These facts give any patriotic American the proper answer to the question how shall we be fed in the generations to come. It is possible to produce the food we need on the land that is already improved. Formerly the requirements of increased agricultural production were made through the increase in the acreage of farm land. To some extent in the future this same method will be used. Yet the limits of additional farm land area are more nearly approached with each succeeding year, and already we are getting to a point where we improve our already fenced land rather than add new lands to the farms.

This fact, at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, marks the beginning of a new era in American agriculture —a new era in which progress is attained through better methods rather than through the increase in acreage, and this new era has already begun; for during the last decade the average yields per acre excelled those of any other period in the history of the country. But this progress marks only the beginning. In 1870, 35½ per cent. of the industrial population of the country was engaged in agriculture. In 1900, this proportion had declined to 26 per cent. In 1870, every farm family supported two non-agricultural families with the fundamental necessities of life, and in 1900 it was called upon to support three. An increase of 50 per cent. in productive effort has been imposed upon the farmer within a single generation. This disproportion between industrial workers and farmers, becoming reasonably acute, is the fundamental and sound basis for the Back-to-the-Land movement. An increase in the number of people to tend to the land well and to the cultivation of the unimproved acres now included in farms would not only maintain our food supply but would maintain the export trade which we have been losing, and might even permit of an increase of its volume. The truth of this statement is apparent from a consideration of the figures given for the acreage of improved land, and from a statement of attainable crop yields.



MAP SHOWING THAT THE ENTIRE PRESENT PRODUCTION OF THE TWELVE STAPLE CROPS COULD BE GROWN IN FOURTEEN STATES, WITH MILLIONS OF ACRES TO SPARE, IF OUR FARMERS WOULD MAINTAIN A CONSERVATIVELY REASONABLE AVERAGE YIELD PER ACRE

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Land and Crop Areas of the United States as shown in the thirteenth census

	ACRES	INCREASE IN DECADE — ACRES
Total land area,	1,903,289,600	....
Land in farms.	878,798,325	40,206,551
Improved land.	478,451,750	63,953,263

There are four principles which constitute the basis of the methods employed by the successful farmers who have so far set what standards we possess. The first of these is concerned with the special adaptability of particular soils to produce specific crops. For instance, there is one extensive soil type, the Marshall silt loam, which is the dominant soil in each of the premier counties of the five great corn-producing states. It covers an established area of 60,000,000 acres in the "corn belt," and nowhere in this area except at the extreme western limit of precipitation does the average acreage yield of corn sink below 40 bushels. In many counties where this soil prevails, the average yield of corn is maintained at 43 to 45 bushels per acre, and individual farms consisting of it have, for a generation, yielded average crops. The leading corn-producing county of the United States which is 88 per cent. Marshall silt loam, yields annually a crop approximately equal to that of New York state and a trifle in excess of the total production of all New England.

There are three other soils besides the Marshall silt loam that are especially well fitted for corn growing. Yet a smaller acreage of corn is annually planted upon them than upon other soils. And experiments have shown that the farmers who make this mistake of planting on ill-adapted soil are three times poorer at the end of the year than are the men who plant more wisely. The principle affects both the quality and the quantity of the crop. In the progress of soil survey work in one of the North-Central states it was ascertained that the millers paid a bonus of several cents a bushel for the wheat grown in one portion of the county. The soil survey revealed an almost unbroken block of one of the dominant wheat soils covering that section, as contrasted with different soils in other portions of the county.

Rotation, the second great principle, has been more thoroughly discussed. Yet there are sections within the boundaries of the United States where the "one-crop" system of agriculture is still followed. And each such section, no matter whether the crop be wheat or corn or cotton, is marked by low average yields and in some cases by decreased production. On the other hand, the regions that have adopted the modern system of crop rotations to supplant fallowing have shown largely

OUR ACTUAL AND OUR POTENTIAL PRODUCTION OF THE TWELVE STAPLE CROPS

Table showing the number of acres actually used to produce the various total yields of twelve staple crops in 1909.			Table showing the smaller number of acres that would be necessary to produce the same yield if there were a higher standard of productivity per acre.	
CROP	PRESENT YIELD PER ACRE	ACRES USED	ASSUMED YIELD PER ACRE	ACRES REQUIRED
Corn	25.9 bu.	98,383,000	40.0 bu.	63,804,750
Wheat	15.4 bu.	44,261,000	20.0 bu.	34,167,485
Oats	28.6 bu.	35,159,217	40.0 bu.	25,178,236
Hay and forage	1.35 tons	71,915,457	2.0 tons	48,573,723
Potatoes	106.1 bu.	3,669,000	200.0 bu.	1,945,975
Tobacco	815.0 lbs.	1,294,911	1,000.0 lbs.	1,055,765
Rice	33.0 bu.	600,000	40.0 bu.	515,450
Cotton*	0.3 bale	30,938,000	0.5 bale	20,009,898
Barley*	24.3 bu.	7,011,000	30.0 bu.	5,676,133
Flax Seed*	9.4 bu.	2,742,000	12.0 bu.	2,154,667
Rye*	16.1 bu.	2,006,000	20.0 bu.	1,611,950
Buckwheat*	20.9 bu.	834,000	25.0 bu.	700,000
Total		298,812,585		205,394,032

* From the Year Book, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

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increased yields both per acre and per square mile. The modern farmer, outside of the semi-arid region, can have no valid excuse for the practice of either the one-crop system or of fallowing. For it is now known that there are a sufficient number of different kinds of crops, adaptable to the same conditions of soil and climate, to make rotation practicable on almost any kind of land.

A third principle which must be learned in many regions is that of better tillage of the soil. Under pioneer conditions the prairie sod was laboriously broken to the depth of a few inches and the grain was frequently sown upon the raw edges of the furrows. In other portions of the United States light-weight plows were used to turn the sandy soil to a depth of three or four inches at the most. It would be safe to say that this system of shallow plowing and incomplete fitting of the soils is responsible for the poor crop yields over a greater territory than is any other single faulty method of agriculture. There are many states within which the average depth of plowing at the present time does not exceed three and one half inches. The surface of the land is merely scratched. Such carelessness and ignorance must be abolished and the careful lessons of the Old World tilling must be learned. Better work-stock must be secured — and more adequate farm machinery; improved, labor-saving methods must be instituted, and there must be a thorough study of labor management.

A fourth necessity is the knowledge of proper methods of fertilization. An almost incredible amount of material is now wasted which might be utilized to maintain and increase the fertility of the soil. It has been estimated that all the live stock in the United States annually produces manure having a commercial value in excess of $2,000,000,000, and at least one half of this amount is absolutely wasted. Yet the expenditure for purchased fertilizers amounted to $130,000,000 in the last census year. It might be objected that the waste of stable manure does not occur in the regions where the greater proportion of the purchased fertilizer is used. That may be partly true, but the facts show that the great fertilizer-using section annually permits the waste of an amount of stable manure equal in value to its cash expenditure for fertilizer.

After many years of careful experimentation the best authorities who have studied the matter of fertilization are practically agreed that no manufactured compound is equal to stable manure for the lasting improvement of the crop-producing power of the soil. This is especially true in the case of the great staple crops and of the most extensively developed areas of general farming soils. It is, therefore, incumbent upon American farmers to secure this vast treasure of fertility which is now lost to the land.

In spite, however, of the many discouragements due to the ignorance or hard-headedness of farmers, it is very evident that the old forms of extensive agriculture are slowly giving place to the newer forms of intensive farming and that hundreds of acres of land in the Eastern United States, which were formerly devoted to the production of a few bushels of wheat per acre, are now yielding 200 and 300 bushels of potatoes. Southern lands which were unoccupied prairie or scattered pine forest a generation ago are now yielding 35 bushels of rice per acre. Grassy swales from which a scanty yield of wild hay was secured twenty years ago are now yielding a bale of cotton or 50 bushels of corn per acre in many of the alluvial bottoms of the great Mississippi basin. Rocky hillsides which supported a sparse growth of scrubby oak until the beginning of the last decade are now occupied by vineyard and orchard. And it is a pleasant thing to be able to say to the pessimists who have threatened us with starvation that the American farmers have so increased the extent and the efficiency of their labors that the per capita production of all the great food crops grown for human consumption has attained to the highest mark in the history of the nation.

The important thing to be remembered is that the paramount need of American agriculture at the present time is of effectively tilled land and of more men to till it. That is the fundamental basis of the Back-to-the-Land Movement.

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

RIVERSIDE'S TREE ASSETS

RIVERSIDE, Cal., is a town with a good inheritance. It owes its happy origin to the enterprise of a handful of Easterners who journeyed to the arid Southwest forty-one years ago in search of health and a home. These newcomers were not daunted by the desolate appearance of the valley, but chose their site in the midst of the sage-brush. They brought in artesian water from the mountains and set out orange groves. And they built broad streets which, for the sake of comfort and beauty, they planted with triple rows of trees. Everything prospered and Riverside became an oasis in the California desert.

In the course of time, however, as the little city grew in numbers and in wealth, it allowed the spirit of commercialism to creep into its precincts. This new spirit straightway decreed that the big trees, on which in early days so much care had been lavished, were an expense and a trouble. Business carried on beneath bowers of leaf and bloom did not seem like serious business. Even on the residence streets the trees were considered a nuisance. The wood might more advantageously be used for fires. So right and left the axes were busy and numberless great trees met their end in the kitchen stove. Riverside, for all its heritage, was rapidly becoming as straggly and barren as any other prosperous, rapidly growing Western town.

About thirteen years ago, the inhabitants suddenly opened their eyes to the fact that they were committing Esau's folly. Immediately they set about repairing the wrong with the same reckless abandon that had characterized their former zeal in despoiling. They planted everywhere, they filled in with anything. Each property owner garnished his frontage with his own favorite kind of shrub, regardless of what his neighbor was doing. Trees of all heights and varieties were crowded side by side. Riverside was now in danger of becoming a hodge-podge of spurious and unharmonious growths.

Then once again the citizens took thought. This time they did so with wisdom. They appealed, forthwith, to the Chamber of Commerce. This body straightway appointed a tree committee and went deep into its own pockets for funds to carry on the work. There was no more hit or miss arrangement. For two years this committee sorted and planted trees and educated public opinion. Mass meetings were held and private subscriptions enlisted. In 1907, a new charter went into effect providing for a Board of Park Commissioners, and a Tree Warden who was to have complete control of all the street trees — of their planting, care, and general management. This officer began by studying the character of the city and of the country. Obviously, the kind of trees in keeping with the traditions of that southwestern land were of a semi-tropical variety. Palms he chose for the business sections, and quick-growing acacias and pepper trees for the residence districts. No street was too mean or too unimportant for adornment.

At present Riverside, though it has but 16,000 inhabitants, possesses 200 miles of shaded streets. Since the work was commenced, more than 9,464 trees have been planted, enough (with those that were already there), if placed consecutively 40 feet apart, to line two sides of a street for 70 miles.

That is the story of how Riverside was true to its heritage. And the cheerful part in it all is that commercialism, which had so insistently demanded ugliness as essential to its prosperity, has lost nothing by the city's defiance of its dictates; for Riverside has increased steadily in riches and in population. Neighboring cities have looked on, have envied and admired, and six of them recently have gone and done likewise.

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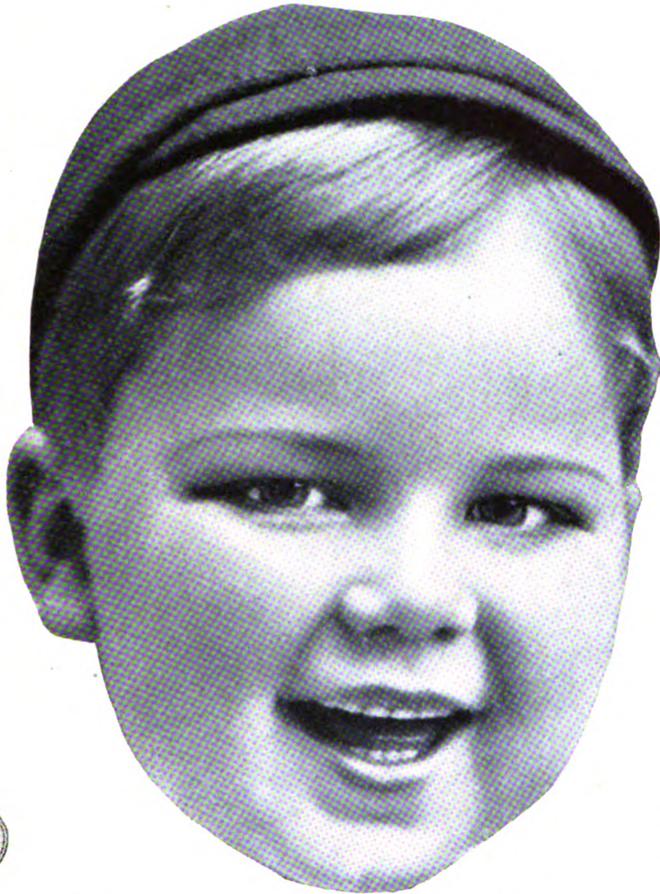
"HAVE YOU A LITTLE 'FAIRY' IN YOUR HOME?"



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MAY 23 1912

June, 1912

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THE WORLD'S WORK

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BY PRESIDENT TAFT

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David Starr Jordan

Hunting Wildebeest from a Buckboard
Stewart Edward White

With Knox in the Caribbean
William Bayard Hale

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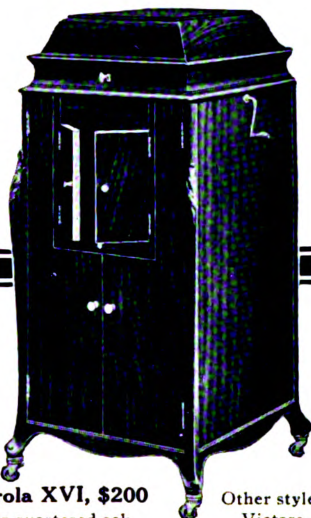
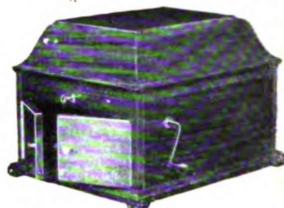
Victor-Victrola





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The World's Work

WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR

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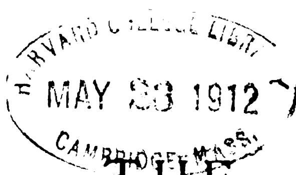
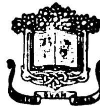


THE WORLD'S WORK

JUNE, 1912

VOLUME XXIV  NUMBER 2

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

SURELY there are a great many citizens of the United States who share the feeling of the WORLD'S WORK, that the personal controversy between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt is not only a national misfortune but a national disgrace. To apportion blame accurately — that would do no good even if it were possible by a detached commentator. But, in the main matter of their bitter accusations, each tells the truth about the other: Mr. Taft has been a complaisant President; and Mr. Roosevelt has not squared himself with his own declaration about a third-term nor has he fought frankly and fairly. Dignity does not always play a high part in our democracy; but even our democratic propriety has suffered grave offence at their hands. It is a sorrowful spectacle surely.

Of course, the partisans of Mr. Taft say: "Well, what else could he do? Ought he to suffer misrepresentation and defeat in silence?" Well, there are other ways for a President to speak than in personal controversies from rear platforms. And the partisans of Mr. Roosevelt say: "When Mr. Taft had shown himself a disappointment, Mr. Roosevelt risked defeat and humiliation by trying to bring the party back to right ways." Yes, but why by a stump campaign and personal controversy?

These explanations do not go to the root of the matter. For the President and the former President have been engaged in a brawl, accusing one another of hypocrisy and falsification. Their "debate" has not been about great principles nor important policies. It has been on the low level of personal attack and personal defence.

Inevitably, when the excitement of the combat is passed, sober and thoughtful men will regard them both with less respect than they regarded them before. Worse yet, the great office of President has been degraded in men's eyes. They have seen it handed over by one man to another and then treated by them as the prize of a personal combat to decide which of them shall *now* have it. This is a deep and lasting offence against the dignity of the great office.

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MR. CHARLES M. CABOT

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MR. GUGLIELMO MARCONI

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VISCOUNT SUTEMI CHINDA

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MISS JULIA C. LATHROP

CHIEF OF THE NEW NATIONAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, AND AN EFFICIENT WORKER FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT IN CHICAGO, AND FOR MORE HUMANE LAWS GOVERNING ORPHANAGES AND ASYLUMS

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MRS. CORRA HARRIS

WHOSE "EVE'S SECOND HUSBAND" AND "THE RECORDING ANGEL," A TALE OF THE GEORGIA HILLS, HAVE WON HER A LARGE AUDIENCE

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BEFORE THE CONVENTIONS

MR. TAFT — by temperament not suited for sturdy executive duties, being too trustful of those near him and too inaccessible to those who speak plainly to him; "a good man surrounded by gentlemen who know exactly what they want," "meaning well feebly;" patriotic but indecisive till driven to anger; compromising by nature — hoping that the Pinchot and Wiley troubles, for examples, will blow over; intellectually lazy till spurred to action — composing a Winona speech, for example, between railway stations; an amiable and attractive man at close range, but an inept leader, not knowing the people; a man of policies rather than of fundamental convictions, with a naïf confidence in mere party leaders and a sort of childlike interpretation of party platforms; as fierce in anger as he is amiable in repose, his smile giving place to violent speech which sounds as if it were assumed; a man who has not reasoned out a fundamental economic creed; a formal minded man, thinking clearly by statutes rather than by principles; a President of very considerable achievement, for which he has not received due credit because of his lack of commanding tones; like a quiet day after a cyclone, which seems dull and heavy because of the wind and fury of the day before; more unfortunate than blameworthy, approved by sufferance rather than with applause; a President that has many personal friends but few active partisans except under compulsion; the victim of his own fundamental mistake in not accepting a seat on the Supreme Bench.

Mr. Roosevelt — the foremost political personality of his time, whose vigorous and dictatorial use of the Presidency gave the office a new meaning and gave the nation a new impulse; whose prodigious success bred in him a prodigious impatience, and has misled him into sacrificing the dignity of his position; willing to risk defeat for great principles of "social justice" that are somewhat too vague for clear political formulation, but so fierce in their hold on him that they drive him into compromising pugnacities and contradictions and associations; the idol of the impatiently active; he is an impulse rather than a well ordered force; a man of the most varied knowledge and accomplishments, but strangely lacking in economic grasp; capable of mistaking his wishes for principles; the probable destroyer of his party in his zeal to lift it up; incapable of retirement and lacking the patience to harvest and to use the great influence of his prodigious activities; if he should become President again, why not still again? That is the rock that he is in danger of, for he is going recklessly over uncharted waters. The pity of it is that he is running at all. It was a great enough violence to the real rule of the people that he dictated his own successor in the Presidency. It would be somewhat too dictatorial if he should become successor to that successor.

Mr. Bryan — whose career is without parallel in our history (certainly since Henry Clay ceased to be a Presidential candidate); a man who has lived to see his successful competitors take many of his political doctrines and plans and relabel them and get credit for them; yet observing this series of events and his series of defeats with philosophy and even with humor; an enduring campaigner, a friendly and kindly nature with a philosophy of life that gives him a sincere sympathy with the masses of men; a man who missed being the foremost Democrat of his time by his serious intellectual limitations, but a man whose instinctive perception of the democratic philosophy has made him a great leader of the masses; sobered by time and become more tolerant and broader, he is the loudest voice yet in expressing the crude cry for justice to the unprivileged and forgotten; a shrewd politician and thrifty, with his belief yet unshaken that he was born to be President — why not at the coming election? a party dictator with an air of humility; if his mind were as good an instrument for clear thinking as his voice is for clear speaking, he would long ago have been invincible; and he may be invincible yet, for he can yet convince himself of any popular plausibility, and the Republicans may accept a candidate of desperation.

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Governor Harmon — a man of commonplace mind whose thinking was done a generation ago; old-fashioned because inert and temperamentally "stand-pat;" a lawyer of good practice chiefly for corporations; a man of a kindly nature, a sort of old-fashioned gentleman furnished to order for the present occasion, who would not have been thought of for President if he had lived in a small state; acceptable to those whose god is named *Status Quo* and who wish a President that will not disturb things; a sort of intellectual and political brother to Mr. Alton B. Parker, who once ran for the Presidency.

Mr. Champ Clark — a good-natured country campaigner and teller of bucolic yarns, well-liked by his fellows of the same calibre in Congress, who call him by his first name; without dignity of mind or of manner; a man to whom the routine of party and of political procedure is the aim of things and party loyalty is law; without any vision of statesmanship; a common politician of the personally respectable sort, lacking in prudence because lacking in knowledge; with a genius for blundering speech; without hardiness of mind or of convictions; in the race as a stalking horse or dummy, as everybody knows but himself, yet a possible nominee by a slip in the game of the managers of the convention; perhaps the only Democrat whose nomination would make Republican success certain whoever be the Republican nominee.

Governor Woodrow Wilson — a scholar in government, with an historical and political perspective; a man of profound convictions, holding that there should be no class that shall receive privileges from the Government; regarding boss rule and the private conduct of public business as the worst crimes against political society; trustful of the people, a Democrat in fact; with brief but eminently successful executive experience (the New Jersey of to-day being a wholly different political community from the New Jersey of two years ago); courageous because he has fundamental convictions and a sturdy seriousness of character; a man of high ideals to whom politics has a profound moral significance; a man with a definite, well-reasoned programme, to whom our institutions and our national life are living organisms; his political creed, therefore, a working creed to fit present problems and not a set of fixed formulas; courageous for conscience's sake and not from sheer love of fight; modest to the verge of timidity as regards his personal relations and fortunes and, therefore, handicapped in a rough race by a gentle hesitancy, having the modesty of a well-bred mind and the humor of a philosopher; the most convincing public speaker in political life, master of exact langauge without pedantry; not favored by those who for any reason wish the Government to be a dispenser of favors or wish it to be conducted by professional cliques or bosses; a man of stern stuff, resolute, gently bred and, because of his combination of force, dignity, and grace, in a class by himself among the candidates for the Presidency; so clearly right-minded and right-tempered that, if there were a clear-cut Presidential primary in all the states, he would probably win the nomination with no second in the race. As Mr. Roosevelt gives the Republican party a chance to show its desperation, so Governor Wilson gives the Democratic party a chance to show its wisdom. It would be an interesting summer if these two — this modest man and this other — should be nominated.

AN UNPRECEDENTED ELECTORAL POSSIBILITY

THE Constitution requires that the President be elected by a majority of the votes of the electoral college. If no candidate have a majority, then the House of Representatives shall choose a President from among the three candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes. "But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote."

What would be the result of a vote in the House of Representatives, "the representation from each state havin gone vote?" The House upon which the election would fall is, of course, that now in existence. An inspection of its membership reveals an

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exceedingly curious state of affairs. Voting by states, the House would be tied as between a Republican and a Democratic choice.

The delegations from four states, (Maine, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Rhode Island) are themselves ties. Republicans control the delegations of the 22 states shown on the left in the table following; Democrats predominate in the delegations of the 22 states shown on the right of the table:

REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRATIC
California	Alabama
Connecticut	Arizona
Delaware	Arkansas
Idaho	Colorado
Illinois	Florida
Iowa	Georgia
Kansas	Indiana
Massachusetts	Kentucky
Michigan	Louisiana
Minnesota	Maryland
Montana	Mississippi
Nevada	Missouri
New Hampshire	New Jersey
North Dakota	New York
Oregon	North Carolina
Pennsylvania	Ohio
South Dakota	Oklahoma
Utah	South Carolina
Vermont	Tennessee
Washington	Texas
Wisconsin	Virginia
Wyoming	West Virginia

Who would become President in case the House of Representatives failed to elect?

The Constitution provides: "And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President."

What does that mean? That the old Vice-President shall go into the new term as Acting President? But he ceases to be Vice-President on the fourth of March. Does it mean that the Vice-President-elect shall become Acting President? But if the electors have failed to choose a President, they have also failed to choose a Vice-President.

To meet that case, the Constitution authorizes the Senate to choose as Vice-President one of the two candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes. At present there is a small Republican majority in the Senate, but a number of Republican Senators are growing old and their majority has been substantially decreased by deaths even within the last year. It is quite conceivable that the Senate might be unable to choose as Vice-President one of the two candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes. But, even if the Senate could and did elect a new Vice-President, would he be the person designated by the Constitution to "act as President?" It would so seem on the face of it; and yet there is plausible ground for holding that the Constitution is not clear enough to warrant this assumption. At least one eminent and famous legal authority, who has given the WORLD'S WORK his opinion, believes that under the conditions suggested there would be no Vice-President competent to become Acting President and that the succession would devolve upon the next in line, namely the Secretary of State, a continuing officer whose term extends across the fourth of March line.

At best, the whole subject is surrounded by grave doubts.

This becomes of very real importance in view of the possibility that a split between the Taft and Roosevelt elements in the Republican party may lead to the raising of the standard of a third candidate and the throwing of the election into Congress.

A MENACE TO PANAMA

THREE days' steaming from Panama, the nearest important harbor on the Pacific Coast of South America, is situated what is perhaps the vilest, the most thoroughly plague-infected, the most deadly dangerous port in the world — Guayaquil. For years it has been a threat to the health of the hemisphere and a deliberate insult to other countries who are striving to extirpate disease. Deliberate, because its authorities refuse to move a hand to cleanse it. To all complaints, they retort cynically that Guayaquil natives do not suffer from the diseases that gather and

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spread from there, and they see no need to spend money for the protection of foreigners. It is the settled policy of Ecuador — than which country few others are more inhospitable or more backward — to keep the foreigner out by granting free license to the plagues to which natives have become immune. Under this policy the Guayas River has become a breeding place of yellow fever, typhoid, smallpox, and the bubonic plague, and although Ecuador's chief harbor has become increasingly shunned, there is not a city on the Pacific Coast that has not been in some degree infected from it.

The United States has been a sore sufferer. Some of the brightest young men in our diplomatic and consular services have laid down their lives in Ecuador, a sacrifice to this benighted policy. A month or two ago, when the unspeakable horrors of the latest revolution were raging (to finish which the populace of the capital fell upon the revolutionary leader who had been their hero the day before and cut his body into bits which they hung up about the city), our *Yorktown*, desiring to do something for civilization, sailed up the river and, landing, helped bury the dead. The *Yorktown's* captain was one of her own dead, stricken of the plague before she put to sea and sent a radiogram warning the *Maryland*, which was hurrying over from Hawaii, on no account to enter the fatal harbor.

With the opening of the Panama Canal the uncleanliness of Guayaquil will be an acute peril to wider circles. The port is one at which ships coming up the West Coast will naturally desire to stop. Steaming thence straight to Panama, the ships will come into contact with all the rest of the world. All that has been done to make the Canal Zone free from disease will have been done in vain. From the plague city of Guayaquil every known contagion will find its opportunity to spread about the globe.

"Will," if permitted to. It is perfectly clear that Panama must be closed against Guayaquil, or Guayaquil must be cleaned up by force. The more effective means would be the latter. Nor is there lacking authority for it. A country which refuses to take ordinary steps against deadly pestilence has forfeited its right to count as a civilized nation. It is an outlaw, an enemy of mankind, and should be dealt with as such. In the interest of common humanity, a concert of other nations should clean up and police Guayaquil if Ecuador refuses to do it herself.

A FLOCK OF OLD WAR BOGIES

AGAIN the country has been faintly startled by the Japan War scare-mongers, with their cry of "wolf" — he is getting to be a very aged, white-haired, decrepit, and toothless wolf. Again Japan is about to seize Magdalena Bay, on the Pacific Coast. Japan has been about to seize Magdalena Bay every time during the last three years that a big battleship appropriation was wanted, or that interested business corporations thought they could promote the idea of our annexing Mexico, or that John E. Henry, Esq., of New Hampshire, chief creditor of the Chartered Company of Lower California, fancied it a good time to try to frighten the United States Government into buying out an unprofitable concession around Magdalena.

This last time the scare derived some little importance from the fact that it was started by United States Senator Lodge, who is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and who used to be considered a conservative and responsible statesman. Mr. Lodge discoursed in this way:

> Suppose, for example, some great Eastern Power should directly or indirectly take possession of a harbor on the west coast of Mexico for the purpose of making it a naval station and a place of arms. I am using no imagination in suggesting such a case. It is not very long since an indirect movement was begun, and it is apparently still on foot, to obtain possession for a foreign Power of Magdalena Bay, so I may fairly suppose that such a case might arise.

Now the WORLD'S WORK has authority from a source higher than Senator Lodge for saying that no foreign power has ever been suspected of a design on Magdalena Bay, and that there never was, and is not now, the ghost of a reason for even dream-

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ing, much less uttering, such a statement as Senator Lodge allowed himself to make. The suggestion that Japan has taken any steps to acquire a naval base on the Pacific Coast of Mexico is utterly groundless, gratuitous, and preposterous. The only apparent reason for such a scare is that it would help the big battleship campaign, defeat the General Arbitration Treaties, and do a good turn to some New Englanders with a mortgage on Lower California land.

In Washington, it is a favorite trick to try to frighten the owner of a fine house into buying the adjoining lot at a high figure on the representation that Negroes are bidding for it. It is very likely that when Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, came to Washington and bought the Childs house, which has a vacant lot adjoining it, he was beset by agents anxious to give him an opportunity to save himself (at a high figure) from undesirable neighbors. In the language of a game with which diplomatists are, of course, unfamiliar, but whose principles they sometimes practise, Mr. Knox apparently did not "fall for the bluff." No more successful has been the similar trick played by the agents of the thrifty New Hampshire lumberman who wants to hold up the United States Government for two millions of dollars for land which cost half a million and for which neither the United States Government nor the Japanese Government has the remotest use.

Again, St. Thomas is an unprofitable island in the Lesser Antilles which Denmark has for years been trying to get rid of. The prospective opening of the Panama Canal offered an opportunity to renew the effort to dump it on us. The other day, an announcement was made from Copenhagen that six millions of dollars was to be spent immediately in improving the harbor of Charlotte Amalie. That was all that was necessary to affright Senator Lodge. He was sure that the work at Charlotte Amalie was simply preparatory to handing the island over to Germany. The War-with-Germany bugaboo has not been brought out as frequently of late as the War-with Japan bogey. Somehow the Germans have lost their frightfulness. But any old hobgoblin will serve to terrify Mr. Lodge, and he instantly wants to buy St. Thomas:

> So long as these islands are in the market there is always the danger that some European Power may try to purchase them. This would be an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine and would at once involve the United States in a very serious difficulty with the European Power which sought the possession of the islands. In the interest of peace it is of great importance that these islands pass into the hands of the United States and cease to be a source of possible complications, which might easily lead to war.

It would be folly for the Government of the United States to go about the hemisphere buying up every piece of land that somebody chooses to say is being bargained for by some foreign power. It is no less idiocy for the people of the United States to lose their heads every time real estate speculators, ship-builders, armor-plate makers, and suchlike enterprising people trot out their silly old war bogey.

A BUILDER OF EMPIRE GONE

IN THE making of Canada, there is no bigger or grander task to-day than the pushing through of the Grand Trunk Pacific from the Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. Huge valleys and plains, as great as the states of our own West, have been awakening to the song of the rail. Cities have sprung like magic in the midst of lands that yesterday were wilderness. Thousands of people from all the lands of the earth have flocked into the last great West.

The task itself, in its physical aspects, paralleled if it did not surpass the epochal tasks of Huntington, Leland Stanford, James J. Hill, Villard, Thompson — the giants of our railroad history. Back of all the plans, in the midst of all the labor of this great undertaking stood, until yesterday, a plain American from the Middle West, a blunt, kind, wise, and service-worn veteran of the railroad game.

The plans were laid for to-morrow, as well as for to-day. To-day the rails push westward, the shops are at work

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on engines and cars and all the thousand and one things that go to make a new railroad through a new land. To-morrow comes the upbuilding of a new nation in a new land, the long, slow process of bringing new people from alien lands, the laying of wise plans for colonization, the nursing of infant industries, the shaping of the destinies of cities — the task of the great administrator of a national railroad — second only in its greatness and responsibility to the creation of the railroad itself.

All this and much more — knighthood, a place in the history of a great and glorious country, the consciousness of a man's task well done before the world — that was the clear and unmistakable destiny of C. M. Hays when he sailed from England on the *Titanic*.

A crash in the dark; and then the task and its great reward passes on to other men. The destiny of Canada cannot be let or hindered: the other men will come. Yet one may say, in passing, that no other man in all that great Dominion could be so ill-spared at this moment in the nation's history as could this brave and splendid builder of the West.

THE NEED FOR NEGRO DOCTORS

AMONG the 9,000,000 Negroes of the South only one in 4,000 is a physician. That can mean only one thing — that the bulk of the colored population has not enough medical attention to keep well; for most Negroes do not employ white doctors when they are ill. And it means also that, for lack of teachers, this race is lagging behind their neighbors in sanitation and in the simpler defenses of modern hygiene. For this horde of unserved and untaught people only seven medical schools are provided, of which five are worthless, according to the recent report of the Carnegie Foundation on Medical Education in the United States. The remaining two schools, however — Howard at Washington and Meharry at Nashville — are commended as "worth developing." They offer instruction that equips their graduates for useful and competent service. Meharry is open to graduates of high schools. Howard sets considerably higher entrance requirements — higher, indeed, than the requirements of many medical schools for white students — and maintains a standard of work that has called forth the praise even of Dr. William H. Welch and Dr. Henry S. Pritchett.

The students of these schools are in deadly earnest. Some of them make astonishing sacrifices to enable them to continue at their work. One of them, for example, has said: "For many months I lived on a can of pork and beans a day. I would have pork with beans for breakfast, beans and pork for dinner, and at night I would wash out the can and have bean soup." Another student, who is now a successful physician in a Northern city, said: "I lived on three dollars a month for some time before I graduated. I got pretty thin, but I stuck it out."

The colored physicians who have come out of these schools have been centres of light and service to their race. The need is for opportunity greatly to increase their number; and it is a crying and important need.

TO IMPROVE THE RACE

THE State of New York has put into force a law providing for the sterilization of such feeble-minded criminals and other defectives as are adjudged by a board likely to transmit a tendency to criminality, insanity, or feeble-mindedness. Six states now have such a law; Indiana was first on the list.

The Dean and the clergy of the Episcopal Cathedral of Chicago have announced that applicants for marriage at their hands hereafter must present, certificates from a physician of repute declaring them to be in normal physical health.

The idea of the responsibility of living men for the future character of the race is not twenty-five years old. The progress it has made is one of the astonishing facts of modern social history. To many men it has become a religion; to many more it appeals as the most practical field thus far opened for the improvement of mankind and the increase of human happiness.

The eugenic movement is still in its beginnings, still in the stage of research,

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as yet only venturing to suggest a few mild negative steps for the eradication of hereditary taints and only feeling its way toward positive measures for improvement. When it reaches the positive stage, it will meet tremendous opposition; it proposes a social revolution. But there is surprisingly little opposition to its negative proposals — there is, on the contrary, a surprisingly ready acceptance of the idea that the unfit should not be permitted to be fathers and mothers.

TEACHING CHILDREN THRIFT

IN THE school banks system begun by the late John H. Thiry in Long Island City in 1885, children have saved more than $5,000,000. These savings are now collected weekly in 1,168 schools and in almost every state in the Union and in Alaska, Porto Rico, and Canada. In Long Island City the pupils of 21 schools have now on deposit $23,079; and during the last 27 years they have deposited altogether more than $288,000. Pupils of 40 schools in Toledo, O., have deposited more than $250,000 in twelve years, and pupils of 61 schools in Kansas City have deposited $194,000 in the same period.

In San Francisco the system was established in August, 1911, and is now in 90 school houses. There are 44,915 scholars on the registers; 4,412 of them deposited $31,146; $639 of this has been withdrawn, and $30,507 remained in the Bank of Italy to the credit of 4,412 scholars December 16th.

The method of collecting the savings is simple. Every Monday morning the teacher calls the roll for the collection of the money, records the amounts received, and later deposits it in a bank to the credit of the several children. Fifteen minutes a week is the average amount of time required for these operations. The record cards upon which the sums collected are entered are copyrighted, but the use of the copyright is granted free and the copyright is kept alive only as a means to secure yearly reports from the schools that are collecting savings.

Mr. Thiry died last year, and the general direction of the work that he began is now in the hands of Mrs. Sara Louisa Oberholtzer, of Philadelphia, with the moral — and some financial — support of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Among the beneficial effects upon the children that are reported by teachers are "weeding out the cigarette habit" in West Chester, Pa., "driving out the cheap candy venders" in Hartford, Conn., and "developing the power of self-denial, prudence, thrift, and economy" in Augusta, Me.

It is going directly at the roots of our most characteristic national failing — wastefulness. To teach children saving and thirft in this country is a public service very worthy of the public schools.

IF WE FARMED AS WE SHOULD

MR. BRADFORD KNAPP, in charge of the Farmers' Coöperative Demonstration Work of the United States Department of Agriculture, has just issued the crop records made by the farmers who have followed the directions of his demonstrators in the planting and cultivation of their cotton and corn. Side by side with these records he prints the records of the ordinary rule-of-thumb farmers as shown by the figures of the Bureau of Statistics. The wonderful results of well-planned agriculture could not be better illustrated than by such tables as these:

HOW COTTON SHOULD BE GROWN

AVERAGE YIELDS (POUNDS OF SEED COTTON PER ACRE) FOR 1911

	UNDER DEMONSTRATION METHODS	UNDER ORDINARY CULTIVATION
Texas	849	576
Oklahoma	628	504
Louisiana	1063	522
Arkansas	946	558
Tennessee	1672	744
Mississippi	1045	510
Alabama	1442	609
Florida	840	384
Georgia	1510	732
South Carolina	1569	795
North Carolina	1591	861
Virginia	1414	912
Average for States Represented	1081	642
Average for the United States		624

These tables deal only with the twelve Southern states to which Mr. Knapp's work is restricted; therefore it is all the more striking to note that the average yield of corn under demonstration methods is more than the average yield for the

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United States, (23.9 bushels,) in which the high averages of the "corn belt" states are figured:

HOW CORN SHOULD BE GROWN

AVERAGE YIELDS (BUSHELS PER ACRE) IN 1911

	UNDER DEMONSTRATION METHODS	UNDER ORDINARY CULTIVATION
Texas	22.3	9.5
Oklahoma	13.0	6.5
Louisiana	28.6	18.5
Arkansas	32.9	20.8
Tennessee	46.6	26.8
Mississippi	32.4	19.0
Alabama	46.3	18.0
Florida	30.9	14.6
Georgia	39.2	16.0
South Carolina	39.2	18.2
North Carolina	42.6	18.4
Virginia	41.9	24.0
Average for States Represented	33.2	15.8

The averages under demonstration methods were obtained from the reports of the production of 109,999 acres of cotton and of 66,880 acres of corn. The cash value of the increase above the state average on these acres of cotton was $1,643,097, and on these acres of corn was $836,597. When all farmers practice demonstration methods on all acres, tens of millions of dollars will be added annually to the wealth of the country and will bring their measure of added happiness and security to country living.

ABOUT DRUDGERY

A LETTER brings this complaint: In all this back-to-the farm discussion the man who has tried it is not represented. Why is this? Is he ashamed to speak? Or is he ignored?" The writer then outlines his own experiences: he was born and brought up on the farm, but grew tired of it, and moved to the city where for fourteen years he practised a trade with excellent success. Once more the thought of the country appealed to him, and in partnership with his brother he purchased a farm on which for six years he has been, he says, as rich in success, neighbors, conveniences, and facilities as he could desire. "And yet," he continues, "we do not like it, my wife and I."

And here comes the point that all you fellows who are writing about back-to-the-land are missing altogether or not giving proper consideration. It is what caused me to leave the farm in the first instance, is what makes my wife and me dissatisfied now, and is the one great fundamental reason that is still driving the young folks to the city and that will continue to do so until it is eliminated. One word tells it — Drudgery. And this means "hard work for insufficient remuneration."

Drudgery can be — and even in many modern farms still is — a large share of country life. But that farm life of necessity means drudgery — no. Drudgery is in great measure the quality of the man rather than of the job. It is like the salvation of the soul, dependent on the individual himself. As certain women find ordinary housework unbearable, so certain men find any sort of continuous hard work drudgery. The use of labor saving devices on the farm and in the home, especially the country home, convenient sources of power — steam, water, gases, and electricity — cheap appliances for maintaining sanitation, improved methods of constructing and furnishing buildings — all these can reduce the monotonous phases of farm labor to an inappreciable minimum.

Is there really harder work on the farm than in any other business? A farm managed on good principles need not take more than ten hours of work a day. For the right man — the real farmer — ten hours of plowing, harvesting, animal feeding, and the many diverse tasks are less onerous than eight hours spent at a desk or a counter. In how many successful business enterprises, moreover, is the owner's work day limited to the eight hours he spends at his desk? Naturally the man who enjoys, or at least "does not mind," this sort of occupation in the dimly or artificially lighted room of a city building. should not look toward the farm for the happy life he cannot find elsewhere.

As to remuneration, we imagine that our correspondent has in his case considered only financial returns, which are not and probably never will be the chief attraction of the farm. In the farm we have both a business and a home combined, wherein the growth of one means the growth of the other, where the results of one's efforts accumulate toward the improvement of

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one's own possessions. There is independence in spite of the necessity for close, continuous application; there are no subway trips, crowded cars, small flats, and dark, stuffy rooms to balance the lack of "next door neighbors, "smooth pavements, and such conveniences as are still peculiar to the city. There are means whereby men who love farming do lessen, if not eliminate, the drudgery of farm life; and there are generous rewards awaiting their sincere work, intelligent study, and careful management.

But the man who is looking for the complete elimination of drudgery need not look to a farm. He will find drudgery there. Nor need he look to any town occupation either. He will find drudgery there too. The only place where he will not find it is the grave.

MODERNIZING ACCIDENT LAWS

WHEN war, revolution, wrecks, and floods are doing their worst against human life it is well to tell of the great progress that has been made in stopping the wounds and deaths that occur in industry.

Eighteen months ago, on January 1, 1911, there were three states which had passed employers' liability laws. The New York law was held to be unconstitutional, but the laws of Maryland and Montana are still in force. In these eighteen months ten other states have passed employers' liability laws. California, Illinois, Kansas, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Washington, and Wisconsin all have such laws in operation and in a month the Massachusetts law will go into effect. Besides these, ten other states have commissions investigating the subject preparatory to enacting legislation.

Suddenly across the whole country has swept a fundamental change in our attitude toward industry. For generations, backed by the English common law, it has been held that workmen assumed the risks of their work when they went into it and unless they could prove carelessness on the part of their employer they could not recover damages for accidents. As a matter of fact, in most cases that were taken into court, even if the worker or his family were awarded fair damages, the lawyers' fees and expenses took most of it. If the injured men or their families could not make a living, the community had to take care of them. The industry in which the injury occurred did not bear the loss.

In building modern skyscrapers one man to a floor is killed, on the average. Yet this is not figured in the cost of construction. It should be or the cost of prevention should be. In the last ten years 30,000 miners have been killed in the United States. This loss should rightfully be charged against the coal industry.

A good many American industries have not appeared in their true light on the national ledger. They have not paid for the human breakage which they have caused on the one hand and they have received tariff subsidies and bonuses on the other — both at the public expense.

Of course, when an employers' liability law forces an industry to pay for its human breakage, the public in turn pays the industry. In the long run the public pays the bill anyway, but it is well to have the books kept straight and to know what each industry does cost.

And when this is done there will be less to pay. Where the law forces an employer to pay his injured workmen compensation for their injuries, there is a great incentive for the use of safety appliances and for care in supervision and management. In the long run that means that there will be less human breakage and less of the long line of social evils which follow in its train.

Among the manufacturers several of the more far seeing had already adopted workingmen's compensation schemes before the law made it mandatory, for it protects them from blackmail suits and lets them know more nearly exactly how much outlay they may reasonably expect to have to make to cover damages.

To the injured workman it means, of course, a certainty of compensation whereas, before, his chances of getting a judgment were small and his share of the judgment was likely to be smaller.

It is a very great advance toward a more humane and a more economic view of industry.

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THE LONELY AMERICAN MERCHANTMAN

THE following remarkable letter was signed by every passenger but five that returned to New York in April from a 20,000-mile pleasure cruise on which they did not once see a merchant vessel flying the American flag. It is a strikingr eminder of a national disgrace that may some day become a national disaster:

We, citizens of the United States, passengers on the steamship *Bluecher* to the number of 101, have now sailed together from New York around South America and return, covering some twenty thousand miles. We have visited many foreign ports, including Buenos Aires, with a commerce second only to New York in the Western Hemisphere, Rio de Janeiro, the beautiful, Montevideo, Valparaiso, Santos — all great and to be greater.

But at all places and at all times we have looked in vain for a merchant steam vessel carrying the flag of the United States. What is the reason? It appears to be the provisions of our laws, which prevent the acquisition of foreign-built vessels for American registry in foreign trade. This law, enacted for the upbuilding of American shipyards, has not resulted in the building of American ships for foreign trade. The cost of American-built ships, in comparison with those of foreign build, is prohibitive. They have not been built, and in consequence our flag has practically disappeared from the high seas.

Nothing is more conducive to acquaintance between nations and intercourse and friendship between their citizens, than the constant sight of their respective flags.

Most of the Latin American people (and there are 50,000,000 of them) are friendly. They are eager to deal with us; but we persist in remaining strangers. At present, to reach New York comfortably, an Argentinian usually goes to Genoa or Liverpool. Naturally, he rarely continues to New York. London and Paris, England and France, his acquaintances and friends, supply all wants.

This is the message we would convey to our friends and especially to those who shape the policies of our country:

Remove this prohibition upon the American registration of foreign-built ships for foreign trade.

Let us buy cheap ships abroad, let them be officered by American citizens, and let them carry our flag to the people who want to see us, and who are ready and eager to know and trade with us. By this simple process, since they do not build ships for foreign trade, we shall add to our merchant marine and our foreign and domestic trade; *we shall lay the foundation of a naval organization of the greatest value in case of war with a foreign nation;* and we shall establish a real bond between the Americas of the Western Hemisphere that will be of vast, mutual, and permanent benefit.

The early opening of the Panama Canal makes this subject of transcendent importance at this time.

On board S. S. *Bluecher*, April, 1912.

This is also the testimony of every American who travels abroad in any part of the earth — that the loneliest places for a citizen of the United States are the seas and the ports of the world, where our flag rarely flies.

HOW BUSINESS AND POLITICS WORK TOGETHER

A CHINAMAN in any of the German concessions in China may buy goods by mail from Berlin and receive them by parcels post by way of Siberia — an eleven pound package sent halfway round the world for 78 cents.

A Philippine merchant in Manila, who lives under our own jurisdiction — may send an eleven pound package to Hong-Kong, the great market place of the East, for $1.47.

An American farmer in Canada may send packages almost anywhere in the world — to the Fiji Islands, for instance — for twelve cents a pound. The particular place to which he cannot send a large package so cheaply and from which he can not receive such a package by parcels post is his native land, the United States of America.

The real reasons are well-known and have long been known. The excuses, such as "the mail order bugaboo," are fast becoming understood; and the people are waking up to the fact that in such a convenience of civilization the alliance between politics and business has kept us far behind the rest of the world. The Chinaman, the Filipino, the South African has a kind of service that we, with all our genius for organization, are yet denied.

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MR. ADAMS AND HIS PENSION ARTICLES

A CORRESPONDENT of the *National Tribune*, the chief organ of the pension grafters, is distressed because a man who attained the rank of Brigadier-General in the Civil War has dared to sign his name to articles concerning pension frauds — or, as the *National Tribune* puts it, has "hired himself out to the WORLD'S WORK" as a defamer of Union veterans.

It seems, according to the *National Tribune's* correspondent, that this magazine, in its search for slanders and libels against Union veterans and vituperative talent willing to defame them, conducted a long, arduous search in vain until at last it discovered Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and by the offer of large sums of money induced him to become its "hireling" and to lend his name to our vile campaign.

It is a pity to spoil an affecting story with the mere fact that Mr. Charles Francis Adams received no pay for his WORLD'S WORK articles — declined to accept any. There was no reason in the mind of the editor of this magazine why Mr. Adams should not accept pay for them, as every writer does for his work. But Mr. Adams's notion of his relation to the pension question and to the veterans (of whom his three years' service had made him one) was so nice that he was unwilling to lay himself open even to the suspicion of mercenary motives. He wrote out of a sense of public duty, but he was unwilling to profit a penny by a task so sad. His only stipulation was that his articles should be put in pamphlet form and distributed to members of Congress, press representatives in Washington, and a few other people whose knowledge of the real facts about our pension abuses might help toward eliminating them. It is amazing that even a correspondent of the *National Tribune* should know his war history and his countrys' history so ill as not to know Mr. Adams's career.

With regard to Mr. Adams's military record, if it were necessary to defend it, nothing could more conclusively show the injustice of the aspersions which the ignorant have cast upon it than the letter by Mr. Adams, replying to these insinuations, put into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Lodge. No shadow of blame lies, or can lie, upon the career of this Massachusetts officer, whose only offence is that he refuses to join the army of pension-grabbers.

It is gratifying to record that the necessity for pension reform is being considered by thoughtful people all over the country. The proof of its need is overwhelming and the temper of the country is rapidly becoming such that the politicians can no longer resist it.

SMALL STATESMEN AND A BIG RIVER

ALONG the Mississippi River in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, 70,000 people were fed daily under the direction of United States army officers while the river floods destroyed their fields, washed away their roads and bridges, and in many places invaded their homes. The army engineers had hundreds and hundreds of men working on the levees, yet in spots the river managed to break through. One break at Beulah, Miss., flooded more than a dozen towns. The loss entailed is many millions in dollars and much more than that in civilization; for permanent improvements do not flourish where they are threatened by the anger of the great river. Its very much more thorough control is a great national problem.

If you could call up the dead and the living politicians who provided for our public works with picayune projects obtained for local benefit by log-rolling methods, and if you could show them the incalculable devastation made by the overflow of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and if you could lay the blame precisely where it belongs on these dead and living mongers of theories and patronage — what chance for salvation would they have?

The overflow of these rivers will continue, the loss of life and property will come again and will increase, the fertility of the great granary of the continent will continue to be deposited in the Gulf of

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Mexico, the mighty river will continue to be an ungovernable monster instead of a beneficent force, till we rise to the plane of practical statesmanship and spend money to prevent it — by a wise and systematic plan.

The money that has been wasted in river and harbor and public building projects during the last half century would save our vast mid-continental wealth that is now washed away and bring a new industrial era in the lower Mississippi states.

THE TITANIC AND ITS HEROES

THE heroism shown when the *Titanic* went down has become a precious part of history — unselfish acts of courteous self-sacrifice which show that modern civilization has not weakened the fibre of our race.

Take, for example, the conduct of Colonel Archibald Gracie, of Washington, who was a passenger. He worked during the whole period of filling the lifeboats, helping women aboard them. And the simple, modest story that he told is of a piece with his conduct. It follows:

I jumped with the wave, just as I often have jumped with the breakers at the seashore. By great good fortune I managed to grasp the iron railing on the bridge deck, and I hung on by might and main. When the ship plunged down I was forced to let go, and I was swirled around and around for what seemed to be an interminable time.

After sinking with the ship, it appeared to me as if I was propelled by some great force through the water. It might have been occasioned by an explosion under the water. I recall I was fearful most about being boiled to death. A similar feeling was described to me by the second officer, who had nearly the same experience. Innumerable thoughts of a personal nature passed through my brain. I thought of those at home as if my spirit might go to them and say good-bye forever.

I prayed for deliverance, though sure my last hour had come. Meantime I was striking out with all my strength, swimming under water. Reaching the surface, no ship was in sight, but there was a large field of wreckage and hundreds of people struggling.

The sights I saw and particularly the sounds I heard were heart-rending and horrible beyond description. Dante's Inferno was no worse. A gurgle and a groan — some poor fellow had gone to his death. A cry for help and a moan — another had gone. A prayer cut short by strangulation — another had gone. The cries and the moans and the strangling and gasping of the drowning were the most horrible sounds that man ever heard.

Luckily, I was unhurt, and, casting about, managed to seize a wooden crate floating near by. When I had recovered my breath, I discovered an upset collapsible boat, struck out for it, and caught hold of the arm of a member of the crew and pulled myself aboard. We then began the work of rescuing those who had jumped into the sea and were floundering in the water.

After more men had been got on the boat than safety permitted, several unfortunates, benumbed and half-dead, besought us to save them, and one or two made an effort to reach us; but the craft was so full that it seemed she would sink beneath the sea, and for self-preservation the crew had to decline to take any more people aboard.

This was the most pathetic and horrible of scenes, with the air all round us rent with screams which the survivors will not forget to their dying days.

"Hold on to what you have, old boy!" one of the crew would cry. "One more of you aboard would sink us all."

"Good luck, and God bless you," was the magnificent reply of some unknown hero.

All the time we were buoyed up by the hope of rescue. We saw lights in several directions, but particularly in front, where a green light shone and rockets were fired from what after all was only one of the *Titanic's* lifeboats.

So we passed the night, with the water washing over us up to our waists.

When dawn broke there were thirty of us on the upturned canvas boat standing in the icy water and afraid to move lest the cranky craft be overturned.

How we did pray for the coming of day, and some of the men of this rough crew thought of God, and all of us repeated over and over the Lord's Prayer. Before the break of day most of us were standing on our feet, balancing ourselves and in columns of twos, fearful all

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the while lest a sudden lurch might overturn the boat and the air beneath it might escape. The slightest wind would have caused our destruction.

We saw the lights of the *Carpathia* in the distance. We knew it to be she from our Marconi man, who happened to be with us.

Word was passed that there was also a ship astern, and the second officer bade us all be still while he looked, for the slipping of one man meant death for all.

But when day broke, four of the *Titanic's* lifeboats appeared on our starboard side and the second officer's whistle called attention to our precarious condition, and the head lifeboat towing another came to our rescue.

Then followed a dangerous but successful transfer. The second officer, waiting till the last, helped to lift the corpse of one of the crew from the upset boat.

Our boat, however, now had more than its complement, sixty-five persons. Fortunately, the *Carpathia* was not a great distance away; otherwise, so officers of the *Carpathia* said, we would have sunk when a moderate blow came up one hour later.

We all suffered from cold. It seemed an interminable time before we reached the *Carpathia*, where all were ready for us with first aid to the injured and warm drinks to restore us. Nothing can exceed the kindness we received at the hands of the ministering angels who welcomed us on board the *Carpathia*.

Such was my personal experience, relating only what I myself saw and what I did. I have nothing but praise for all concerned.

I cannot say what happened elsewhere on the *Titanic*, but during the whole desperate experience within my range of vision not a woman whimpered and not a man flinched. It was all heroically done.

The conduct of Col. John Jacob Astor was deserving of the highest praise. He devoted all his energy to saving his young bride. He helped us in our efforts to get her into the boat; I lifted her in, and as she took her place Colonel Astor requested permission of the second officer to go with her for her own protection.

"No, sir," replied the officer, "not a man shall go on a boat until the women are all off."

Colonel Astor then inquired the number of the boat, which was being lowered away, and turned to the work of clearing the other boats and in reassuring the frightened and nervous women.

By this time the ship began to list frightfully to port. This became so dangerous that the second officer ordered every one to rush to starboard. This we did, and we found the crew trying to get a boat off in that quarter. Here I saw the last of John B. Thayer and George Widener, of Philadelphia.

Charles M. Hays, President of the Grand Trunk Railroad, said to his wife and she related it to me: "The White Star, the Cunard, and the Hamburg-American lines are devoting their attention and ingenuity to vying one with the other to attain the supremacy in luxurious ships and in making speed records. The time will soon come when this will be checked by some appalling disaster."

Poor fellow, little he thought that he would be sealing this prophecy with his life a few hours later!

I want to say that too much praise cannot be given to Second Officer Lightoller. During all the time from the striking of the *Titanic* on the iceberg until we reached port on the *Carpathia*, he showed himself to be an able officer, a thorough seaman, knowing how to maintain order and discipline under any circumstances, and as brave and thoughtful a man as I have ever seen. Lightoller is a man in all the word implies.

All the tales of heroism on board that doomed steamer will never be told. I have heard no mention made of James Clinch Smith, of Smithville, L. I., who was one of the heroes of the disaster. He was a member of the Union Club, and a friend of mine, and when the women and children were being placed in the lifeboats, he was there, helping with the work, as calmly as if he were safe ashore.

The same manly qualities were shown by other men, most of whom perished. For instance, as the *Titanic* was sinking, a woman passenger asked one of the stewards why he did not put on a life preserver. "I don't think there will be enough to go around, ma'am," was his reply.

This was typical of many deeds of chivalry and self-sacrifice and devotion that were done that night. When it was first known that the ship might possibly go down, Captain Smith ordered out the band. They assembled on deck in perfect order and struck up the liveliest tunes they knew — "Turkey in the Straw" and "Alexander's Ragtime Band" and other heartening pieces — played on while others were saved or saved themselves, until, the lights extinguished and the lifeboats gone, the water swirling at their knees, they turned into the strains of "Nearer My God to Thee" and went down with their ship, still playing.

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The passengers, without the habits of ship discipline, showed self-control and courage just as striking. Young Washington Roebling, grandson of the builder of the Brooklyn Bridge, escorted three women to a lifeboat and helped them in, wishing them a pleasant voyage and waving a smiling good-bye; then, stepping back into the crowd of men, he lit a cigarette and stood waiting for the end. Benjamin Guggenheim dressed himself carefully and, detaining a room steward for a moment, gave the man his wife's address and this message for her: "Tell her I played the game straight out and to the end. No woman shall be left aboard this ship because Ben Guggenheim was a coward. Tell her that my last thoughts will be of her and our girls, but that my duty now is to these unfortunate women and children on this ship. Tell her I will meet whatever fate is in store for me, knowing she will approve of what I do."

Perhaps as striking an evidence as was ever given of the disciplinary effect of civilization upon human habits was the little drama enacted in one of the first lifeboats to put off from the *Titanic's* side. No officer was aboard, and an argument arose among the passengers over what they should do next. After a few moments all hands agreed that they should elect one of their number captain and obey his orders. The choice fell on a stoker, who was steering the boat, and he remained in command until the party was rescued by the *Carpathia*. Here was an example of the spontaneous generation of a government under the pressure of a common danger.

While this was going on a mile from the *Titanic*, two men stuck to their post in the wireless room, J. G. Phillips and his assistant, Harold Bride. They had joked with one another about the absurdity of calling for aid for such a ship as this — joked as Phillips sent the "C. Q. D.," and laughed aloud when Bride called out, "Send 'S. O. S.' It's the new call and it may be your last chance to send it." Later, when they knew that hope was gone, Phillips worked on steadily, announcing to the ships that he could reach just how low the *Titanic* lay and repeating her position on the sea, worked in water up to his knees while Bride strapped his life preserver over his shoulders, worked on after the Captain had said, "Boys, you have done your full duty. You can do no more. Look out for yourselves," worked while a cowardly stoker tried to steal his life preserver from him as he stood at his instrument, worked until no sputtering flashes answered the pressure of the key, and then, knowing that there was no more he could do, he made for the deck, only to die of exposure after he had been picked up from the wash of the sea.

On deck among the passengers, deeds were done of equal heroism. Major Archibald Butt, aide to President Taft, handed woman after woman into the lifeboats, lifting his hat to each as he left her, with a cheering word of good-bye. Henry B. Harris, the theatrical manager, heard an officer calling out, "Women and children first." "That's right!" he called out heartily. Then, turning to his wife, he kissed her and said, "Good-bye, my dear. I must take my medicine with the rest." He handed her to a boat and the last she saw of him he was waving her farewell.

One of the boats was loaded one passenger beyond its capacity, and the officers called for some one to step back upon the ship. Miss Elizabeth Evans of New York turned to the woman sitting next to her, Mrs. J. J. Brown of Denver, and said: "You have children that need you, I have none: I will go back." And she stepped on the deck from the boat and was lost when the ship went down.

Mrs. Isidor Straus of New York had been safely stowed in a boat when she called to her maid to take her place and rushed back to the deck where her husband stood. She resisted all efforts to put her aboard again. Clinging to him she cried out, "We have lived together a good many years. I am not going to leave you now." They were last seen arm in arm, watching the lifeboats pull away.

The great tragedy on the night of April 14th, when 1,635 men and women perished and only 705 were saved, seems likely to bring a new epoch in ocean travel.

Ship owners and ship builders had for

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a generation shown keen rivalry in speed and in luxury. They had likewise worked ceaselessly upon improved designs and safety appliances — bulkhead construction, submarine signals, wireless, etc. — until they had persuaded themselves and the public that the modern ocean liner was practically unsinkable.

The public accepted this confidence and very few ships carried lifeboats enough to take off more than half the passengers and crew.

The lessons which the terrible loss of life on the *Titanic* teaches are these:

(1) During the period of danger from icebergs ships should not take the ocean course where they are likely to be encountered.

(2) Lifeboats of improved pattern and equipment and plenty of them must be carried.

The rules about reduced speed and greater care in berg-infested waters or in fog will have an added impetus to strict enforcement. Perhaps, too, it would add an element of safety if the liners crossed the ocean in pairs.

The companies have already taken steps toward changing the trans-Atlantic course and adding to the lifeboat complement of the steamers. The public demands these improvements and probably laws prescribing them will be passed both here and in England. A disaster that shocked the whole civilized world was necessary to awaken us from a false sense of security.

A LITTLE SCHEME THAT WORKED

THIS is a story for the investor in the stocks and bonds of public utility corporations.

Some years ago, two young men, brothers, started a manufacturing plant in a small town in the West. The plant grew and was successful. The town also progressed slowly so that at the present time it has about 9,000 people. Three years ago the brothers, having reached a point in their development where they needed more power, built a small water power plant on a stream over which they had control. When it was finished they had more power than they needed and, to utilize it, they found a small commercial demand in the town for power and light; and it is upon this element in the situation that the story turns.

Their power plant had cost them about $100,000. They obtained a franchise for it as a separate company, put all the stock of this new company in the treasury of the old manufacturing company, and sold what power and light they could as a by-product of their business.

About a year ago somebody told them that they were wasting a first class opportunity. The power company was not making much money, because its financial affairs were all mixed up with the financial affairs of the parent manufacturing company and no clear account was kept between the two concerns. This friend suggested that they issue $200,000 of 6 per cent. bonds on the little power and light company and to sell them to the public at 100.

They discovered, in the process of doing this, that if the power company charged the manufacturing company a fair rate for its power the result would show earnings for the power company not quite sufficient to pay the 6 per cent. interest on the bonds, or $12,000 a year net. Therefore, it was necessary to put the charges for power up.

After a while, a small broker in a Middle Western city was found who agreed to sell these 6 per cent. bonds to the public on commission, the commission being 10 per cent. Thus, fo. every $1,000 bond which the broker could sell at par he was to receive $100. He asked for and received a statement of earnings. This statement showed that the power company with its new schedule of charges earned in the previous year $44,000, gross; that it cost $8,000 to operate; and that its net earnings were $36,000, or exactly three

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times the interest charges. What the broker did not learn, perhaps because he did not ask enough questions and perhaps because he did not want to know it, was that, in order to make this showing, the power company had charged to the manufacturing company, its biggest customer, nearly four times a fair and normal rate for the power that it used.

The broker's circular emphasized, of course, the apparently very strong position of the power company, in that it was earning three times its interest charges and that the relationship between it and its biggest customer was a very close and friendly relationship. The circular failed to say anything at all about rates, or what proportion of the total earnings came from this single big customer. It also failed to say that the company is now paying dividends on its common stock and that these dividends use up practically every dollar of earnings that the company makes above its interest charges. In other words, the money that is paid by the manufacturing company for its power comes back to it in the form of dividends — that is, all of it that is not necessary to pay the interest charges.

These bonds have been sold to investors, and these people are under the impression that they own a solid and substantial security based on a property that is really earning three times as much as is needed to pay the interest and that is in a highly prosperous condition. I believe that the broker responsible for the sale of the bonds is perfectly honest but does not know any of the really vital facts about the securities he is handling.

This story is told here to illustrate the extreme foolishness of buying securities that represent little business ventures which, before they are offered to the public, have not been thoroughly investigated by somebody that is competent to form a judgment based upon a full knowledge of all the fundamental facts. It is the easiest thing in the world for any business man to juggle figures of earnings and expense between the various departments of his business; and in the case cited the power company whose bonds were offered to the public as a conservative investment was to all intents and purposes a department of the manufacturing company.

A dozen other illustrations, on a much larger scale, could be adduced to illustrate the same kind of financing and bookkeeping. I know of a Western railroad, a small, local affair. Three quarters of its tonnage is lumber. The people who own it also own all the mills but one that cut this lumber; and the stock of the lumber company, as well as the stock of the railroad, is owned by three men. An investor asked me to look into the bonds of the railroad as a possibility for a conservative investment.

The earnings showed remarkable results. The proportion of expenses to gross earnings was exceedingly small for a lumber road. It seemed that the explanation of this strange phenomenon ought to lie in the rates charged by the railroad for carrying the lumber. The bankers who were selling the bonds professed ignorance of what these rates were and I never did find out even approximately what they are. Enough information came to light, however, to point to the conclusion that the railroad practically charges whatever rates are necessary to show a handsome surplus over the interest on its bonds.

This is exactly the same thing that is illustrated in the case of the power company in the early part of this story. It is the same kind of fiction that used to be so common in railroad and industrial financing of the larger class. In the big companies it usually manifests itself in the shape of a great big "surplus" which looked exceedingly good in the statement of earnings but which, when you came to look into it, was frequently found to consist mostly of bookkeeping items rather than of anything that had real value.

If you take up, by chance, a circular issued by some strong, conservative bond house describing an issue of bonds offered for sale, you usually discover some place in the circular a reference to an "engineer's report," giving the name of the engineers who have examined the property for the banker and filed with the banker a complete report on all the physical aspects of the bond issue, including rates, franchises, real estate holdings, and all the other

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fundamental physical things. You will also find a statement that some prominent legal firm has looked into all the legal matters in connection with the issue and that some bookkeeping experts, either representing the banking house directly or acting in their interest, has audited the books of the company and reported upon the financing.

These are essential steps in the buying of any securities by a banking house that intends to offer them to the public. The investor has a right to know, before he buys any securities, that all the physical, financial, and legal investigations have been made by competent people. If such an examination had been made, that $200,000 of unsound bonds would not now be afloat in the hands of the public in a Middle Western city and its surrounding country. No reputable banking house or dealer would have handled these bonds if he had known the circumstances; and the circumstances would have been perfectly transparent under any reasonable investigation.

It is well, at this time when the bonds of relatively new electric light, street railway, power, and other public utility companies are rapidly becoming a standard form of investment security for income in this country, to emphasize these simple and straightforward safeguards that ought not to be overlooked in the purchase of such securities. It is perfectly obvious that here and there, amongst these securities that are now offered to the public, there will be some that will not stand the test of time. That is true in every class of investment. It is simple common sense that the investor has the right to insist upon such information as will enable him to come to the conclusion at least that the bonds or stocks that he is buying have passed through a careful and painstaking process of investigation, appraisal, and expert judgment before they are offered to him as an investment.

In dealing with a whole class of securities, one can only generalize, blazing trees, as it were, to serve as a sort of guide to the passing traveler. Thus, in handling as a class the public utility bonds and stocks that have become so popular a form of investment, it is only possible to lay down a few simple rules; and even to these rules there will be exceptions.

A company of this sort ought not to be dependent upon one industry or upon one group of industries. A power company that sells all its power to half a dozen new mines in a new mining camp is little better than a mining venture; and a company all of whose power is used under contract by a group of cotton mills in the South cannot be much more solid than the cotton mill industry in that region.

A trolley company that made nearly all its money in traffic to and from a big manufacturing plant found itself in serious trouble a couple of years ago when that plant was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in another city. I think it safe to say that in the public utility field physical defects of this sort are much more likely to creep in and to pass unnoticed by the investor than in a railroad or even an established industrial concern that is manufacturing the necessities of life.

Most critics, after this question of physical defect, lay emphasis upon the question of franchises. It is the lesson of experience that companies whose franchises are very short, or bonds that extend beyond the life of the main franchises of a system, are unsound. Therefore, it is as well at least to look at the dates upon which these principal franchises mature.

The question of the rates collected is an extremely vital one, and one upon which, unfortunately, many bankers lay no emphasis whatever. The average bond salesman, when asked what rates are charged by a gas company, an electrical company, or a street railway company, finds himself totally at a loss to reply. Most circulars are dumb upon this subject. The reason, of course, is that long and unwieldy schedules of graded rates are necessary really to cover the rate question. Many banking houses content themselves with stating that "rates are satisfactory," meaning that the rates are not exorbitant.

In the history of almost every company that has been in existence for ten years or more there is a record of at least one serious battle over rates. Sometimes it takes the shape of a public agitation, frequently

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led by the newspapers, for lower prices for gas, for more free transfers on the trolley system, and occasionally for lower prices for electric power or for telephone service. The investor who is going to put any serious amount of money into the bond or, more particularly, into the stock of such companies has a right to know whether there has been such an episode in the life of this company and, if so, what was the outcome of it.

Usually, the public utility company that has had its rate litigation, its public uproar, and its good sound beating at the hands of the people is a sounder, safer, and more conservative company than the company which has not yet experienced it. Nowadays, with the growth of the Public Service Commission idea, this question of rates is becoming less important; but it is still one of the main points to be considered in buying any public service security. Other things being equal, the soundest bond is that issued by a corporation which shows a strong surplus of earnings based on very low rates.

The layman, of course, though he recognizes that these general rules will help him in selecting safe investments, does not know how to apply them. In the long run the whole business of investment comes back to the banker, just as the whole business of law comes back to the lawyer. If you have a good lawyer you do not need to worry much about reading up the law on your own account; similarly, if you have a sound and conservative banking house with which you deal, you do not need to study very deeply the technicalities of finance.

THE SOLID MILLION IN GERMANY

SECOND ARTICLE OF

THE WORLDWIDE SWEEP OF SOCIALISM

THE MOST SOCIALIZED NATION IN EUROPE BREEDING 100,000 NEW SOCIALISTS EVERY YEAR — A MIGHTY PROTEST AGAINST CASTE, DOLLAR SUFFRAGE, AND WAR

BY

SAMUEL P. ORTH

(WHO HAS RECENTLY INTERVIEWED THE PRINCIPAL SOCIALIST LEADERS IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ENGLAND)

IN FRANCE Socialism means agitation. In Germany it means organization. That is a difference in temperament, and also in economic and political conditions.

Germany is mediæval. "Divine Rights" is written on the brow of the Kaiser. Militarism is rampant, and lately there has been added the power of money. This is the trinity that rules Germany: a mediæval king, a feudal aristocracy, and the pushing, parvenus of coal dust and iron filings.

A more depressing triumvirate cannot be imagined. It embraces all that is arbitrary in monarchy, haughty in aristocracy, and snobbish in riches.

The old Germany with its love for frugality, for learning and modesty, has retreated before the rush of the money getter. "Business has eaten the heart out of scholarship," one of her greatest scholars sorrowfully complained to me a few months ago.

From the highest officials down to the lowest is a series of castes, like the serried steps of a pyramid, the king on the shining summit, the humble officials below. These officials intermarry, they breed the spirit of stratification.

All of this extends into private life. The Germans are from the cradle educated into a fixed system of layers. The career of a man is foreshortened before he begins

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it. There are all sorts of schools, for all sorts of children. These children are not judged by their ability so much as by their parentage.

Only one power is capable of breaking through these crusts — the money power. A millionaire can marry a duchess. One of the keenest of German publicists said to me, "Our social lines are as rigid as in the Orient, our worship of money as ardent as in America. We are a contemptible cross between America and China."

Germany is, then, the promising field for the eruptive forces of Socialism. Here the army is the most intrenched and the most insolent, the Government the most reactionary, and private wealth is growing daily in influence and arrogance.

And in this fertile field, Socialism has grown in proportion to the hostility that king, army, and wealth have heaped upon it.

Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws read like a page out of inquisitorial Spain. Two attempts upon the life of the aged Emperor were the immediate excuse for these laws, that enforced every rigor known to militarism against the Socialists. Cities were put under a "minor state of siege," a modified sort of martial law; Social-Democrats were not allowed to organize unions, were not permitted to have meetings without the permission of the police, and, at every meeting so permitted, police were present to dismiss the people as soon as they thought the law had been violated. The most trivial excuses were given to stop meetings. For instance, Bebel said in one meeting: "Under our economic system the man stays at home and does the cooking, while the wife goes to the mill to work." This mild arraignment of the existing order was sufficient to end the meeting.

All Socialist papers, books, plays, songs, and even pictures, were put upon the *Index Expurgatorius* of this new political papacy, their importation was punished. There was a universal exile of Socialist leaders from the cities under the ban.

A CELLAR PROPAGANDA

What was forbidden in the open was done in secret, the propaganda was pushed from the sunshine into cellars. The police were outwitted, the Government's commission made plaintive reports, every year, of their inability to cope with the determined multitudes.

Finally, after twelve years of useless efforts, after 1,400 publications of all kinds had been interdicted, and 1,500 persons imprisoned to serve an aggregate sentence of 100 years, the anti-Socialist laws were repealed. Not with the consent of the determined man who forced them upon the Empire; Bismarck's jaw never relaxed. He wanted to make the punishment expatriation. But the Reichstag balked, even the conservatives were sick of the business. He prorogued the Parliament and went before the people.

BISMARCK'S DEFEAT

Then he learned what deep root this plant, whose buds he had been clipping, had taken in the years of darkness. The Social-Democrats left the House with 11 members, they returned with 35. Back of these delegates of labor were 1,427,000 votes. Bismarck resigned. And Bebel was justified in his proud dictum, made from the tribune whence the Chancellor had so often flayed him: "The Chancellor thought he had us, but we have him." And Liebknecht, the scholar among the Socialists, shouted: "The anti-Socialist laws have gone down, and our red flag has gone up to the mast head."

Bismarck had made three mistakes: First, he headed off a true Liberal party, driving the liberal-minded workingmen into Social-Democracy: second, he tried to kill Socialism and its democracy by violence: third, he thought he could win the workman over by giving him a substantial interest in the state.

His elaborate scheme of paternal Socialism was inaugurated by an old age pension act, followed by sick benefits and accident insurance. Nothing surprised the old statesman so much as the folly of his logic. He had argued: the workman is not materially interested in the State; he turns to Socialism because the State in the abstract does not reach his intelligence; the State should give him something concrete to hold him, then he would have

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a tangible interest at stake and Socialism would not lure him.

In spite of his syllogism and its resultant pensions, Bismarck saw that the workingmen kept on flocking into the Social-Democratic fold by the thousands.

What is it, then, that the Social-Democrat wants?

Let me elaborate a little more on the "socialized" condition of the German State to-day, then the answer will be easier.

THE MOST SOCIALIZED NATION

Germany is the most "socialized" nation in Europe. The State owns all the means of communication, railroads, canals, post, telegraph, parcels post, telephones, wireless telegraph, and Zeppelin air-ships. The cities own the public utilities, are landlords of vast estates, own and manage markets, theatres, electric-power houses, bake-shops, meat shops, and factories.

A German laborer may begin life attended by a physician or nurse paid by the State: he is christened by a State clergyman: is taught the rudiments of learning and his handicraft by the State. He begins his apprenticeship under the watchful eye of a State inspector who sees that the safeguards to health and limb are faithfully observed. He is drafted by the State into the army, devoting two of his best years to the drill sergeant. He returns to work from the rigor of this discipline; the State gives him license to marry, registers his place of residence, and follows him from place to place wherever he moves. If he falls ill, his suffering is assuaged by the knowledge that his wife and children are cared for, and that his expenses will be paid during illness, and he spends his convalescence in a sumptuous State hospital. If he falls victim to an accident, the ample insurance, even if he be permanently injured, is a balm to his suffering. If he unfortunately becomes that most pitiable of all creatures, a man out of work, city and State unite to find or make work for him. If he wanders from town to town in search of work, the cities through which he passes offer him free hospitality. If he wishes to move to another part of his town, the municipal bureau will be glad to help him find a house, or even lend him money to get one of his own.

If he is in dispute with his employer, the Government furnishes a court of arbitration. If he is sued by his master or wishes to sue him, the State has provided a special industrial court. If he is in trouble the city places a lawyer at his disposal.

PENSIONS FOR EVERYBODY

And if by rare chance, through the grace of the State's strict sanitary regulations and by careful living, he reaches the age of seventy, he will find the closing days of his life eased by a pension, very small to be sure, but yet enough to make him more welcome to the relatives or friends who are charged with ministering to his wants.

Two hundred thousand dollars a day is the price that Germany pays for this system of industrial pensions alone. More than 16,000,000 workmen are insured under the accident, old age, and sickness acts. This does not include the vast horde of officials who are pensioned in army and navy, preachers, teachers, judges, the national and local civil lists — policemen, firemen, janitors, and all the rest. There is only one considerable class of workers left out — the private salaried employees — such as clerks, stenographers, etc. There is a law now in the Reichstag extending the pension acts to this class. Then only a minority of the 65,000,000 inhabitants will be without the benefit of some public stipend. Germany is the pensioner's paradise.

And it is in this land of cautious caretaking for the humbler folk, that Social-Democracy casts half the Socialist votes for the world.

What does the Social-Democrat want?

First of all, he wants democracy. He wants property and prerogative subordinated to man.

The Empire is a political hodge-podge. There are all sorts of governments, from Liberal Bavaria to the crabbed *junkerdom* (or landlordism) of Mecklenburg — there are principalities, dukedoms, kingdoms, and free cities, all with ancient charters, privileges, and prerogatives. None is demo-

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cratic, and most of them resort to ingenious devices to make a Social-Democratic majority remain a minority.

ONE-VOTE MEN VS. FOUR-VOTE MEN

For instance, take Saxony, an enlightened little kingdom, with Dresden, the art city, for its capital. Only two years ago this kingdom passed a new election law. The voters are divided into four classes. All males of 25 years have one vote: those who have an annual income of about $335 have two votes; those with about $445 income have three votes: those with $525 have four votes. But in every case the income must be either from property or from professional service.

There are 91 members in the Saxon diet. The new law arranged the districts so that only 43 — less than half — are from the cities. The country vote is safely anti-Socialist. But the cities of Dresden, Chemnitz, and Leipsic have a large Social-Democratic population. In Leipsic the vote stood as follows:

32,576 voters in the one-vote class cast 32,576 votes.
20,323 voters in the two-vote class cast 40,646 votes.
8,538 voters in the three-vote class cast 25,614 votes.
18,491 voters in the four-vote class cast 73,964 votes.

The four-vote class cast double the vote of the one-vote class, with about half as many voters.

With this handicap the Social-Democrats went into battle. They won more than one half of the voters, but elected only one fourth of the members. They were offered the vice-presidency of the Chamber of Deputies. But the offer had a string tied to it, they must attend the reception given by the king to the deputies. They had always refused to recognize Royalty in this way, and would not surrender now for the sake of office.

Or take the ancient free cities. In Lübeck there are 120 members in the legislature, 105 of whom are elected by the electors whose income is $420 a year. In Hamburg no one can vote whose income is less than $252 a year. In Bremen the electors are divided into groups, each group representing a certain kind of property or activity, and these groups elect the legislature.

But the special grievance of the Social-Democrat is Prussia, the predominating state of the Empire. Here the three-class system prevails. Each electoral district is divided into precincts, the tax-payers of each precinct are listed according to the amount of taxes they pay, the largest payers on the top, the smallest on the bottom, of the list. The total amount of taxes paid is divided into three equal parts, those who pay the upper one third are class one, the middle one third are class two, the lower one third are class three. Each of these groups elects the same number of electors, and these electors

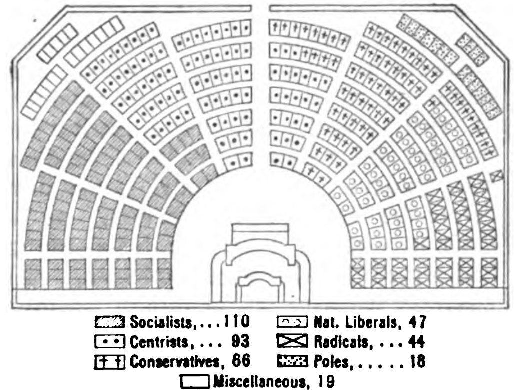

DIAGRAM OF THE REICHSTAG
SHOWING THAT THE SOCIALISTS, WITH 27 PER CENT. OF THE 397 SEATS, ARE THE STRONGEST BODY IN THE PARLIAMENT

meet and choose the members of the legislature. Classes one and two usually combine to control the elections. Some queer things happen. For instance, one precinct in Berlin has 3 men in the first class, 8 in the second class, 294 in the third class. The eleven in classes one and two have everything their own way. In 1903, the Social-Democrats, for the first time, contested an election for the Prussian diet. The conditions are too hard for them to hope for success. They cast 314,149 votes, and the Conservatives cast 324,157; the Social-Democrats failed to elect any representatives, the Conservatives elected 143. In the last election, the Social-Democrats cast practically 24 per cent.

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of the votes and elected seven members in a house of 420. The districts are so gerrymandered that the rural population, comprising 30 per cent. of the total, elect the majority of the members.

The Social-Democrats are, first of all, demanding the abolition of property qualifications for elections.

They are, secondly, demanding the same freedom that is vouchsafed to other members of the community.

A SOCIALIST'S "VACATION" IN JAIL

They are the recipient of constant annoyances. The Government considers them enemies of monarchy, and excuses its petty persecutions on the ground of self-preservation. Men are still imprisoned for opinion's sake. Last year Ernest Heilman, the clever editor of the Chemnitz *Volksstimme*, the leading Social-Democratic organ of Saxony, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for writing and publishing a caustic but brilliant editorial on the Kaiser as landlord and taxpayer. He told me, some days before he began his "vacation," as he laughingly called it, that all his assistants had served time for similar offenses. And wherever we went on the day of my visit, he was greeted by the workingmen in a jocular spirit and congratulated upon his opportunity to spend the hot months of summer in a cool place. This is the spirit in which these prosecutions are received. They engender no great respect or love for the Government.

Police are still present at public meetings to remind the eager orators that freedom of speech is not a reality. And the presiding magistrate is usually content with the evidence of the policeman when the offending speaker is arrested.

February 13, 1910, was set aside as a day for demonstrations in favor of universal suffrage throughout the Empire. The following notice appeared on the bulletins of Berlin:

> NOTICE! The right to the streets is hereby proclaimed. The streets serve primarily for traffic. Resistance will be met with force of arms. I warn the curious.
>
> POLICE PRESIDENT IAGO.
>
> Berlin, Feb. 13, 1910.

The Social-Democratic papers called attention to the fact that the notices were written on the same forms that the Police-President so often used to announce the clearing of the streets of all traffic on account of military parades.

The right to hold the demonstration being denied, they planned another to be held in Treptow Park. This the police also forbade, and placed sentries on every street leading to the park. One hundred and fifty thousand Socialists then met, on the designated day, in the Tiergarten, in the very heart of the city, and so secretly had the word been given, and so quietly had it been executed, and so orderly was this vast throng of workingmen, that the police knew nothing about it until the meeting was over and the crowds were dispersing.

There are, every year, collisions with the police, followed by arrests. And every year, at the national convention of the party, the honor roll of the martyrs is read.

THE ROAD TO SOCIAL SUICIDE

Social-Democracy is, of course, unfashionable. It is also politically suicidal. The Social-Democrat is not only ostracized from "society," he is disqualified from holding office. While he may vote for members of the national Parliament, he cannot become even a care-taker in a public comfort station. This disqualification is, of course, not a legal one. But it is more effective than any statute could make it. In Germany there has been no Briand, no John Burns. Schoolmasters with socialistic sympathies learned long ago to keep their opinions to themselves. The clergy in the State Church have only to recall the experience of Pastor Naumann, until recently a member of the Reichstag as a Radical Liberal, who sacrificed a pastorate to his convictions. And professors in the University, who are not content with the "Socialism of the Chair," remember the dismissal of Dr. Aarons, a Social-Democrat who had declared in public that Social-Democracy was the "lesser evil" that threatened the State. A law was promptly passed, prohibiting members of the University from meddling in any way with Social-Democrats.

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So, if you are a lawyer, you cannot be a judge, if a minister, you cannot get a church, and if a scholar, you cannot get a chair — if you are a Social-Democrat.

"Do you enjoy freedom from political interference in your position?" I asked a high official in the Insurance Office. "Absolute freedom," he replied. "We can vote, talk, think as we please. Only we must not vote, talk, or think with the Social-Democrats. That warrants our immediate dismissal, on the ground that the Social-Democrats are bent on destroying the present Government."

The Berlin daily *Vorwaerts*, the great central organ of the party, is prohibited in the barracks. The poor recruit dares not even wrap his sausages and buns in a discarded copy, without being in imminent danger of the guard-house.

THE SHADOW OF THE KAISER

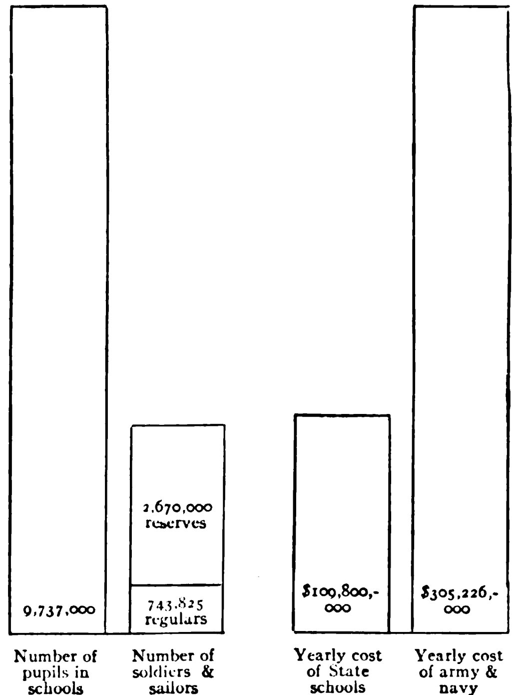
This sort of tyranny is only the shadow cast by the Emperor. He said publicly, with some want of tact, many years ago: "The Social-Democrats are a band of persons who are unworthy of their fatherland." And more recently he said: "The Social-Democrats are a horde of fatherland-less ne'er-do-wells."

The Socialists retaliate. To them the "divine rights" have become human folly. One of the workmen whose home I was visiting said to me: "If the Kaiser were to come through this part of Berlin, I would draw the curtains to the front windows and take my children back into the kitchen. So would all my neighbors." You look in vain for the picture of a Hohenzollern or of Bismarck in the homes of these people. Marx, Bebel, Liebknecht, La Salle, are there.

They have their own petty tyrannies. If you want work you must join the union. If you want to be treated in a neighborly way, vote with the Social-Democrats. Many a small shop-keeper has felt the compelling force of boycotts, when he voted against the Social-Democrat ticket.

In Prussia this feeling of personal hatred runs very high; there are no friendly good mornings between Social-Democrats and Conservatives. The Socialists do not mingle joyously with groups from other parties in the lobbies of the Reichstag. They are enemies. The Social-Democrats never attend a public function where they will be expected to cheer the Kaiser. This year they remained away from the opening of the new Berlin city hall for that reason.

In South Germany there is no such bitterness. The King of Bavaria is not afraid to shake hands with Von Vollmar, the Prince of Socialists and the Socialist among princes. But in Bavaria it is no mortal crime to call up a public functionary on the telephone and ask him a question. Woe to the man who dares this in Prussia! Officialdom there can only be approached respectfully, by person or formal writing.



GERMAN MILITARISM AND EDUCATION

A PARALLEL THAT DRIVES THOUSANDS OF THE POORER CLASSES INTO THE SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENT

Now it is quite clear what the Social-Democrats want. They want the same political freedom, the same political chances extended to the Social-Democrats that are given by the State to members of other parties.

It is not physical comfort that they are seeking. In no other country in the world

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is the laboring man in such snug circumstances. Let us take a walk through the suburbs of Berlin inhabited by workingmen. We will choose Rixdorf, a district controlled by the Social-Democratic vote.

AN EMPIRE WITHOUT SLUMS

You are surprised at the clean streets, the trees, the lawns and flowers in the leading avenue; at the prosperous appearance of the flats and tenements, with their myriad balconies gay with flowers and vines. You enter a dozen courts and backyards, every one is scrupulously clean. You visit the workman in his rooms — there are only three or four, or maybe only two rooms. But they are all well lighted and neat. On the streets are troops of children, all comfortably clothed, none neglected. You compare them with the listless, ragged waifs of London.

We stop to inspect the shop windows, to admire the pastries, meats, and vegetables that these workers buy. Here is a hatter with a silk hat in his window. Who will buy a silk hat in this poor neighborhood? Your guide tells you, "Some foreman or skilled mechanic."

Here you find no abject poverty. There is none. I asked a score of Rixdorfers to tell me of poverty. Each one knew a widow or unfortunate neighbor who "had a pretty hard time of it." "But can't you take me to a street where every home is in misery and people don't know where the next meal is coming from?"

"*Ach, mein Gott,* no, we don't have that in all Germany!"

And they do not. There is plenty of poverty — and the charity reports show a rapid increase — but it is clean, systematized. There are no slums — no stenches.

And you wonder why these men are protestors. Why do they want to vote, to hold office, to help manage the big affairs when such comfort is their lot?

REVOLUTIONISTS FOR THE RIGHT TO LEARN

I mingled one evening with a group of laborers in their gardens. Every family contrives to have a garden—*garten-laube* — outside the city. We had talked long into the night on Socialism, politics, and social ideals, and they had asked me a great many questions about America, especially about our free schools. Finally I told them I couldn't understand why they were such grumblers. After a long pause, one of them, a foreman in a machine shop, said: "Well, we German workmen are fairly well off. And I would be inclined to be content. But my boy can't go to the University."

There you have the answer. It is that intangible barrier interposed between these intolerable castes that make the under-man feel wickedly toward the upper. *Because the barrier is impassable.*

I learned, on inquiry, that this particular foreman had an attractive and bright lad, and was eager for him to get on. But he spurned charity, and he could not afford the money required for his college education. Social-Democracy is a protest against political privilege and the hardening crusts of caste.

These workmen for fifty years have learned that if they want anything done they must do it themselves. The Social-Democratic party is the enginery of their power. And I do not hesitate to say that their party machine is the most perfect political organization in Europe: American party machines are crude and amateurish compared with it. The only rival is the well-oiled, ball-bearing, silver-plated, inter-acting, noiseless mechanism designed by the gentry of England for the running of the great Empire.

The Social-Democratic party is a labor party and seeks the coöperation of the labor unions. There are three kinds of these unions: the "Christians," organized by the Centre party, to keep Catholic workmen within the fold; the Hirsh-Dunker unions, organized under the tutelage of the Liberal party; and the Social-Democratic unions. Each kind of labor union has, therefore, some political significance. The "Christians" number about 300,000; the Liberals, 100,000, and the Social-Democrats about 2,000,000.

But the organization of the Social-Democratic unions is entirely independent of the party. There are two organizations. Not all members of the union vote the party ticket. But all sympathize with the party programme. This separateness of

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SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE REICHSTAG BUILDING IN BERLIN

TO ADVERTISE THEIR DEMAND FOR UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

organization is in itself an element of strength. It gives spirit to the unions and an accommodating temper to the party.

In most of the cities these powerful Social-Democratic unions own huge club houses (called *Gewerkschafts-häuser*). Here you will find all sorts of conveniences. There are lecture, concert, and dance halls, libraries, restaurants, lodgings for the wandering craftsman, committee rooms, etc.

The cultural activities of the party and of the unions throw an illuminating sidelight upon the character of the people and upon the quality of their purpose.

A SESSION OF THE REICHSTAG

IN WHICH 110 SOCIALISTS MAKE UP 27 PER CENT. OF THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, THE LARGEST VOTING UNIT IN THE CHAMBER

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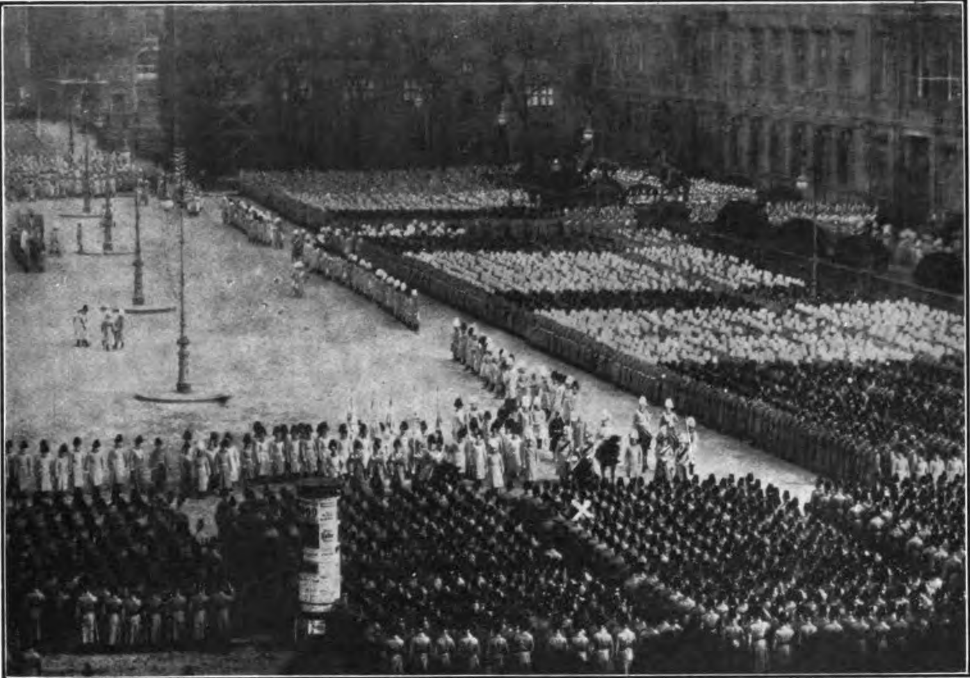
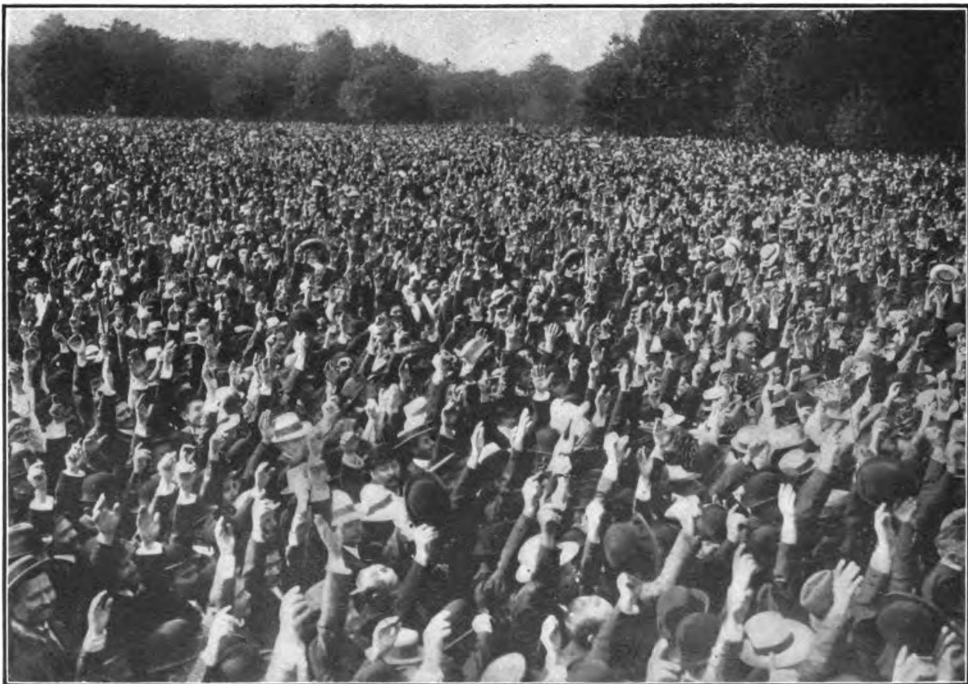


THE KAISER'S FAITH IN WAR

THE ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE RECRUITS BEFORE THE CASTLE IN BERLIN — A SPECTACLE THAT IS PECULIARLY HATEFUL TO THE SOCIALISTS, BOTH BECAUSE THEY DISLIKE THE KAISER TO WHOM THE SOLDIERS SWEAR ALLEGIANCE AT THIS REVIEW AND BECAUSE THEY ARE OPPOSED TO ALL WAR



THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS'

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, IN TREPTOW PARK,

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There are night schools, lectures, educational excursions, a juvenile department to bring up the youth in the gospel of the party, and in Berlin a training school for the more gifted young men who wish to become editors and politicians. There are art exhibits. Some years ago, a revolt took place against the filthy literature some German publishers were spreading among the young. Now the labor unions are publishing classics for youth and selling them at a nominal price to workingmen.

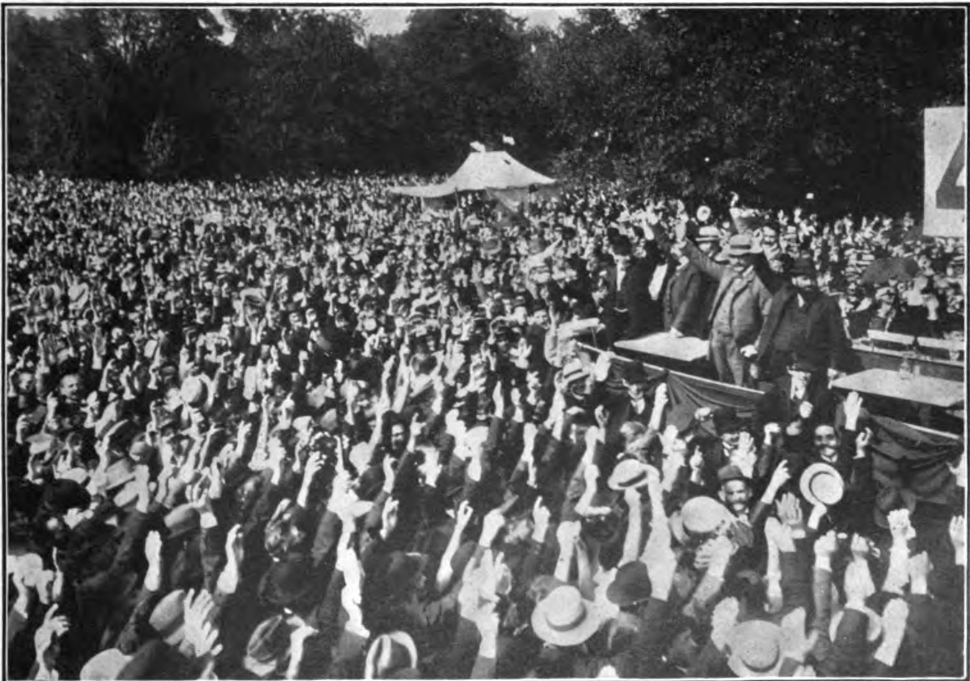
Last summer, when I was in Berlin, three rooms in the Club house were fitted up as a model workingman's home. Kitchen, bedroom, and sitting room, furnished neatly, cheaply, durably; the walls in subdued tints, hung with artistic prints. I have been in many homes in Charlottenburg where less taste and more money were displayed. These rooms were crowded several times a week with workingmen and their wives, eager to learn.

The party is controlled by an executive committee who govern with the dignity of a college faculty, the astuteness of politicians, and the frugality of tradesmen. There are 76 daily papers in the party press, many weeklies and monthlies, and even juvenile and humorous journals. Some of the trade journals have a wide influence. The metal workers' journal has 500,000 subscribers, and the masons' journal 300,000.

Last year more than 44,000 meetings were held, more than 23,000,000 circulars and 2,500,000 pamphlets distributed.

The keynote of all this activity is party solidarity. "We have no factions, we are one. Personally, any Social-Democrat may think as he pleases and do as he pleases, but when it comes to political activity we insist that he act with the party," Dr. Südekum, one of the younger party leaders and editor of an influential monthly, told me.

Evidences of party discipline are not wanting. The dogmatic Prussian element is particularly paternal in its scoldings of the South Germans, when the Bavarians or Badensians slip through the fingers of party rigor and vote for the budgets in their state legislatures. The annual party convention is the safety valve against this party czardom. Here everybody frees his mind with naïve directness. Every



IMPRESSIVE VOTE FOR PEACE

BERLIN, CASTING A UNANIMOUS BALLOT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

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FED THROUGH STATE CHARITY

WOMEN WAITING IN LINE FOR TICKETS THAT ENTITLE THEM TO RECEIVE POTATOES SUPPLIED FREE BY THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF MUNICH

one says anything he likes and returns to his home, satisfied that he has had fair play.

Solidarity there is, whatever the cost. And a class consciousness, a homogeneity, a brotherhood. They call one another comrades.

Beneath this organization of party and of workmen is a fundamental wisdom, insisted upon everywhere: first be a good workman, then make your demands and vote.

It is needless to add that capable men have arisen from among the humble to guide this powerful machine. The most interesting man in Germany is August Bebel, a woodturner. To belong to the party, dues are required, and willing service. The party membership has grown rapidly the last few years: in 1906 it was 384,527; in 1907, 530,466; 1908, 587,336; 1909, 633,309; 1910, 720,038; 1911, 850,000.

Here is a party of nearly a million, willingly paying dues from their frugal wages and glad to be sent into any party service where they can be useful.

The following table shows the voting strength of the party:

YEAR	VOTE	PER CENT. OF TOTAL BALLOT	SEATS WON	SEATS DUE UNDER MANHOOD SUFFRAGE
1887	763,000	10	11	40
1893	1,787,000	23	44	92
1898	2,107,000	27	56	108
1903	3,011,000	31½	81	125
1907	3,259,000	29	43	116
1912	4,250,000		110	

CARRYING THE BURDEN OF MILITARISM

WHICH FALLS MOST HEAVILY UPON THE POOR, BOTH IN MONEY AND IN THE LOSS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S YEARS OF ARMY SERVICE

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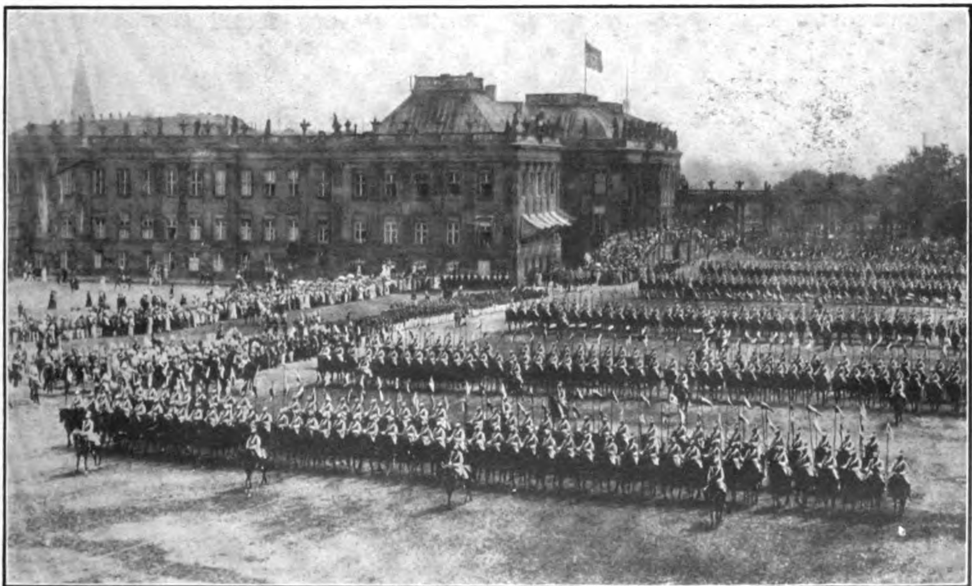
This does not show their present strength. Their enemies were jubilant in 1907 when they cut their representation in two. The Kaiser, with military phrase, said, "The Socialists have been ridden down" — as cavalry rides down. They thought: now is the beginning of the end of Socialism. They were mistaken. Many of the lost seats have been regained. And the elections of 1912 added another blow to their hopes. The Socialists emerged with 110 members, or 27 per cent. of all.

In city and provincial politics, the party is not so powerful. I have shown how local election laws discriminate against them. In nineteen provincial legislatures they have 186 members; in 396 city councils, 1813 members; in 2,009 communal councils, 5,720 members.

In the Reichstag the Socialist group is the centre of daily commotion and interest. "Our entire public life centres about this party," complained a National Liberal member, because the ministers gave such elaborate replies to the Social-Democrats and barely a word to the other groups.

Of the Socialistic side of the movement nothing very definite can be said. The party is Democratic first, Socialistic second. I asked Herr Bebel how much of the Utopian was left and he replied, "We are too busy doing things to dream. When I was converted to Socialism, when I was Saul and became Paul, we were so overwhelmed with misery and so persecuted that we naturally thought violent revolution was the only way to make things better. Since then I have seen the most

THE GOAL OF GERMAN SOCIALISTS
WHOSE BITTEREST COMPLAINT IS THAT THEY CANNOT SEND THEIR SONS TO COLLEGE. STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC



THE BURDEN OF MILITARISM
THAT COSTS THE GERMAN NATION $305,000,000 A YEAR. PARADE OF THE KAISER'S GUARD BEFORE THE ROYAL PALACE AT POTSDAM

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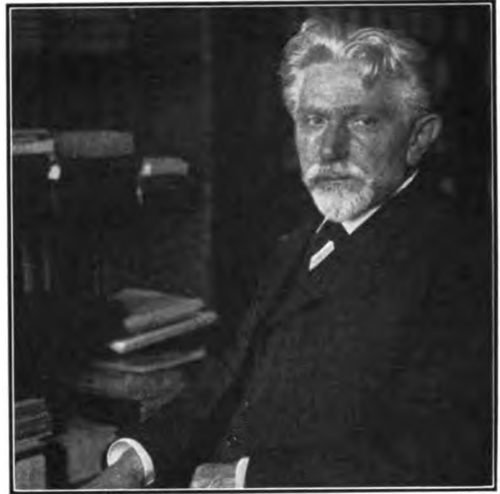
JOHANNES KAEMPF
THE RADICAL WHO WAS RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE REICHSTAG



AUGUST FERDINAND BEBEL
THE WOODTURNER WHO IS THE LEADER OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS

wonderful changes come over society. We have won victory after victory. New problems have arisen that Marx never dreamed of. We have accomplished all this progress by meeting each problem specifically. So we have learned to look upon our work as transforming, not overthrowing, society. But our ultimate goal of social ownership of the great forces of production and distribution is constantly before us. And, believe me, some day the break will come, and the flood will sweep everything before it; then will come the end of centralized wealth and tyrannical government."

Von Vollmar, the gentlest and most cultured of gentlemen, who sacrificed social distinction and political opportunity to his convictions, told me: "When I was young, and the State hounded us to death, I naturally believed revolution the only way to general betterment. But that has all changed. We have already revolutionized Germany. When

THE GERMAN KAISER
WHOSE HATRED OF SOCIALISTS IS REFLECTED IN THE SEVERE TREATMENT THEY RECEIVE FROM PUBLIC OFFICIALS

KARL LIEBKNECHT
THE SOCIALIST WHO WAS RECENTLY ELECTED TO THE REICHSTAG TO REPRESENT THE KAISER'S HOME DISTRICT OF POTSDAM

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I look back thirty years I marvel at what has been done. We must not be so stupid as to fasten our hopes on violence. The ferment works day and night. Change is constant."

Of the old-fashioned Marxians, Kautsky is still the orthodox prophet and Rosa Luxemburg the fiery evangelist. But even their utterances are growing ever tamer.

Nobody is bothering very much about the "new social order." Every one is anxious about the troubles of to-day.

The Social-Democrats never vote for the army and navy appropriations. They are anti-militarists but not anti-patriots. Von Vollmar said, in the Bavarian diet, some years ago: "If the necessity should arise for the protection of the realm against foreign invasion, it will be seen that the Social-Democrat is as patriotic as his neighbor. On the other hand, if the foolish notion should ever arise to use the army for the support of a waning class prerogative, for the defence of indefensible demands, and for the crushing of those ambitions which are the product of our times and the necessary result of our economic growth, then *we are of the firm conviction that the day will come when the army will remember that it has come from the people, and that its own interests are those of the masses.*"

Last summer, at the Social-Democratic convention at Jena, while the Morocco trouble threatened war between Germany and France, Herr Bebel made a remarkably brilliant speech, that was reported by the column throughout Europe and had a far-reaching influence in settling the question. He vividly described the horrible actualities of war, and scathingly denounced our "civilization" for permitting the "killing of men for the conquest of land." He intimated that the Socialists would not refuse to fight *in defense of their fatherland*, but that they would do everything in their power to prevent war.

German disarmament will be long in comgin, but when it does come it will be a proletarian, not a capitalist, victory.

Definitely it can be said that German Socialism has coerced the Government, slowly but surely, from absolutism into a gradual recognition of democracy; that it has compelled the wealth of the land to share some of its profits with the workingmen, in the form of pensions; and that it is working valiantly against the military tyranny that costs the nation a million dollars a day and the young man two of the best years of his life. In private property it has not made many dents.

What are the prospects of this unique party? It is a laboring man's party. Of its 110 members in the Reichstag, the majority are laboring men, the others are editors, lawyers, etc. A large majority of the workingmen are already in the fold.

THE LUXURY OF GERMAN SOCIALISTS

THE INNER COURT OF THE CLUB HOUSE FOR SOCIALIST WORKINGMEN IN BERLIN

There are only two directions in which it can hope for recruits: among the agricultural laborers and the small business men and tradespeople. The agricultural laborer is almost hopeless. He is stolid, stupid, without blood or fire. The Church and the junker (large landowner) have him between them.

But there are many evidences that the small tradesman and the business man are looking toward Social-Democracy for help against the trusts that are squeezing him. Von Vollmar told me that a great many

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SOCIALISTS CANVASSING FOR VOTES AT A POLLING PLACE

business and tradesmen voted for him in Munich. And my conversations with a number of tradespeople in South Germany bears out the general opinion that the barrier is breaking down. A well known business man in Baden told me that he had several times voted for Social-Democrats, and that many of his business acquaintances had done likewise.

Dr. L. Frank, of Mannheim, the "New La Salle" of the party, said to me: "There are many of the students and younger professional men, lawyers, journalists, engineers, etc., coming over to us. They see the futility of the so-called Liberal movement. And they learn we are not as revolutionary as we are painted. I consider our ability to attract the intellectuals the real test of our strength, the thermometer that registers our power."

When Social-Democracy becomes both proletarian and intellectual liberalism, some strange changes will be wrought in the German hierarchy.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ON ELECTION NIGHT

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WHEN WE GET THE PARCELS POST

HOW PACKAGES WEIGHING ELEVEN POUNDS MAY BE SENT LONG DISTANCES BY MAIL AT TRIFLING COST IN GERMANY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SOUTH AFRICA, CHINA, AND—SOME DAY—IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

IF YOU happen to live in Phillipstown, U. S. A., and want a dozen fresh-laid eggs every day direct from a farmer, the easiest and cheapest way to get them is to have the farmer send them to you by the newly established "agricultural parcels post." A dozen eggs weigh about a pound. If the package does not weigh more than an additional quarter-pound, the postage will be six cents, in any kind of postage stamps. Or if you want a couple of pounds of butter, a pot of jam, a jar of honey, a pair of tender young "broilers," or a fat duck, your farmer can wrap them up, put the necessary stamps on them, hand them to the rural carrier the next time that functionary passes, and the parcel will be delivered to you as fast as the mails can carry it. And if your farmer wants tea or tobacco, garden seeds or a cake of yeast, he can telephone or write to the storekeeper at Phillipstown and have the articles mailed at the same rate of postage — six cents for anything up to a pound and a quarter, twelve cents from that up to three pounds, sixteen cents for a package from three to six pounds in weight, twenty cents if it be more than six and less than nine pounds, and twenty-four cents for any heavier package up to eleven pounds.

That's what you can do if you live in Phillipstown, U. S. A. — Union of South Africa. But if you live in Phillipstown in *our* U. S. A., — United States of America — you can't do anything of the kind.

To be sure, there are rural carriers traveling once, twice, or three times a day between most of our post offices and the

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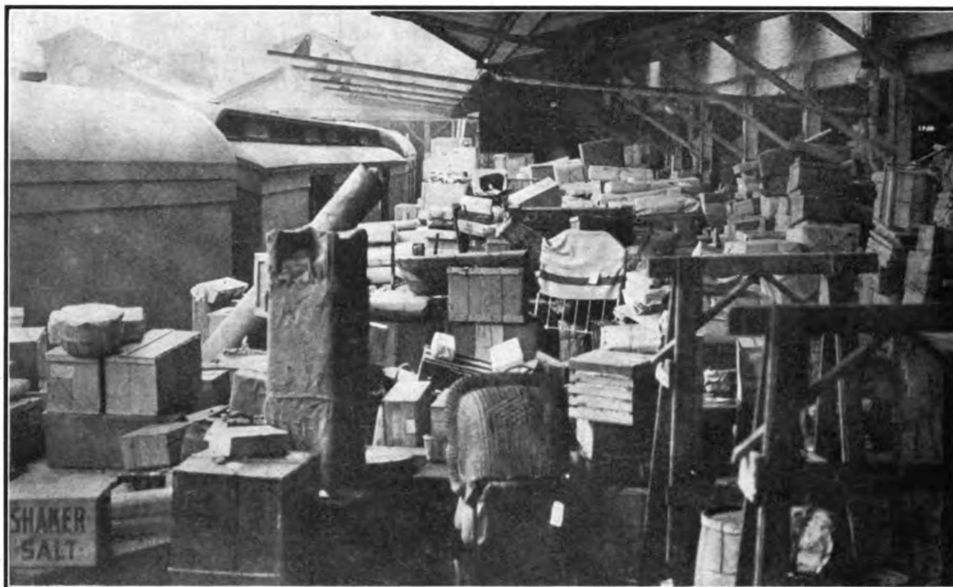

EXPRESS PACKAGES THAT OUGHT TO GO BY PARCELS POST

BULKY AND HEAVY SMALL SHIPMENTS THAT NOW PAY HIGH RATES SHOULD GO CHEAPLY BY MAIL

outlying farms — 42,000 of them, covering about a million miles of roads every day, in vehicles perfectly able to take loads of from 100 to 200 pounds over the average road. But they start out from their respective post offices with average loads of 25 pounds and return with practically no loads at all. For in the United States of America we haven't any kind of parcels post at all, except a service that costs so much nobody uses it for anything weighing more than an ounce or two, that limits the weight of parcels carried to a trifling maximum, and that bars from the mails entirely the eggs and butter, honey and jam, and broilers and ducks that the

EXPRESS EQUIPMENT AND SERVICE THAT DUPLICATES POSTAL EQUIPMENT AND SERVICE

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WHERE A PARCELS POST WOULD REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING
AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE FOOD OF CITY DWELLERS, BY CARRYING FRESH PRODUCE DIRECT FROM THE FARM TO THE CONSUMER

people of Phillipstown, Union of South Africa, can have sent in from the farm, whenever they want them.

For the United States Post Office charges sixteen cents a pound postage and limits packages to four pounds. So the farmer does not use the mails for his packages. But he does use the rural mail carrier enough to show that a parcels post would be a great service to him; for if he wants packages that are unmailable or heavier than the four-pound limit delivered to him by rural carrier, he can get them — provided the person who is sending them to him first takes them to the post office for the postmaster's inspection, to make sure there is no reasonable excuse for charging postage on them and provided the postmaster then gives his permission for the carrier to take them, and provided the carrier is willing to perform the service and does not charge too heavy a fee for it. But that is the nearest approximation we have to any kind of parcels post. Even under these conditions there were 138,490 packages carried by Rural Free Delivery carriers outside the mails, in the month of January, 1910, of a total weight of 914,318 pounds and nine ounces. Nobody knows how much the carriers charged for this service. Whatever profit there was in it went into their pockets. They alone were responsible to the shippers and the consignees, and the Government's only concern was to see that they did not carry anything on which, under the postal laws and regulations, a tax of 16 cents a pound could be levied.

South Africa is a long way off, however, and there are other aspects of the parcels post besides the agricultural one. The shipment of merchandise, gifts, personal effects from city to city is as necessary in modern civilization as is the transportation of commodities to and from the farm. England isn't as far away as South Africa. How do they solve the problem there?

A RURAL FREE DELIVERY CARRIER
OF THAT SERVICE WHOSE INSPIRING EFFECT UPON COUNTRY LIFE CRYSTALLIZED THE SENTIMENT FOR A PARCELS POST

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THE WHOLE STORY OF THE NEED FOR AGRICULTURAL AND PARCELS POST

EIGHT RURAL DELIVERY WAGONS, EMPTY EXCEPT FOR LETTERS, LEAVING THE FRONT DOORS OF THE COUNTRY MERCHANTS' STORES BUT UNABLE TO DELIVER THEIR MERCHANDISE. EVERY FARMER SERVED BY THESE CARRIERS MUST USE HIS OWN TIME AND HIS OWN TEAM TO COME TO THESE SAME STORES WHEN HE NEEDS TO MAKE EVEN ONE SMALL PURCHASE — A FOOLISH AND TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC WASTE

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LETTER POSTAL EQUIPMENT THAT COULD BE UTILIZED FOR PARCELS ALSO

By the general parcels post. Anything and everything, up to eleven pounds in weight and with some reasonable restrictions of the methods of packing and of the bulk of the packages, is carried in the mails — collected from boxes or postal stations and delivered at your house just like letters — at rates that begin at 6 cents for a single pound and end with 22 cents for 11 pounds. But the British Islands are a small country, you may say, and the distances are short. Well, the British Post Office will carry an 11-pound package 700 miles for 22 cents — as far as from New York to Cincinnati. An American wishing to send the same weight of merchandise 700 miles can ship it by express for from 75 cents up. Or, if it can be divided into

THE AUTOMOBILE HAS REMOVED ONE GREAT OBJECTION TO A PARCELS POST
BY SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF DELIVERY OF HEAVY AND BULKY PACKAGES

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GERMAN POSTAL OFFICIALS CHECKING UP PARCEL DELIVERIES
NOTE THE SIZE OF THE PACKAGES

two 4-pound packages and one 3-pound package, he can send it by mail for $1.76, whether it is to go from Boston to San Francisco or from New York to Jersey City. And if you think it is no concern of Americans what the British Post Office does for the people of the United Kingdom, ponder the fact that the British shipper can address a package to any point in the United States, drop it in the British mails, and have it delivered at its destination in the United States whether that be Sitka or Siasconset, for 61 cents for a 3-pound parcel, 85 cents for a 7-pound parcel, or $1.09 for an 11-pound parcel. From the port of New York, however, the British

NOTHING NEW ABOUT PARCELS POST
AN OLD PICTURE OF THE LONDON-BRIGHTON PARCELS COACH IN ENGLAND

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AS THEY DO IT IN GERMANY
PARCELS POST DELIVERY WAGONS LOADING AT A GERMAN POST OFFICE

parcels post is handled in the United States by the American Express Company, which carries the packages for the foreign Government for 24 cents, while charging Americans up to $1.65 for the same service. In sending parcels the other way, however, the charges are entirely different. If an American takes an 11-pound parcel into any American Post Office, he can send it to England for $1.32 instead of $1.09, or for 12 cents a pound, but he cannot mail it at any price from one American Post Office to another.

Perhaps they order these things better in Germany. In some respects that is true. A person can go shopping in Berlin and have his purchases sent home by parcels post, eleven pounds for six cents, if the distance is ten miles or less; for twelve cents if it is more than ten miles — and there are air-line distances of 850 miles in Germany. But the service of the Imperial German Parcels Post does not stop there. You may add weight to the parcel up to a limit of 110 pounds — actually ship live dogs, goats, bicycles, baby-carriages — anything that will go into a railroad car and does not weigh more than 110 pounds, by mail. The additional postage charges for weights above eleven pounds are arranged on a

WHAT A PARCELS POSTMAN LOOKS LIKE
AN EVERY DAY SIGHT IN GERMAN TOWNS

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UNLOADING EUROPEAN MAIL AT NEW YORK

zone system, beginning with a trifle less than half a cent a pound for 46 miles and running up to about 5½ cents a pound for distances more than 692 miles, for the additional weight. Nor does the Imperial German Parcels Post — a wonderfully efficient institution against which there is no private competition — stop there. For the benefit of the German shipper it carries his parcels to America and delivers them for him to the addressees in New York City, in Brooklyn, Jersey City, or Hoboken with its own wagons, for a maximum charge of 88 cents for an 11-pound parcel from any point in Germany. The blue-painted wagon of the Imperial German Parcels Post may be seen any day in the streets of New York, delivering packages that have been carried possibly 800 miles by rail and certainly 3,000 miles by water, at a total cost of eight cents a pound, though the resident of Hoboken must pay sixteen cents a pound to his own post office to send a package across the North River, a scant mile. And if the German package is destined for an interior point, the express company takes it for an additional 24 cents to any part of the United States.

The United States is a big country, and it probably would not be feasible to make a general parcels post rate on the basis of that of Belgium, for instance, where a package of 132 pounds is carried anywhere by post for 22 cents, with an extra charge of only 6 cents for house-to-house collection and delivery and 10 cents more

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS A PARCEL DELIVERY IN NEW YORK
FOR THE BENEFIT OF GERMAN MANUFACTURERS AND MERCHANTS WHO USE THE IMPERIAL MAILS

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for fast train service. But so is Australia a big country — not so very much smaller than the United States of America — and there one can send parcels of a pound for twelve cents, with six cents added for each added pound. European Russia is more than two thirds as large as the United States and a postage charge of 34 cents carries an 11-pound package by mail to any part of it, and 95 cents will carry the same parcel from St. Petersburg to Saghalien Island, off the eastern coast of Siberia, or to any other point in the Russian Empire. And by paying at approximately the same rate for the additional weight one may post parcels up to 120 pounds in the Russian Post Office and they will be delivered. And if the area covered has any bearing on the question, consider China, half as large again as the United States, with its parcels post rate of a dollar for twenty-two pounds anywhere in the Republic — or Empire — whichever it may happen to be when this is published.

WHY WE HAVEN'T GOT IT

The question naturally arises. If the parcels post works to the advantage of the public in these countries and the rest of the civilized nations of the world, which all have it, why do we not have it in the United States? Mr. Wanamaker, more than twenty years ago, answered that question. He said, in one of his reports as Postmaster General, that there were four reasons why we did not have the parcels post — the Adams Express Company, the American Express Company, the United States Express Company, and Wells, Fargo and Company's Express. With ten express companies now doing business, as against four then, there would seem to be a multiplicity of reasons against the parcels post. But two things have happened that had not occurred in Mr. Wanamaker's day in office. Rural free delivery has been established by the Post Office, and the express companies have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. And because of these things, we *are* going to have the parcels post in the United States — sometime.

Believing in the parcels post, President Taft has recommended it. In a special message to Congress last December he proposed, as a preliminary step, that it should be established on certain selected rural free delivery routes, and that is the way in which it probably will be started. That is the way Postmaster General Hitchcock wants to try it out. Mr. Hitchcock can hardly be accused of being a parcels post enthusiast. He sees obstacles to the collection and delivery of parcels in the big cities for instance. Likewise, he does not believe in cheap postage, as a general rule. But in his last annual report he advocated the rural free delivery parcels post, and in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, on Nov. 13, 1911, he said:

> I favor making a beginning on the rural routes, but that beginning should be followed as rapidly as possible with an extension of the parcels post system to other branches of the postal system. My plan was to start with the rural routes, follow that almost immediately with delivery in the carrier service in cities and towns, and after those two branches of the service were organized, to take over the railway-express business, thus making a general system.

Mr. Hitchcock suggested a rate of twelve cents a pound, with a minimum charge of twelve cents, as a general parcels-post rate, limited to eleven-pound parcels.

Congress wants the parcels post, the public want it. Farmers, villagers, city dwellers, business men — excluding certain well-defined classes which will be more specifically identified later — want it. The National Grange and most of the state granges have indorsed it. Labor organizations and woman suffrage associations and consumers' leagues and dozens of other organizations composed of ordinary, average citizens have sent delegations to Washington to demand the parcels post as a matter of right and justice, as a means toward keeping the cost of living down and making it possible for more people to live in the country by establishing better communication between country and city.

ITS ENEMIES

Why do we not have the parcels post, then? One of the chief objections to the

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establishing of it is the argument of "paternalism." Individualists contend that the Government has no right to take over what can be done by private enterprise. This objection, however, is losing much of its force by the mere passage of time. Another potent stock argument is that the express companies are doing the carrying business cheaper than the Government can possibly do it. The first step toward the explosion of this argument was taken when the express companies were placed under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Hepburn Rate Law of 1906. According to their own figures, the entire plants and equipments of the ten express companies doing business in the United States, including all their real estate holdings, could be duplicated for $29,962,373. That sum represents, however, the investment of earnings and not of original capital, of which it is doubtful if as much as $1,000,000 was ever invested. The express companies collected among them in the fiscal year ending in 1911, $141,791,975 gross revenues, of which about half went to the railroad companies, leaving net earnings after paying the other expenses of their business of $11,595,045. Viewing these figures, it was plain enough that the Government or almost any agency could do the business cheaper than the express companies were doing it.

THE MAIL ORDER BUGABOO

The method that the express companies and other middlemen have taken to defeat the parcels post is by endeavoring to convince the rural merchants and retailers in small communities that if the system is adopted it will wipe every one of these small dealers out of business, cause rural communities to disappear, and leave the "mail-order" catalogue the only connecting link between the isolated farm and the congested city.

This appeal to the little retailers has its effect. They have seen, or think they have seen, the mail-order houses getting business and dollars which should be theirs by right of geographic location. Their knowledge of economic principles is not great enough to permit them to see that the parcels post can be of very slight advantage to the mail-order houses, which, whether the system is established or not, will depend, for the transportation of their goods, on freight; because freight will always be the cheapest form of conveyance. No parcels post project ever suggested for adoption in America takes the 100-pound shipment into consideration at all. The general manager of a certain big mail order house testified before the Senate Committee that 82 per cent. of their business was shipped by freight, 10 per cent. by express, and only 8 per cent. by mail. It is surely only a question of time until the country dealer gets over his fright about the mail-order houses and becomes as eager in his demands for the parcels post as the farmer now is.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

If one may judge by the expressed wants of the people and by all the signs of the times, it is certain that conditions will be improved very shortly, even if we do not arrive at once at a complete and genuine parcels post. The express companies are trying to save their bacon by a compromise. This compromise is embodied in the Adamson bill, reported favorably in Congress by the House Committee on Inter-State and Foreign Commerce. It provides for the regulation of express rates and co-operation between the express companies and the Post Office to the extent of interchanging business to or from rural free delivery routes. The provisions of the bill apply to all packages under eleven pounds in weight and $80 in value. The maximum rates provided in the bill range, by zones, from 2 cents a pound between points not more than 250 miles apart to 12 cents a pound for distances of 2,000 miles or more, the intermediate steps being a 4-cent rate up to 600 miles, a 5-cent rate up to 800 miles, 7 cents up to 1,200 miles and 10 cents for a 2,000-mile haul. The companies are required to deliver packages at these rates to rural free delivery carriers, who will deliver them along their routes without extra charge, and to accept from R. F. D. carriers parcels prepaid at the same rates, collected on the rural routes.

On the other hand, there are several

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out-and-put parcels post bills pending. Senator Obadiah Gardner of Maine has introduced one that calls for the purchase by the Government of the entire property and equipment of the express companies and the assumption of all their business. More closely in line with the ideas of those who have made a careful study of the parcels post is the O'Gorman-Sulzer bill, which increases the weight limit in the domestic postal service to 11 pounds and reduces the present one-cent-an-ounce rate on fourth-class mail matter to the third-class rate of one cent for two ounces. It also provides that on all rural free delivery routes parcels up to one pound in weight are to be carried for one cent between any points on the route, up to 11 pounds for 5 cents, and up to 25 pounds for 10 cents. These rates are exclusive of charges for registration and insurance. Even such a limited parcels post as this would be a long step beyond anything we now have in this country.

EXPRESS COMPANY SCANDALS

Why not let the express companies do the business, then? The investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, begun in 1911 and still under way, has brought out such a mass of testimony about the evil practices of the express companies that many of their supporters are now advocating the parcels post.

The Merchants' Association, the largest business organization in New York City, and 225 other business men's associations acting with it, filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission more than a year ago charges against the express companies, which specified particularly complaints of unjust, unreasonable, and extortionate charges, excessive over-payment to the railroads on small parcels, the collection of double terminal charges when the goods are handled by two express companies, roundabout routing by agreement between the companies and the ignoring of routing directions of the shippers, the increase of terminal charges when the length of haul is increased, excessive charges for insurance, extra charges for delivery of goods to steamship companies, failure to provide funds at minor offices for the redemption of their own money orders, engaging in the brokerage and commission business in competition with merchants, carrying parcels for foreign shippers at lower rates than domestic traffic, combining with the railroad companies to conceal unjust rates, delay in settling claims, the common practice of collecting charges from the consignee on shipments prepaid by the consignor, and the establishment of different rates for the same distance from different points.

One illustration of the way in which the express companies handle their business is typical of much of the evidence given at the inquiry. A shipper at Bridgeport, Conn., delivered a package addressed to a customer in Syracuse, N. Y., with instructions to forward it from New York by American Express. The Adams Express has the exclusive contract on the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, the only road touching Bridgeport. The American Express operates on the New York Central Railroad, the direct line from New York to Syracuse. But the Adams Express also has the contract for operating on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a branch of the Pennsylvania touches Newark, N. Y., a point on the New York Central some sixty miles west of Syracuse. So, instead of taking the package fifty miles, from Bridgeport to New York, and then turning it over to the American Express Company for the three hundred mile carriage to Syracuse, the Adams Company carried the package from Bridgeport to New York, thence to Philadelphia, thence to Harrisburg, Penn., thence to Stanley, N. Y., and thence to Newark, N. Y., necessitating a trans-shipment at each point named, and at Newark handed it to the American Express Company, which had but sixty miles to carry it.

Investigators of the Interstate Commerce Commission found from the company's own books, in the year ending June 30, 1910, records of over-collections by the Adams Express Company amounting to $67,197 and by the United States Express Company, in the same period, of $22,026. One day's waybills of the Adams Express Company showed over-collections of $267, and a single day's over-charges by

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the United States Express Company, as reported by the same investigators, amounted to $471.

What is worrying the Post Office authorities, however, is the problem of collecting and delivering packages in the cities without losing money. The express companies, for the cost of picking up and delivering parcels, average on all their business but 17 mills per pound. This amounts to less than the cost of the labor of clerks in ascertaining the rate to be paid, making out waybills, copying waybills into records of shipments forwarded and received, reporting shipments sent and received to the auditor, checking of waybills by auditors against the records of sending and receiving agents and dividing percentages between express company and railroads. All these operations would be replaced in the parcels post by the postage stamp. The railroads would be paid for carrying the mails on some uniform basis such as now obtains. Surely this would not be ruinous to the Government.

And the express companies would not perish, either, for careful estimates indicate that not more than 25 per cent. of their business would be taken over by the parcels post if all packages weighing less than 11 pounds were sent by mail.

WHAT WE SHOULD DO WITH IT

Some advantages of a rural free delivery parcels post were indicated by witnesses who appeared during the last winter before the Senate Committee. J. H. Hale of South Glastonbury, Conn. is known throughout the country as "the Peach King." Rural free delivery wagons run from Hartford past his house. "I have a farm on the other side of the state, beyond New Haven, possibly forty miles from my own home," said Mr. Hale. "There was a little implement I wanted the other day from the other farm, so I called up the superintendent on the telephone and told him to send it by mail. He could not do so, because it weighed five pounds, so he had to hitch up a horse, drive three miles to the express office, pay twenty-five cents to bring it to an express office two-and-a-half miles from my own home, with the Connecticut River rolling between. I had to hitch up a horse and drive two-and-a-half miles in each direction, pay thirty cents for ferrying across the river, and it cost me in all more than a dollar to get that small part, to say nothing of the great inconvenience both to my superintendent and myself."

It is easy to extend Mr. Hale's suggestion and understand how the R. F. D. parcels post would enable the farmer to obtain from his nearest village such commodities as he requires by simply telephoning for them instead of, as now, having to hitch up and drive to town to get them. Tea and coffee from the grocer, a book from the public library, a harrow tooth or a bolt to repair a broken piece of farm machinery from the hardware store, a bottle of castor oil from the druggist, or a pair of rubber boots from the general merchant — these are but suggestions of articles which the farmer often wants in a hurry, which the rural merchant usually has in stock, but which the existing machinery of distribution provides no means of delivering. And since the carrier has to return to the post office from which he started, what is to prevent him bringing in small quantities of farm or garden produce consigned by mail direct to the consumer in the town or to the storekeeper for sale?

And if "garden truck," why not Christmas presents between cities, merchandise between states — why not, in short, a genuine parcels post? Even the most severe critics of the parcels post idea admit that it will work well on the rural free delivery routes. The cost of railroad transportation is a definite, fixed, known quantity. The only other element entering into a complete parcels post system is a collection and delivery system for the cities and — if we are unwilling to take lessons from Germany or England — the express companies themselves have demonstrated that this is the least expensive and most profitable part of their business.

The blue wagon of the Imperial German Parcels Post has just rattled up Broadway. How long will it be before the red wagon of the United States Parcels Post will become as familiar an institution on every Main Street in America?

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"WHAT I AM TRYING TO DO"

TO BRING ABOUT TARIFF REVISION, BUSINESS PROSPERITY, ARBITRATION, AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY

BY

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

(PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

I WAS elected President of the United States on the Republican platform of 1908. I am trying to keep faith with the people, who elected me with the understanding that I would carry out the principles of that instrument.

The Republican party declared in that platform that "in all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between cost of production at home and abroad." The party went before the people on that issue and was sustained.

Our Democratic brethren have departed from the faith on a tariff board which a majority of them once embraced, and, in the extraordinary session of last year, they passed three tariff bills without the aid of information from a tariff board, drawn in such an unscientific, unsystematic, and reckless way that I did not hesitate to veto them, in order that they might await the coming in of the report by the Tariff Board upon Schedule K, wool and woolens, which one tariff bill affected, and upon cotton and cotton manufactures, which another tariff bill affected. We should be entirely willing, upon the issue whether those bills ought to have passed in the form in which they were drawn, with the little information as to their effect which Congress had, or was able to furnish the Executive, to go before the country and invite a verdict of the people.

I think that this is the issue upon which we may safely prove our good faith in regard to a desire to lower duties as far as possible consistent with the protective principle already stated. It brings us to the question, whether, in reducing duties, we are to reduce them with a view to the preservation of our industries and giving them a chance to live, or whether we are to act recklessly without information and without regard to a probable disastrous effect upon an important part of our business. We do not ask for any industry a rate which shall give it an opportunity to enjoy undue profit in competition with the foreign manufacturer, or which shall tempt our manufacturers to form a monopoly in order to secure the artificial benefit of a rate that is higher than the difference in productive conditions. As an evidence of our good faith, we are ready and anxious to abide by the judgment as to the facts by a board of scientific investigators who know no party and no party interest in their researches, and only act as judges of the fact to find the truth.

PROSPERITY AS A HIGH DUTY

It seems to me that an Administration has no higher duty and can have no higher aim than to permit legitimate business to go on undisturbed and with that confidence in the Government which is essential to prosperity. It is assumed that the employers of labor are more interested in the continuance of prosperity than others, but, as a matter of fact, they are less seriously affected by lack of it. As far as the material comforts of life go, the man of capital will be provided whether we have good times or not. It is those who work for daily wages whose welfare and happiness depend chiefly on prosperity, and therefore it is the business of Government, so far as it may, to remove all obstacles to prosperity and the going on of business, and to instil confidence into those who control capital so that it may flow out freely and increase and expand those enterprises upon which the wage-earner depends for his support and his livelihood.

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I don't mean to say that we may not have a specious prosperity, one which seems to be consistent with everybody's happiness, but which merely covers unfair business, and while there is the hum of the wheels of industry, still there are evils and defects that must be eliminated. But, other things being equal, the thing that brings the greatest happiness to the greatest number is general prosperity in business. Everything that I can do I shall do to bring about a state of confidence on the part of those whose investments make business go, in order that they may continue or increase those investments so that manufactures and business and production of all kinds may go on for a reasonable profit. At the instance of Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor I have called together representatives of all the business organizations of the country, in order that we may have a national chamber of commerce which shall meet in Washington and give to the Governmental officers the benefit of their ripe experience in business, that we may get from the men who know, the things that ought to be done or ought not to be done in the interest of business.

THE STING OF "ANTI-TRUST" CRITICISM

No charge has been made against me that went nearer to my heart than the charge that I, by the enforcement of the anti-trust law, was injuring the business of the country. I enforced it so far as lay in my power and duty because it is on the statute book. I enforced it because I believe it to be a good law, and I believe it when properly construed to make a right guide for business. I believe that by the construction of the courts of the laws that are on the statute books, and by decisions that are yet to come, the line may clearly be drawn so that business may square itself to those boundaries which the law fixes. I hope that feeling against me on that account has abated — not that I am afraid to enforce the law, because I shall continue to do so — but because I believe in its reasonable enforcement, not with the view of disturbing business, but with a view to reconciling business to the limitations contained in that law.

I should deprecate the suggestion of any so-called reform that involves constitutional changes, without our knowing exactly what we are going to do and what the effect of these changes will be. The Constitution has served us well, and we cannot hope, if it is to be amended radically, that those who look to the security and stability of this country will not be so alarmed that business will be interfered with on that account. I am not opposing amendments, just because I would have business undisturbed, because amendments may be necessary, but what I would deprecate is the sudden suggestion of amendments for this end, and amendments for that, and having amendments for breakfast the next morning as if the amendment of the fundamental law were nothing but the repeal of an ordinary statute or the passage of an ordinary appropriation bill.

IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

There is one other subject which is a rather tender one with me. I am convinced that most of the audiences I had the privilege of addressing within the last year were in favor of passing and ratifying the peace treaties just as they were presented to Congress. It was not that these treaties were going to abolish war; nobody said they would; but it was that they were a step in the direction toward that practical ideal under which war might have been made almost impossible. If we had a treaty like that with every country in Europe, the various countries might have made treaties of the same kind among themselves, and we should have had an interlacing of treaties to sustain an arbitral court into which any nation might have gone for the purpose of vindicating its right against any other nation, might have secured judgment and have that other nation abide the result, because of public opinion of all the nations of the world, or, if they did not respond to that, by an international police force. That is the ideal toward which we were reaching out. They have amended the treaty in the Senate and have put in so many exceptions that really it is very doubtful whether the adoption of such a treaty will

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be a step forward. But I give notice that I have not lost interest in that point and I have no thought of surrendering, because I intend, so far as I can and so long as I may raise my voice, to continue to favor general universal arbitration. I acknowledge and admit the power of the Senate, and I believe it to be a great part of the structure of our Government, and I would not have it eliminated for anything. I recognize the authority of the Senate and have no quarrel with the exercise of that authority, but the ultimate source of all authority in this Government is the people. It is the people who, by deliberate judgment — it may be after years and it may be after decades that they are aroused and make up their minds — can effect a reform which commends itself to their hearts and their souls and their minds, and it is upon them that I depend in this matter. It may be that it will not come to all of us, but it is coming, sure as fate. What abolished the duello? Was it anything but a sense of humor? Was it anything but appreciation of the fact that a man who permitted himself to be shot at in order to satisfy his feeling about the insult that had been inflicted on him, merely made himself a mark? Is there anything more ridiculous than our going to war with some country on some subject important, perhaps, but not important enough to involve the lives of 100,000 of our citizens, or hundreds of millions of our treasure? Does not everyone know that the better way of settling questions of honor and every other question is to submit them to a tribunal of honest men who shall decide them according to the rules of righteousness and law rather than to try them by the rules of might, settling them by might and not by right? I believe that universal arbitration is coming, because I believe in the common sense of the American people that makes them play the game according to the rules and with a sportsmanlike willingness to abide a judgment against them when it comes. This idea of statesmanship that insists that we shall always have the judgment, whether we are right or wrong, is a short-sighted idea of statesmanship. It does not abide in the permanent morality of the world as we should wish to establish it. If we are going into the arbitration business, we must go into it all over, willing to endure defeat in order to sustain the court and not insist upon regulating the court every time it fails to come up to our expectations.

We have treaties pending also with Nicaragua and Honduras to carry out the policy of the treaty with Santo Domingo and they ought to be ratified. The responsibility for bad government in those Central American States and for revolution and disturbances must fall upon the shoulders of those who defeat the treaties. They are pending in the Senate, and it is the hope of all that, within a reasonable time, after full discussion, they may receive the approval of the necessary two thirds of that body.

THE MENACE OF THE RECALL

There are other aims of government to which reference might be made, such as the movement looking to greater economy and efficiency in government work and expenditures; penny postage through postal economies; extension of practical conservation acts; parcels post; revision of currency laws and prevention of panics; scientific study of industrial conditions and international investigaton of the high cost of living. But there is one subject to which I would refer in conclusion. Should the Republican party take up the judicial recall as one of its tenets, it would lose caste as a defender of our civilization, a maintainer of the Constitution, and an upholder of justice. When we depart from the principles of the independence of the judiciary — and by independence I mean not only independence of individual interests, but independence of majorities — we shall lose the valuable essence of the administration of justice and we shall retrograde to the point where the history of the decadence of republics begins. I am not unmindful of the necessity for judicial reforms, but that depends not on changing the character of the judges, but upon the change of procedure, the expedition of judgments, and the reduction of the expense of litigation. These things must be the result of hard detailed work

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by men willing to accomplish reforms without spectacular reward. The great body of our judges are learned, upright, patriotic men. It is entirely possible to provide for the removal of those who are not, by proper procedure before a tribunal in which the accused judge shall have a hearing. It is not necessary to limit the ground of removal to high crimes and misdemeanors; it can be extended to incompetence, or to neglect of any demonstrated departure from judicial duty. But let us have a hearing, let us have an impartial tribunal, and let us not take away that priceless and indispensable quality in the judiciary — its independence.

HOW TO MAKE A FLYLESS TOWN

WITH the hearty coöperation of practically the entire body of citizens, either as individuals or working through their hired men in the City Hall or the Town Council, several good-sized cities have practically abolished the fly; and every city can do the same if its citizens want to.

The first and most difficult step is to convince the general public that flies are an actual menace to health. The next step is to make the public understand that it is possible to get rid of them. This educational work usually requires the initiative and energy of some group of citizens to make it effective.

Get in touch with some local organization which has the interests of the town at heart. Your local chamber of commerce or business men's club probably can be interested, at least to the extent of appointing a committee with power to raise funds for this particular work. One of the most carefully planned and effective educational campaigns against the fly is being conducted by the Women's Municipal League of Boston. Or, form a fly-fighting committee of citizens yourself or join the American Civic Association and organize a local branch of it.

Now you can interest your local newspapers and your municipal government. Ask the city health officer to indorse the anti-fly campaign. He will do it. Get him to do it in writing. If he has no original ideas on the subject give him a copy of the "Fly Catechism" of the Indianapolis Board of Health and ask him to sign that. Here it is:

1. Where is the Fly born? In manure and filth.

2. Where does the Fly live? In every kind of filth.

3. Is anything too filthy for the Fly to eat? No.

4. (a) Where does he go when he leaves the vault and the manure pile and the spittoon? Into the kitchen and dining room. (b) What does he do there? He walks on the bread, fruit, and vegetables; he wipes his feet on the butter and bathes in the buttermilk.

5. Does the Fly visit the patient sick with consumption, typhoid fever, and cholera infantum? He does — and may call on you next.

6. Is the Fly dangerous? He is man's worst pest and more dangerous than wild beasts or rattlesnakes.

7. What diseases does the Fly carry? He carries typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and summer complaint. How? On his wings and hairy feet. What is his correct name? Typhoid Fly.

8. Did he ever kill any one? He killed more American soldiers in the Spanish-American War than the bullets of the Spaniards.

9. Where are the greatest number of cases of typhoid fever, consumption, and summer complaint? Where there are the most flies.

10. Where are the most flies? Where there is the most filth.

11. Why should we kill the Fly? Because he may kill us.

12. How shall we kill the Fly? (a) Destroy all the filth about the house and yard; (b) pour lime into the vault and on the manure; (c) kill the Fly with a wire-screen paddle, or sticky paper, or kerosene oil.

13. Kill the Fly in any way, but KILL THE FLY.

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14. If there is filth anywhere that you cannot remove, call on the Board of Health, and ask for relief before you are stricken with disease and, perhaps, death.

When you get your statement from the health officer, take it to the newspapers. Your local editors will see the news value of your fly campaign and will be glad to coöperate with you. Get the physicians of your town to state their candid opinions of the fly and its habits, and see that the newspapers get those statements, too. Send to the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington for Farmers' Bulletin No. 459, and to the American Civic Association, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, for some of its "literature" on the fly, and ask your State Board of Health for information. You will get a great deal of material which your local papers will be glad to print. Ask the editor if he ever noticed the "Swat the Fly" column that the Chicago *Tribune* runs every day during the warm weather, and that is gradually educating the people of all that section to the menace of the fly.

If you have funds, get a local artist to draw some cartoons illustrating the progress of the fly from the manure pile by way of the garbage can, the cuspidor, and the sick room, to the sugar bowl, the cream pitcher, and the baby's nursing bottle. Have cuts made from these and use them to illustrate posters and circulars that you can place in conspicuous positions. Many people will say they are "disgusting." That is what they are for.

Get the school children interested. Arrange for lectures in the public schools to impress on the children the danger of the fly. Get your Health Commissioner or a local physician to lecture. Or the American Civic Association can put you in touch with some lecturer who will give a talk on the fly, illustrated with lantern slides, for a small fee. Get your local moving picture theatre to order the "Fly Pest Film" through their regular film exchange, and show it on some occasion arranged for in advance and well advertised through your organization. This film can be rented from the General Film Company, at a very low rate.

When your campaign of education is well under way go after results vigorously. Start a "Fly Swatting" contest. Get your local merchants and health board to coöperate in offering prizes to children for the largest number of flies caught before a given date. One of your newspapers probably will be glad to undertake such a contest in its own name, especially if your organization will do most of the work. Charitable organizations will help. Canvass your business section thoroughly and get the merchants to agree to keep doors and windows tightly screened and to set fly traps. Publish in the papers, daily or weekly, the names of merchants who are thus coöperating in the war on the fly. Pay particular attention to meat markets, bakeries, groceries, fruit stands, delicatessen shops, and restaurants — every place of business where food is exposed. Make a roll of honor of places that agree to keep all food tightly screened. The wise merchant will quickly grasp the advertising value to himself of being included in this list. If your town is a small one you can easily place in the business districts enough baited fly traps near the curb to draw flies away from the stores and so reduce the danger. If farmers and others coming to town are accustomed to hitching their horses in the principal street, see that the street around the hitching grounds is kept cleaned up and disinfected, so the flies cannot breed there.

See that every householder is supplied with information about the fly and how to get rid of it. Very full and practical instructions for the individual householder who wishes to make war on the fly were given in the May number of the WORLD'S WORK. Ask your city or village council to adopt the model fly ordinance prepared by the Indiana and Kansas State Boards of Health. It has been adopted in many municipalities in those states and its phraseology can easily be altered to fit conditions in any community.

Keep your organization alive, to see that the town is kept clean. If it is possible, arrange for a complete disinfection with pyroligneous acid or some other disinfectant. How effective such disinfection can be made is illustrated by the following description of the experience of Wilming-

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ton, N. C., told by Dr. Charles T. Nesbitt who directed the work there.

One of the social fixtures in Wilmington, for one or more centuries, has been the annual epidemic of typhoid. The sick rate is high enough to be gratifying to the medical profession, but the death rate is discouraging to the undertakers. The average is about 4½ per cent. Last May the epidemic started business a little earlier than usual, and with a little more evidence of activity. The local and state health authorities got busy very promptly, and had no trouble in finding colon bacilli in the municipal water supply. The people generally responded to the advice to boil all water used for domestic purposes irrespective of its source, and the majority of them carried out the other usual precautionary measures. The progress of the epidemic was in no wise affected, and strange to say the victims were almost without exception members of families who lived in the best residential section of the city.

Our new commission form of city government was then in its extreme infancy, and it decided among other good things to create a health department along new lines. The change was made on June 6th, and we of the new organization found the job cut out for us in getting rid of the typhoid. It was obvious that we must find the source of infection, for it was also obvious by this time that the water was not the infection-producing element.

There were flies, and flies, and flies. All sorts and conditions of flies, and in countless millions. There were most excellent reasons for this plague: more than five thousand open surface privies, six hundred city-kept cows, real Colonial horse stables everywhere, and hogs. There was a screen ordinance somewhere, but it had gotten mislaid when there were two grocers on the old board of aldermen.

It just had to be war on the flies. They were certainly the next best bet, and the new health department was considerably impressed with the necessity for justifying its establishment. And we had to produce a wallop that would get a million a minute to get within sight of the rate of reproduction so discouragingly figured out by Doctor Howard.

It reasoned out like this. Putrefaction and fly production are indissolubly associated. Stop the putrefaction, and there might be some chance of stopping some one of the vital processes of the fly. With the above described conditions it was certain that there were several tons of filth too many to be gathered up and destroyed. The filth had to be destroyed for fly feeding and breeding purposes where it lay.

I stated the situation to my friend Tom Pritchard, who is a chemist, and demanded that he tell me at once what would kill fly eggs and larvæ, stop putrefaction, at least smell like a disinfectant, and be immediately available in large quantities at about one cent per gallon, delivered. He brought me a bottle of something in less than an hour which he said might possibly do. He explained that once upon a time, before the era of Doctor Wiley, the pork packers everywhere used this stuff in the mural decoration of hams and bacon. They called it "Liquid Smoke," and that is exactly what it smelled and looked like. Chemists call it pyroligneous acid. It is a by-product in the manufacture of turpentine when the wood is directly distilled. Thanks to Doctor Wiley, this acid was a drug on the local market.

We ordered the visible supply, and at six A. M. on June 8th the fly-killing campaign began. A cart bearing two barrels of acid was sent to each of four street intersections, two blocks apart each way. Beside the driver, four men accompanied each cart, and each man carried a twenty-quart iron sprinkling can. Each man was instructed to enter one of the blocks facing his station, and to soak thoroughly every spot that he could find which looked like a good place for flies. It took five days to cover the entire city in this way, and as we had enough acid and flies left over we repeated the operation at once, much more effectively than the first time. This work was done under the personal direction of the chief of the Sanitary Police.

We repeated this process four more times between June 20th and August 1st, when the available funds were exhausted. The flies left town. The effect was very perceptible by the time the second sprinkling was completed, and when the third was done there were so few left that the old inhabitants began to search their memories for like instances in the past.

Dr. T. B. Carrol, our meat and milk inspector, who has done more to save baby life than any other man of my acquaintance, shared the curiosity of the department as to the rationale of the fly exodus We started some laboratory tests to find out, while the first round was being made. We secured a quantity of manure which contained fly eggs and larvæ and put it in tightly screened boxes. At the end of the normal periods of incubation and transition we had as fine a crop of flies as could be desired. We are glad that we did not make the labora-

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tory tests first. If we had, we probably would not have learned that pyroligneous acid makes the feeding and breeding places of flies so disagreeable that they either starve, emigrate, or fail to breed.

WEEK	NO. OF NEW CASES	DATE OF SPRINKLING
June 1-7	11	
" 8-14	22	8-13
" 15-21	50	15-19
" 22-28	42	
" 29-July 5	10	29- 4
July 6-13	11	
" 14-20	3	14-17
" 21 —	0	

The foregoing chart of the epidemic and its relation to the sprinkling is sufficient proof of the efficacy of the work, and of the typhoid carrying power of the fly.

The investigations were based on a careful analysis of 174 cases in which we used the form of questioning and procedure suggested by Mr. G. C. Whipple in his work on the epidemiology of typhoid. The sprinkling, from beginning to end of the process, usually occupied a period of four or five days. The results of this investigation excluded both water and milk as the source of infection. Since that time, our study of the cases which appeared after the fly extermination work was discontinued and after the flies came back leaves little doubt that soil pollution from the surface privies carried to shallow driven wells, and the fly as carrier direct from the privy to the food, were the sources of infection of the greatest importance here.

To make itself clean, Wilmington has done more than sprinkle itself with pyroligneous acid. It has made almost universal the use of the sanitary privy. It has driven the hogs out of town, has practically abolished the city-kept cows, and has compelled the sanitation of horse stables. And, most important of all, it has stirred its citizens up to a realization of the value and necessity of municipal cleanliness.

WITH THE KNOX MISSION TO CENTRAL AMERICA

FIRST ARTICLE

PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS COSTA RICA — TRAVELING IN ARMED TRAINS IN NICARAGUA, THE LAND OF THE HOPELESS

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

(WHO ACCOMPANIED SECRETARY KNOX ON HIS MISSION TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS)

(*Illustrated chiefly by photographs from the Pan American Union.*)

TO THE boom of nineteen guns, the roll of "four ruffles and flourishes," and the strains of the band; between the due apportionment of side-boys, paraded marines, and the ship's officers in full dress, the Secretary of State of the United States on Special Mission to the Central American and Caribbean republics, boarded the cruiser *Washington* off Key West. There was to be nothing lacking of the formal etiquette which prevails between nations and on which Latin races particularly set much store.

The object of the journey thus begun was to carry a message of good-will to the countries which the opening of the Panama Canal is about to bring into new relations with the United States. President Taft was sending the head of the Cabinet to journey from capital to capital to avow in the most conspicuous manner the hope of the United States that those relations should be closer and more intimately friendly, as well as to dissipate any suspicion that we coveted any foot of their land or desired anything but their own prosperity. The very serious fact behind this series of elaborate amenities was, of course, the absolute necessity of establish-

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ing stable governments in the turbulent regions around the Caribbean, now that they are acquiring new interest for the rest of the world and that the Monroe Doctrine is becoming so vital.

The *Washington* is an armored cruiser of 15,000 tons, with four 10-inch guns for her principal battery, her officers and crew numbering a thousand; the *Maryland*, to which we transferred for the Pacific Ports, is practically a sister ship. Both had been specially arranged and provisioned for the party and for the courtesies to be extended to the statesmen who would be received on board.

A lively passage brought us in four days to Colon, and introduced us to the programme which was to be followed, with very slight variation, in each one of the dozen countries of the itinerary: A visit on board by our Minister and a committee; a reception at the port, "reception" meaning shaking hands with scores of political leaders, their wives and daughters, Cabinet Ministers, Generals, and newspaper editors; standing bareheaded in the sun while the band plays its own national air and what in misguided zeal it intends to be "The Star Spangled Banner"; usually adjournment to the house nearby for a glass of champagne and an exchange of speeches; and then the boarding of a special train for the capital, where occur the chief formalities — a banquet and a ball.

The train at Colon, as in the other better countries, carried two parlor cars with broad observation platforms and were liberally stocked with refreshments.

It requires three hours to cross the Isthmus on the new tracks of the Panama Railroad. This time we did not stop to see much of the canal. A big crowd around the station at Panama; flowers for the ladies, more music, a swift procession of automobiles between files of police to the Tivoli Hotel; another "reception" in a big cool room from whose windows we saw the Pacific; exchange of calls between Secretary Knox and the Acting President; then dinner and a reception at the Legation — a delightful house of pure Spanish type in the heart of the old town — very charming ladies in Paris gowns, the Queen of the Carnival among them, romantic balcony all around overhanging the narrow street, moonlight above and a band below — that was a pleasant memory in succeeding days. At the state banquet, the following night, the flashlight for a photograph set fire to the paper decorations, and for a minute there was grave danger. The diners were on a ground floor but the galleries in which the ladies were seated debouched on a single small landing which a panic would inevitably have made the scene of a tragedy.

ONE OF THE GREAT MEETING PLACES

Panama is a much more substantial city than its fame gives it credit for. It is typically Spanish, ancient of aspect, with two pleasant plazas, richly decorated and imposing churches, winding streets faced with good shops, well paved, and, in a way, metropolitan. Around it are growing up suburbs in which are located the offices and residences of the Canal officials. The whole place is lively and jubilant, as might be expected from its bright prospects. Real estate values are sky-high. Tourists throng the streets, and will yet more abound. The piazzas of the Hotel Tivoli have already become one of the great meeting points in the world; you hear there the French of the boulevards and the English of Mayfair, mingling with the accent of Frankfort and Hamburg. All the world appreciates, before the creators of the Canal have begun to appreciate, what its opening will mean to the world. With its historical background — one feels among the still stately ruins of the old City of Panama, eight miles away from its present site, that no spot in the hemisphere is more romantic — and its important future, Panama is fortunate and interesting indeed.

The political state of affairs about the Canal is too mixed to be touched upon, especially as the Secretary of State had here no particular errand except to emphasize the political importance of the new geographic fact. Efforts to induce him to hint the preference of the United States among the various candidates were unsuccessful; he made it clear that it was

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now no part of our policy to interfere in Panama's internal affairs. It was, and will continue to be, hard to convince the people of Panama that they must govern themselves. They are pretty well dazed at their sudden importance, and thus far have got little farther than the realization of the fact that there are lots of lucrative offices to fill, and a belief that the way to get office is to curry favor with the United States.

Some thoughtful men in Panama doubt the stability of the Republic; they ask how a nation can exist, half in either of two continents and divided into two by a strip of territory belonging to a powerful nation. However, there is no immediate problem in Panama. The government of the Canal Zone is magnificently efficient and that of the Republic of Panama is on its good behavior.

SECRETARY KNOX'S ROUTE ON HIS 10,000 MILE TOUR OF THE CARIBBEAN STATES

A STOP WAS MADE AT EVERY CITY NAMED ON THE MAP

THE TIDY LITTLE LAND OF COSTA RICA

Reaching Costa Rica, Secretary Knox came face to face with his work — that of persuading the people of Central America that the United States had for them nothing but good will; that it desired no new territory; wanted no voice in their internal affairs; and dreamed of nothing but rendering assistance wherever it was needed to put fiscal affairs on a sounder basis or to compose disputes fatal to that peaceful and orderly government which the interests of civilization require should obtain in this part of the world.

We learned instantly that Central America is suspicious of us and our intentions to a degree incomprehensible to any one but a Central American. There is no room here to do more than refer to the very important fact that Central Americans get no news, and have no newspapers, as we know newspapers. Miscellaneous and misleading items, almost always of sensational character, picked up from the Lord knows where, and wild rumors presented as facts, do duty for the carefully gathered daily news report which we read in our papers. That is one cause of misunderstanding that has perhaps not been mentioned before. Liberty and enlightenment require a press.

Besides, of course, the Central American is a Spaniard or an Indian or a mixture

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of the two, with some touches of Negro blood; that is to say, he is proud, jealous, and sentimental. The North American is of a different cast of character. We are not fitted to understand each other, and we do not. The Central American, for instance, does not see how we can help wanting to acquire his lands. He cannot understand, for instance, why we should want to lend him money except for our own advantage, or want to officer his custom-houses except to humiliate him. He can see clearly that under the Monroe Doctrine it is our duty to protect him from foreign invasion, but it is very much more difficult for his somewhat childlike reason to understand that we have any corresponding duty in the direction of preventing his provoking and justifying foreign invasion.

COLD HOSPITALITY

Costa Rica, which we were lucky to visit first, because of the comparative happiness of our relations with her and because of the influence of her people, confessedly of the purest blood in all the Republics — Costa Rica, without a grievance, imagined one. Her chief fear being lest she be swallowed up in a Central American Union, it was unanimously agreed that the Secretary of State had come to force her into such a Union. He had, in fact, done nothing of the kind, and it was delightful to watch the effect upon Costa Ricans of the discovery of the truth.

Port Limon is now a busy place, visited by a thousand steamers every year. The trip to San José over the rails of the United Fruit Company's road is one of the finest scenic rides in the world. The port was hot almost beyond endurance, and the honors, lasting through the hottest half of the day, exhausting. Very delightful was the climb from the banana plantations to the coffee-groves and then on up into the coolness of the mountains, where we followed the gorge of the Reventuzon with wonderful summits far above and cascades far below.

San José, in its lofty nest among the peaks, is a health resort for this part of the world; Panama officials often come up for respite from the heat. It is a tidy little capital for a tidy little land — with clean, paved streets, running water everywhere, electric cars in the street, and an opera house far more splendid than any house of entertainment in the United States — the city's population numbers perhaps 40,000.

Costa Rica is the most volcanic of the Central American countries, geologically, and the most stable politically. The Costa Ricans are white. In San José not a Negro is to be seen — though there are some Jamaican blacks on the banana farms on the eastern slope and a good many Indians in the country everywhere. But the statement stands: in Costa Rica we have to do with white people — of remarkable gentility and good looks, too. In Costa Rica, they have settled government; elections occur as with us; the debt is small and the country's money is at par; property is as safe, titles are as carefully recorded, and courts as conscientious as in the United States. The President proudly reminded me that Costa Rica has more teachers than soldiers.

And yet this most advanced of Central American countries received us with suspicion. She owed at least one particular debt to Mr. Knox: some time ago Costa Rica had a boundary dispute with Colombia — that was before the Republic of Panama was born. It was submitted to the arbitration of President Loubet of France, whose award was clearly unjust; it gave Colombia more than Colombia claimed. To Mr. Knox's good offices was due the reopening of the case when the Panama Republic came — or was helped — into being; and it is now before a new arbiter, the Chief Justice of the United States. Remembrance of this favor was lost in apprehension over fear of the purpose of this mysterious visit.

The ball was the first big event. Before that there had been only exchanges of calls, a band concert, and a reception by the President. The purpose of the visit had yet to be announced. A more beautiful scene is not often witnessed than that ball. No city in the United States could equal it in the magnificence of the ball-room — the Opera House — or much

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excel it in the splendor of dress. But it would be untruthful to say that it was a social success. A large number of the "first families" were not represented. We were told that this was because an earthquake had been predicted. The earthquake never came, but it served its purpose, nevertheless.

THE SUSPICION OF THE MISSION

I found President Jiminez eager to talk about the plan for the Central American Union, to give the arguments against it.

"Think what it would mean for us," he said. "We should surrender peace for disorder; prosperous tranquillity for constant revolutions. We should be lost in merging with four other states. If we feel that we have some naval superiority, it does not follow that we should be able to exercise any preponderance as Prussia did in the German Empire or Piedmont in united Italy. We are too small; we number less than half a million. The wine would become water.

"Let us content ourselves with holding up an example. It is due to settled order that our imports and exports are equal to some of our neighbors with four times our population. We should be foolish to exchange our present fortunate and prosperous conditions for the worse than uncertainties, to put it mildly, of a Central American Union. There is no physical unity here; we have no uniting telegraphs and railroads; we are not all the same blood; there is no demand for political union."

On the other hand, a few — I do not believe a great many — even in Costa Rica favor the idea. The most prominent and able among its advocates is Dr. Luis Anderson, ex-Minister at Washington. He said to me:

"The Panama Canal will force union among the Republics of Central America. It will not be possible for anything but a strong and responsible government, such as we can obtain only by union, to face the problems that must now confront us. The Monroe Doctrine has been a phrase up to this moment, but it is about to become a fact and an object of attack from every side in the world of international affairs. We cannot avoid the hundreds of complications likely to arise, or deal with those that do arise, without prestige. Who will pay any heed to the wishes of a country with 350,000 population and an army of 500 men? We must erect ourselves, united, into a nation worthy of respect. President Jiminez fears that we of Costa Rica would lose our superiority in merging with our less happy neighbors. Why, we should lose nothing; we would not merge. We would federate — just as you did in North America. Massachusetts loses nothing by belonging to a federated nation that includes less cultured states; New York sacrifices nothing by being part of a nation that includes Arkansas and Arizona."

It is a pretty argument — in which Mr. Knox's Mission had not the faintest intention of taking a side.

It was the second night, in the foyer of the Opera, at the State banquet that the Secretary made his speech. The silence which fell on the company when he rose was magical; the quiet in which they listened was intense; the relief that showed itself in one long breath and the approval took the form of smiling hand-clapping and hand-shaking; and the raising of glasses was — let me say only — an intense satisfaction to those of us who had met the suspicions of the capital and understood how groundless they were.

It was with a spirit very different from that of the formal welcome which the Secretary of State had been given at the eastern gate of San José three days before that he and his party were bidden Godspeed on their errand, as we took the special train for the headlong slide down the western slopes of the Cordilleras; it was with a rising confidence of success that we boarded the *Maryland*, lying in the harbor of Puntarenas, and steamed off to Corinto, the port for Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

Perhaps the most abject failure among American governments is Nicaragua. It has never known constitutional peace. Its population to-day is only one half what it was seventy-five years ago. During the fifteen years previous to 1909 it had been under the dictatorship of the

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infamous Zelaya. In that year the execution of two American soldiers of fortune, Groce and Cannon, gave the United States Government an opportunity to interfere morally, and its tacit support put the revolutionist Estrada in power. He was not man enough to stay there, and a conference of the leaders, arranged under the friendly offices of the United States, entered into a compact according to which a certain Diaz was to take the Presidency until the close of 1913, by which time a popular election should have been held. Behind Diaz stands the formidable figure of Luis Mena, a general of the Revolution, who, as Diaz's War Minister, became the real ruler of the nation. Without waiting for the popular election, Mena induced the National Assembly to elect him President, to take seat January first, next. This act is, of course, in defiance of the "Dawson Compact." The choice of the people is undoubtedly Emiliano Chamorro, the most dashing of the revolutionary generals, as Mena was the most implacable. One of the facts which made Mr. Knox's visit delicate was the expectation that he would announce the position of the United States Government with reference to the validity of Mena's election.

AMERICAN MANAGED CUSTOMS

Other elements of a pretty situation were furnished by the division of Nicaraguan sentiment on the question of the treaty with the United States, under which the national debt is to be taken over by New York bankers and the custom house placed under the protection of the United States. This plan has been fully explained in the *World's Work;* it is similar to that under which the turbulent Republic of Santo Domingo has found peace and is swiftly attaining prosperity. The treaty had not (at the time of Mr. Knox's visit) been approved by the United States Senate, but it had been agreed to by the Nicaraguan Assembly, and the Government was fully committed to it. Indeed, pending the final ratification of the treaty, Brown Brothers, who had agreed to make the loan, $15,000,000, had advanced $1,500,000, and an American, Clifford D. Ham, had been nominated by our Secretary of State and appointed by the Nicaraguan Government Collector-General of Customs and was in possession of the custom houses. A Claims Commission, consisting of one Nicaraguan and two Americans, Mr. A. R. Thompson and Judge Schoenrich, was examining claims against the Government arising out of the recent wars. Finally, two experts, Mr. Charles A. Conant, an American, and Mr. Francis C. Harrison, an Englishman, after a study of the currency, had laid before the Assembly a plan for the rehabilitation of the fiscal system, the rate of exchange having fallen to about 1800 — that is, the *peso* being worth about six cents instead of a dollar. Some other complications need not be explained here. It is sufficiently clear how the influence of the United States had come to dominate in Nicaragua.

Our Government's attitude, it should be clearly comprehended, was not only technically correct in every particular, but was morally praiseworthy. In an hour of utter internal chaos, it had persuaded the factional leaders to agree on a patriotic programme, and it was now (at every step by invitation of the established Government) assisting in the carrying out of that programme. It had recommended expert advisors and administrators and had secured a loan sufficient to settle the national debt, external and internal, on easy terms, to establish a stable money system, and to open vistas of internal improvement and commercial opportunity.

On the other hand, it is not hard to see how deeply the patriotic feelings of the Nicaraguan with more sentiment than practical common sense must be outraged by all this — particularly, perhaps, by the surrender of the custom houses to the control of the United States. To obtain this, legitimately, is, of course, the grand end and aim of the United States — for the purely humane reason that the custom houses once secured from capture by revolutionists, revolutions will have no object and will cease. The simple fact is, Nicaraguans have shown themselves utterly unable to maintain order themselves, and it is absolutely necessary for the

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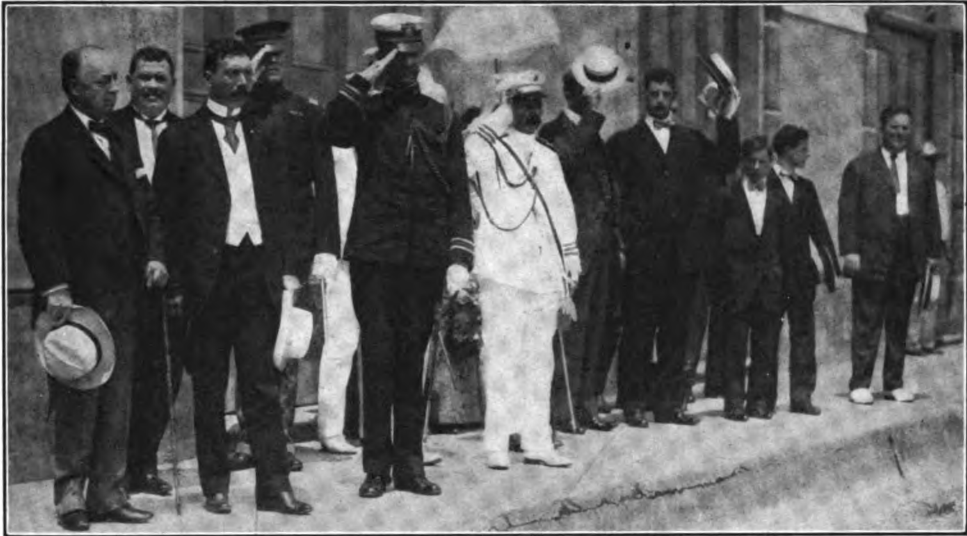

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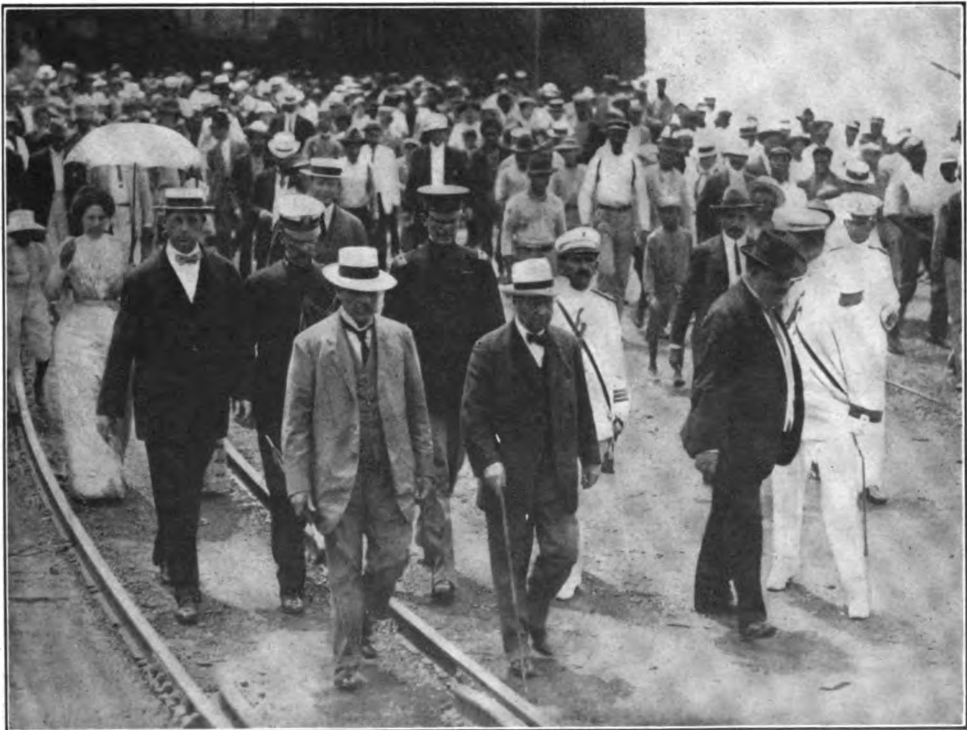
SECRETARY KNOX AND HIS PARTY SALUTING THE PRESIDENT OF COSTA RICA

United States to maintain it for them. But this is an admission which it is too much to expect all Nicaraguans to agree in making.

To narrate exactly what befell the Knox mission in Nicaragua can do no harm.

A reception committee, which included practically the entire Ministry, and all the more important figures of the ruling party of the nation, except the President, came to Corinto and boarded the *Maryland*, being received with full honors. On



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THE LANDING AT PORT LIMON, COSTA RICA

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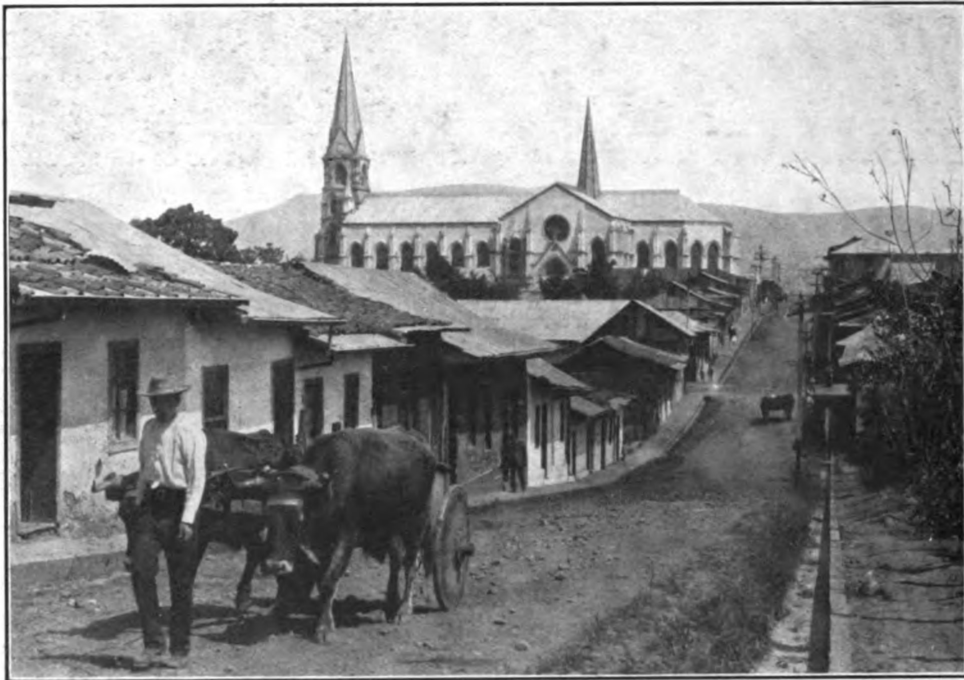
landing, Mr. Knox and his party proceeded along the pier between a double file of soldiers whose rifle-belts were filled with ball cartridges, to the principal house of the town, where they were offered refreshment. The party then boarded a train for the capital. The train was preceded by a pilot-engine and an armored car carrying two Colt's automatic guns, and was trailed by another engine and cars containing a company of soldiers.

All along the way the population was gathered by the side of the track. At the first stop there was cheering, but the distinguishable words were "Viva Chamorro!" At other stations considerable numbers were congregated and watched us apathetically — the Nicaraguan is an apathetic person. At one of the stations, hand-bills denouncing the United States and Mr. Knox's visit were thrown into the car windows. Leon, the centre of Liberal and anti-American sentiment, was passed at full speed, through large crowds. Here inhospitable epithets were seen painted or chalked on walls. The country through which the railroad passes skirts the Cordilleras, rising in splendid peaks from a parched land of cane and cactus. In the middle of the afternoon we came within view of the perfect cone of Momotombo, which did us the honor of being in eruption and whose plume of smoke waved over us for the remaining four hours of the journey.

The railroad is of narrow gauge, the engines burn wood, and the cars are primitive. When the swift twilight fell, the light of a stable lantern, hung at one end of the car, was all we had. I shared a narrow seat with the dreaded Mena and listened to the story of his battles — a splendid Indian he is, three inches over six feet tall, despite the stoop of his enormous shoulders; a more vigorous Boies Penrose, with thirty-two perfect teeth shining in a constant smile, made a little sinister by a scar on his forehead and by half-shut eyes. A body servant kept him well supplied with whiskey and water out of a thermal bottle.



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PICTURESQUE SAN JOSÉ, THE CAPITAL OF COSTA RICA

We pulled into Managua to find a great crowd assembled in the plaza by the station, the municipal authorities on a platform with an address which the alcalde read by the light of an oil lamp.

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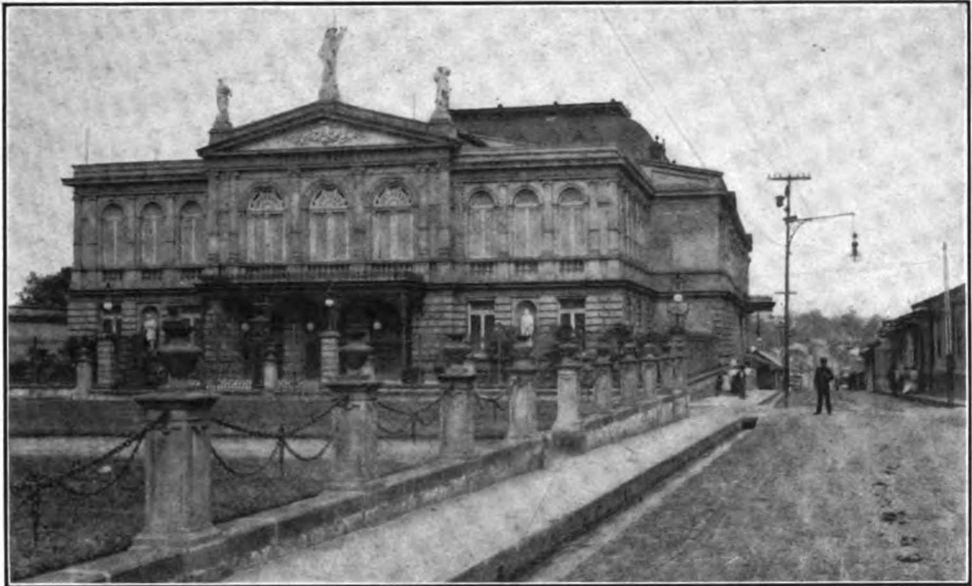

By courtesy of the Pan American Union

MAGNIFICENCE AND MODESTY IN COSTA RICA

THE NATIONAL THEATRE AND A TYPICAL STREET IN SAN JOSÉ. "IN COSTA RICA, THEY HAVE SETTLED GOVERNMENT; ELECTIONS OCCUR AS WITH US; THE DEBT IS SMALL, AND THE COUNTRY'S MONEY IS AT PAR; PROPERTY IS SAFE. . . . COSTA RICA HAS MORE TEACHERS THAN SOLDIERS

By courtesy of the Pan American Union

"THE MOST SUMPTUOUS HOUSE OF AMUSEMENT IN AMERICA"

THE FOYER OF THE LUXURIOUS NATIONAL THEATRE OF COSTA RICA, IN WHICH SECRETARY KNOX AND HIS PARTY WERE ENTERTAINED AT A STATE BALL

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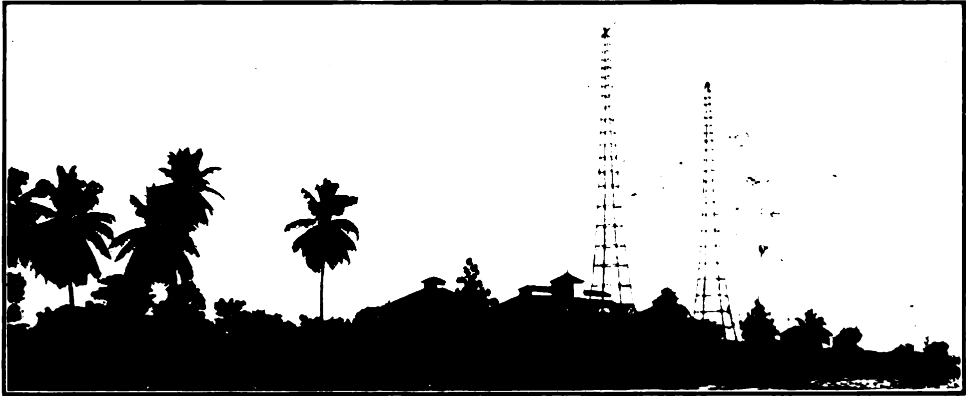

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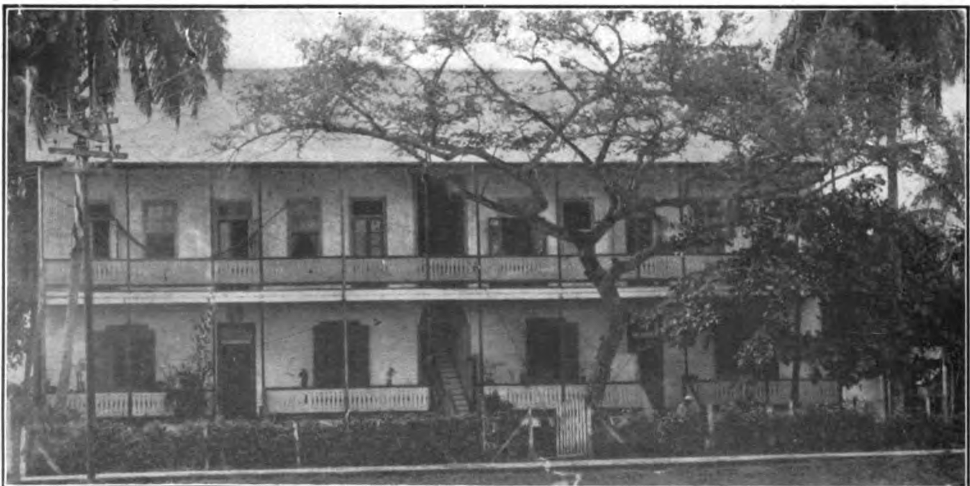
A SYMBOL OF THE COMMERCIAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

THE WIRELESS STATION OF THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY AT PORT LIMON, COSTA RICA

An arch had been erected at the city gate and another before the President's House, and all the way between, a mile or more, was lined with soldiers and arched over with palms and streamers of the national colors, white and blue. It was tawdry enough, from the point of view of sophisticated civilization; for the streamers were paper and hung so low that the first carriage pulled them down, and the palms were on poles stuck in the sand and fell easily, so that the whole thing was a pathetic failure in a few minutes. But it was by far the most pretentious welcome the capital had ever given a visitor, and no one in the party felt otherwise than touched and grateful for the sentiment which it expressed. With Spanish courtesy the President had vacated his roomy residence for the Secretary and his family, and it had been specially repainted and plenished with pictures, luxurious furniture, and elegancies from the houses of the wealthier inhabitants.

The rest of us went to the Legation; Mr. Weitzel occupies the best house in the town, the house of the exiled Dr. Gamez, a Moorish palace of noble dimensions in a city of one-story stucco half-buried in sand. There we learned that the rumor was afloat that our train had been dynamited and our party annihilated and that a hundred conspirators had been arrested. Having reason to believe that one part of this story was exaggerated, we went to bed little worried over the rest of it.



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THE CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES AT SAN JOSÉ, COSTA RICA

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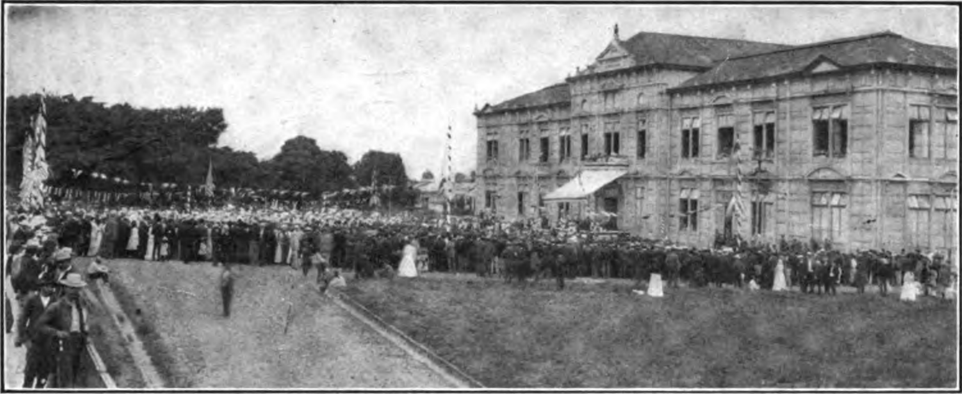

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SCHOOL EXERCISES AT SAN JOSÉ

COSTA RICA IS THE MOST PROGRESSIVE OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND HAS AN EXCELLENT SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Morning brought the round of functions: the exchange of official calls, a "solemn session" of the National Assembly; ditto of the Supreme Court. It would be easy to ridicule the shabbiness of the tiny rooms in which these meetings were held, but it would be impossible to doubt the warmth and sincerity of the friendliness and gratitude which was expressed, or the eloquence of the words in which they were expressed. Mr. Knox's replies were happy and tactful in the extreme. Here, as elsewhere, he was speaking always in general terms of the policy of the United States toward its Southern neighbors; bringing assurance of his Government's pure good-will; disavowing in the strongest language any desire on our part to possess a foot of land south of the Rio Grande; and making it clear that we have no wish to do more than render friendly assistance in the task of establishing external tranquillity and promoting internal prosperity in the Central American republics.

Mr. Knox does this to perfection; he is happy in phrase, wise in utterance and in reservation, forceful, and unquestionably convincing. At a public reception given by the President in the afternoon and at a banquet at night the Secretary exchanged sentiments with the heads of the Government. In Nicaragua's capital he spoke five times, each time most effectively, in public; and he saw privately, though always openly, many leading

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A RURAL OFFICE OF THE COSTA RICAN STATE MAILS AND TELEGRAPH

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WHERE THE KNOX PARTY LANDED IN NICARAGUA

THE PIER AT CORINTO

citizens, to all of whom he reiterated the unequivocal statement of our position. He refused to discuss particular problems and carefully refrained from recognizing or giving any hint of approval to local factions or measures.

About noon of the day of the visit to Managua, a committee of journalists called at the Legation and informed me that their papers had been suspended during our visit and a number of their colleagues thrown into prison, together with other citizens of Liberal views, chiefly the signers of a lengthy *pronunciamento* opposing the Government. The statement of this committee we ascertained to be true. It can only be regarded as a great error on the part of the Government, calculated to do injustice and harm both to Mr. Knox and his mission and to the Nicaraguan people. It is true that Latin-America has yet to learn to distinguish between liberty and license, but it is unfortunate that the visit of a special envoy bringing the friendly greetings of the freest of Republics should have been signalized in Nicaragua by the suspension of freedom of the press and a round-up of the Government's opponents. From what I was able to observe, precaution for the safety of the mission did not make necessary either these steps or the remarkable armed protection by which we were constantly surrounded. It is true

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WHERE THE KNOX PARTY WAS OFFICIALLY RECEIVED IN NICARAGUA

THE NATIONAL PALACE AT MANAGUA, THE CAPITAL

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THE RAILROAD STATION AT LEON

AN OCEAN-TO-OCEAN RAILROAD ACROSS NICARAGUA IS PROPOSED BY AMERICAN CAPITALISTS

that word was received on the ship, from the Acting American Consul at Port Limon, that dynamite had been discovered under the railroad tracks over which we passed, and that Captain Ellicott, finding the wires to the Capital cut, hurried up to Managua with several of his officers; true that the Consul assured me that his information was first-hand and certain. It is true that the Government immediately arrested fifty men on the positive charge of conspiring against the Secretary's life. It is true that threatening letters were received by members of our party and that a black flag was waved before us. But we saw no dynamite.

The journey back to the port was made under even increased military protection. A machine gun commanded the plaza about the Managua station. Two rapid-fire automatics behind a pilot-engine commanded both sides of the line as we traveled, a company of infantry with loaded rifles in their hands and filled ammunition belts about their waists followed us, and men with revolvers hung for instant action stood throughout the journey on the platforms of the special car. Nothing happened.

It is a little difficult to arrive at a judgment of the results of the Nicaraguan visit. Except for the blunder of the Government, there can be little doubt

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THE HANDSOMEST BUILDING IN NICARAGUA

THE RESIDENCE OF DR. GAMEZ, LENT TO SECRETARY KNOX'S PARTY DURING THEIR VISIT

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ARMED PROTECTION

SOLDIERS PREPARING TO PUT A COLT AUTOMATIC GUN ON SECRETARY KNOX'S TRAIN AT MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

that the happiest influence would have flowed from the presence and words of the Secretary of State; in spite of that blunder it is likely that the ideas and aims of the United States will now be more clearly understood and the bogie of annexation laid. The failure of the Mena party to obtain any assurance from Mr. Knox that we would recognize the validity of the election of the military chief — to do them justice they did not ask for any such assurance — is immensely gratifying to the better element of the country, though naturally the supporters of Chamorro are sorry the Secretary did not say that the popular election must be held. "God pity the country if the Secretary goes away without saying that," was an exclamation I heard on several lips. His opponents will tell you that Mena is at heart a Nero, a Zelaya, and that the land is powerless before him and his army.

Chamorro's is the more pleasing personality; a finer specimen of his type it would be hard to find; more of a man of the world than Mena, more balanced, though less exuberant of expression. The two favorites agree in their rosy dreams of the future.

"In five years," Chamorro said to me, "it will be possible to take a through train from this city in which we are sitting to New York. By that time all Central America will be united. Yes, we all believe in that Union, but for my part, I don't want to see it forced. I want physical drawing together to bring political union. We shall have internal peace now and there is no limit to our possibilities. But we must do everything with pure patriotism, with calmness and reason, showing that we deserve that high place to which we aspire and for which nature has so abundantly equipped us."

Mena said to me: "A railroad to New York in five years? Yes, in three!"

In fact the possibilities for prosperity in Nicaragua are great. Here is rubber, and here can be grown two crops of sugar a year. Many representatives of foreign capital, having looked the country over, are ready to invest, if only stable government can be established. The treaty now awaiting approval by the Senate of the United States is the only plan that promises Nicaragua stable government. If it fails, God help this people, these sad-faced, dull-witted Indians, living pathetically in their wilderness under their ragged thatches, robbed and driven for centuries by insane raiders till not one family in a score has a cow or a crock or a stitch besides the calico or jeans they wear—or has the ambition to possess what they would only expect to be robbed of to-morrow. For these people and for this country as much can be done as we did for Cuba, and done without the firing of a shot. Zelaya was worse than Weyler;

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THE POPULAR HERO OF NICARAGUA

GEN. EMILIANO CHAMORRO, CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT AGAINST GENERAL MENA

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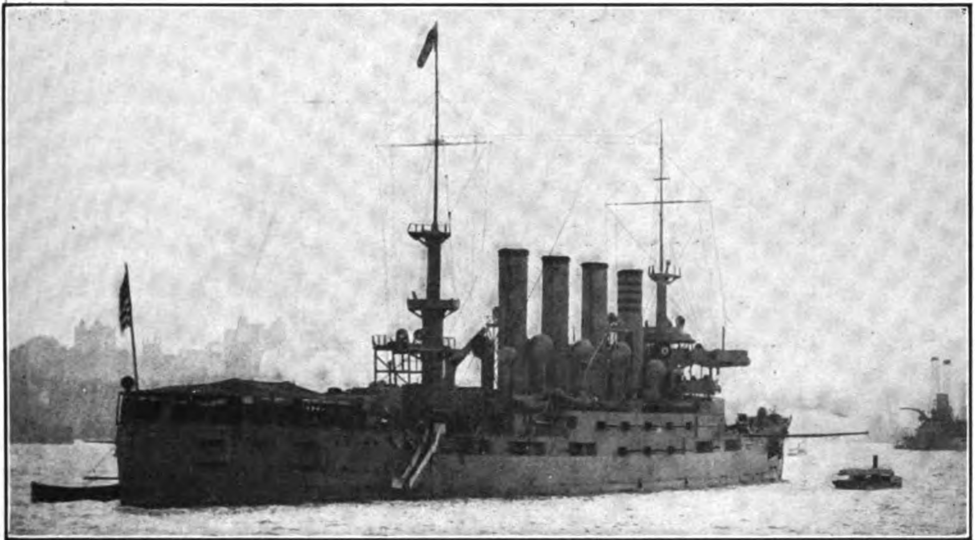
we did not have to go to war to throw his yoke off of the neck of a persecuted land; and to keep off of it some other equally intolerable tyranny, to light it up to real civilization, we have only to give our assurance that the custom houses shall no longer be prizes of constant revolutions. It would be a woeful failure in humane duty for the Senate to refuse to extend that small and inexpensive assistance.

It was not quite all hard work. There were wonderful nights in the moon-lit Caribbean, and still more wonderful ones in the Pacific after the copper sun had dropped into the sea and left the sky to the stars and our search-lights. In this zone and season the constellations of the early evening are more brilliant than on the clearest winter's night at home; toward morning they grow fainter, and the Southern Cross swims into the empty region whose darkness it is that lends its special brilliance to the famous stellar group. But of all wonderful visions at sea, surely the most wonderful is the scene when a warship stretches out over the waters her eight fairy wands of light, touching the waves into enormous liquid emeralds, turning the smoke into clouds of white fire, or lighting up the Cordilleran peaks two miles away. For the lofty coast is nearly always in sight on a cruise between the western ports of the capitals of Central America, and the spectacle of mountain grandeur that unfolds as the steamer lies off Puntarenas or makes her way into the Bay of Fonseca, crowded with volcanoes rising sheer out of the water, would be hard to excel. And it is pleasant to see, of a fresh morning, a little fort, half-hid among the palms, blossom out with the white smoke of a salute.



THE CRUISER "WASHINGTON" THAT CARRIED THE KNOX PARTY TO CENTRAL AMERICA

There is fun a-plenty, too. A ship's ward-room is about the liveliest place in the world, and no party of fifteen, even with a Prime Minister at the head of it, is likely to be long aboard without finding out how fond the sailor-man of every degree is of "kidding" and skylarking — whether it be the boat's crew ashore who, asked to teach the natives our national hymn, solemnly sing "Nix on the Glow-worm, Lena," while the "Spiggoties" stand uncovered; or the wheelsman of the pinnace who, bringing a dark-skinned, "plug"-hatted cabinet minister aboard, when the gun-salute begins and the minister stands up in the boat, wickedly lies to in the trough of the sea, while the captain of marines has the band play the "Oceana Roll."

[*Next month Mr. Hale will continue his account of Secretary Knox's visit to Central America.*—THE EDITORS.]

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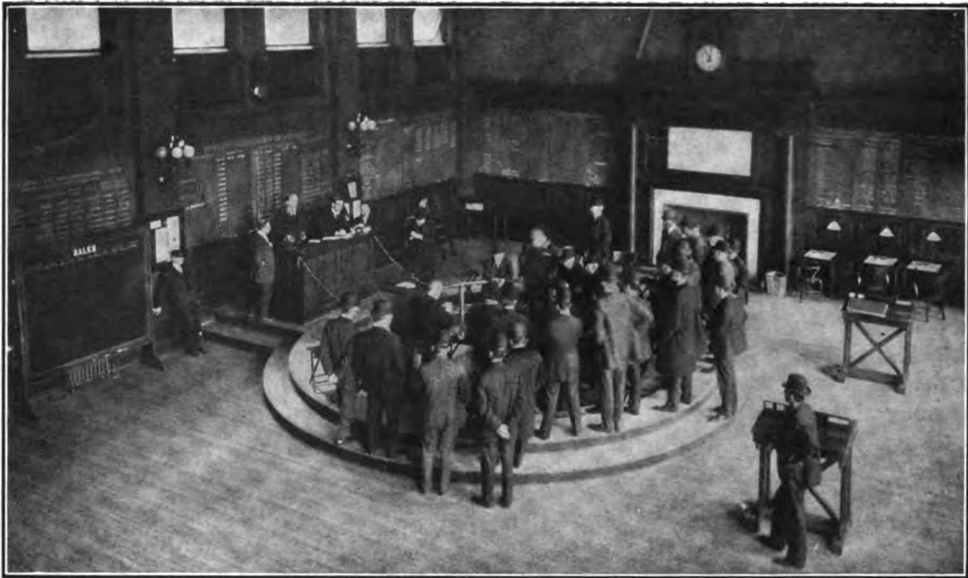

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WHY COFFEE COSTS TWICE AS MUCH

HOW HERMANN SIELCKEN SAVED BRAZIL'S COFFEE PLANTERS AND $200,000,000 A YEAR, AND SENT THE BILL TO THE AMERICAN BREAKFAST TABLE

BY

ROBERT SLOSS

FORTY-THREE years ago, when this country was trying to advance from the shadow of Civil War, there came hither from Hamburg a German youth, Hermann Sielcken. His fortune was all before him. He got a job as a clerk in a Western railroad office. He clerked it again in San Francisco. He experienced hardship and adventure on the sheep ranges. Then, with his fortune still to seek, he came to New York. In 1876 he made his first trip to South America. Subsequent trips were tinctured with excitement — shipwreck and the dangers of travel through the wilderness. It all required a certain amount of courage.

The purpose of these trips was not adventure but trade. Hermann Sielcken began them as traveling salesman for an old and reputable firm of merchants, Henry Crossman & Bro. They dealt in hardware mostly and Hermann Sielcken disposed of it, from hammers to bridges, so successfully in South America that he was soon taken into partnership. He had a business head, superb tact, and he acquired a keen appreciation of the Latin temperament. No one understands better than he the exigencies of South American trade. So say those that heard him lecture on that subject at Harvard University, some years ago.

Among other things in South America, Hermann Sielcken studied the Brazilian coffee crop carefully. In 1880 the firm of Crossman & Sielcken began to enter the New York wholesale coffee market. About 1887, a few firms led by Arbuckle Bros. attempted to corner that market. Her-

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MILES OF COFFEE TREES ON A TYPICAL BRAZILIAN PLANTATION

THE ENORMOUS EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION CAUSED BY NEW PLANTINGS FORCED THE PRICE OF COFFEE DOWN TO THE POINT THAT MADE GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE A NECESSITY AND SO LED TO THE PRESENT VALORIZATION PLAN BY WHICH THE PRICE HAS BEEN ARTIFICIALLY RAISED TO AN EXTRAORDINARY HEIGHT

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UNLOADING COFFEE AT NEW YORK

THE UNITED STATES IS THE FOREMOST COUNTRY IN THE CONSUMPTION OF COFFEE

mann Sielcken knew more about the coffee crop than they did. He flooded the New York Coffee Exchange with coffee till the Arbuckle combine had enough. Then he kept on selling till the market began to fall, and the Arbuckle crowd were forced to sell to save their skin. It required a great deal of courage, for he almost broke his own firm in the process.

Thereafter he was regarded on the market as "a good bear." About 1900 his firm was retained by the so-called Sugar Trust to manage a retail price-cutting coffee fight against Arbuckle Bros., in retaliation for their activities in sugar. Amid all this perilous speculation and keen competition these rivals in business seem to have prospered measurably, for by 1906 Arbuckle Bros. and Crossman & Sielcken stood out as the most powerful coffee traders in America, with the latter somewhat in the lead.

Meanwhile, Hermann Sielcken had found some of that fortune he came to America to seek. At least he was possessed of the most beautiful estate in South Germany, Villa Maria Halden, near Baden Baden. Here he had grown fond of resting beneath the tall pines from Oregon that grace the front of his villa — gratifying his fondness for flowers by gazing down upon his thousands of rose trees that stretch away toward the edge of the Black Forest — gratifying his fondness for children by arranging with the Duchess of Baden for the building of a hospital for poor mothers — gratifying his fondness for friends by showing them his orchids, his pigeons, his trout, and, most prized of all, the two coffee trees from Brazil, carefully nurtured in his green-houses; or by dining with fifteen or twenty of them on his garden terrace, "as the moon comes up through the tall hemlocks of the mountains, while a full military band from Heidelberg, adown the hillside among the rose trees, mingles its refrains in the dinner discussions."

During the thirty years that it had taken Hermann Sielcken to earn the right thus to lay aside somewhat the cares of business, a great change in coffee conditions had taken place down in Brazil. When he was a traveling salesman there, the Brazilians raised less than half the world's coffee,

A COFFEE TREE IN FULL BLOOM

FROM THREE TO FIVE YEARS IS NECESSARY FOR A COFFEE TREE TO COME INTO FULL BEARING

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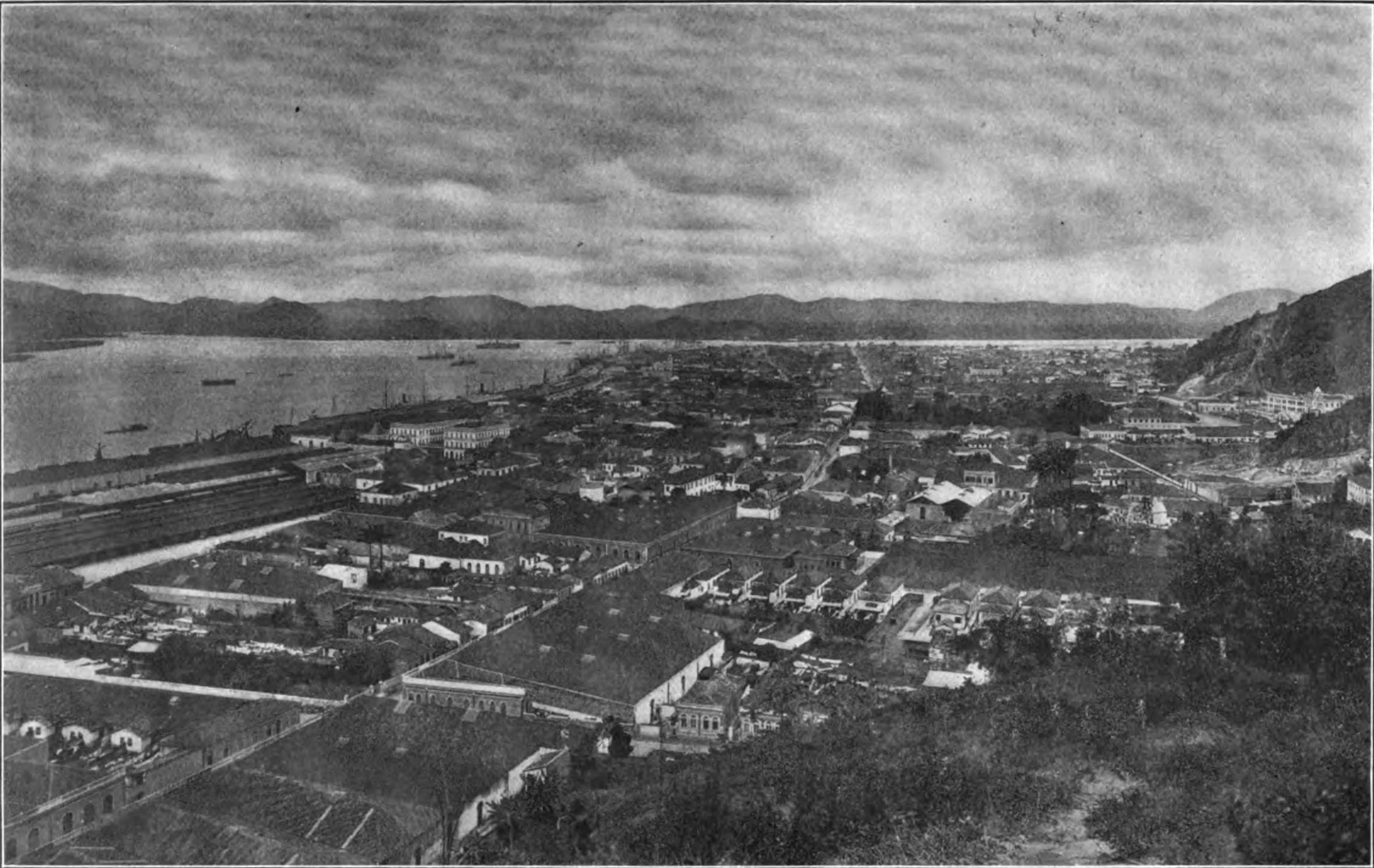

SANTOS, BRAZIL, CAPITAL AND CHIEF PORT OF THE COFFEE-GROWING STATE OF SAO PAULO

FROM WHICH THE BULK OF THE COFFEE OF THE WORLD IS SHIPPED AND IN WHICH THE PRICE OF COFFEE IS MAINTAINED AT SUCH A FICTITIOUS LEVEL THAT BUYERS ARE FORCED TO PURCHASE IN NEW YORK

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A NURSERY FOR COFFEE TREES

AN INDUSTRY THAT HAS BEEN KILLED BECAUSE THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT, UNDER THE VALORIZATION PLAN, AGREED TO RESTRICT PRODUCTION BY PROHIBITING NEW PLANTINGS

mostly in the state of Rio, almost none in the state of São Paulo. Coffee drinking began to increase apace, especially in the United States. By 1890, the wholesale price of coffee was more than 17 cents a pound, and still only a little more than half the world's supply came from Brazil. For the next six years her planters enjoyed an intoxicating prosperity. During that period nearly all the three million inhabitants of the state of São Paulo "entirely gave up planting corn, rice, beans, everything they needed. They bought them, because coffee was so immensely profitable that they put all their labor in coffee."

It takes from three to five years for a new coffee tree to come into bearing, but by 1897 São Paulo's sudden rush into the field began to tell. That year the wholesale price of coffee was only a trifle above 7 cents a pound. It declined year by year, till between 1901 and 1903 it hung around 5 cents a pound. Hard times for the planters set in. The São Paulo Government declared a tax on any new coffee plantations, hoping to drive the inhabitants back to raising corn and rice and beans, but it was a vain hope. They mortgaged their plantations and went right on raising larger coffee crops than all the rest of the world put together. Hard times grew harder. Mortgages began to be foreclosed right and left. Plantations were falling into foreign hands. The São Paulo planters were in ugly mood, and they demanded that the state Government restore prosperity. There was grave danger of a revolution. In the face of it, the Government promised that it would itself buy up a large proportion of the next coffee crop at a price above the market.

The scheme was not new. In 1890, when the silver miners in our own West were suffering from overproduction, Secretary Windom had suggested that our Government "help the price of silver" by buying it and holding it in the Treasury till there should be a shortage. The idea was laughed down in the United States. But in 1906 the São Paulo Government was determined to try it on coffee. The only thing lacking was the ready cash. So the Government appointed a special commissioner to find it.

He went first to Paris, to the Rothschilds, who had been the bankers of Brazil for sixty years. He was "flatly and at once refused." So was he by all the other bankers of Europe. Then the Commissioner bethought him of the coffee merchants. Who of them all could under-

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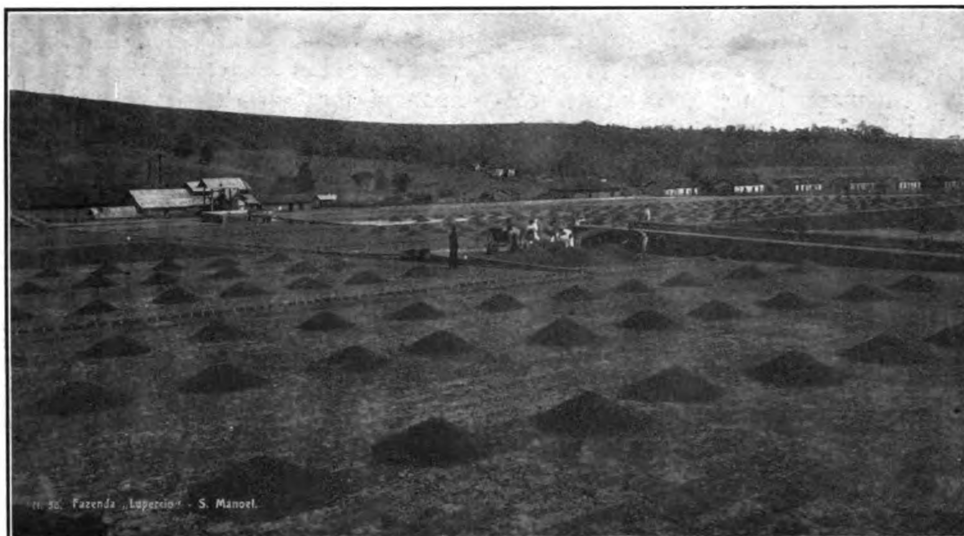

WHERE "VALORIZATION" COFFEE IS CURED
THE DRYING GROUND ON A PLANTATION IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

stand conditions in Brazil so well as Hermann Sielcken? — and he was conveniently resting at his place near Baden Baden. Thither the Commissioner repaired in August, 1906, and explained the situation.

"Well, what do you want us to do?" asked Hermann Sielcken.

"We want you to finance for us five to eight million bags of coffee," said the Commissioner, blandly.

Here was an adventure. Here was a proposition to lift bodily out of the market half as much coffee as the world's total production had averaged for the ten preceding years when prices had been so low. Presumably, if this were done, prices would be doubled. But Hermann Sielcken shook his head.

"No," he said, "there is not the slightest chance for it, not the slightest." And he pointed out that there would be "no financial assistance coming from anywhere" if the São Paulo planters kept on raising such ridiculously large crops of coffee.

The Commissioner assured him that the prospect was for smaller crops in future. Hermann Sielcken was not so sure about it.

"At a price low enough —," he mused. "I might be able to raise funds to pay 80 per cent. on a value of 7 cents a pound."

The Commissioner was dismayed. His Government had already promised to take coffee from the planters at about a cent a pound above the market, and the market then stood at nearly 8 cents. The Government would have to dig to make up the difference. Hermann Sielcken's terms were the best that could be got, however, and the Commissioner accepted them.

Thus was launched the famous "Valorization Coffee Plan." From that time forth Hermann Sielcken's part in it became "a very active one." He approached a few large coffee merchants. Arbuckle Bros., his former business rivals, were the first to join him in this new kind of speculation. Two or three other firms followed. "We are going to finance it downward," Hermann Sielcken told them. He explained that if the Brazilians knew they could get enough money to buy six or eight million bags of coffee there would be no holding them, and that the merchants would simply be lending money to have the market put up suddenly on themselves.

So Hermann Sielcken drew up a contract. In it the merchants agreed to advance 80 per cent. of the sum required to buy two million bags of coffee at 7 cents a pound. If the market went above 7 cents the Government was to make no purchases. If it fell below 7 cents the

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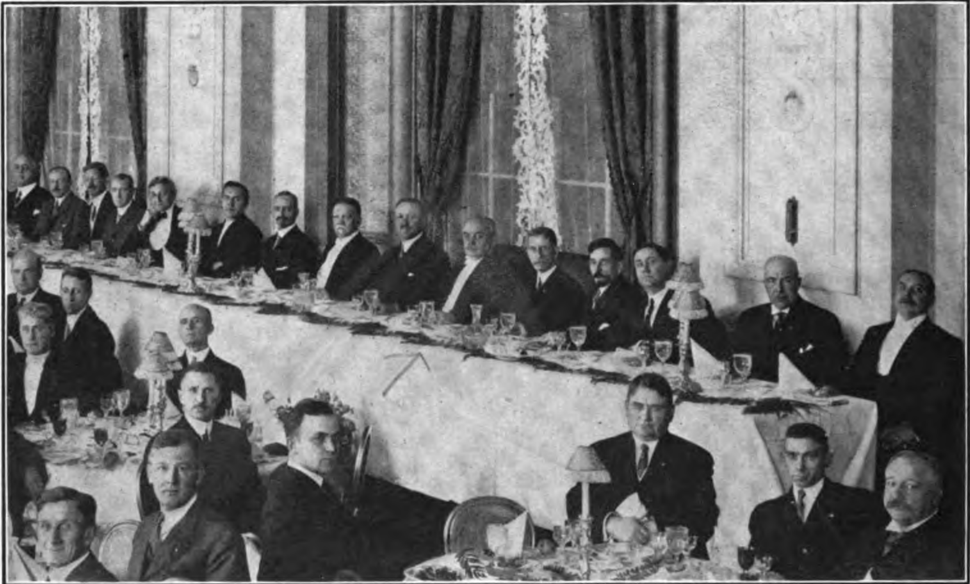
Government was to make good the difference to the merchants by cable. The Government further agreed not to buy in any event more than 500,000 bags of coffee per month from October 1, 1906, to February 1, 1907, the principal crop season.

Before that season was well advanced the unexpected was happening. The Brazilians were harvesting the biggest coffee crop in the world's history. The market quickly dropped below 7 cents and went on falling. By the end of January, 1907, the São Paulo Government had purchased the 2,000,000 bags of coffee. But that was only a drop in the bucket, and the Government was clamoring for more money with which to stem the tide.

Hermann Sielcken and the merchants with him saw the wisdom of that. If the tide were not stemmed, it would spread abroad in the world so much coffee that the two million bags, the security of the merchants, would be worthless. Hermann Sielcken became very active, and "all over France and Germany and Belgium brought in every one who could help carry the load." And in little more than a year since he had told the Commissioner at Baden Baden that there was "not the slightest chance for it," Hermann Sielcken, with the aid of some forty merchants, had financed for São Paulo the purchase of 8,357,500 bags of coffee.

But São Paulo wasn't satisfied. During this first year of "Valorization," the Brazilian coffee crop had run to almost 20 million bags. Those planters who had been able to sell to the Government had received about a cent a pound above the market, but they had been obliged to pay half of that back in the form of an export tax on coffee to enable the Government to carry its loans. Toward the end of 1907, although São Paulo had lifted half the world's visible supply of coffee, the market stood only a trifle above 6 cents a pound. That was not at all the Brazilian planter's idea of prosperity.

Things grew no better during 1908. Although the next coffee crop turned out much smaller, the world's supply was still so far in excess of the demand that the market remained down. The São Paulo planters continued grumblingly to pay the export tax, but that all went as interest to the merchants. The Govern-



MR. HERMANN SIELCKEN

(SIXTH FIGURE FROM THE RIGHT AT THE LONG TABLE) THE GENIUS OF THE VALORIZATION AGREEMENT BY WHICH THE PRICE OF COFFEE HAS BEEN FORCED UP; AT A DINNER OF THE COFFEE ROASTERS' TRAFFIC AND PURE FOOD ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO

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ment of São Paulo had spent not only the merchants' money but also all its own funds on Valorization, and was rapidly going bankrupt. In desperation it sold, *sub rosa*, 1,300,000 bags of the coffee that was the merchants' security.

The merchants began to have misgivings. There was not the slightest prospect of São Paulo's being able to pay off their loans. If it came to throwing the purchased coffee on the low market, their securities would go for a mere song. Where was the profitable speculation into which Hermann Sielcken had led them? They made it plain that they didn't want to help carry the loan any longer. There were signs of mutiny aboard the good ship *Valorization* in 1908.

GETTING THE ROTHSCHILDS IN

It was a year of especial activity for Hermann Sielcken. He went straight to the Rothschilds and proved to them what a profitable speculation it would be if only they and a few big bankers would take the places of the merchants in the Valorization Coffee Plan. He pointed out that there still remained more than 7 million bags of coffee as security after the surreptitious sales of the São Paulo Government. Valued at 6½ cents a pound, the market price at that time, it would more than pay off the loans which stood against it. None of the merchants had advanced more than five and six tenths cents a pound on it, most of them much less; on a great deal of it only 4 cents a pound had been advanced. Of course, the coffee would not bring 6½ cents if thrown on the market now. But if it could be held, it could be gradually and profitably disposed of during a period of, say, ten years — especially if something could really be done meanwhile to help the price of coffee ——

The Rothschilds had some suggestions; they knew Brazil. They replied that such a loan could not be considered unless the coffee as security for it be shipped from Brazil and placed in the hands of bankers for safe-keeping and subsequent disposal. That would involve carrying charges, costs of management, etc., etc. Then there would be nearly $4,000,000 in interest to pay the first year. The present export tax on coffee in São Paulo, less than one half a cent a pound, was too low. São Paulo must about double it.

But, Hermann Sielcken pointed out, taxes are just what the planters were objecting to down there.

Then, the Rothschilds felt, they must be taught how to get rid of taxes. They are growing at present 85 per cent. of the world's coffee. If, instead of constantly offering more coffee than was wanted, they saw to it that the world got somewhat less than it needed, other nations would pay all the taxes on coffee. The Federal Government of Brazil should interest itself in this matter. It collected a tax on coffee, called the *pouta*, 9 per cent. of the market price in Brazilian ports. By doing something to help the price of coffee, Brazil would relieve her citizens of that burden and increase her own revenues at the same time. Let her pass a national law imposing a heavy penalty on any one that planted a new coffee tree in Brazil, and let it be made effective by the appointment of Federal inspectors to go strictly about the country and tear up any new trees. The result would take a little time, of course. But meanwhile São Paulo could do something at once to help the price of coffee. The state Government could guarantee that not more than 9 million bags of her next coffee crop should be exported, nor more than 10 million of any succeeding crop.

Mr. Sielcken thought that these conditions would be agreed to, because the Government was in such a bad way down in Brazil that they would do almost anything.

Well, then, if São Paulo would issue bonds, and if the Federal Government of Brazil would guarantee them, the Rothschilds would take a portion, provided other bankers would take the rest.

Hermann Sielcken hurried around to other bankers. In December, 1908, everything was settled. The São Paulo Government got $75,000,000, promptly paid off the original loans of the merchants, and had a tidy little sum left to go on with.

UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT

So the coffee merchants were eliminated from Valorization — all but Hermann Sielcken. When the six bankers closed

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the deal, they each appointed a representative, who, with one from the São Paulo Government, comprised a committee charged with the future management of the affair. On this committee the only American was Hermann Sielcken, representing the American underwriters of the loan, a minor interest of but $10,000,000.

Thus completely refitted, *Valorization* put to sea again to sail in shoal waters no more. And Hermann Sielcken's part in it remained a very active function on the Bankers' Committee. The future of Valorization depended upon being able to dispose favorably of the Valorization coffee. Such of it as might be allotted to America was to be disposed of under the sole management of Hermann Sielcken. America drinks more than half of the world's coffee. The price of a commodity is fixed by the world's best market for it, and the price of coffee in Havre, Hamburg, London, and even in Brazil follows closely the price on the New York Exchange. To offer any considerable quantity of coffee on that Exchange would naturally cause the market to break all over the world, and that would be bad for Valorization. Hermann Sielcken's task was a delicate one.

THE STEADY RISE IN PRICE

No sooner had the Bankers' Committee taken hold of Valorization than the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange began to go up. It was 6½ cents all through December, 1908, when the deal was closed. By the middle of January, 1909, it had jumped to 7 cents; by the end of February it was 8 cents — although a larger crop than the preceding year was being harvested down in Brazil. São Paulo was worried about restricting exports, and proposed instead that she should make assurance sure by collecting a tenth of her coffee crop every year and dumping it into the sea. This the Bankers' Committee solemnly approved. A similar intention on the part of the Dutch long ago had been branded by Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" as "a savage policy." The press of the world so branded this, and it was abandoned. Nevertheless, the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange ruled higher for 1909, and the Bankers' Committee offered for sale 500,000 bags of Valorization coffee, half of which was sold by Hermann Sielcken in New York.

The year 1910 opened in the midst of a season when a still larger coffee crop was being harvested in Brazil, and yet the market on the New York Coffee Exchange stood at 8⅝ cents. Again the annual sale of the Bankers' Committee was announced, 600,000 bags, half of which were disposed of in New York by Hermann Sielcken. Then in the middle of May he sailed for Europe and repaired to his country estate at Baden Baden

He was no more than comfortably settled there than the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange began to jump up, till on the last day of 1910 it stood at 13½ cents. It had stood at 6½ cents in December, 1908, when the bankers agreed to come into Valorization. Here was a rise of more than 100 per cent. in two years — a rise of 60 per cent. in six months.

During those six months, Hermann Sielcken, though at his country seat in Germany, was active. Early in 1911, when the coffee market stood well above 13 cents, Hermann Sielcken made a flying trip to attend the meeting of the Bankers' Committee in Paris. There it was decided that they would sell double the usual quantity of coffee that year, 1,200,000 bags. Word came by cable that 600,000 bags had been sold by Hermann Sielcken in New York. And we have his own word for it that those sales of 1911 cleaned up $25,000,000, "or one third of the loan from less than one sixth of the coffee."

Evidently Valorization coffee in the hands of the Bankers' Committee had become gilt edge security. But how? During the five crop years since the "Plan" was launched on the heights above Baden, nearly 90,000,000 bags of coffee had been raised in the world. The Bankers' Committee still held 5,100,000 bags of this. At the highest estimate, consumption had exceeded production by only 5,200,000 bags. Here was a shortage of only a little more than 10 per cent. in supply as against demand, so far as crops go. Yet there had been a rise of more than 100 per cent in

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two years in the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange.

On public exchanges, commodities like coffee are dealt in, to a great extent, "on option," that is, for future delivery. On the exchange the relations of traders are interlaced with obligations to buy and sell coffee at some later time. Many of these obligations may be discharged without the actual passage of coffee from hand to hand, but when the buyer demands it the seller must produce the goods. Merchants may provide against such contingencies by carrying a considerable stock of coffee, but, as that requires capital, it is more common to buy an option every time you sell one. To fail in a delivery means exclusion from the exchange. When coffee is plentiful there is no difficulty about making deliveries on the exchange. When coffee is scarce, the necessity of merchants to obtain it for the purpose of making delivery causes the price to rise on the exchange. Thus, upon the merchant's ability to deliver coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange depends the price of coffee in the world.

NO COFFEE ON THE PUBLIC EXCHANGES

That explains why the Bankers' Committee from the beginning refused absolutely to sell Valorization coffee on the public exchanges of the world. In Europe they put it up at auction, and when it didn't go, it was bought in for them. In America, they announced in a printed circular that Valorization coffee would be sold only on condition that the purchaser would not deliver it on the New York Coffee Exchange.

Delicate indeed was Hermann Sielcken's task in selling coffee thus at New York. He took no chances. At the first official offerings of Valorization coffee, many old-fashioned merchants, with certified check in hand, came to Hermann Sielcken's office to buy. They were told that they could not have any. They might use it in a speculative way on the Exchange. Valorization coffee must go as directly as possible to the consumer.

The merchants were puzzled by this idea, and they were surprised during the latter half of 1910 to find that the idea had a still broader application. That was the period when the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange rose suddenly 60 per cent. Arbuckle Bros. were buying heavily as if they would corner the market. There were no "good bears" now to interfere. Hermann Sielcken was resting at his villa at Baden Baden.

FORCING THE MARKET UP

The merchants waited till the time should come for Arbuckle Bros. to sell. It never came on the New York Coffee Exchange. The merchants wondered how Arbuckle Bros. could keep on buying indefinitely. Then it was discovered that they were selling coffee at the same time. They had adopted the Valorization method of private sale, and they exacted of the buyer a written contract that he would not deliver the coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange, nor resell it to any one that would so deliver it.

One concern that thus bought a lot of coffee from Arbuckle Bros., resold it to some merchants who held to the old-fashioned theory that one may do what he likes with his own. When these merchants attempted to deliver this coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange, they found that their coffee was still in the Arbuckle warehouse. Arbuckle Bros. refused to relinquish it. They pointed to the original agreement. Then the merchants that had bought and paid for this coffee appealed to the New York Coffee Exchange. An investigating committee was appointed. When the committee assembled to hear the complaint, there was none to hear. The aggrieved merchants had withdrawn it.

But the committee investigated. Before them the manager of Arbuckle Bros'. coffee department frankly testified that not only his firm but several others were in the habit of selling coffee on condition that it should not be delivered on the Exchange. He seemed anxious to show that it was a trade custom to keep coffee off the Exchange. But the New York Coffee Exchange, the coffee market of America — where the price of coffee is determined for the entire world — did not seem to feel itself discriminated against,

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although a majority of the coffee merchants of America were badly in need of coffee. The Exchange laid the report of its committee on the table, where, perhaps, it still awaits future students of speculation.

SELLING ALL AROUND A CIRCLE

Again a Southern firm was offered a lot of coffee by Arbuckle Bros. at a price slightly below the market. These convenient sales of theirs have been made chiefly in the West and South where the purchaser can be trusted to keep away from the New York Coffee Exchange and put the coffee "directly into consumption." But this Southern firm secretly sold the coffee to a New York wholesaler, who gleefully paid them an advance and then delivered the coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange at a further advance — to Arbuckle Bros. Obviously you cannot keep the price up on an exchange by buying everything in sight if you are made to swallow again at a higher price coffee you thought you had disposed of at private sale.

Thus the new method of "selling coffee with a string to it" had its little difficulties. It even had its dangers. Some people tried the same scheme, about this time, on the New York Cotton Exchange. The Department of Justice swooped down on them and indicted nine American citizens for conspiracy in restraint of trade, and began trying to put them in jail.

Shortly after the Valorization sales of 1911 had cleaned up $25,000,000, the Bankers' Committee suddenly announced that the restriction as to the delivery of Valorization coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange was removed. Arbuckle Bros. made no more written contracts at their private sales. Yet, during the latter half of 1911, the price of coffee on the New York Coffee Exchange began to jump up again, with Arbuckle Bros. again buying everything in sight. In November, 1911, the market almost touched 16 cents a pound.

In that month Hermann Sielcken made a visit to America. "I do not own a bag of coffee," he said; "and I believe Arbuckle has the only substantial stock of coffee now in existence outside of the Government of Brazil." Yet neither from Arbuckle Bros. nor from Hermann Sielcken could anybody buy any coffee to deliver on the New York Coffee Exchange. The following January, Hermann Sielcken sailed away again, for London, to attend the annual meeting of the Bankers' Committee. Shortly thereafter came the cable announcement that 700,000 bags of Valorization coffee had been sold this year, 400,000 of them in New York.

1/2000 OF A CENT A CUP

Thus a total of 3,000,000 bags of Valorization coffee has gone "directly into consumption" in three years. For the past two years Arbuckle Bros. have bought most of the coffee offered on the New York Coffee Exchange, and what they have sold of it at private sale has also gone directly into consumption. And yet during 1911 Americans have had to pay 25 cents a pound retail for the cheapest coffee fit to drink — which cost 15 cents a pound in 1910. That is an advance of only 1/2000 of a cent a cup on the coffee drunk in America. But it cleaned up last year more than $100,000,000 from American breakfast tables.

And this has been accomplished because the Valorization restrictions on coffee trees and on coffee exports down in Brazil, plus the Valorization method of private sale up in New York, have compelled the American coffee merchants to stand and deliver all their surplus stocks of coffee upon the New York Coffee Exchange.

Those merchants cannot replace those stocks; they have to buy now from hand to mouth at whatever price the Exchange affords. They find that in two years their cost of doing business has been doubled. They are daring each other to pass it all on to the breakfast table by adding another 10 cents a pound to the retail price of coffee as "the only means of rousing public opinion." If they do this an additional $200,000,000 will be cleaned up from the American breakfast table this year. Then the net result of Valorization will be entirely "up to" the consumer.

$100,000,000 IN PROFITS

The good ship *Valorization* will make port in 1912. She was chartered in 1908 for a cruise of ten years. She has accom-

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plished it in little more than three. In that time she has picked up not only all of the $75,000,000 advanced by the bankers, but about $10,000,000 or more necessary to retire the São Paulo bonds at par; also another odd $10,000,000 to pay interest on the bonds; also all carrying charges on the purchased coffee and all salaries and expenses of management by the Bankers' Committee. In this brief adventure Valorization has quietly gathered from the American breakfast table half the export tax on coffee, imposed in Brazil to make possible a loan the purpose of which was to put up the price of coffee on the world. From the same American breakfast table Valorization has gathered half the *pouta*, the federal tax on coffee in Brazil, from which the Government buys battleships and pays for campaigns in tea-drinking countries — especially England — to increase the use of coffee, while in Brazil everything is being done to decrease production and exports.

To the Brazilian planter, Valorization brings, at present market prices, a profit of nearly 200 per cent. on his coffee crop, over and above all costs of production, taxes, exchange, and transportation from the interior of Brazil to the coffee ports of the world.

Above all, *Valorization* has now, safely stowed away between decks, 4,400,000 bags of coffee, which, if the present market is maintained, and the stock is carefully sold away from the exchanges, is worth, to be exact — at 14½ cents a pound (to-day's quotation on the New York Coffee Exchange) just $8,485,400,000.

Will the good ship put to sea again, either under her old name or with a fresh coat of paint, and will the American breakfast table continue to furnish half the expenses of the argosy?

Ask our fellow citizen, Captain Sielcken, as, on his garden terrace on the heights above Baden, he rests from the stormy seas of speculation.

FORECLOSING THE MORTGAGE ON WAR

BECAUSE IT DOES NOT PAY, AND HENCE THE ROTHSCHILDS, WHO HAVE THE NATIONS IN PAWN, WILL NOT LET THEM FIGHT

BY

DAVID STARR JORDAN

(PRESIDENT OF LELAND STANFORD, JR., UNIVERSITY, AND CHIEF DIRECTOR OF THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION)

WAR is dying. It dies because it cannot pay its way. It dies because, through the spread of education and the demands of commerce, no part of the civilized world can be suffered to engage in a life and death struggle with any other part. The nations are no longer separate entities, but each is a part in a unified whole to which international war is mischievous and hateful.

In his clever poem, "The Peace of Dives," Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells us the story of the passing of war. It seems that Dives, wicked, rich, and in Torment, asked for release, offering in exchange to bring peace to the world. So he went out among the nations selling "sea-power" and land-power, and "the dry decreeing blade." The nations bought freely, pledging the future for all sorts of weapons, but were so tied up at last in the bonds of debt that none of them could fight. Thus Dives brought peace to the world, and such peace we have with us to-day.

We understand, of course, that Kipling's story is but a parable. The rich man was not wicked, but sturdy, honest, and long-headed. His name was not Dives, and

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he was not in Torment. He lived in a narrow, seven-story, high-gabled house in Frankfort-on-the-Main. From the swinging red shield of his pawnbroker's shop he got the name of "Rothschild," and the story of his rise to power and that of his successors is the story of the passing of war.

It was a strange period in which he lived, the end of the eighteenth century. In that period we have the effective rise of popular government. With this came peace within the nations, the extension of education, the rise of science and of its double, mechanical invention, and the great increase in the wealth of the people.

When representative government was established, a nation as such could borrow money. Kings had been poor pay. The pledges of parliaments, however, were safe investments. The chief business of nations was still war, and diplomacy was its handmaid. By means of secret deals, artificial friendships, and artificial enmities, diplomacy could spy out the land. It could find places where war would be safe and profitable and it could find pretexts to begin war with good grace. Wars have been rarely fought for causes. Mostly diplomacy has offered only pretexts.

"THE UNSEEN EMPIRE OF FINANCE"

Meanwhile science made war more and more effective and vastly more costly. Warships changed from wooden tubs costing perhaps $12,000 to gigantic floating fortresses worth $12,000,000, with all else in proportion. The people could not pay for these things, and ran into debt for them, England first, and after her all the other nations, each in its degree. Here was Dives's opportunity. The great house of Rothschild, its five branches knowing no country, was prepared to take a nation into pawn, all for a moderate percentage, "absorbing" its bonds and placing them where they would "do the most good." Allied with this house as partners or as rivals in the same business of giant "pawnbroking," were a dozen other similar establishments, and little by little, into the hands of this group constituting the so-called "Unseen Empire of Finance," fell the control of Europe.

To control a railway it is not necessary to own it, only to administer its debts. The same is true of nations. Thus it came about that in all matters of war, peace, and finance, the international bankers had the last word. At first, the control was more or less a matter of dominating personality, but in time, with the vast increase in the complexity of business ramifications, it has naturally become more and more impersonal and automatic. Lord Rosebery has said that "Royalty is no longer a political but a social function." This is another way of saying that the will of no individual is now supreme as opposed to the common interests of the people. With the economic growth of the last thirty years has come a parallel change in financial domination.

NO MORE EUROPEAN WARS

As war is now mainly a matter of finance, armies and navies being mere incidents as compared with financial reserves, the bankers still have the last word. No international struggle, accident aside, can break out until they give the signal. In our belief, whatever the apparent provocation of noisy speech or hectoring diplomacy, we shall never see another war among the great nations of Europe. There is too much at stake. War is a disturbance of all normal relations. It is a sort of world sickness, local in its inception, but likely to spread to other parts of the social organism. A great war is a great defeat. It means ruin to the victor as well as to the loser. Under present conditions there can be no such thing as victory, and neutrals must share with the others in the settlement of loss.

Banking, according to Norman Angell, is "providing the economic and social organism with sensory nerves, by which damage to any part, or to any function, can be felt and, thanks to such feeling, avoided." The influence of sound banking is therefore everywhere and automatically opposed to war. To the modern banker, as to Benjamin Franklin, "there never was a good war nor a bad peace."

THE ENDLESS COST OF WAR

In the last hundred years every nation has had its statesmen, representative of

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the people, ready to pledge all futures for the sake of present advantage, real or apparent. Especially have they been willing to go to any lengths of debt or taxation in the interest of standing armies and of naval greatness. And the net result is that the war debt of the world for borrowed money, practically all used for war purposes, amounts to nearly $37,000,000,000. This sum is expressed in the "Endless Caravan of Ciphers," which carries no meaning to the average taxpayer until he feels its pressure in the rising cost of living and in his own difficulties in making both ends meet. The interest charges of the world on its national bonded debt are about $1,500,000,000 a year, and about $2,500,000,000 are expended yearly on standing armies and on battleships. If we were to sell out the entire holdings of the United States, capitalize the returns, and put the whole sum at interest at 4 per cent., it would just about keep up the military expenses of the world in time of peace.

Through our attempts to keep war going, after its prosecution had ceased to be financially profitable to anybody (to say nothing of moral or social values), we have carried civilization well toward bankruptcy. "We have long since," says the editor of *Life*, "passed the simple or kindergarten stage of living beyond our means; we are now engaged in living beyond the means of generations to come."

LIVING BEYOND THE MEANS OF POSTERITY

Let me illustrate by a suppositious example. A nation has, let us say, an income and expenditure of $100,000,000. It raises this sum by taxation of some sort and thus lives within its means. But this hundred millions is equal to the interest on a much larger sum, $2,500,000,000. Let us suppose that instead of paying a hundred millions year by year for expenses, we use this as the interest on a large capital. By borrowing we have immediately at hand a sum twenty-five times as great. The interest on this sum is the same as the annual expense account. We have then borrowed $2,500,000,000, paying the interest charges of $100,000,000 a year. While paying these charges we have the principal to live on for a generation. Half of it will meet current expenses for a dozen years. The other half is at once available for national purposes, for dockyards, wharves, fortresses, public buildings, and above all for army and navy expansion. Meanwhile in our century no nation stands quite still. Twelve years of invention and commerce have doubled the national income. This gives us another hundred million which may be capitalized in the same way, another twenty-five hundred million borrowed. And all borrowings become war debt, because the standing army and the navy take the lion's share. Were it not for war and war preparations, the other expenses of government would have been everywhere met without permanent indebtedness.

In the fashion here indicated France has built up her war debt of $6,000,000,000, and most other nations of Europe have followed the same example. The system of borrowing then extends through the body politic; individuals, corporations, municipalities, all live on their principal, leaving debt and interest for future generations to pay. And by this means one and all finally pass into the control of their creditors. The nations of Europe have no independent existence, they are all "provinces of the Unseen Empire of Finance." What will be the end, no one can say. There is a steady growth of "unrest" among the taxpayers of the world. There would be a still more violent "unrest" could posterity be heard from. And in its time posterity can save itself from utter ruin only by new inventions and new exploitations or by a frugality of administration of which no nation gives an example to-day.

WAR IS DYING

The present complex condition, incongruous as well as disconcerting, is apparently a necessary phase of the passing of war, a world-process involved in the change from the rule of force to that of law. The power of old tradition keeps alive the sinuous diplomacy of Europe, with its use of warships as counters in its games, and its use of war scares as means to force the people to build the

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warships. We still have the Deferred Payment and the Indirect Tax, the means by which an outworn statecraft extorts money from the people. We have all interests of commerce totally and openly opposed to war, and all interests of finance quietly opposed to all war which does not pay. We have the murderous cost of the whole thing at all times, with the final certainty that the perfection of our monstrous implements will never allow any sort of war to pay, while the alternative of "Armed Peace" is equally impossibly expensive. We have also the growth of international relations, of the spirit of mutual understanding, the development of international law, the extension of arbitration and our own emergence from the mediæval darkness when war was deemed natural and good, an institution to be cherished for its own sake. Lastly, the bankers have given ample evidence of their power, for example, in the Morocco affair. They have long since skimmed off the cream of the international loan business. There is little gain to them in further extension of the policy. And so war is dying, self-slain by the costly weapons science has forged for it, and it now remains for finance to give it a decent and fitting burial.

The way out of war will open, the world over, with the enlightenment of public opinion, with the extension of international law, and the perfection of the international courts at The Hague. The machinery of conciliation is created by public opinion; and with its more perfect adjustment, the force of public opinion behind it will grow steadily more and more insistent. Little by little war will be erased from the possibilities. As the years go by its crude and costly conclusions become less and less acceptable and the victories of peace become more and more welcome as well as more stable.

ARBITRATION THE WAY OUT

The fact that a better way of composing differences exists is, of itself, a guarantee that no serious differences shall arise; for as a rule, wars do not arise from the alleged "causes of war." The "causes" assigned are almost wholly mere pretexts after war has been determined on. "Affairs of honor" between nations are worthy of no more respect than "affairs of honor" among men. In either case, an adequate remedy is found in a few days or months of patience and in the adjustments of disinterested friends whose judgments are unbiased by the passion of the moment. This we call arbitration, and its supreme virtue with nations as with individuals lies in its being unlimited.

In our own country at present; there opens a door of escape from the waste of war preparation. Taking the Tariff Commission as a model, we should have a High Commission of civilian statesmen to determine exactly how we stand in regard to war. Let these men ascertain what our possible enemies are and what is our actual need in the way of national defense. We need not go very far afield to find out what men should be chosen to serve in this capacity. The Peace Commission already provided by Congress, but thus far left in abeyance, could be used to this end. It is unworthy of our ideals and of our best history that we should go on blindly spending $800,000 every day on army and navy, with nearly half as much more in pensions and on interest, simply to follow the confessedly evil examples of Great Britain and Germany. It is unreasonable to seek for ideal perfection of national defense, unless it can be proved that our condition demands such perfection. And it is criminal that we should expend vast sums on warships and armament on the advice of interested parties alone. Whatever may be the fact at our national capital we have abundant evidence that there exists in the world no lobby more powerful than the dockyard-armament lobbies of Great Britain and of Germany. The naval and military appropriations of Europe represent the demands of these syndicates, not the actual needs of the people or the nations.

A High Commission, such as is suggested, could find out the truth, could indicate the path of safety and the path of economy. To reduce our military expenses to our actual needs in America would go far to settle for all time the war problem of debt-cursed Europe.

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THE NEW COMPETITION

SECOND ARTICLE

ETHICS MITIGATING THE OLD BRUTALITIES

HOW BUSINESS MEN, COURTS, LEGISLATURES, AND THE PUBLIC ARE FEELING THEIR WAY TOWARD HARMONY

BY

ARTHUR J. EDDY

IN A recent speech Senator La Follette said: "An example of unfair and discriminatory prices is the practice so brutally employed by the Standard Oil Company of cutting prices in local markets invaded by small competitors while keeping up prices in other markets not so invaded. Another example is that of making a lower price to the purchaser who does not buy of a competitor than the price demanded if he buys also of a competitor."

Never mind the "Standard Oil Company" for the moment; in this connection it is only an epithet, and epithets lead nowhere. The practices complained of are right or wrong, irrespective of the people who resort to them. Now, what are those practices in plain, un-Senatorial English?

1. That a manufacturer or wholesale dealer who finds a new competitor in a locality quoting low prices meets the local competition without reducing his prices in other places.

This practice was hoary with age before "trusts" or corporations were dreamed of; it began with the beginning of trade and prevails in every country on the face of the globe.

2. That a manufacturer or wholesale dealer makes special terms to the customer who will agree to buy exclusively from him.

This, too, has been done from time immemorial and is the practice of every ordinarily keen manufacturer and jobber.

In short, the practices complained of are the very A B C of the old competition, of that "free and unfettered" competition that the Sherman and the state anti-trust laws are popularly supposed to protect and foster.

The smallest country dealer is quick to cut his prices on the appearance of a competitor and if he can afford it he will cut until he has driven the competitor from the field.

The peddler who tramps half a dozen villages will sell at cost or less than cost in one village to drive out a rival and recoup his loss by charging more for his wares in the places where he has no competition.

The most insignificant jobber or manufacturer in Senator La Follette's own state of Wisconsin will gladly make a specially low price to the customer who will agree not to buy of a competitor, for that is the simplest way of securing a man's entire trade.

These things, which have been done the world over from the beginning of trade, strike the popular orator as "vicious" and "brutal" only when done by some very unpopular corporation.

To the small competitor who is ruined it does not matter much whether he is ruined by the Standard Oil Company, or by a mail-order house, or by a department store. And more small dealers are driven out of business every year by mail-order houses and department stores than the Standard Oil Company has ruined in its entire existence.

BRUTAL BUT UNIVERSAL METHODS

But the fact that practices condemned by Senator La Follette are both old and universal does not make them fair and

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just. When he calls them "brutal" he is right, but they are brutal whether practised by the small dealer in a fight for custom or by the large corporation in a fight for trade; they are brutal because they are the methods of the fighter who is mercilessly trying to down his opponent; they are brutal because they are natural, instinctive, elemental; they are brutal because they are human, and humanity in its struggle for existence is, and ever has been, brutal.

Big corporations have not made these practices one whit more brutal; they have simply made them more conspicuous, thrown them into high relief, so that the people see and understand them better. What the individual has always done instinctively and viciously, the large corporation does systematically and indifferently.

A blacksmith borrows a little money and opens a shop in a country village. To get a start he shoes horses for a little less than the shop across the street. The established smith meets the new competition and goes it one better by cutting prices to cost, for the express purpose of driving out the new man. In a few months the new man is done for, closes up shop, and goes away "dead broke," whereupon the successful smith gets even by asking a little more than he did before, his charges being limited only by fear of inviting more new competition.

That is the old, familiar "cut-throat" competition in a nutshell.

When the individual crushes his rival by "brutal" methods, the cry of the insignificant rival is too weak to be heard in Congress, but when the large corporation crushes rivals in every state by precisely the same methods, the united cry is heard. There is no difference in the "brutality," but simply in the number affected, and numbers make all the difference in the world — about election time.

But the question is bigger and broader than one of mere political or legislative, or even economic, expediency. It is a question of progress toward higher ideals in the industrial and commercial world, of the suppression of unfair, oppressive, "brutal" methods, in so far as it lies in the nature of man to suppress them. It is a question of the substitution of a new competition for the old.

PROGRESS IN BUSINESS IDEALS

When one looks back with dispassionate eye over the last fifteen years — fifteen years of unparalleled financial, commercial, and industrial turmoil and upheaval, the conclusion is inevitable that, whatever there has been of progress in the world of trade and industry toward higher ideals, toward franker and more straight-forward methods, has been due directly or indirectly to the development and operation of large corporations, the so-called "trusts." They devised nothing new in "brutal" trade methods, but they have done things on such a large scale that the public for the first time begins to see and understand the unfairness, the oppressiveness, of common, every-day trade customs. The large corporation has been a wonderful magnifying mirror in which the people for the first time see — themselves; it has set the entire legislative, executive, and judicial world groping for remedies for economic ills that have their roots in the selfishness of the individual. Senator La Follette thinks he is after the Standard Oil Company, the Steel Corporation, the large — and friendless — combination. He will find in the end that he is prodding the small manufacturer and jobber in his own state, for they are guilty of the same "brutal" practices, only on a lesser scale.

A distinguished and scholarly senator in an interesting book ("Corporations and the State," by Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio), says:

"If a large combination can produce and sell articles at a less price than its competitors, and employs no unfair methods against them, is not the public benefited rather than injured?"

The question, of course, implies the assumption that the large combination does undersell its competitors, and that assumption necessarily involves the elimination of some or all of the competitors.

What consolation is it to the bankrupt competitor to be assured that he was disposed of gracefully and honorably, that no

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unfair means were used to effect his suppression? Might he not reply:

"What do I care about your motives? You undersold me and put me out of business — that's all there is to it."

As a matter of fact the public may be a very great loser in the long run by getting goods for a time so cheap from one or a few large producers that small ones cannot exist and, though the elimination of competition by unfair and oppressive means is wrong — mainly as between the parties immediately concerned — the economic effect on the community is very much the same when competition is suppressed by fair means; the net result is the disappearance of the small competitor.

No, it will not do to repeat the ancient academic proposition, "Competition must be allowed free play," or as one professor puts it, "The big company has a right to beat the little one in an honest race for cheapness in making and selling goods; but it has no right to foul the competitor and disable it by an underhanded blow."

UNETHICAL MEANS UNECONOMIC

The big individual, the big jobber, the big manufacturer, now does all things, fair and unfair, to gain and hold trade, to down competitors, and he may have the *legal* right to do all of them; but whether it is right, *ethically* or *economically*, to encourage or permit competition *that results in the ruin of any one*, is a bigger and finer question, and it is a question that is in process of solution.

How far and how rapidly the country has drifted from the fundamental propositions of the old competition is indicated in the terms of a decree entered last October in the Circuit Court of the United States at Cleveland, the case of the United States vs. General Electric Company, and other makers of electric lamps.

COURTS' ATTITUDE CHANGING

An important point in the decree is that it was not simply the decision of the judge interposed between contending parties, but the defendants withdrew all opposition and agreed to a decree satisfactory to the Government and the Court. It marks a meeting of minds upon certain propositions that are as vital to the new competition as they are fatal to the old.

The crucial propositions are as follows:

1. *The defendants and each of them are enjoined from making any contracts with parties from whom they purchase supplies and machinery used in the lamp business, whereby such parties shall bind themselves not to sell such supplies and machinery to other parties, or whereby such parties obligate themselves to sell to defendants at different prices than they sell to other customers.*

It will be observed that the injunction runs not only against the combination of defendants, but against the liberty of each to do things that have been done from time immemorial under the old competition. In fact, until within recent years no one has thought of questioning the right, moral and legal, of a group of manufacturers to take the output of a given maker of either the machinery they need or the raw material they use. But whatever may be said of the right of a combination to do this, no one has dreamed of denying the right of the individual — person or corporation — to make a bargain with a manufacturer for his entire output, or for a large percentage of it, at a certain figure, providing the manufacturer would agree to sell to no other at so low a price. That is the very essence of innumerable contracts entered into daily between jobbers and manufacturers.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ENFORCED

It is a part of the old creed that a man has the right to sell his goods to whom he pleases, at the prices he pleases, on the terms he pleases; that he can sell the bulk of his output to one customer at a special price and agree not to sell the balance at less than a certain per cent. higher; that he can sell a part of his output to one purchaser and agree to sell to no other purchaser in the same locality; that he can build up the business of a customer one year by giving him low prices, and ruin him the next by refusing to sell to him at any price; in short, that he can use his own judgment or whim in making prices and in disposing of his product.

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Such are some of the sacred tenets of the old competition. The decree referred to makes sad havoc of these notions.

2. *Defendants and each of them are enjoined from entering into any contract with dealers or consumers who buy certain improved filament lamps whereby such dealers or consumers must purchase all the ordinary filament lamps they need as a condition to obtaining the improved: nor can any one of the defendants discriminate against any dealer or consumer who wishes to purchase improved filament lamps because such dealer or consumer buys either ordinary lamps or other improved filament lamps from other dealers.*

What has become of the good, old-fashioned belief that a man who has an improved or patented article may use it as a lever to force the sale of his line?

If an electric lamp manufacturer has an improved filament lamp, either patented or of secret process, why may he not say to a dealer or a consumer, "I am under no obligation to sell you my improved lamp. If I do sell to you it will be at my price and on my terms, and the first condition is that you buy of me all the lamps of all kinds that you sell?"

Up to the entering of the decree who would have believed it possible that any court would intervene and say the manufacturer could not make such a contract?

The decree does not say that the individual may not refuse to sell at all: it says that he may not refuse on the ground that the dealer or consumer is also purchasing elsewhere. The loop-hole for evasion may be large, but the intent of the Court is plain — it is to give the customer the widest possible latitude in purchasing and to take from the seller the right to lay down conditions that will tend to hold the customer.

DEMOLISHING OLD BUSINESS AXIOMS

If there were any possible doubt about the intention of the Court it is dissipated by the following language: "The defendants and each of them are perpetually enjoined from utilizing any patents which they have or claim to have or which they may hereafter acquire or claim to have acquired, as a means of controlling the manufacture or sale of any type or types of lamps not protected by lawful patents."

Apply that, say, to the maker of a razor that is patented, who also makes a line of razors that are not patented; according to old-time notions he could sell all or any of his goods to any one willing to buy, or he could refuse to sell, or he could say, "I won't sell you my patented razors unless you buy from me all the barber's supplies you need."

Under the new theory he may be enjoined from "utilizing" his patented razor as a means to force the sale of his supplies and unpatented articles.

To be sure, this particular decree does not go so far as to lay down the corollary of its proposition, namely: that any party desiring the patented article shall have the right to come into court and compel the maker to sell it to him at a reasonable price; but logically that right is implied in the proposition that no maker shall refuse to sell for a particular reason, since, as already suggested, he may refuse and give no reason. As the matter now stands the aggrieved buyer of electric lamps can bring these particular defendants into court only when they refuse to sell and give a bad reason for so refusing to sell, to wit: the reason the court holds objectionable.

3. *The defendants and each of them are enjoined from offering or making more favorable prices or terms of sale for incandescent electric lamps to the customers of any rival manufacturer or manufacturers than it at the same time offers or makes to its established trade where the purpose is to drive out of business such rival manufacturer or manufacturers . . . provided that no defendant is enjoined or restrained from making any prices for incandescent electric lamps to meet, or compete with, prices previously made by any other defendant, or by rival manufacturers.*

The very essence of the old competition, the competition that the public thinks the law is trying to protect, is the freedom to undersell, freedom to sell at cost, at less than cost, at any price at all, or to give away goods, to down a competitor. That has been the one resource of the old established house to protect itself against

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the aggressive newcomer; it has been the right of the newcomer in his fight for a share of the trade.

It is the theory of the old competition that the consumer, and inferentially the public, profit from this warfare.

It is the theory of the new competition that in the long run neither the customer nor the public profits from conditions that mean disaster to individuals. In a sense, therefore, the very unusual provisions of the decree are along the new lines, but they are unconsciously so, and therefore uncertain in their general application however pertinent in that particular case.

In its general application the decree overturns the entire theory of the old competition; it limits a man's right to sell what he owns to whom he pleases on such terms as he pleases. It says that he must consider his rival — that is the striking novelty of the decision.

The theory of the decree is that, whereas under the old competition A was free to sell to B on such terms as B was willing to accept, under the new, the interests of C must be considered; if the bargain between A and B injures C it is no longer legal, even though C has in the transaction only the indirect interest of a competitor.

This regard for the interest of C is a legitimate economic interest. It is more, it is an ethical interest that the old competition ignored. In a crude way, courts are coming to realize this broader interest; coming to understand that commercial fights, like cock fights and prize fights, are far behind present day standards; that nothing is gained by encouraging two manufacturers to fight one another until both are bankrupt.

COURTS AND LEGISLATURES DISAGREE

Legislatures still cry out: "Go to it! Hands off! Let 'em fight it out!" and if the two combatants show signs of making up their quarrels, of getting together in a friendly way, a large majority of legislators, state and national, raise a cry of angry protest — the fight must be to a finish.

What will the radical upholders of the Sherman law say to a court decree which commands a manufacturer *not* to compete with a rival by underselling him?

The decree is crude in that it attempts too much and accomplishes too little. For instance, each of the defendants is ordered not to undersell a rival "where the purpose is to drive out of business such rival." Who is to determine the seller's purpose? By the terms of the decree he may undersell a rival until the latter has no customers and necessarily goes out of business, and each transaction will be right and proper providing at no time can it be proved that there was an intention to eliminate the unfortunate competitor. On its face the decree does not pretend to restrain a man from going after all the business he can get, even to the getting of all there is, but he must do it politely and with no provable intent to injure those he gently elbows off the earth.

Furthermore, suppose the rival — who, by the way, is not restrained in his actions by the decree — in the spirit of the old competition "goes after the business" and, to get a foothold, makes "any old price," what are the defendants to do? Assume that this particular rival is making serious inroads, that he is quoting cost and below cost, or that he has an improved lamp that he can sell for less than the cost of other lamps and yet make money.

There are but two things for an older company to do; either make terms with the rival or fight. To make terms whereby prices are fixed or territory apportioned is a suppression of competition and illegal; to fight by engaging in a trade war, by going out and underselling in the rival's territory, for the express purpose of suppressing him, is contrary to the decree, though such a course is instinctive and natural and is the old competition in its most familiar form.

A number of Western states have statutes — aimed at the Standard Oil Company — making it a criminal offence to sell a commodity at a lower price in one section than is charged in another.

INDIVIDUALISM LOSING GROUND

The plain truth is that the very theory of the old competition, free and unfettered individualism, has received its severest blows at the hands of its professed friends. In curtailing the liberty of the "trust,"

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the liberty of the lesser corporation and of the partnership and of the individual, disappears; what is brutal and unconscionable for one is brutal and unconscionable for another. The "brutality" of a given act does not depend upon the size of the trust that does it: it depends upon conditions as they exist between the parties to the act; and there may be — usually is — far more of viciousness in the conduct of an individual toward his competitor.

It goes without saying that courts cannot intervene and regulate all the large corporations of the country, to say nothing of large manufacturers and dealers that are not corporations. That being true, why should not competitors be permitted to get together voluntarily and adopt rules for the regulation of competition along the lines laid down in the case and in the statutes referred to?

Prior to the entry of that decree it would have been argued by many that the rules regulating competition, therein formulated, would be illegal if adopted by the same parties voluntarily. But now the matter is definitely settled with the approval of the Department of Justice: competition not only may be, but must be controlled; the large producer will not be permitted to slaughter prices to ruin a small producer; one producer will not be permitted to quote exceptionally low prices in one locality to secure the customers of a competitor while charging higher elsewhere, and so on. All this is in the direction of stability of prices maintained by agreement or by decree of court — what difference does it make? — as distinguished from the wide and ruinous fluctuations of the old "cut-throat" competition.

VARYING INTERPRETATIONS OF LAW

Voluntary coöperation with a minimum of state supervision is far better than compulsory action with a maximum of supervision. In the present uncertain state of the law the attitude of the State would seem to be that of forbidding the voluntary association that is absolutely necessary to eliminate those "brutal" features of competition that the court and Senator La Follette agree must be eliminated.

Massachusetts has a statute which makes it a criminal offense for any person or corporation to "make it a condition of the sale of goods, wares, or merchandise, that the purchaser shall not deal in the goods, wares, or merchandise of any other person, firm or corporation."

The agent of a tobacco company sold goods to a dealer with the agreement that if he bought only the tobacco company's goods a rebate of 6 per cent. would be refunded.

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts held the statute constitutional and sustained the conviction of the agent of the company, saying, "*It is intended to make it impossible for a seller to say to an ordinary purchaser who buys to sell again, 'You cannot buy my goods except on condition that you will not sell goods obtained from others. If you sell like goods manufactured by others, you cannot have mine.'*"

And the court very rightly remarks, "There is no doubt that the statute puts a limitation upon the general right to make contracts," but justifies it as an attempt to meet modern conditions.

When a similar contract made by the same tobacco company was presented to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis the three judges — one of whom, Judge Van Devanter, is now a Justice of the Supreme Court — held in an able opinion that the right of the tobacco company to dictate the terms upon which it will dispose of its products "*is indispensable to the very existence of competition. Strike down, or stipulate away that right, and competition is not only restricted but destroyed.*"

That which is forbidden by decree of court in Ohio, and is a crime in Massachusetts, is legitimate business practice in Missouri.

What is the trouble?

Nothing but the conflict that is now on between the Old competition and the New; the old finds expression in the judgment and opinion of the Court in St. Louis; the new finds utterance—not as clear and logical as might be — in the decree of the Court in Cleveland and in the judgment and opinion of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and in the law of that state.

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A SAFE WAY TO GET ON THE SOIL

THE WORK OF FATHER BANDINI AT TONTITOWN — A NEW HOPE FOR OUR NEWEST CITIZENS AND FOR THE SMALL SEEKERS FOR LAND

BY

ANITA MOORE

IN THE midst of a crowd of noisy, eager peasant immigrants that were disgorged upon the Battery Pier from an Italian steamer some twenty-one years ago, walked a man in the garb of a priest. His face was very thoughtful and earnest as he watched the bewilderment of these newcomers at their journey's end. Now and then he addressed one of them with a low-spoken Italian phrase, or quieted the wails of some frightened, straying child. He stood on the pier until the last fantastically clad stranger with the last bit of preposterous luggage had vanished into the mystery of streets that stretched away from the other side of Battery Park, and then he too turned and left the water-front. The priest was Father Bandini, and he had come to America on a mission — to investigate and to better the conditions of his countrymen who drift untutored to these shores.

A DOUBLE EDGED SOLUTION

What Father Bandini found out is a familiar tale to us now — the helplessness of the alien in the hands of glib porters and hotel-keepers, the loss of his small store of savings to the pretended friend who offers to find him a job in return for a competence, the inevitable drifting toward slum-life, and the daily round of hard street-labor to ward off starvation — all this is a scandal too old to bear repeating. Father Bandini went to work at once to find a remedy. The fact that seemed to him important was that the large majority of his countrymen had come from small farms at home. For that reason the priest felt that the only hope for them was to get them on the land and let them earn their bread in their accustomed way. The big obstacle that confronted this theory, however, was the social, pleasure-loving nature of the Italians which would make the isolated life of the ordinary American farmer intolerable to them.

Father Bandini's solution was to put a whole colony of these Italians on the land in one place, thus restoring the community life and the hopefulness of their former homes. The success of his experiment puts before social workers a new solution of the whole immigration problem. It also offers "a way out" to the man of small means who wants to get back to the land — be he Italian, or German, or just plain American. Here are the facts of this interesting experiment:

THE STORY OF TONTITOWN

Father Bandini, once having decided on a plan of colonization, plunged immediately into a study of government bulletins about climatic and agricultural conditions in various parts of the United States and at last decided upon the region of the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas, where the 1,500 foot elevation insures a healthful climate and where the seasons are long and open. The land had no very encouraging crop-record, but a test of the soil gave promise of fair productivity under the proper cultural conditions.

To this country in March, 1898, Father Bandini came with a band of twenty-six hardy and all but penniless families. They picked out a tract of 300 acres in Washington County, within six miles of the St. Louis and San Franscico Railroad, and they purchased the land at $15 an acre. The scheme was not coöperative. The land was divided into lots varying in size from 5 to 20 acres, and each man paid what he could for his share — $10, $15, $25 — and gave his note and a mortgage on the

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land for the balance, Father Bandini personally endorsing each note. They called their settlement Tontitown in honor of an early Italian immigrant, Enrico Tonti, who had served as Lieutenant to La Salle and had established a small military post near the Arkansas River.

THE LEAN YEARS

This was the beginning, but the way was not yet by any means plain. The Italians, cultivators though they were, knew nothing of the adaptation of their methods to American climatic conditions. They had to be taught. So Father Bandini studied the reports of the experiment stations and of the United States Department of Agriculture, and not only translated these into Italian, but took off his clerical uniform and went to work with his hands to show the people how to put their teachings into practice. The first duty was to provide for the immediate pressing needs. With their old-world implements, the hoe, the rake, and the spading fork, the colonists set about planting such crops as would yield them first returns. Then they planted for the future — vineyards, fruit trees, and small fruits. After two months of toil a cyclone swept the section, destroyed all the growing crops, and killed one of their number. But the colonists replanted their fields, rebuilt their shacks, and were of good heart. When the shadow of the first winter loomed ahead and the barns and the cupboards alike were empty, the priest summoned all the men and boys and sent them to work in the coal-mines in Oklahoma, to supply the colony with money until the return of spring.

The next year the entire Southwest was withered by a drought, and only half a crop was harvested in the colony. Starvation threatened. Eight of the twenty-six families gave up and went away in despair. But the other eighteen had faith. They lived on corn-meal until spring, then they started planting again. This time their efforts were rewarded. They gathered a bountiful harvest and ever since then their labors have prospered.

In a few years all their land was paid for and they were buying more. Their fruit trees came into bearing and their vineyards yielded richly. The settlers kept pace with their prosperity by supplementing their hoe and spade with the best and most improved farm machinery, and by adding conveniences and beauties to their houses and gardens. The story of their success and happiness spread abroad and, year by year, new bands of immigrants were diverted from the slums and sent to win prosperity in Tontitown.

THE FAT YEARS

The colony is now fourteen years old. It numbers 700 inhabitants, and owns 4,760 acres of good productive land, all clear of encumbrance, the value of which has increased from the original $15 paid for it to $50, $100, and even $150 an acre. In the village there are a modern hotel, three stores, a post-office, a land office, or town hall, and a school — St. Mary's Academy — which contains five large, well-equipped class rooms, several living rooms for the three Sisters of Mercy and the two young women teachers, and a gymnasium. Here 130 children are enrolled.

The good priest who caused all this prosperity has kept constantly before his people the secret of their success. "One of the great dangers which threaten the farmers in America," he says to them "is that they may become land poor. Forty acres is all that one man can profitably till. With twenty acres he can support a large family in comfort and save a little money. With forty acres he can become a man of means if he is industrious."

The Tontitown colonists follow this teaching. They build up their land by rotation of crops and fertilization. With the long open seasons they grow two or three crops of the same vegetables in the same season. Thus, for instance, they plant early spring onions for the market between rows of young peach trees or grapevines. After the onions have been harvested for the market, string beans are planted on the same ground. When the string beans have been marketed, the same ground is planted with some nitrogen producing crop — such as cow peas. The cow peas are used as fodder for the cattle, thus providing a fertilizer directly and indirectly — the productivity of the soil

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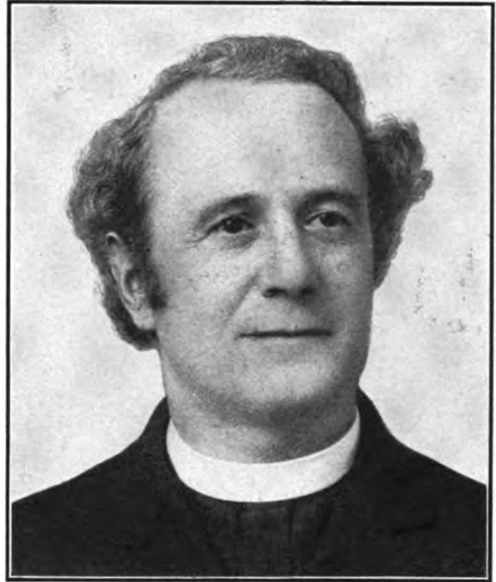
is increased, yet it has yielded three crops and nourished an orchard or vineyard.

The first year that the young apple orchards produced a full crop, fruit in the Ozark mountain region was most abundant. Commission men bought apples in the orchards from the native farmers at 60 cents a barrel — 20 cents a bushel. The Tontitown people bought and installed two fairly large fruit evaporators and established canneries and cider and vinegar factories. They fancy-packed their choicest apples and sold them at good prices. The seconds they canned or evaporated; the culls and parings they used for cider, then ran the pulp through the presses again with water and made vinegar; and at last the pulp was put back on the land for fertilizer. In all they received at the rate of $6 a barrel for their fruit as against the 60 cents received by the American farmers.

They ship their choice peaches, and the seconds are canned or evaporated. Every farmer has a vineyard of from four to eight acres which yields him returns from $500 to $600 per acre. The grapes are made into wine. One man alone makes 1,500 gallons of wine every season. The Tontitown wine is a fine domestic vintage that finds a ready market at $1 a gallon.

By his energy and initiative Father Bandini has promoted the establishing of other industries besides agriculture. Tonitown now possesses brickyards and limekilns. Three creameries profitably handle the milk; one of these creameries is devoted to butter making and the other two to cheese manufacturing. There are also a broom factory, a brickyard, a blacksmith shop, and a cobbler's shop.

The best proof of the triumph of Father Bandini's theory, however, lies probably not so much in a record of material achievement as in evidence of the satisfaction of



FATHER BANDINI

THE ITALIAN PRIEST WHO DIRECTED TWENTY-SIX FAMILIES OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE NEW YORK SLUMS TO ARKANSAS AND MOULDED THEM INTO A PROSPEROUS AMERICAN COLONY

THE GROWING RANGE OF INDUSTRIES

A FRUIT EVAPORATOR OF WHICH THERE ARE NOW SEVERAL IN TONTITOWN, BESIDES THREE CREAMERIES, A BRICKYARD, AND A LIME-KILN

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THE FIRST HOUSE

A MUD HUT BUILT BY THE COLONISTS ON THEIR ARRIVAL FOURTEEN YEARS AGO

the inhabitants. One formal statement of this satisfaction, because of its quaint phraseology, is too good to omit:

I, the undersigned, a resident of Tontitown from its very beginning, about fourteen (14) years ago, was not formerly a farmer, neither am I an expert farmer at present; yet I am glad to state that I am very well satisfied and pleased of my position and pleased with the crops I get from my farm, on which I raised almost everything I tried to.

Last year we had an exceptional dry season for a few months; had not a drop of rain for four months; yet from my little vineyard of 70 vines I got 6,200 pounds of first class grapes.

On a surface of three-fourth of an acre I had a ton and a half of hay, 12 bushels of beans.

On another acre I raised sweet potatoes, on an average of 488 bushels an acre, extremely large; 40 bushels of Irish potatoes; 500 pounds of beans and half a ton of hay.

In consequence of the drought, as said above, the crop of strawberries and oats was light, but corn we had in abundance.

(Signed) ADRIANO MORSANI.
Tontitown, Ark., February 8, 1912.

Perhaps the greatest asset of the community is in the development of its children. They are healthy physically, morally, and intellectually. Of the children of the original families who first settled in Tontitown, nine girls — now grown to young women — are established as school teachers, holding University, State, or second grade certificates. Three sisters, who lost their father during the first year of the colony, have just built and furnished a little cottage for their mother, besides which they have finished paying for the farm which their

ONE OF THE LATER DWELLINGS

WHICH ARE ALL PLEASANT MODERN COTTAGES SURROUNDED BY GARDENS THAT SHOW ADMIRABLE RESULTS OF THE ITALIAN METHOD OF INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

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father had bought before his death. Two of the first boys — now quite grown up — purchased eighty acres of land in 1910 and that spring planted twenty acres in strawberries. From the berries in the spring of 1911 and their fall crops of potatoes, hay, and corn they realized enough to pay for their farm.

The best part of the story of Tontitown is that it is only an introduction to a great extension of the colonization plan. In 1911, Father Bandini went back to Italy and there he told his story to all who would listen. He enlisted the sympathies of the Pope, the Prime Minister, and the Queen Mother, and of several societies and organizations, all of which are pledged to do what they can to direct the flux of emigration away from the old channels and into the safe and pleasant outlet of our Western country. As an evidence of their earnestness a new little colony has already sprung up in Arkansas which the good priest is now fostering with the same devotion that he lavished on Tontitown.

That is what Father Bandini has done for his countrymen. What he has done to help solve some of the most momentous problems that confront us can be stated almost as definitely.

WHEN THE COLONISTS FIRST CAME

SHOWING THEIR OLD WORLD TOOLS, NOW REPLACED BY MODERN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

He has again illustrated the value of intensive cultivation of the soil. His success also suggests that farm colonies may be the simplest means by which the poor man can get on the land, and that colonization on a large scale may yet empty the city slums by putting the agricultural immigrant at once in touch with the opportunity to practise the only kind of productive industry for which he is fitted.

TONTITOWN SETTLERS A FEW YEARS LATER

THE FLOWER OF THE COLONY GATHERED TO DO HONOR TO BARON DES PLANCHES, THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, WHO VISITED THE VILLAGE IN 1905

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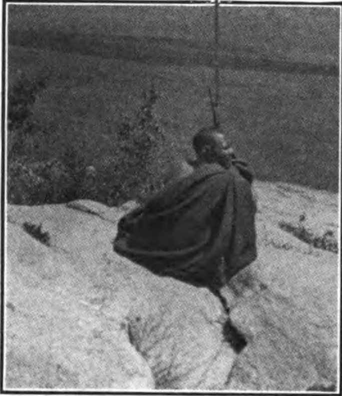

HUNTING WILDEBEEST FROM A BUCKBOARD

AT JUJA, AN AMERICAN ESTATE IN THE MIDST OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WILDERNESS

BY

STEWART EDWARD WHITE

AUTHOR OF "THE BLAZED TRAIL," "THE RULES OF THE GAME," ETC.

MOST people have heard of Juja, the modern dwelling in the heart of an African wilderness, belonging to our own countryman, Mr. W. N. McMillan. If most people are as I was before I saw the place, they have considerable curiosity and no knowledge of what it is and how it looks.

Juja is situated on the top of a high bluff overlooking a river. In all directions are tremendous grass plains. Donya Sabuk — the Mountain of Buffaloes — is the only landmark nearer than the dim mountains beyond the edge of the world; and that is a day's journey away. A rectangle of possibly forty acres has been enclosed on three sides by animal-proof wire fence. The fourth side is the edge of the bluff. Within this enclosure have been planted many trees, now of good size; a pretty garden with abundance of flowers, ornamental shrubs, a sundial, and lawns. In the river bottom land below the bluff is a very extensive vegetable and fruit garden, with cornfields and experimental plantings of rubber and the like. For the use of the people of Juja here are raised a great variety and abundance of vegetables, fruits, and grains.

Before leaving London we had received from McMillan earnest assurances that he kept open house, and that we must take advantage of his hospitality should we happen his way. Therefore, when one of his white-robed Somalis approached us to enquire respectfully as to what we wanted for dinner, we yielded weakly to the temptation and told him. Then we marched to the house and took possession.

And inside — mind you, we were fresh from three months in the wilderness — we found rugs, pictures, wallpaper, a pianola, many books, baths, beautiful white bedrooms with snowy mosquito curtains, electric lights, running water, and above all an atmosphere of homelike comfort. We fell into easy chairs, and seized books and magazines. The Somalis brought us trays with iced and fizzy drinks in thin glasses. When the time came we crossed the veranda in the rear to enter a spacious separate dining room. The table was white with napery, glittering with silver and glass, bright with flowers. We ate leisurely of a well-served course dinner, ending with black coffee, shelled nuts, and candied fruit.

Next day we left all this and continued our march. About a month later, however, we encountered McMillan himself at Nairobi. He insisted on our going back with him, and very soon my companions and I tucked ourselves into a buckboard behind four white Abyssinian mules. McMillan, some Somalis, and Captain Duirs came along in a similar rig. Our driver was a Hottentot half caste from South Africa. He had a flat face, a yellow skin, a quiet manner, and a competent hand. His name was Michael. At his feet crouched a small Kikuyu savage, in blanket, ear ornaments, and all the fixings, armed with a long lashed whip

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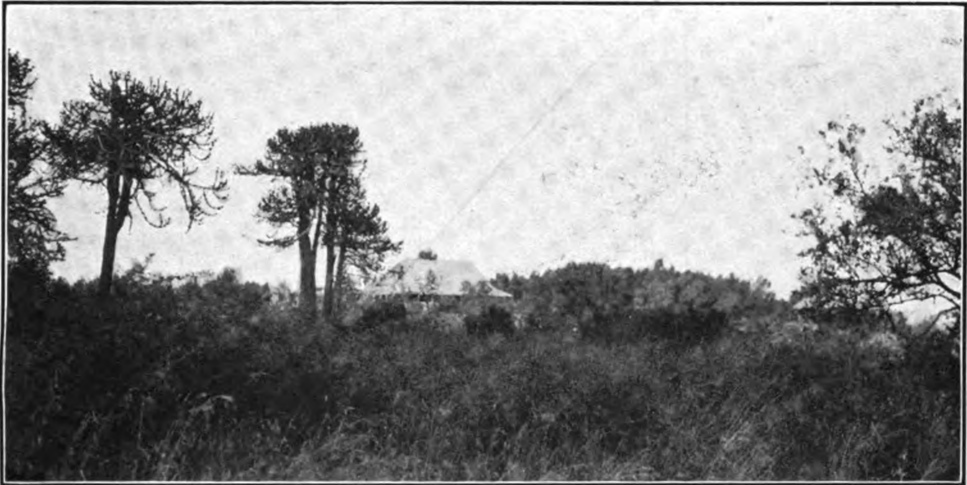
and a raucous voice. At any given moment he was likely to hop out over the moving wheel, run forward, bat the off leading mule, and hop back again, all with the most extraordinary agility. He likewise hurled what sounded like very opprobrious epithets at such natives as did not get out the way quickly enough to suit him. The expression of his face, which was that of a person steeped in woe, never changed.

We rattled out of Nairobi at a great pace, and swung into the Fort Hall Road. This famous thoroughfare, one of the three or four made roads in all East Africa, is about sixty miles long. It is a strategic necessity; but is used by thousands of natives on their way to see the sights of the great metropolis. As during the season there is no water for much of the distance, a great many pay for their curiosity with their lives. The Road skirts the base of the hills, winding in and out of shallow cañons and about the edges of rounded hills. To the right one can see far out across the Athi Plains.

We met an almost unbroken succession of people. There were long pack trains of women, quite cheerful, bent over under the weight of firewood or vegetables, many with babies tucked away in the folds of their garments; mincing, dandified warriors with poodle-dog hair, skewers in their ears, their jewelry brought to a high polish, a fatuous expression of self-satisfaction on their faces, carrying each a section of sugar-cane which they now used as a staff but would later devour for lunch; bearers, under convoy of straight, soldierly, red-sashed Sudanese, transporting Government goods; wild-eyed, staring Shenzis from the forest, with matted hair and goat skin garments, looking ready to bolt aside at the slightest alarm; coveys of marvelous and giggling damsels, their fine grained skin anointed and shining with red oil, strung with beads and shells, very coquettish and sure of their feminine charm; naked small boys marching solemnly like their elders; camel trains from far off Abyssinia or Somaliland under convoy of white clad, turbanned, grave men of beautiful features; donkey *safaris* in charge of dirty, degenerate looking East Indians carrying trade goods to some distant post — all these and many more, going one way or the other, drew one side, at the sight of our white faces, to let us pass.



A MODERN DWELLING IN AN AFRICAN WILDERNESS

AT JUJA, MR. W. N. MCMILLAN'S RANCH, "WHERE HAVE BEEN PLANTED MANY TREES, A PRETTY GARDEN WITH ABUNDANCE OF FLOWERS, ORNAMENTAL SHRUBS, A SUN DIAL AND LAWNS"

At about two o'clock we suddenly turned off from the road, apparently quite at random, down the long, grassy, interminable incline that dipped slowly down and slowly up again over great distances to form the Athi Plains. Along the road, with its endless swarm of humanity, we had seen no game; but

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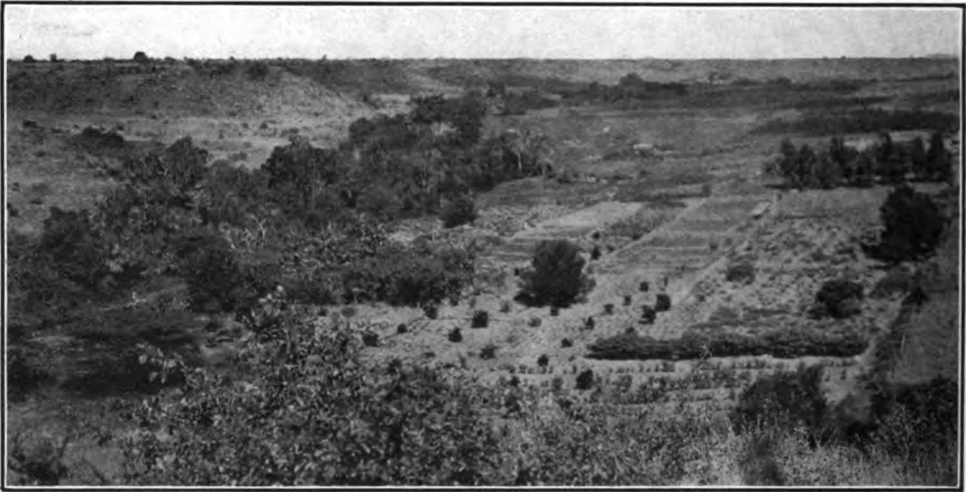
after a half mile it began to appear. We encountered herds of zebra, kongoni, wildebeest, and "Tommies" standing about or grazing, sometimes almost within range from the moving buckboard. After a time we made out the trees and water tower of Juja ahead; and by four o'clock had turned into the avenue of trees. Our approach had been seen. Tea was ready, and a great and hospitable table of bottles, ice, and siphons.

The next morning we inspected the stables, built of stone in a hollow space, like a fort, with box stalls opening directly into the courtyard and screened carefully against the deadly flies. The horses, beautiful creatures, were led forth each by his proud and anxious *syce*. We tried them all, and selected our mounts for the time of our stay. The *syces* were small black men, lean and well formed, accustomed to running afoot wherever their charges went, at walk, lope, or gallop. Thus in a day they covered incredible distances over all sorts of country; but were always at hand to seize the bridle rein when the master wished to dismount. Like the rickshaw runners in Nairobi, they wore their hair clipped close around their bullet heads and seemed to have developed into a small, compact, hard type of their own. They ate and slept with their horses.

Just outside the courtyard of the stables a little barred window had been cut through. Near this were congregated a number of Kikuyu savages wrapped in their blankets, receiving each in turn a portion of cracked corn from a dusty white man behind the bars. They were a solemn, unsmiling, strange type of savage; and they performed all the manual work within the enclosure — squatting on their heels and pulling methodically but slowly at the weeds; digging with their *pangas;* carrying loads to and fro; or solemnly pushing a lawn mower, their blankets wrapped shamelessly about their necks.

Before the store building squatted another group of savages. Perhaps in time one of the lot expected to buy something; or possibly they just sat. Such is the native way.



BELOW THE BLUFF AT JUJA

"IS A VERY EXTENSIVE VEGETABLE AND FRUIT GARDEN, WITH CORNFIELDS AND EXPERIMENTAL PLANTINGS OF RUBBER. IN ALL DIRECTIONS ARE TREMENDOUS GRASS PLAINS"

We went to mail a letter, and found the postmaster to be a gentle voiced, polite little Hindu, who greeted us smilingly. Three times a week such mail as Juja gets comes in via native runner. We saw the latter, a splendid figure, almost naked, loping easily down past the comfortable, airy white man's club house, his little bundle held before him.

The next afternoon the various members of the party decided to do various things. I elected to go out with McMillan while he killed a wildebeest; and I am very

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glad I did. It was a most astonishing performance.

You must imagine us driving out the gate in a buckboard behind four small but lively white Abyssinian mules. In the front seat were Michael, the Hottentot driver, and McMillan's Somali gun-bearer. In the rear seat were McMillan and myself; while a small black *syce* perched precariously behind. Our rifles rested in a sling before us. So we jogged out on the road to Long Juja, examining with a critical eye the herds of game to right and left of us. The latter examined us, apparently, with an eye as critical. Finally, in a herd of zebras, we espied a lone wildebeest.

The wildebeest is the Jekyll and Hyde of the animal kingdom. His usual and familiar habit is that of a heavy, sluggish animal, like our vanished bison. He stands solid and inert, his head down; he plods slowly forward in single file, his horns swinging, each foot planted deliberately. In short, he is the personification of dignity, solid respectability, gravity of demeanor. But then, all of a sudden, at any small interruption, he becomes the giddiest of created beings. Up goes his head and tail; he buck-jumps, cavorts, gambols, kicks up his heels, bounds stiff-legged, and generally performs like an irresponsible infant. To see a whole herd at once of these grave and reverend seigneurs suddenly blow up into such light-headed capers goes far to destroy one's faith in the stability of institutions.

Also the wildebeest is not misnamed. He is a conservative; and he sees no particular reason for allowing his curiosity to interfere with his preconceived beliefs. The latter are distrustful. Therefore he and his females and his young — I should say *small* — depart when one is far away. I say *small*, because I do not believe that any wildebeest is ever young. They do not resemble calves, but are exact replicas of the big ones; just as Niobe's daughters are not childlike, but merely smaller women.

When we caught sight of this lone wildebeest among the zebra, I naturally expected that we would pull up the buckboard, descend, and approach to within some sort of long range. Then we would open fire. Barring luck, the wildebeest would thereupon depart, "wilder and beestier than ever," as John McCutcheon has it. Not at all. Michael, the Hottentot, turned the buckboard off the road, headed toward the distant quarry, and charged at full speed! Over stones we went that sent us feet into the air, down and out of shallow gullies that seemed as though they would jerk the pole from the vehicle, with a grand rattlety-bang, everyone hanging on for his life. I was entirely occupied with the state of my spinal column and the retention of my teeth, but McMillan must have been keeping his eye on the game. One peculiarity of the

STARTING ON THE HUNT

"IN A BUCKBOARD BEHIND FOUR SMALL ABYSSINIAN MULES. IN THE FRONT SEAT WERE MICHAEL THE HOTTENTOT DRIVER, AND MCMILLAN'S SOMALI GUN-BEARER. IN THE REAR SEAT WERE MCMILLAN AND MYSELF"

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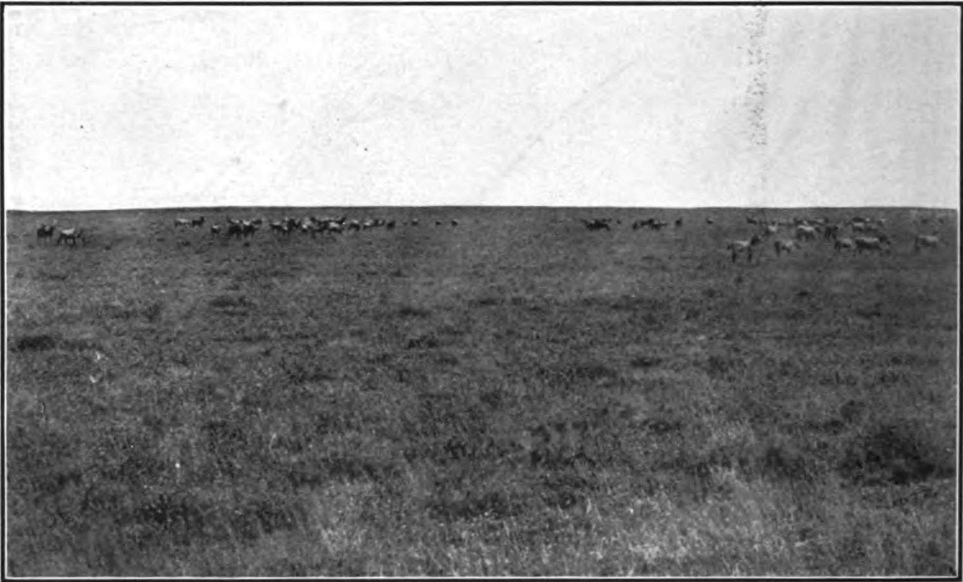
wildebeest is that he cannot see behind him, and another is that he is curious. It would not require a very large bump of curiosity, however, to cause any animal to wonder what all the row was about. There could be no doubt that this animal would sooner or later stop for an instant to look back for the purpose of seeing what was up in jungle-land; and just before doing so he would, for a few steps, slow down from a gallop to a trot. McMillan was watching for this symptom.

"Now!" he yelled, when he saw it.

Instantly Michael threw his weight into the right rein and against the brake. We swerved so violently to the right and stopped so suddenly that I nearly landed on the broad prairies. The manœuvre fetched us up broadside. The small black *syce* — and heavens knows how *he* had managed to hang on — darted to the heads of the leading mules. At the same moment the wildebeest turned, and stopped; but even before he had swung his head, McMillan had fired. It was extraordinary good quick work, the way he picked up the long range from the spurts of dust where the bullets hit. At the third or fourth shot he landed one. Immediately the beast was off again at a tearing run, pursued by a rapid fusillade from the remaining shots. Then, with a violent jerk and a yell, we were off again.

This time, since the animal was wounded, he made for rougher country. And everywhere that wildebeest went we too were sure to go. We hit or shaved boulders that ought to have smashed a wheel, we tore through thick brush regardless. Twice we charged unhesitatingly over apparent precipices. I do not know the name of the manufacturer of the buckboard. If I did, I should certainly recommend it here. Twice more we swerved to our broadside and cut loose the port batteries. Once more McMillan hit. Then, on the fourth "run," we gained perceptibly. The beast was weakening. When he came to a stumbling halt we were not over a hundred yards from him, and McMillan easily brought him down. We had chased him four or five miles, and McMillan had fired nineteen shots, of which two had hit. The rifle practice throughout had been remarkably good, and a treat to watch. Personally, besides the fun of attending the show, I got some mighty good exercise



A HERD OF WILDEBEEST

"THE JEKYLLS AND HYDES OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM — AT FIRST THE PERSONIFICATION OF DIGNITY AND SOLID RESPECTABILITY; THEN, AT ANY SMALL INTERRUPTION, UP GO THEIR HEADS AND TAILS. THEY BUCK-JUMP, CAVORT, AND PERFORM GENERALLY LIKE IRRESPONSIBLE INFANTS"

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"WIRELESS" AND THE "TITANIC"

AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW WITH

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

(INVENTOR OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY)

"IF THERE is one lesson, above all others, to be drawn from the *Titanic's* loss," said Signor Marconi, "it is the necessity, or, at least, the desirability, of having two wireless operators on every ship equipped with wireless apparatus — as almost all passenger ships and many freighters are now equipped. That statement should not require any explanation. The *Titanic* carried two operators, but that was because she carried a large number of first and second cabin passengers and was likely to have a great deal of wireless business of a personal and commercial nature to attend to on that account. So far as she was concerned, it would have made no difference whether she had two operators or only one, after she struck the iceberg that wrecked her. A single operator, even if asleep in his berth, could have been aroused and have sent out the 'C. Q. D.' signal practically as quickly as it actually was sent. But on board the *Carpathia*, there was but one operator, and it was by the merest accident that he received the *Titanic's* signal at all. If he had not lingered at his work long after he was officially off duty, the *Titanic's* boats would not have been picked up for several more hours, for the other ships that got the signal did not reach the scene of the accident as quickly as the *Carpathia*.

"Of course, owners of vessels object to the expense of a second operator when one is sufficient to send out all the calls likely to originate on a given ship. But as a matter, not merely of humanitarianism, but of the mutual protection of all ships, there should be, by some sort of enforceable international agreement, compulsory provision of two operators on every ship having wireless equipment.

"We already have an international agreement governing wireless at sea — the Berlin convention — to which the United States is not yet a party — under which every ship is bound to receive and respond to the 'C. Q. D.' or 'S. O. S.' signals of any other ship of any nation. This convention also governs the transmission of messages between ships and shore stations. Beyond such regulations and those bearing upon possible loss of vessels or of lives, I hardly think it feasible for international agreements to go. It would be unfair to impose and difficult to enforce, for instance, an international agreement requiring ships to receive and relay commercial or press messages.

CONTROL OF AMATEURS

"Another necessity, if wireless telegraphy is to reach its highest possibilities of usefulness, is some sort of governmental regulation and control of amateur experimenters. I do not know how far the United States Government can legally go in that direction, but the system adopted in England and Continental Europe works admirably. There nobody may erect a wireless pole or conduct experiments in wireless without a permit issued by the Government. By the terms of such permits, severe penalties are inflicted for failure to observe all the rules laid down for the government of wireless, for interfering with official or commercial communication or for sending false information. The penalty in England for disclosing the contents of any intercepted message is two years' imprisonment. All my own experimental work is conducted under these licenses, one for each experiment station, and I am bound by the regulations as much as any amateur.

"It would be perfectly feasible to limit amateurs to a given wave-length, that would not interfere with the ordinary commercial or Government instruments. Such

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regulations should also provide against the sending of unauthorized messages by amateurs to the press. The jumble of messages, originating no one knows where, and possibly pieced together by some amateur experimenter out of fragments of authentic messages caught in transmission, which lulled the whole world into a false sense of security after the first announcement of the accident to the *Titanic*, should never be repeated. Yet, of course, any regulations that it may be feasible to adopt should be administered with a liberal hand and not made onerous or restrictive to a degree that might hamper the progress of science by stifling inventive activity.

"The whole field of wireless telegraphy has been so greatly enlarged in recent years and so greatly has its efficiency been increased, that one is justified to-day in taking the broadest possible view of its probable future development and importance as a means of communication. And it must inevitably come at some time under such reasonable regulation as will insure its most beneficial use.

ADVANCE IN NUMBER OF STATIONS

"Recent progress in wireless has not been by any single great step forward, but by a succession of comparatively minute advances. The one great forward step was taken ten years ago, when wireless communication across the Atlantic ocean was established. Since then the advances have been mainly in the progressive improvement of the instruments and the continual increase in the number of stations, both afloat and ashore. The most modern wireless equipment for ships, such as that on the *Titanic*, now has a range, under exceptionally favorable conditions, of 2,000 miles. In fact, messages from ships lying in New York harbor have been received in Europe. Under normal conditions such an equipment as the *Titanic's* has a range of about 400 miles, whereas the average range of the *Carpathia's* equipment, for example, is only about 100 miles. It is only a question of time when the standard equipment for all important ships will equal or exceed in range and power that of the best and largest ships to-day.

"One of the important developments of the future will be the protection of private messages, within certain limitations. Of course, it is necessary that ships at sea shall be able to communicate with each other and with all shore stations freely, at all times. Between purely commercial stations, however, it is becoming possible to guard against the stealing of messages by unauthorized persons. Even if some enterprising individual were to succeed in eluding the vigilance of the Canadian authorities and were to erect a wireless station where the trans-Atlantic press messages nightly transmitted in almost unlimited volume for the American papers could be picked up, they would have their labor for their pains.

"It is safe, in view of recent developments, to predict a very widely extended use of wireless over land in the not far distant future. Already the wireless is being used successfully for overland communication in East Africa, Brazil, Canada, Italy, India, and Spain. Madrid is in communication with many other cities in Spain by wireless. Bombay and Calcutta are centres of extensive inland wireless communication. I expect to see this overland wireless service greatly increased in the next few years, with the result of greatly reducing the cost of communication between distant points; for the installation of wireless systems is vastly cheaper than the cost of erecting poles and stringing wires, to say nothing of the cost of maintaining the latter.

"But far more important than any commercial or utilitarian considerations is the value of the wireless, as demonstrated in the cases of the *Republic* and the *Titanic*, as a means of saving lives at sea. To have contributed, in any degree, to this possibility, is a source of profound gratification. Of course, the wireless cannot bring aid if there are no ships within range that are able to arrive in time to rescue those in danger, but in both the cases I have mentioned, aid was at hand, and the frightful loss of life in the *Titanic* disaster was not the fault of the wireless.

"The need for more powerful equipment and two operators for every ship are the principal wireless lessons to be drawn from the *Titanic* disaster."

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THE MATTER WITH THE MINISTRY

AN APPRAISAL OF THE PROFESSION — THE HUMILIATION OF CHURCH FINANCING — CRITICISM THAT TAKES AWAY SELF-RESPECT

BY

A CLERGYMAN

"NO PREACHER for mine." He was a high-school boy who spoke so fashionably in response to the question, "What are you going to be?" which all boys and some girls have put to them by inquiring and perhaps disinterested friends. "No preacher for mine." He was my son — the son of a preacher. And he said it with an emphasis which betrayed an earnest, if not a deep rooted, dislike of the profession. The mother sympathized with the boy's attitude. I do not blame her. The minister's wife has about as hard a lot as any woman — her story deserves to be told. I felt myself a sympathizer too, though I would not openly acknowledge it before the lad, and do not even now.

Questioning failed to elicit any reasons for this antagonism to the profession that his father has followed for about twenty years. But I suspect that the boy felt most of all that the financial returns were by no means commensurate with the labor involved or with the needs of life. There may have been other facts which stirred in the boy this feeling of revolt and made him determined to fight out life's battles on other lines. I cannot answer for his decision. But I think I know some of the reasons, or rather the features, which make the preaching profession so very unattractive.

THE FINANCIAL ASPECT

I have small patience with much that has been said by men who have left the ministry as to their reasons for so doing. Least of all have I patience with those who say they have given up the profession because it is so poorly paid. It has been my observation that these have not met with any noticeable financial success at anything else. But surely there is no reason why a minister should not be as regularly and well paid as anybody else and it is humiliating when it is not so. The element of super-naturalism which formerly put a clergyman on a level which, if it was not above, was at least quite different from that of other men, no longer exists to any great extent. The thought of the minister as priest is passing and perhaps we have here a suggested explanation. We ministers are constantly reminded — just as if we could ever forget it — that a minister is only a man. And yet, willy-nilly, we are thought of as being in a separate class. The satiric division of the human race into men, women, and ministers is not without its point and significance, distasteful though it be. It seems to come natural to people, to a great many people if not to all, to think and act toward us as though we were different. To me this is offensive, but the fact is there.

It seems to be expected of a minister that he is not in the work for any money consideration. "We don't like to think of our minister as a money maker." "I hate a business minister." "I don't want our minister to be mixed up in business."

These are sentiments that I have often heard expressed by men who were not of the over-godly type. When it turns out that ministers have been caught in the ruin caused by the bankruptcy of a bucket-shop or stock-brokerage concern there at once goes up a chorus of disapproval of the clergy who risked their few hard-saved dollars in an attempt to make a little extra and much needed money. There is no sympathy for these unfortunates, of the cloth but much condemnation. The high-salaried minister — and there

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are only a few such — is looked upon with ill-concealed scorn. We may talk about our salaries being insufficient properly to maintain the self-respect of our families, yet the fact remains that the sentiment of the people is against a money-making ministry. The reasons for this, if not many, are too subtle and deep for portrayal. Possibly it is nothing more than ancient custom. So, under the cirstances, the damning of the ministry as financially degrading and repellant is not the point. I take it that any man entering the ministry must, of necessity, sacrifice any financial aspirations he may have, and he is not a real man if he cannot do it graciously. I notice that some have said that they will have no more of the ministry because the prospect of getting ahead in it is so hopeless. The minister is sure of ending his days in poverty. The same amount of intelligence and energy put into any other work would be more remunerative. The chances for advancement and success are so wretchedly slim and the amount of senseless, inconsiderate, and unmerited criticism is so great — these are some other frequently given reasons as to why men do not become preachers, and why many cease to be.

None of these reasons seem to me to be in any way creditable. I know what it is to have a small salary, and after twenty years of unremitting toil I cannot make both ends meet without trying to pick up a few extra dollars with my pen, and my wife must sometimes turn her scholastic abilities to financial account also. I know what it is to have a salary not only small but desperately irregular. I understand, I think, as well as any man can, that the future in the ministry holds no financial promise. I know, too, what ignorant and bitter criticism is. These things and more of like nature I understand from personal experience. And I have chafed under these facts until I am, not calloused, but positively sore. Still, I am not blind to the fact that pretty much all these same disagreeable things could be said about every other profession and occupation on the face of the earth. What man is not criticised and complained against by ignorant, selfish, bigoted persons? How many in distinctly secular occupations — the business man, the professional man — are not forced to swallow in silence and with pleasant faces many an indignity? Have I not seen storekeepers and others boil with rage and yet "for business reasons" keep a silent tongue and act agreeably! And as to smallness of income, are there not many, not only among the hand-workers but among the brain-workers as well, who do not more than make ends meet? And do not these also hope and strive in vain to attain even a reasonable degree of success? Irregular and uncertain salary? — do I not know many outside of my profession who are driven almost to distraction because the money which is theirs by right does not *come* in and they can't *get* it in?

STRUGGLING FOR A DEAD ISSUE

But there are some features of the ministry which, if not at all peculiar to it, as I have intimated, at least take on a different aspect. Our experience of these things pinches at a little different spot. A shoe is uncomfortable, becomes unwearable, not because it pinches but because it pinches the tenderest spot.

In all parts of the Christian world the ministry is looked upon and spoken of as a decaying institution. Few, I know, are willing to admit that they believe the church and religious organizations are on the down-grade which leads ultimately to extinction. Yet if, as is true, the number of men who enter the ministry is growing smaller each year; if vacant churches are increasing and vacant pews grow in number; if the proportion of church-members to the total population is an ever-declining proportion—and that seems to be the fact; if the intellectual standing of the ministry is becoming lower and the influence of the pulpit less and less; if these facts are true — and there seems to be no escape from them — then verily we must confess, however unwillingly, that the end of the life of the church is not many generations away. That leads to a complicated question. But the facts being in the air — and quite real — the preacher cannot well escape

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feeling that his profession is a decadent one. And no live, hopeful, ambitious man really cares to be a representative of an institution that has run its course. He may argue with himself, very earnestly and honestly, and really bring himself to believe that the church is the one institution which the world cannot afford to let die; that the ministry is the noblest and most blessed work this side of heaven; but he cannot prevent these unfavorable facts from haunting him, asleep and awake.

It doesn't solve the problem to say that we ministers should be willing martyrs to a noble cause; that it is noble and brave to go down with the ship. For, after all, "a live dog is better than a dead lion." There is in man to-day just as strong a spirit to live and sacrifice for a cause as there ever was — when the cause distinctly and clearly has a future. But when we are met at every turn by facts which indicate that ours is a "slowly dying cause," that it plainly has had its day and soon will "cease to be," well — then it is different. We ministers may talk and write about the church just "waking up to its mission," that "the opportunity of the church was never greater," that "the spiritual power of the church was never so strong," and the "call to the church to be the moral leader never so loud and insistent"; we may assure ourselves and one another that we are the most needed workers in the divine vineyard. Yet we cannot get away from the wretched, discouraging feeling that the world — and not the worst part of the world, either — has repudiated us and the institution we are trying to hold together. We may fool ourselves a part of the time but we cannot fool ourselves all the time. And I cannot see how any minister can escape being extremely pessimistic as to the worth of his work when he feels it necessary, as he often does, to advertise conspicuously that the "service to-night will be entirely musical," with perhaps something smaller than a sermonette thrown in; or when he must give up preaching on a Sunday evening and have, instead, an "at home" function in the church, serving refreshments and adding zest to the occasion by something approaching theatricals. There must come into the minister's heart a deep sense of hopelessness when he feels driven to "moving-pictures" to get the people to church, or to have a Sunday evening smoker to get the men together under the sacred roof. A preacher positively cannot feel inspired, or even happy in his work, when driven by the consciousness that the people are getting away from him, and therefore he must resort to the heart-aching, the back-aching job of organizing "men's clubs," "young people's societies" "institutional churches" — all of them perhaps good things, but which surely get nowhere. The departments for "social welfare" which some of the denominations have recently organized and the setting up of a "labor temple" in the metropolis reflect not so much the Church's passion for social service as the desperate situation in which the Church finds itself. The so-called "social awakening" of the Church is not a sign of hopefulness but at bottom a desperate attempt to revivify an institution that seems to be decaying at both ends of the age line. It may seem strange that it should be so, yet so it is. The Church's entrance into "social work" adds to the hopelessness of the ministerial profession. For the minister soon discovers that all these devices do not lead to the prosperity and success, do not produce the results which every man worth his salt wishes to achieve. Through it all a man may carry a bright face and be bright of speech, but deep down is the wish that he could escape from it all.

UNHAPPINESS IN THE MINISTRY

After twenty years I am still in the ministry; but, like so many more of my brethren, not happily so. The minister who feels happy in his work is a very unambitious being and he is capable of eating a great amount of humble pie more graciously than is consistent with self-respecting manhood.

I think I know some other places where the shoe has pinched me hardest. And though I do not speak for others I suspect their feelings are tenderest in much the same spots, if they would only own up to

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the truth. And, be it understood, my ministerial career, while not marked with any noticeable success, has not been unusually thorny.

The worst feature of the financial side of the ministry is seldom referred to. It is the habit which many have of regarding us as objects of charity, though perhaps having more than the average amount of respectability. Gifts are often sent not out of love for us, nor out of appreciation for the work we are doing or trying to do, but out of the general belief that we are so poorly paid as to be almost if not actually in need. Though gifts of money and supplies do come in mighty handy, it hurts when you know these gifts are given in the spirit of charity — just to help the poor parson along — and this when we know we have earned every penny we get ten times over.

Another distressing element in ministerial finances is the manner in which the money is gotten together. Not only does the minister earn several times more than his salary, but the minister's wife and the wives of other men have to work like slaves at all sorts of fairs, suppers, sewing-bees, before the salary is in the church treasury. Now, I submit, it makes a man feel pretty cheap to take the money which women have earned. That is what church fairs mean — hard work, lots of it, by women, and all to get money for the minister. Living on the proceeds of women — distinctly that is not creditable; it is humiliating, it stirs a man to revolt.

And then these good women have to go out and solicit contributions in several kinds, beg, in fact, for what? — for the minister's salary, forsooth. Nor is that the end. Money is often raised in ways that do not bring comfort to the soul of an idealist; and the minister who is not an idealist at heart is neither a help nor a credit to the profession. Euchre parties are held that money may be made, and innumerable lottery devices used which are in spirit if not in fact — usually both — violations of the law of the land. The skill manifested in devising some gambling or lottery scheme which will miss the letter of the anti-gambling and anti-lottery laws is appalling and disgusting when you recall the purpose for which it is done. Tainted money is what they bring. How can a man who is paid with tainted money feel much self-respect? It makes one wish he could get away from it once and for all.

It is hateful and humiliating for a man who aspires to be a moral and spiritual leader to be financed with funds gained in such corrupting ways. And it is likewise humiliating to be forced by the very circumstances of the case to spend hours, days, helping to think up and work out some new-fangled sort of sociable, something odd, something striking, that will get the money out of the pockets into the church treasury. I believe it would be decidedly for the better and that the church would become what it certainly is not now, a fearless and aggressive leader for moral and spiritual betterment, if the minister's income were assured from some permanent, perhaps public, source. I know that the present system of getting church funds is demoralizing all around.

HUMILIATING KINDS OF CRITICISM

All this is bad enough, but there are other things which hurt and humiliate a man fully as much. His position is often at the mercy of chits of girls. A man of culture and experience, and of high worth, must come or go at the bidding of men, women, and children who may be in all respects his inferiors. It was on a train one day that I heard a group of girls, in age about fourteen or sixteen, discussing the call of a minister to the church they happened to be connected with by birth or some other accident, and after much earnest talk back and forth one little miss said, with great wagging of the head, "I sha'n't vote for him." Think of it! Well do I recall instances where a group of disgruntled children — nothing more — have forced the resignation of very worthy ministers. What man cares to submit himself to such indignity? What man of self-respect will consent to have his fitness or unfitness judged by a lot of silly, lightheaded children?

A man — and in spite of the fact that I am a minister I persist in regarding myself as a man — expects to be criticised.

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He can stand criticism. He ought to stand it. It is good for a healthy man; it is better for an unhealthy one. If he doesn't arouse criticism it is a sure sign that he is studiously playing to the prejudices and vanities of his people. When criticism becomes rife it is certain that he has jolted the people out of their self-complacency and is administering something more substantial than predigested food, all which is more than well. Criticism of this sort a man can stand and rejoice in. But I am thinking of the lot of petty criticism which is beneath notice and yet hurts — perhaps its very insignificance hurts, and eventually it stirs the soul to rebellion. The tone of the minister's voice, the fashion of his hair, the gestures he makes, and even the creasing of his trousers, are matters which bring favor or disfavor, usually the latter. I know a man whose chances in a certain prominent church were ruined because he crossed his legs when in the pulpit; and another had his career cut short because some one in the congregation thought that his shirts weren't laundered properly or frequently enough. Then we are condemned if we do not call on this person before we call on that; and if we find one family more companionable than another then there is all sorts of underground trouble. It has been my experience that a minister does not usually suffer much interference or criticism from the great or wealthy members of the church. It is usually the members who seldom help in money or in work who have the most criticisms to offer, and their criticisms are invariably as small and malicious as they are. They are small enough to be ignored, it would seem, but it is their very persistency and littleness that makes them so unbearable. And eventually the poison spreads to others. The worst is that these people are pleasant to your face but pour out their criticisms behind your back. They are the black-hands of the church, the people who try to destroy a man when and where he has no chance of self-defence. I remember once visiting a former parish. Walking along the streets saluting those I knew, I saw a young woman approaching. The face was familiar, I thought, but was not at all sure until she had passed me. I had gone by but a few steps when I suddenly recalled who she was. I turned about quickly and hastened to catch up with her. I apologized for not noticing her before and suggested that she should have spoken to me. "I saw you didn't notice me," she answered with some asperity in her voice, "but I thought I'd just see whether you would pass a poor person without speaking." Had I not turned back just as I did I should have been published among her many friends as a snob. Less than that has sufficed to destroy a minister's work. The petty, unintentional, honest-purposed things in a minister's conduct are often taken up and made over into serious faults and in some instances into evils.

In another instance I had just gone to a new field. One of the men in the parish worked in a grocery store and he also drove around the town delivering goods. I jumped on the wagon one morning and went along, mainly, I think, because I wished to see the town, learn as much of it as I could. It wasn't long before I heard in a roundabout way that some of the good church people were afraid I wasn't dignified enough. I replied by riding around on the delivery wagon oftener perhaps than I would have done. Still, the criticism rankled. Objection has been made because my wife taught school occasionally to earn a little of the money we needed. "It reflects on the church," we were told, "gives the impression that the church can't pay a living salary" — and it couldn't. In looking for a house in a new parish we were warned against taking a house anywhere except in a certain section of the city. To live elsewhere would probably hurt the church; all of which meant we must pay more rent than we could at all afford.

The man who quits the ministry for any or all these reasons never ought to have gone into it. In his heart he knows such excuses are really fraudulent. Any one who refrains from going into the ministry for such reasons is not the man for that or any profession or occupation.

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I have often thought it would be interesting, illuminating, if we could hear why this man gave up the practice of law for something else; why that one gave up the medical profession; why another swung from this business to that. Just why so much should be made of men leaving the ministry, and so little made of the giving up of other professions, is beyond me. Nevertheless, there is a viciousness about petty fault finding of the sort described that hurts not only the dignity of the preacher but the dignity of the church as well.

Criticism of a still more galling kind, and that must be endured in silence, is found in the reasons sometimes given why people leave the church. One person decided to leave the church, or at least not to come again, because I hurt her feelings in speaking disapprovingly of a well known hymn which happened to be a "dear favorite." Another family decided not to "step inside the church again" because I ventured to criticise the literary productions of their political idol. Another took me to task because my sermons made him feel uncomfortable. "What we want," he said, "is a gospel that soothes, and rests, and comforts us." I replied that they had better get somebody else. Still, the criticism was a thorn in the flesh. I always felt it, too, as a gag in my mouth. "I can't come here and hear other persons' ideas criticized," was another reason given. I have known a whole family to quit the church because, in distributing hymn-books at a special service, I was so intent on seeing that the strangers present were supplied, that I overlooked the fact that the family in question was without hymnals. The oversight — for such it was — was construed as a deliberate slight and to get that family back meant profuse apologies and expressions of regret without end and a thousand eloquent assurances that the church couldn't very well get along without them. Another man left the church because I didn't buy my clothing at his store.

To keep peace in the church family we found it necessary on one occasion to employ a woman physician. The results were well for the church, but after nearly twenty years one of us still suffers from that experience. Persons have a right to take exceptions to a minister's preaching and to his conduct. I have enjoyed the criticisms which some have made—but when a minister must eternally ask, not whether what he plans to say is true and needs to be said, but whether Miss This and Mrs. That and Mr. So-and-So will be offended or hurt or discomforted, it becomes too humiliating for a man of honor and self-respect. To be told, not in so many words of course, but in a fashion more eloquent, that unless you please so-and-so and favor so-and-so with your trade your salary will run short — that does not tend to make the ministry attractive.

Who is there to cast a stone at the minister if he loses heart for remaining at his post? Even rats will flee when aware that the ship's career is nearing the end. And it would be strange if man were not prompted by an impulse to get from under a structure that is tottering to its fall. There is nothing safe, nothing glorious nor worth while, in being buried under the ruins even of a sacred building. When the passengers have all departed has not the captain a right to leap?

ENFORCED BOOT-LICKING

There is another phase of the work which in my judgment is most humiliating of all. And in this I give first place to the deceitful, the low-motived, the despicable, the under-handed forms of competition between the churches. If the Church ever was a soul-saving institution it certainly is not that now. It is busy body-snatching. All the churches care for is numbers, numbers, and more numbers. Ministers will (shall I say must) go to any length of perfidy and dishonesty to secure members. They will urgently, persistently press into the membership of their churches persons who publicly deny the doctrines and openly flout every provision of the church's discipline, provided, of course, such persons are socially and financially desirable. Let a new family of some standing move into a community and there is at once a grand scramble among the clergy to "get" the

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newcomer. Each is afraid the other will "get" the prize. And each tries to win by methods which, morally and spiritually considered — which even from a straight business standpoint — are abject and disgraceful. "You will come to our church if you wish to be taken up by the best society," says one. "The most intellectual people in the city go to our church," is another's ground of approach. If the newcomer happens to have a preference it is often brushed aside by these clerical drummers with "O, you don't want to go there, I'm sure. Nobody worth considering ever thinks of going to that place. You belong with us." "Our church is the oldest in the place. All the leading families belong to it. It is interesting, it gives a certain dignity to belong to such an institution," is the talking-point of another. "O yes, I know we have a creed. But no one has to believe it unless he wants to. To tell you the truth, I don't believe it myself any more than you do. When I repeat the creed on Sunday I just put my own interpretation on it. You can do the same. You know I am something of a liberal myself and avoid all controversial matters. I believe in letting everybody believe just as little or just as much as he likes." That is the scheme of another fellow-minister who, on the same day, called on another possible "prize" and who, having scented the theological aroma, deemed it prudent to emphasize the necessity of believing the creed in all its literalness. It is "good-God" or "good-devil" as seems most likely to catch. This competition obtains not only between the clergy of different denominations but also between the clergy of the same faith. Each minister is striving not to make truth and grace abound, but to catch somebody to add to his church, fill a pew, and add to the income.

And what could not be said of the devices used to get children away from one Sunday-school to another? What minister does not from the bottom of his heart hate being forced to try to outdo other Sunday-schools in giving Christmas-trees, Christmas-gifts, picnics, parties, and other schemes which appeal to the cupidity, the pride, the thoughtlessness of children in order to keep the children from being enticed elsewhere? What minister has not in the secret of his heart become disgusted with the whole business when he finds himself obliged to give first place to social fads instead of moral instruction — and all for the purpose of keeping his young folk from being lured away by competing church societies? All this is unbearably offensive to the man who believes that the churches should stand for religious values. Such cut-throat competition makes the whole heart sick. A decent, self-respecting minister becomes ashamed to look himself in the face.

What other profession is quite so subject to the stings and rebuffs of the petty selfishnesses of petty human nature. That children and young people should be lured from one church to another by social functions and worthless amusements and glittering gew-gaws can be passably endured. But that adults should leave the church of their faith in the lurch on purely social grounds is, to say the least, disgusting. I have known parents with growing daughters to leave a small church and go to a larger one of quite different faith because they believed it to be to the social and marital advantage of their daughters. I have known also persons of standing, of repute, I have thought, men and women of whom one would expect better things, to leave the church in which they had been brought up and go to another of the same faith, and only a few short blocks distant, for the simple and sole reason that the church they have moved into is the home of a more fashionable and exclusive set in which they wish to move.

I am not saying that the ministry is the only profession subject to such humiliating experiences. I do not wish to be understood as saying that these features which I have tried to enumerate and illustrate justify a man in leaving the ministry or that they warrant any man staying out of it. I have tried to tell what, in my judgment, are the experiences of my profession which are most unbearable, most intensely humiliating, and which more than anything else drive men out into other professions.

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THE CHANCE DRAMA OF CONVENTIONS

HOW THE DARK HORSE CANDIDATE WINS — CANDIDATES MADE BY A SINGLE SPEECH — HISTORIC INCIDENTS AND PRECEDENTS

BY

CHARLES M. HARVEY

NATIONAL nominating conventions sometimes do astonishing things, such as choosing candidates of whom the people know little or think lightly; a spark, in the electrically charged air of a great crowd of men under racking tension, may presage a thunderbolt that strikes in most unexpected places. Presidential candidates have been made by a phrase; elections have been lost by a rival's dramatic coup. Who will leave the convention doors at Baltimore and Chicago, this month, to go before the people? Here are some of the strange mischances that have upset the calculations of shrewd politicians of the past:

AN ANNEXATION INTRIGUE

"Now we'll blow Van out of the water," exclaimed Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, after he, Cave Johnson, and other Southern opponents of Van Buren had, in 1843, obtained a letter from Jackson (then in retirement at the Hermitage, and who was ignorant of the plot against his friend) urging Texas annexation. They planned to publish this letter just before the Democratic national convention of 1844, in which Van Buren was to have a long lead for the nomination at the outset. While in the presidency, Van Buren opposed Texas annexation, partly because he was unwilling to extend the area of slavery, but chiefly because it would bring war with Mexico. He still opposed it, and his Democratic enemies knew it.

One of the conspirators, William H. Hammet, a Mississippi Congressman, backed by some of the friends of Buchanan and Cass, who also sought the nomination, drew a letter from Van Buren a month before the convention, in which his position was outlined. Hammet gave this to the newspapers. As annexation by that time had become the paramount issue in the South, his enemies rallied against him all the uninstructed Southern delegates, and some of the instructed.

The next step in the conspiracy came in the convention when one of Van Buren's enemies moved that "the rules of 1832" should govern nominations. This meant the two thirds vote requirement, which had prevailed from 1832 onward, but which did not affect the result, as Jackson in 1832 and Van Buren in 1836 and 1840 had no opposition for the candidacy. In 1844 that rule was brought forward to defeat Van Buren. In an impassioned speech the leader of the Van Buren forces in the convention, Benjamin F. Butler, Jackson's old attorney general, asked the delegates if they were aware that this rule would "place the majority at the mercy of the minority?" Marcus Morton, another of the ex-president's supporters, denounced it as "unfair and undemocratic." Nevertheless, by the aid of many delegates committed to Buchanan and Cass, the two thirds rule carried.

"You have voted on Van Buren instead of on the rules of 1832," shouted Daniel S. Dickinson of New York. He was right. While Van Buren obtained a majority on the first ballot, and thus would have been nominated had that been a Whig or a Republican convention, he fell back steadily until defeat became inevitable.

THE FIRST DARK HORSE NOMINATION

Another sensation came when a Virginia delegate proposed James K. Polk as a "pure, whole-hogged Democrat," and a

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"friend of annexation," and he received 44 votes. That was the eighth ballot. Confronted with this new portent, Butler withdrew Van Buren's name, all the other aspirants subsided, and the first presidential dark horse made his advent.

"Polk! Great God, what a nomination!" wrote Governor Robert P. Letcher to Buchanan.

The issue which defeated Van Buren for the candidacy overthrew Henry Clay at the polls. Receiving a unanimous nomination in the Whig convention in compensation for his betrayal four years earlier, he was baited by some Southern Whigs into making concessions to slavery on the Texas question in letters which were intended for Southern circulation, but which quickly found their way into Northern papers.

"This makes our work here useless. Our cause is lost!" exclaimed Joshua R. Giddings to Cassius M. Clay, as a paper containing the candidate's latest surrender was placed in his hands. This was in Cleveland on the morning of the day in which the greatest Whig mass meeting of the campaign was to take place in that social capital of the Western Reserve, a radiating centre of abolition sentiment, and these two were to be the star orators of the occasion. Giddings's forecast was correct. Enough anti-slavery Whigs in the decisive state of New York went over to Birney, the abolition candidate, to give that state and the presidency to Polk.

A BIG FIELD AND A DARK HORSE

When, on the forty-ninth ballot in the Democratic convention in 1852, North Carolina started the drift toward Pierce, who had not been brought into the list of aspirants until Virginia gave him a few votes on the thirty-fifth ballot, and who was not thought of as a serious possibility, consternation seized the friends of Marcy, Polk's old secretary of war, who was leading in the vote, with Cass, Buchanan, and Douglas distanced. Horatio Seymour, Marcy's manager, made vain efforts to stay the tide which suddenly surged toward the New Hampshire man, and he, the second dark horse, carried off the prize.

It was a tense moment in the longest and most convulsive national convention that ever met — the Democratic assemblage which opened in Charleston on Monday, April 23, 1860 — when, after several days of vain effort to reach an agreement on a declaration of principles for the campaign, two platforms, widely divergent on the dominant issue of the day, were reported, between which the convention was called upon to make a choice. That which was put forward by the Southern element aided by California and Oregon, which were swung to the Southern side by Buchanan's Federal officeholders, declared that neither Congress nor the territorial Legislature had the power to prevent slavery from entering a territory, or to abolish it while there. That of the Northern section of the party, which had Douglas for its presidential favorite, proposed to leave the matter to the Supreme Court, pledging itself to abide by that tribunal's decision. But even with Buchanan, who hated Douglas, against them, the Northern delegates had a majority of the convention, and the South knew it.

Amid thunderous cheers by the men in the galleries and the wild waving of handkerchiefs by the women, the South's most accomplished orator, William L. Yancey of Alabama, stepped forward to state that section's demands.

"We of the South are in the minority in the convention, as we have been taunted to-day. In the development of the country the Northwest has grown to the proportions of a giant people. You men of the North say that slavery does not exist by the law of nature or the law of God, but only by the law of the State, and that it is wicked, but that you are not to blame for it. That's your position, but I tell you that your position is wrong. If you had said that slavery is right, and ought to live and spread, you would have triumphed, and abolition would have died in your midst. But you have gone down before the enemy in your own home. He has his foot upon your neck. When I was a schoolboy in the North abolitionists were pelted with rotten eggs. To-day the abolitionists have spread out into three bands — the Black Republicans, the Free Soilers, and Douglas's Squatter Sovereignty men — all united in declaring that

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slavery is wicked. That's the cause of all the discord which afflicts the country to-day. And you, Northern Democrats, are responsible for it."

Springing from his seat George E. Pugh of Ohio, Douglas's lieutenant in the Senate, and the leader of the Douglas forces in the convention, exclaimed: "Thank God, a bold and honest man has at last told us what the South demands. You want us to say that slavery is right, and ought to be extended. But you mistake us. We will never do that. We raise no hand against it, for it was here before any of us was born, but I warn you, men of the South, that slavery is wrong, wickedly and eternally wrong."

Uproar ensued, which lasted to and through Saturday, and the vote on the platforms did not take place till Monday, the 30th — the second Monday of the convention — when the Douglas declaration was adopted.

Then came the climax. Voicing a protest against the action of the conventions and declaring that their constituents instructed them to refuse recognition of squatter sovereignty, Walker of Alabama and the rest of the delegates of his state left the hall. Most of the other Southern delegations followed, one member from each state making a short speech telling why they went out. That of Glenn, Mississippi's representative, was thrilling.

"Gentlemen of the North," said Glenn, in a voice trembling with emotion, speaking for the Mississippi delegation, "as you refuse us the protection which we ask, it is right that we should part. Go your way and we will go ours. The South leaves you, not like Hagar, friendless and alone, but I tell you here that in less than sixty days you will find a united South standing shoulder to shoulder in defence of its rights under the constitution."

The irrepressible conflict had struck the Democratic party. That was the first act in the drama of secession. With its dividing line along the Mason and Dixon boundary, each element of the party at Baltimore a few weeks later set up a separate ticket, the Northern headed by Douglas and the Southern by Breckinridge.

"In less than twelve months," said Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, "we shall be in the midst of a bloody war. What is to become of us then, God only knows."

LINCOLN AGAINST SEWARD

Before the fragments of the Democracy met in Baltimore, the Republicans, now confident of victory, gathered in the Wigwam at Chicago in the first national convention ever held in that city.

"Sir, I take the liberty to name as a candidate for President of the United States, William H. Seward," said William M. Evarts of New York.

"On behalf of the delegation from Illinois I put in nomination, for president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln." It was Norman B. Judd of Illinois who said this.

This formula was repeated on behalf of Chase, Cameron, Bates, and the other aspirants. The issue — the determination to preserve the territories for freedom, and to prevent the creation of any more slave states — was the most momentous which ever confronted the country, and the delegates were in no mood to use superfluous words.

With Seward leading, but with Lincoln rapidly closing the gap, the avalanche came on the third ballot. The thundering of the cannon on the roof of the Wigwam proclaiming the victory of the favorite son of Illinois and the West was drowned by the tumultuous applause in the hall and by the yells of the populace in the streets.

At that moment, 800 miles to the eastward, there was a widely different scene. Cayuga County had poured itself into Auburn, Seward's home town, and an immense throng gathered in his grounds and on the streets near by to acclaim their distinguished fellow citizen. Democrats were there as well as Republicans. On the porch of his house, surrounded by many of his immediate friends, sat Seward, calm and confident. At their halyards flags tugged for permission to rise. Cannon, loaded, awaited the word from Thurlow Weed, Seward's manager at Chicago, which would permit them to proclaim the expected glad tidings.

Dashing down the street, a horseman

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pulled up at Seward's house and handed him a telegram of the first ballot — "Seward 173, Lincoln 102." Tumultuous cheers greeted it as it was read to the great concourse. Carried by the same messenger a little later was the second ballot — "Seward 184, Lincoln 181."

"I shall be nominated on the next ballot," said Seward.

Intense emotion swayed the throng as it awaited the final word from Weed. A vast silence seized it as the messenger galloped down with the fateful missive. "Lincoln nominated. T. W."

The man who, during every waking hour since Fremont's defeat in 1856, had been expecting the candidacy of 1860, and who, in the minds of Democratic as well as Republican leaders, figured in the rôle of his party's standard bearer in that year, passed into the house. Flags were furled. The cannon, voiceless, rolled away, Cayuga County silently dispersed, and the curtain fell on as notable a tragedy as American politics has seen.

A CONCILIATION THAT DEFEATED BLAINE

"This is a grand year; a year filled with recollections of the Revolution; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for a man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor."

The convention hall in Cincinnati on that June day of 1876, rocked with the applause which greeted Col. Robert G. Ingersoll's tribute to Blaine. Far in the lead on several ballots, Blaine was beaten when all his rivals — Morton of Indiana, Bristow of Kentucky, Conkling of New York, and others — concentrated on Hayes.

Standing on a reporters' table, and quoting a verse from "Miles O'Reilly," Roscoe Conkling made this appeal to the Chicago convention of 1880:

> "If you ask what state he hails from
> Our sole reply shall be
> He hails from Appomattox
> And its famous apple tree."

"I rise in behalf of the state of New York to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us will be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide for years to come whether the country will be Republican or Cossack. The need of the hour is a candidate who can carry doubtful states, North and South; and believing that he, more surely than any other man can do this, New York presents the name of Ulysses S. Grant."

Wild enthusiasm, manifesting itself in yells, cheers, song, lasting many minutes, drowned the voice of the speaker, and brought all the proceedings to a halt. When he had finished, a calmer note sounded through the convention hall.

"I have seen the sea lashed into a fury and tossed into a spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But it is not the billows but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. Not here in this brilliant circle, where 15,000 men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the republic to be decreed; not here where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party; but by 4,000,000 Republican firesides, with the calm thoughts inspired by the love of home and country, with the history of the past and the hopes of the future with them — there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not here in Chicago in the heat of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and the melancholy days of November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night."

This was Garfield presenting John Sherman for the candidacy in the same convention, but in the dead-lock between

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Grant and Blaine, in which Conkling and his Tenth Legion, the 306, went down to defeat. The speech nominated Garfield instead of Sherman.

"They have nominated Garfield. Now let them elect him," was Conkling's sullen remark, as he left Chicago without waiting for the close of the proceedings.

Dismay seized Garfield when the Republicans were beaten in the state election in Maine early in September, indicating that the tide was running against them throughout the country. Then Arthur, Garfield's running mate on the ticket, appealed to his personal friends Grant and Conkling, who had remained out of the canvass until then, to go to the rescue of their party. Grant's consent was easily obtained, but Conkling's came only after hard persuasion by both Grant and Arthur. At a few big meetings in Ohio and Indiana, then October states, Grant presided and made short but effective talks and Conkling made long and eloquent addresses. The tide was turned, those states were carried by the Republicans, and Garfield was elected in November, though by a perilously narrow margin.

"Conkling, you have saved me. Whatever man can do for man, that will I do for you."

This was Garfield's greeting, at his home in Mentor, O., to Conkling, just after Conkling and Grant had entered the canvass in Ohio. Garfield kept this pledge by appointing William H. Robertson, Conkling's personal enemy, to the collectorship of the port of New York, the most important Federal post in Conkling's state.

Then came the deluge. Conkling and Platt resigned from the Senate; they were defeated when seeking reëlection and "vindication"; Garfield was assassinated by the lunatic Guiteau; the Republican party was split, Cleveland carried New York for governor in 1882 by a plurality of 193,000 votes over Folger, the personal friend of Conkling and Arthur's secretary of the treasury; and Blaine was defeated by Cleveland for the presidency in 1884 — the first Democrat who was sent to the White House since 1856.

The Democratic Convention of 1896 was startled into electing a candidate at the first sound of his ringing voice. His advent was unheralded.

A SPEECH THAT MADE A CANDIDATE

"I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen (Senator David B. Hill of New York, Senator William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, and Ex-Gov. William E. Russell of Massachusetts) to whom you have listened, if this were a measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest person in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty — the cause of humanity. It is the issue of 1776 over again. If they (the opponents of free silver coinage) dare to come in the open field and defend the gold standard, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and of the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'"

The man who went to that convention as a member of a contesting delegation (which was shut out by the national committee but which was seated by the convention), and who had never been heard of by a fifth of the delegates up to that time, saw, in the next twenty-four hours, his name spread by thousands of newspapers before 70,000,000 people. With what his hearers thought was the eloquence of Tiberius Gracchus and the daring of Graham of Claverhouse, William J. Bryan flung his challenge to the enemies of silver, swept the convention on the fifth ballot — and would have swept it on the first if the ballotting had taken place immediately after he spoke — led the most tumultuous campaign since that of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," in 1840, and made the fight so hot for the Republicans and their Gold Democratic supporters that the result was doubtful until the last ballot was counted.

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WHY BACK TO THE LAND?

(The World's Work publishes every month an article about getting on the land, and the Land Department will put any of its readers in touch with reliable sources of information about land anywhere in the United States.)

THE farm journals have records of hundreds and hundreds of farmers who move, usually short distances. Much, if not most of the farmer's profits during the last decade or two have been made in the increase in the value of his land, and to "cash this in" he has to move to cheaper land. But this moving is not "back-to-the-land." The back-to-the-land movement is a movement of people out of the cities. Ask the farmer about it and he will shake his head. But even the most pessimistic farmer realizes that it is a better time to go on the land now than it has been at any previous time. And in return for small income and hard labor the man who goes back to the land recovers his independence and secures a chance to work irrespective of hard times and strikes.

Those young men who go out of the cities to the land as their first job are no worse handicapped in farming than they would have been in any other vocation. They know little of any occupation.

Those who have done other things and who later in life go back to the farm are at a disadvantage, but many of them make good — more of them in the fruit business, on irrigated lands, or by truck gardening, perhaps, than on the farms that grow staple crops. And there is a vast volume of testimony from American men who have gone back from the cities to the country, of independence and prosperity found on the land. Besides these, the Swedes still go to the Northwest and till the soil and grow prosperous. In a little town in New York it is a habit of the bankers to lend a newly arrived Hollander money enough to buy land; because for years every Hollander that has come has made money; and in various places Italian colonies have been successfully founded.

There is a very real economic reason for the return to the land. Farm products fetch more than ever before. In 1899 an average acre of corn would buy 164 yards of calico and in 1910 it would purchase 196 yards; it would buy 25 rods of wire fence in 1899 and 38 in 1910: it would buy 13 pair of overalls in 1899 and 16 pair in 1910. An acre of wheat and an acre of cotton have a similarly increased purchasing power.

The increasing cost of living bears harder on town folk than on country folk. The salaried class feel it more keenly than the farmers. The farmer is getting better off — the city man is merely holding his own, if he is doing that.

In the great exodus from the farm to the city were many who failed in the city and had to go back where they came from. In the exodus from the city to the farm there will be many who will fail and drift back to the city. But there is a sounder basis for the back-to-the-land movement for city men with money, for city men without cash who are willing to work on others' farms, and for immigrants who are willing to work than there ever was before.

So long as there was free land, farming was abnormally stimulated. It was overdone. We fed Europe. Farm products brought low prices. The farmer was not prosperous. When the free land gave out, the pressure of population began to bring higher prices for farm products. Our agricultural products fell off. The price of land went up. The farmer not only made this increase in land value but he is getting a constantly rising scale of prices for his products. That is to say, the tendency of these prices is distinctly upward. As they rise, the rising cost of living hits the city folk harder.

Therefore, as the era of free land formerly over-stimulated agriculture, the pressure of population now swings the pendulum the other way. The most prosperous era of American farming is before us.

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

THE FACTORY SITE COMMISSION OF BALTIMORE

BY

WILLIAM TALBOTT CHILDS

(DEPUTY CITY COMPTROLLER OF BALTIMORE)

AN ORDINANCE passed in April, 1911, created the Factory Site Commission of Baltimore, to consist of one representative of each of the following leading organizations and corporations: Chamber of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Travelers and Merchants' Association, Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Federation of Labor, Builders' Exchange, Real Estate Exchange, Pennsylvania Railroad, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Western Maryland Railroad.

This Commission began work in June, 1911, and already it has achieved some valuable results. For example: in 1845, the City of Baltimore acquired for $2,500, for marine hospital purposes, a tract of about 139 acres of land located just outside the city limits on deep water. The original plans were long since abandoned and by the dumping of old brick after the great Baltimore conflagration of 1904, as well as by the subsequent dumping of refuse by the Street Cleaning Department of the city, the area of the tract has been increased to 177 acres. Altogether, since the city acquired the property, about $86,000 has been spent to bulkhead the entire water front and make possible the increased area as well as to provide for deep water at the land edge without expensive dredging. The City Comptroller had the Topographical Survey Commission lay off the property in lots and streets and the secretary of the Factory Site Commission then succeeded in selling seven acres of the tract at $500 an acre to a concern that manufactures concrete scows. Since that time, seventy-three acres more have been leased on 99-year leases to manufacturing concerns, making a total of eighty acres disposed of within eight months. The consideration for the total sales was $41,511, or its equivalent in rents at 6 per cent., and, at this rate, by the time all the lots have been disposed of, the city will have come out even on the property, notwithstanding the $86,000 it has spent to bulkhead the waterfront.

The leases for lots of this tract of land are for ninety-nine years, renewable forever, and redeemable at any time for a sum of money equal to the capitalization of the rent reserved, at 6 per cent.

An even more interesting work of the Factory Site Commission is its effort to make sure that all unoccupied city property shall produce revenue — land and buildings that the city will no longer require for municipal purposes will be offered for sale, and, if not sold, for lease.

The Commission found that an old truck house, abandoned by the Fire Department several years ago, had been acquired by the City in 1880 for $9,500 and to-day is appraised at $7,250, and yet it has remained idle for several years. Yet people had passed the property every day who might have purchased or leased it if they had thought the city would dispose of it. The City Comptroller recently had "For Rent" and "For Sale" signs put up on this particular piece of property and in less than thirty days twelve offers were made for its lease or sale.

Again, one of the municipal markets, built at an expenditure of more than $600,000 four years ago, has not been a paying investment. One section of this market was not rented. The Comptroller had signs put upon the property, announcing that it was for rent or sale and that improvements would be made to suit tenant. People were soon scrambling for the property and in less than thirty days it was profitably leased.

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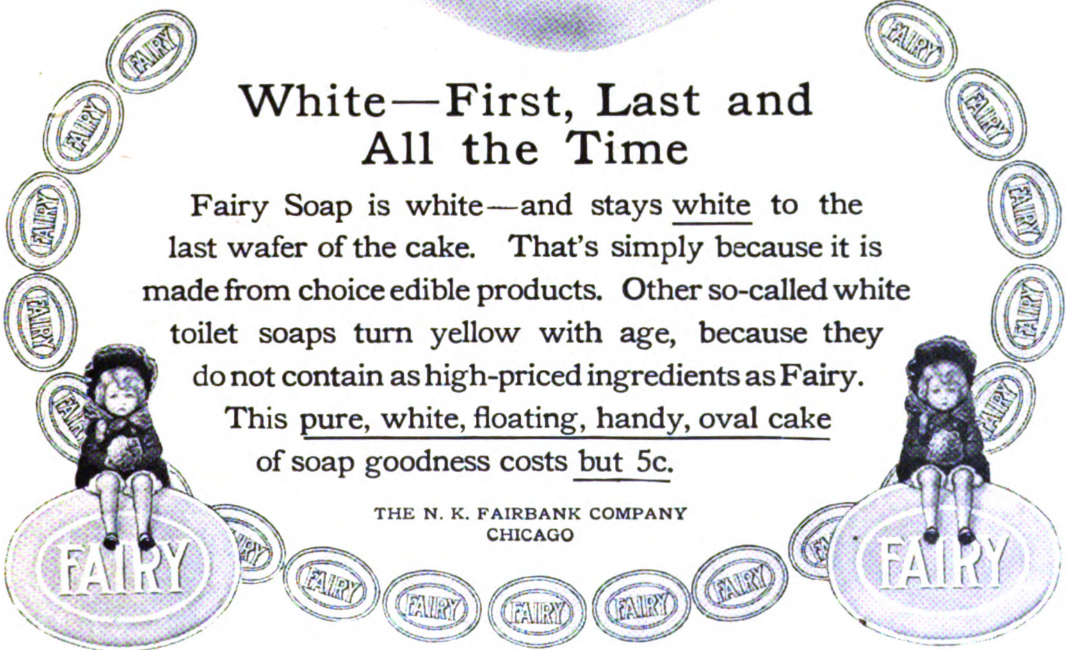

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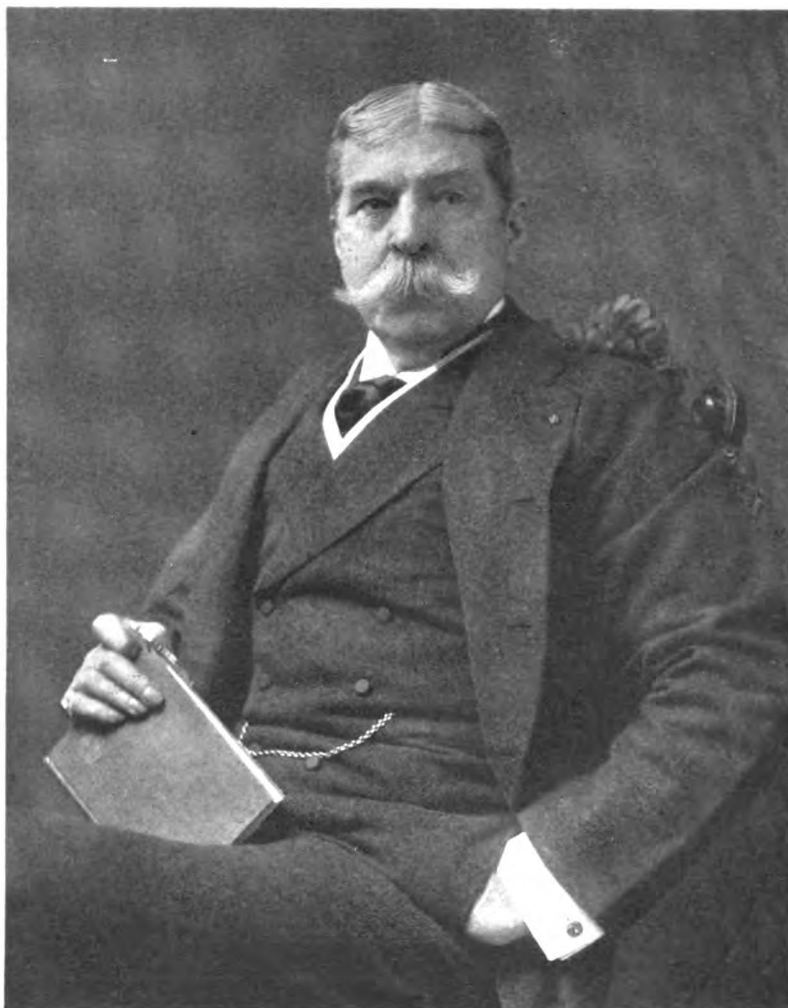

MR. F. HOPKINSON SMITH

ARTIST, NOVELIST, STORY-TELLER, AND BUILDER OF LIGHTHOUSES, WHOSE RIPENED ART FINDS ITS LATEST EXPRESSION IN INTERPRETATIVE CHARCOAL SKETCHES OF OLD AND NEW NEW YORK

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THE

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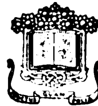

VOLUME XXIV NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THERE are several ragged and ugly political things that ought to be forever condemned at this year's election.

One of them is the disgraceful use of money even in primary campaigns. The publicity that a national law and some state laws now require has so far been only partly successful. A bought primary is a double crime.

Another is the old scandal of Republican patronage in the Southern States. Until the party rid itself of the disgrace of Southern delegates to its national conventions (bought by money, or by patronage, or by promises), the party and Southern political character will continue to degrade our national life. The subject smells to heaven.

Another is the degradation of the Presidential office such as we have witnessed at the hands of a President and of a former President. There ought to be a way whereby the conscience and the self-respect of the nation may be unmistakably heard this year in condemnation of these things.

All these are bad methods — degrading methods. There are also two large subjects of national policy — two big principles — that the election ought to throw some decisive light on. No large question of principle had a fair hearing during the period of personal noise that preceded the conventions.

The most pressing big subject, of course, is the tariff. At the last Congressional election the people voted unmistakably for a downward revision. They have not yet got it. Another such vote is necessary. If this subject be obscured at the election by personal and mere party wrangles, we shall make little real progress by this year's contest. In fact, personal wrangling has so far played a hinderingly conspicuous part in the campaign to the loss of sober thinking and sane action.

The other great principle that the voice of the nation ought to be heard on is the governmental relation to business, especially to banking and the currency; but there seems small chance that this will happen. If the people at the coming general election, at which incidentally we choose a President, should give a decisive command about the tariff and about the Government's relation to business, we should be paid for all the trouble and interruption of the summer.

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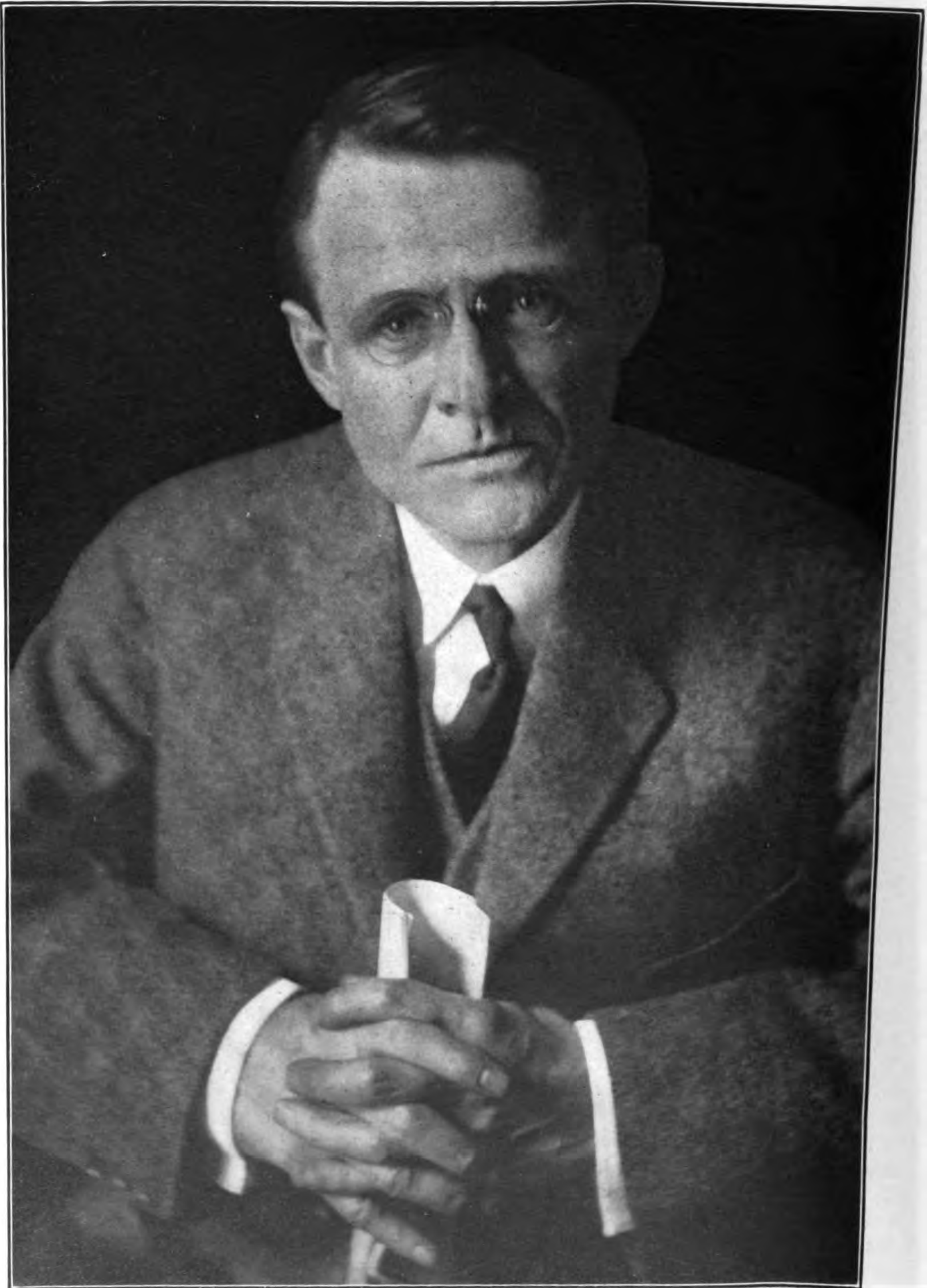

MR. FREDERIC C. HOWE

DIRECTOR OF THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK, WHERE HE RECENTLY SUCCEEDED THE LATE CHARLES SPRAGUE SMITH IN PROVIDING POPULAR EDUCATION IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE AND A FORUM FOR DISCUSSING THESE SUBJECTS

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PRESIDENT BRUCE R. PAYNE

OF THE GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS AT NASHVILLE, TENN., TO WHICH HE WAS RECENTLY CALLED TO DIRECT THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERS FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH

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MR. CLIFFORD BARNES

WHOSE SUNDAY EVENING CLUB IN CHICAGO'S BUSINESS DISTRICT IS ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST EARNEST CONGREGATIONS IN THE WORLD AND IS COMPOSED PRINCIPALLY OF MEN

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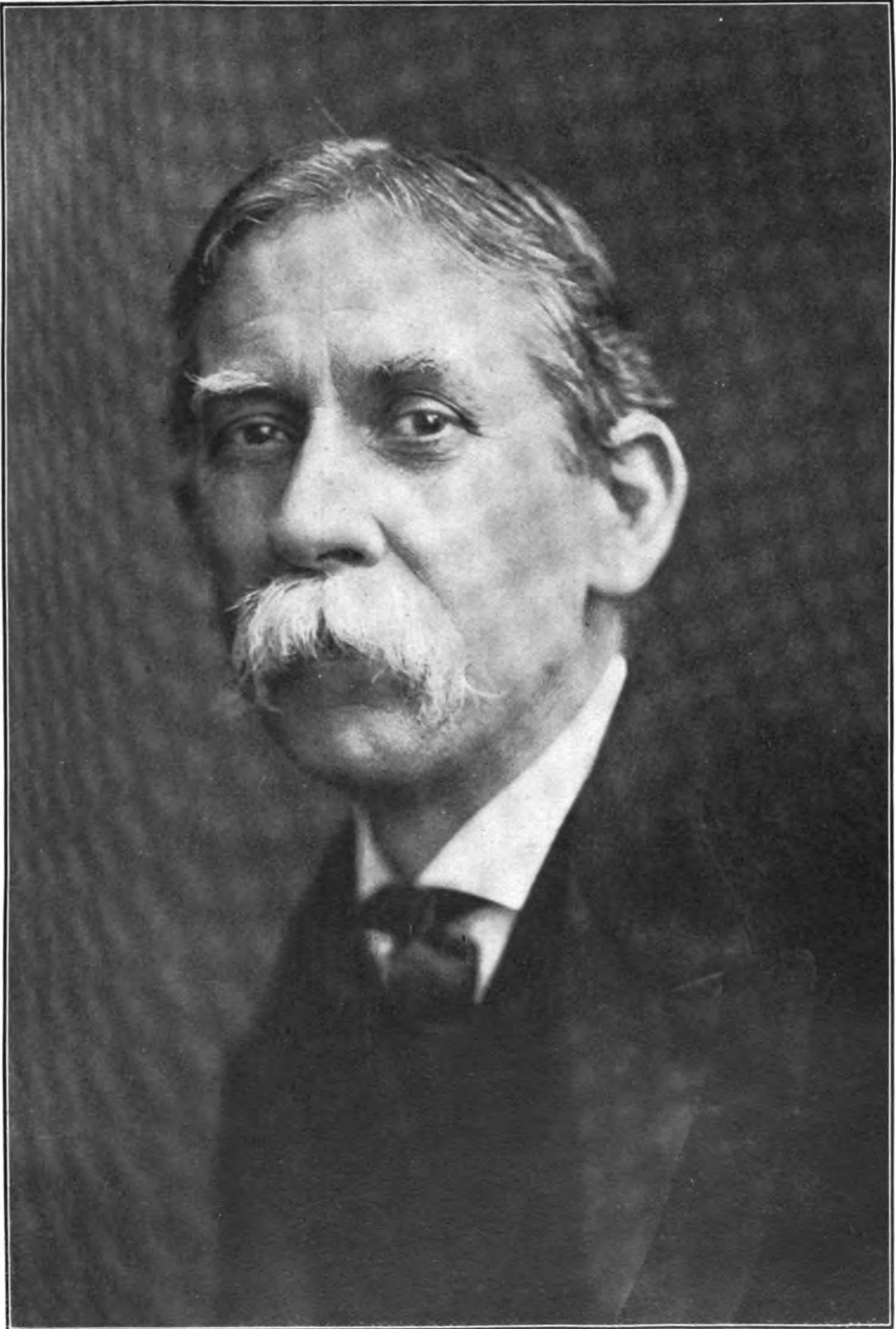

MR. TALCOTT WILLIAMS

WHO, AS THE FIRST HEAD OF THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, WILL SHAPE THE CHARACTER OF A MOST INTERESTING EXPERIMENT IN PRACTICAL EDUCATION

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VICE-PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER OF THE LAND SHOW WHICH WILL BE HELD IN NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 15TH TO DECEMBER 2ND, AND AT WHICH REPRESENTATIVE AGRICULTURISTS FROM ALL PARTS OF AMERICA WILL BE PRESENT

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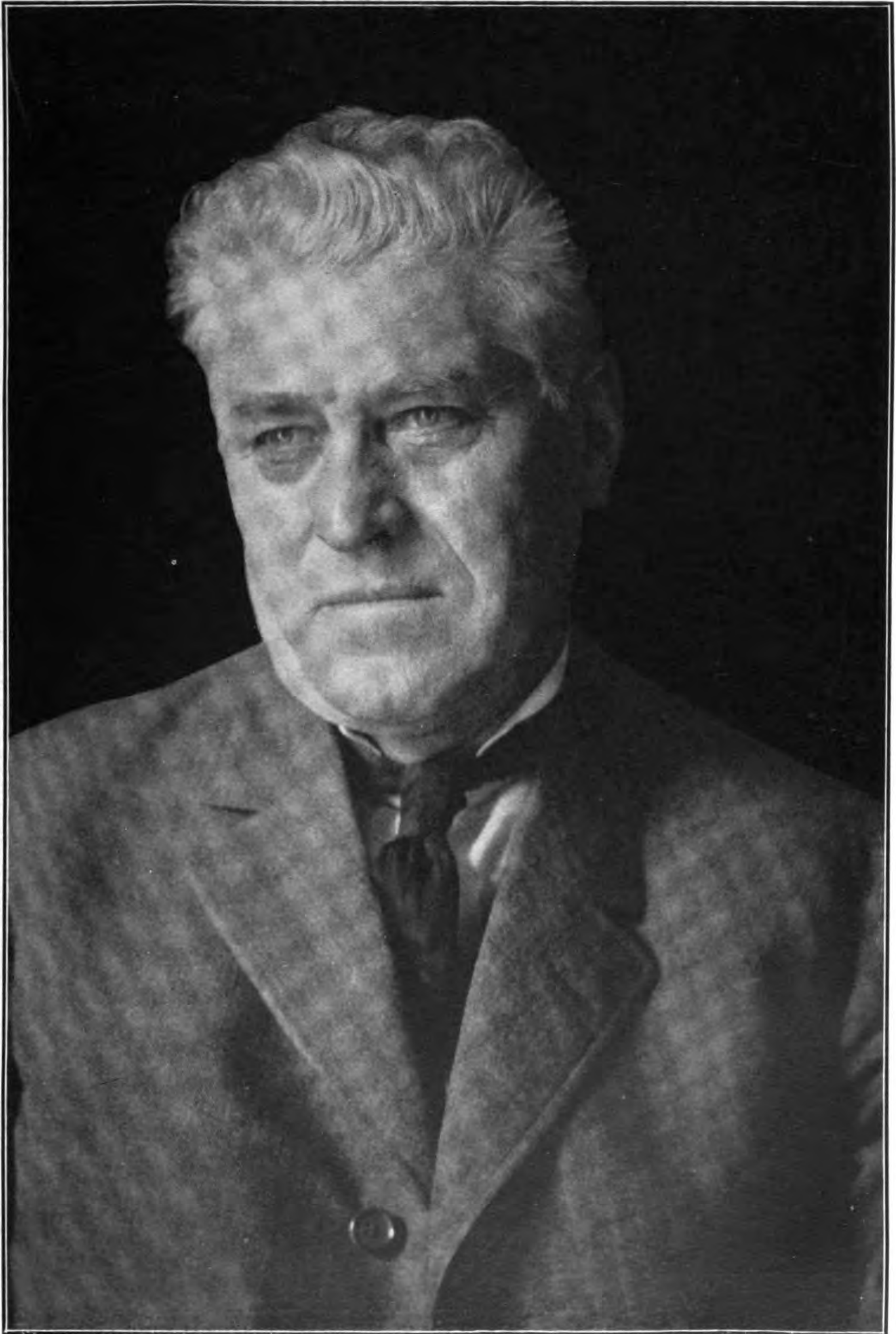

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ONE OF THE FOREMOST GROWERS OF POTATOES IN THE WORLD, AUTHOR OF "THE POTATO BOOK," AND A PIONEER OF THE HIGHER AGRICULTURE THAT IS POWERFULLY STIMULATING THE MOVEMENT TO THE SOIL

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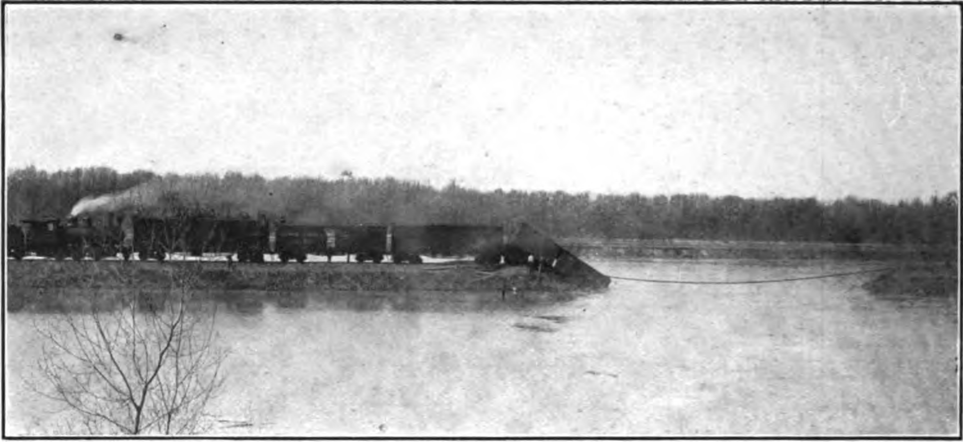

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AN EFFORT TO STAY THE WATERS

DUMPING BOX CARS INTO A GAP IN THE LEVEE

THE RAILROADS' BATTLE WITH THE MISSISSIPPI

MR. M. O. LEIGHTON, CHIEF HYDROGRAPHER OF THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, ESTIMATES THAT THE RAILROADS LOST, IN THE NINE YEARS, OF 1900—1908, MORE THAN $85,000,000 IN DAMAGE TO TRACKS AND ROLLING STOCK, INTERRUPTION OF TRAFFIC, AND LOSS OF FREIGHT AND PASSENGER BUSINESS; AND THAT THE GENERAL PROPERTY LOSS OF ALL KINDS WAS NINE TIMES AS GREAT, MAKING THE TOTAL LOSS TO THE NATION PROBABLY MORE THAN $1,000,000,000 IN THE LAST TWELVE YEARS. THE RECENT FLOOD WAS THE WORST IN THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

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FLOOD REFUGEES

WAITING IN IMPROVISED TENTS FOR THE WATERS TO SUBSIDE

THE FLOOD'S HARVEST OF HOMES

THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND ESPECIALLY OF THE NEGROES IS INDEFINITELY POSTPONED SO LONG AS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER ANNUALLY DESTROYS MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF FARM CROPS, BUILDINGS, STOCK, AND IMPLEMENTS; INTERRUPTS RAILROAD COMMUNICATION; AND DESTROYS ALL SENSE OF SECURITY IN THE PURSUIT OF THE REWARDS OF INDUSTRY BY FILLING EVERY SPRING MONTH WITH DREAD THAT FAMILIES MAY BE COMPELLED AT ANY HOUR OF THE DAY OR NIGHT TO ADOPT SUCH MEANS AS THESE TO SAVE THEIR PROPERTY AND EVEN THEIR LIVES

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RAVAGES OF THE MISSISSIPPI FLOODS

AN ANNUAL AND COMPLETE DISORGANIZATION OF CIVILIZED LIFE IN ONE OF THE MOST FERTILE SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, CHARGEABLE DIRECTLY TO RECKLESS DEFORESTATION AND TO PETTY "PORK BARREL" POLITICS IN CONGRESS

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THE SUFFRAGE PARADE IN NEW YORK, MAY 4TH

IN WHICH 12,000 MARCHERS GAVE TO MORE THAN 100,000 SPECTATORS AND THE COUNTRY AT LARGE A STRIKING REMINDER OF THEIR CAUSE. 1,585,487 WOMEN (MORE THAN THE TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION OF THE 13 ORIGINAL COLONIES) HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT, AND IN THE SIX STATES IN WHICH WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE (WYOMING SINCE 1869, COLORADO SINCE 1893, UTAH SINCE 1896, IDAHO SINCE 1896, WASHINGTON SINCE 1910, CALIFORNIA SINCE 1911) 85 PER CENT. HAVE REGULARLY EXERCISED IT

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THE HOUSE IN WHICH GROVER CLEVELAND WAS BORN

THE OLD PRESBYTERIAN MANSE AT CALDWELL, N. J., THAT IS BEING TRANSFORMED INTO A MUSEUM AS A MEMORIAL TO THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

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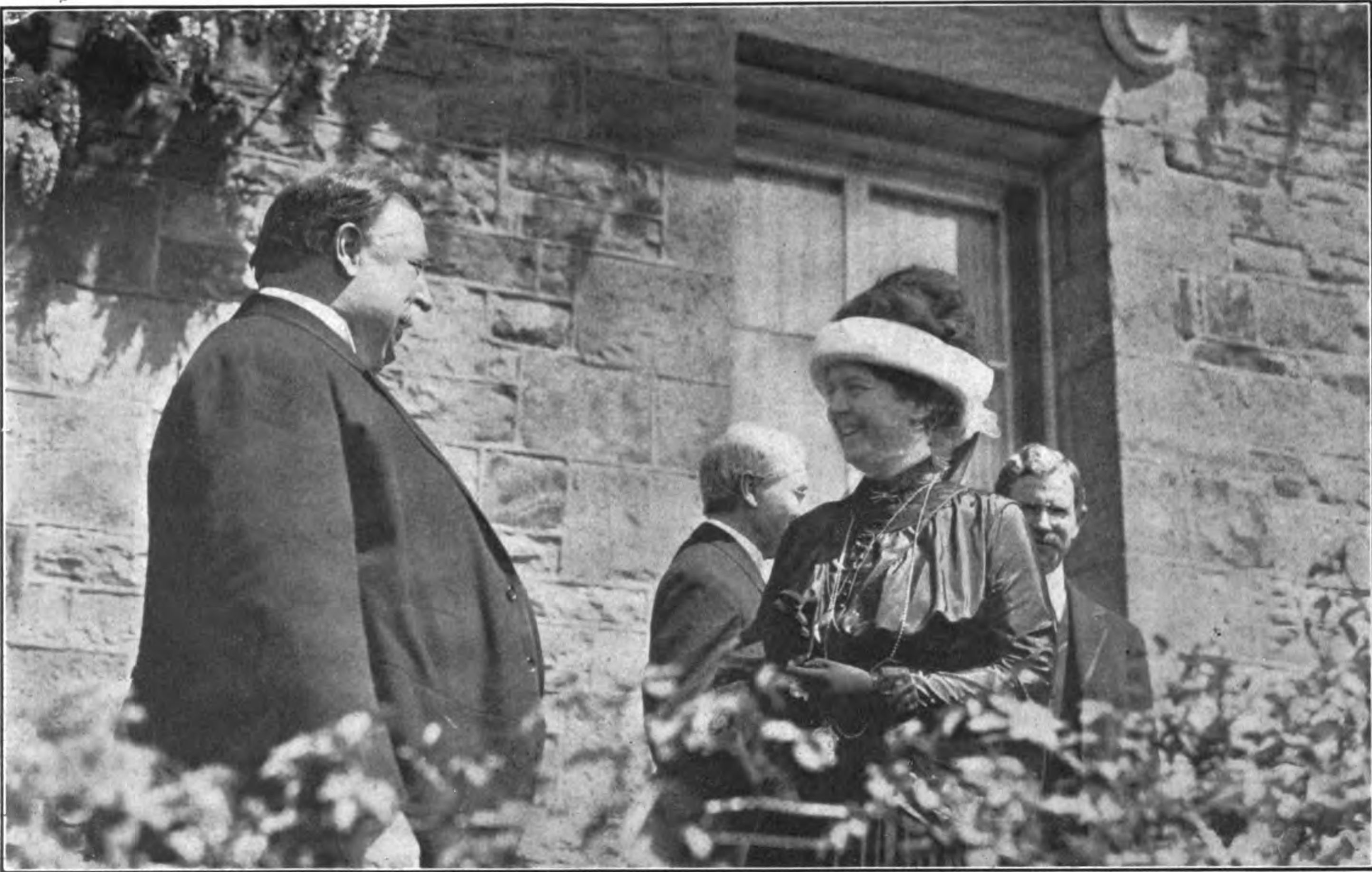

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PRESIDENT TAFT AND MRS. GROVER CLEVELAND

AT THE EXERCISES AT WHICH DR. JOHN G. HIBBEN (EXTREME RIGHT) WAS INAUGURATED AS PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ON MAY 11TH

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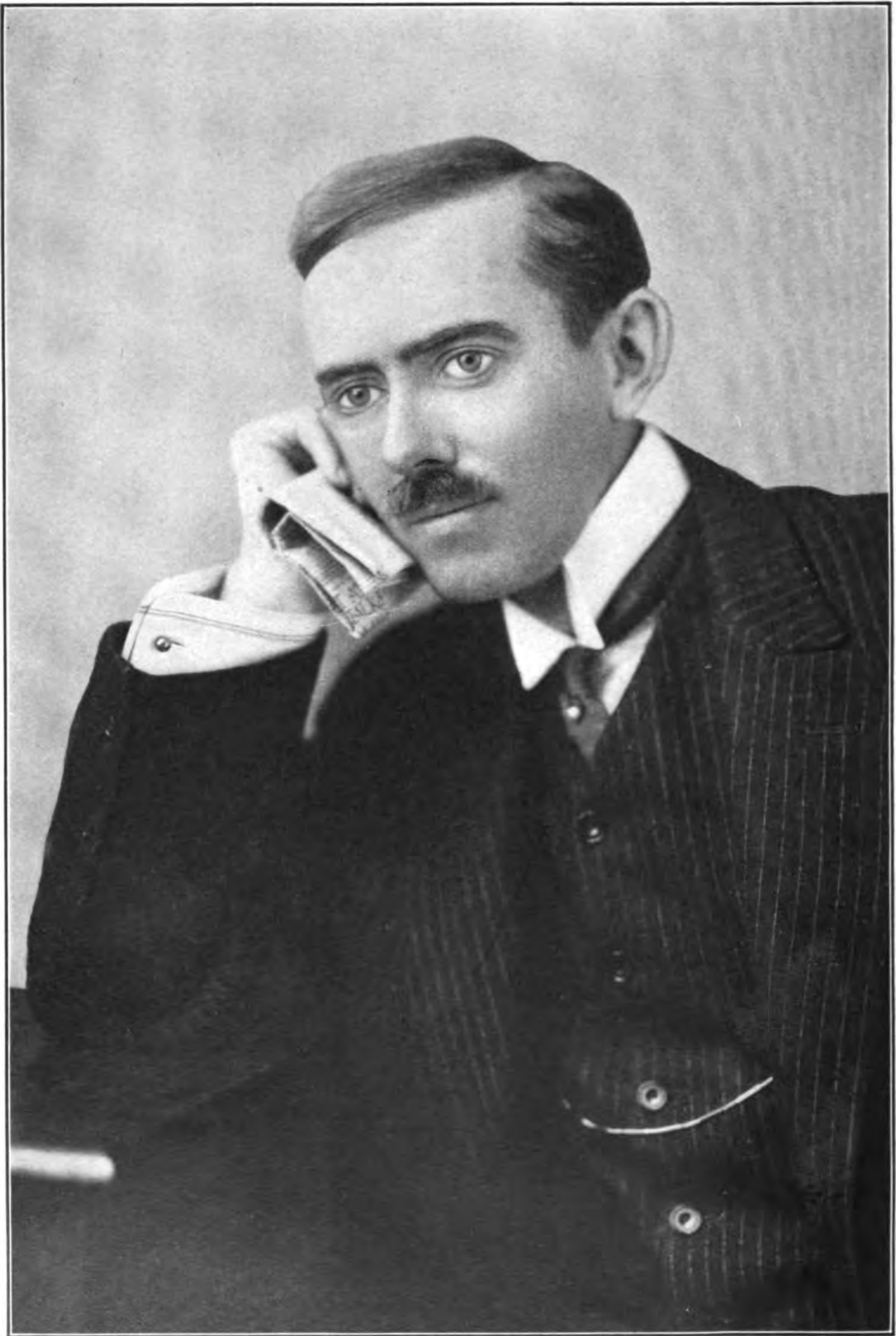

MR. THEODORE L. WEED

WHO ORGANIZED AND NOW DIRECTS THE POSTAL SAVINGS BANK SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH DEPOSITS OF $40,000,000 GATHERED IN EIGHTEEN MONTHS

[See page 300]

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SHALL A THIRD TERM BE FORBIDDEN?

THE scandal of a public feud such as we lately suffered from a President, expectant of a second term, and an ex-President, anxious for a third one, has given vitality to the old idea of electing the Executive for a longer term and making him ineligible to reëlection.

Under such a rule the country would be spared a repetition of the disgrace put upon it by the wrangling of Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. It would remove Presidents from the temptation to devote their time to the creation of a machine and it would leave them free for the dignified and disinterested service of their country. It would make it forever unnecessary for a President to gallivant through the country making personal stump speeches and that too only to the members of his own party.

The idea is not, as Mr. Roosevelt declares it, "a tom-fool proposition." It is not even an ordinary fool proposition. It is a proposition well worth thinking about — though that is not necessarily to say worth instantly adopting.

For there are arguments against the proposal, as well as for it. Six years would be a long term for a bad or even a poor President. We have been fairly lucky, but four years has been found a long time to wait for the administration of some of our Presidents to expire; to have to put up with the wrong man for six years would be a calamity indeed. More important still, six years is too long a time to defer the nation-wide vote which affords the people their only chance — the only chance they take — to express their minds on national questions. It requires an issue of dramatic interest like the fate of two famous men to draw out the whole vote — and it is extremely important for free government that popular voting should be encouraged. In this respect the European system has an advantage over ours; in England, for instance, a general election with everything at stake may come at any time. Last year Great Britain had two general elections, at both of which the people spoke their mind with conclusiveness and with a good deal of manifest enjoyment. Six years is too long a period to elapse between general elections.

II

On the other hand four years is too short a time to expect a President to come to his best; too short to allow him to work out his policies. It has generally been found that a President is a better officer during his second term than he was in his first. An inspection of the history of the Presidency will show that the people of the United States have always believed one term to be too little. During the 124 years of our national existence the people have clearly shown their desire to have the President serve two terms. It will probably surprise many to be reminded that we have reëlected nine Presidents and have declined to elect only seven. John Adams, Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, and Harrison were the only Presidents elected by the people who were refused reëlection. John Q. Adams was chosen by the House of Representatives; Harrison, Taylor, and Garfield died during their first term, and Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur, and Roosevelt came in by the deaths of Presidents — though the last named, after he had served practically a full term, was elected to the second one.

Now this is the actual record of the feeling of the people on the subject of reëlection to the chief executive office: they like to give a President a second term. They have never given one a third term, though they might have done so in seven cases.

If the Constitution needs amending, the voice of the country as indicated in political history would seem to suggest placing the bar to eligibility at the end of a second term, not the first.

It is not, however, certain that the sense of the country demands any constitutional limit at all. It may be a mistake to forbid the second term to any President no matter how peculiar his qualifications or how peculiar the need of them; it is quite conceivable even that circumstances might arise under which

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wisdom would require his election to a third term — circumstances under which everybody would agree that that unprecedented step was necessary for the country's welfare. It is not a happy circumstance that the large principle involved in the proposed change should turn on the excitement now caused by Mr. Roosevelt.

Is it not a thing which had better be left to the people to take care of themselves? After all, it is the people we have to trust, not a document. Is it wise for us to restrict and limit ourselves, gratuitously, unnecessarily? Perhaps it might be a good thing if we had less Constitution, not more. Most of the progressive movements of the day are met by restrictions opposed by the Constitution or alleged to be opposed by it, and our energies are now too much engaged in amending details which need never have gone into the Constitution. Our Government is still in process of evolution — and always will be, so long as it is a living thing. The Presidency is distinctly in evolution. It is not what the Constitution expected it to be. It is an office unlike any other in the world, the President having come to be a sort of irremovable and irresponsible premier as well as titular head of the nation, the man to whom the country looks for a legislative programme as well as executive performance. Why not let the Presidency work itself out without further Constitutional restrictions, trusting to good sense of the people to meet — as the people after all must meet — the dangers when they arise.

IS THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY A FAILURE?

DID the Presidential primary prove itself a success or a failure?

One fact has stood forth to displease, not to say, disgust the good people of the United States: the establishing of the primaries was accompanied by the bringing of the Presidential office into a coarse disrepute which it had never before suffered in the whole history of our politics; the ignoble spectacle of a President and an ex-President engaged in a vulgar personal broil, hurling epithets and accusations at each other as they hurried by train and automobile from shouting crowd to crowd. Presidents, having received renomination, have campaigned for reëlection, but never before did two candidates upon whom rested the obligation to preserve something of the dignity of the Presidential office stump the country in a personal campaign. If such a spectacle is a necessary accompaniment of direct Presidential primaries, that is a strong argument against them.

It would be hasty to come to that conclusion, however, merely because an ex-President of peculiar temperament provoked a President to an unseemly contest. The Presidential primary is a new thing. It has not yet had a real trial. Moreover, primaries were held in only a few of the states. They were, except in five or six cases, extemporized affairs, unregulated by law and unruled by custom. It would not be possible for candidates to make personal canvasses in all the states, and it is likely that this fact, together with public sentiment certain to pronounce against it, will in the future prevent the personal appearance of aspirants in any such scenes as were this year enacted. Had there been no primaries this year, it is pretty certain that Mr. Roosevelt would have resorted to much the same tactics, and that the President would have felt himself forced to go on the platform to defend himself. In other words, the trouble this year was not so much in the circumstances that primaries were being held in a few states as in the character and methods of Mr. Roosevelt and the unwisdom of Mr. Taft.

A more serious consideration that lies against the Presidential primary is the fact that so few men this year took the opportunity to vote. If the people have no wish to choose their own candidates, it is not worth while setting up the machinery for them.

The special meagreness of the Democratic vote may be explained partly by the probability that many Democrats, their interest attracted by the spectacular contest in the other party, voted in the Republican ballot-boxes; and partly by

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the unquestionable fact that, in the minds of a great many Democrats, eager to "get in" once more, the best candidate of the party could be named only after the Republicans had made their nomination. This is a difficulty which must necessarily attend the primary system: two unconditional choices, really dependent one upon the other, must be simultaneously made at a moment so early that after-regret is extremely likely on one side or the other. Some day we shall be likely to come to the method of electing the President (and all other officers) by the preferential ballot. Two elections — a "primary" and a final election — are an awkward, expensive, and unscientific makeshift, though doubtless on the whole any method that gives the people (provided they want it) the right and duty of acting directly and so minimizing the power of professional politicians, is better than the old convention system. But we are only in the crude beginnings of the science of efficient voting.

MINORITY PRESIDENTS

TAKE the matter of electing Presidents, for a single example. Leave entirely aside the manner in which nominations are dictated by bosses; leave out of consideration the obstructing activities of party machines, and say nothing of the faults of the electoral college system. Consider merely the fact that the country is obliged to choose between two leading candidates with a possible third, fourth, or sometimes fifth minor nominee. On the broad question of majority rule, how has the thing worked?

We have had twenty-one Presidential elections since the people commenced in 1824 to elect members of the electoral college — before that left to the state legislatures. In those twenty-one elections, ten candidates have received the Presidency in spite of the fact that they polled less than a majority of the votes cast; two were put into the Chief Executive's chair in spite of the fact that another candidate had received more votes.

In 1824, Jackson had, not a majority indeed, but a plurality over John Q. Adams of 50,551 votes; yet Adams, who not only had received fewer votes than Jackson, but who lacked 240,000 of having a majority of the small vote cast, was seated by the House of Representatives. Four years later the wrong was avenged; Jackson was elected by an indisputable majority, as were his successors, Van Buren and William Henry Harrison. In 1844, Polk lacked 24,200 of a majority; in 1848, Taylor lacked 152,700 of a majority. Pierce received a majority. Buchanan lacked 377,600 of a majority in 1856, and Lincoln fell short a million of a majority of the total vote cast in 1860. Four years later, he was elected by a majority of those voting. In 1868, Grant was a majority President — the last for twenty years. Between 1876 and 1896, not a President was the choice of a majority of the voters. Hayes lacked 345,000 of a majority; Tilden had a quarter of a million more votes than Hayes. Garfield lacked 321,300 of a majority. Cleveland lacked 213,000 in 1884; in 1892, he took his seat a second time, though he this time needed 1,045,500 to be the indicated choice of the greater part of his fellow-countrymen. Harrison was successful, although he lacked 304,400 of a majority. The last two Presidents, elected during the piping times of Republican prosperity, had more votes than all their opponents combined.

Yet it is an outstanding fact that speaks little of our method of choosing Presidents that ten out of twenty-one elections have not been decided by majorities; that, of the sixteen different men elevated to the Presidency, only eight have been the clear choice of the citizens.

There is no use to say that an actual majority is too much to expect in a popular vote. It is nothing of the kind. It is no more impossible, no more difficult, to decide by the rule of majority in a nation-wide vote than in the limited vote of a small assembly. It is necessary only to get the matter accurately before the voters. It is conceivable that, if a second vote had been taken in those years when no candidate for the Presidency had received a majority, the results might have remained unchanged; majorities might

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have ratified the choices expressed by mere pluralities; pluralities might have become majorities in a second balloting. But it is extremely likely that in most cases the results would have been changed. What we arrive at under the prevailing system is a rough and ready decision, not a careful one. We say, in effect, "Oh! well, most of the people want Harrison, so let's declare Harrison elected." But the fact might have been that, as between Harrison and Cleveland, say, most of the people would have preferred Cleveland — and they would have so expressed themselves in a scientific ballot, such as they have found it a perfectly simple thing to employ in Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, Japan, and even far Tasmania.

An even more serious failure of our election machinery to make effective the desires of the people is to be found in the gross and glaring misrepresentation in Congress caused by the failure of our system to take any account of the minority, and give it proportionate representation.

Whatever may be the result of the important campaign which we are now entering upon, the return of a period of comparative calmness ought to see a thoughtful consideration of the election machinery of the country.

EXTRAVAGANT ECONOMY

THERE is need of economy at Washington, and there are wastes enough that need stopping. But there is such a thing as being penny wise and pound foolish; and that is the easy error that the House of Representatives has more than once made. For example, its action in reducing the appropriation for the State Department by almost $100,000 is, on one hand, a piece of petty politics and, on the other, a piece of gross folly. The amount allowed the State Department is already meagre in the extreme; no other first-class or, for the matter of that, no second-class, power in the world pretends to conduct its diplomatic and consular business on twice the allowance made for ours. We spend millions on the army and navy in preparation for war; we think nothing of throwing claimants on behalf of wars long past a largesse of near 200 millions a year; but when we give a dollar on behalf of war, we grudge a cent for the maintenance of peace.

The Secretary of State and his staff are the nation's peace-preservers; their office is to maintain good understanding between us and other peoples and to watch out for our interests abroad. Too little appreciated, the work that the State Department does is an absolutely indispensable work, and no reasonable amount of money should be witheld to make this department as efficient as possible.

Within the last two or three years, the State Department has been recognized — or rather, for the first time organized — and put on an efficient practical working basis, though still handicapped by lack of funds. To take away now a single dollar from its appropriation would be to take a backward step unnecessarily.

ABOUT THE CRAZY PEOPLE

THE conclusion of a recent editorial in the New York *World* runs thus:

> There are thousands of Americans who do not believe they can get something for nothing.
> There are thousands of Americans who work from eight to twelve hours every day, who support their families and pay their debts and save a little something for their old age and live normal, rational lives.
> We are not so crazy as we sometimes seem.

Very true; but the point about this is, that any great newspaper should think it necessary to say that there are thousands of Americans who work and live normally, and that such a declaration should be received as a welcome relief from the howlings about impending disaster that we read as a morning and an evening service. Thousands of such Americans? There are millions of them — every one with his earnest struggle with real problems, but every one working hopefully, sanely, and intelligently to do his duty to his family and to his community and succeeding in proportion to his ability

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and his character. In a time like this, the excitable minority get attention wholly out of proportion to their importance.

For instance, the newspapers in a certain town of 50,000 inhabitants at which Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt both spoke furiously a month or more ago, naturally "played up" their presence and their speeches in big headlines; everybody talked about them for a day; the newspapers elsewhere also gave prominence to their "scrap." Yet less than 10 per cent. of the people heard them or tried to hear them — not a larger percentage than would have gone to an equally well advertised circus or moving picture show, and not so large as would have gone to a big baseball game. More important yet, it would be very hard to find a man who would confess that he changed his mind or his preference because of anything he saw or heard or read about them.

Yet we think of ourselves as really excited about politics, and men of bad digestions really fear that the people have gone crazy.

Those who yell most loudly at the people, and are most concerned about the people, seem to know least about them.

SANER THINGS THAN POLITICS

HERE, for example, comes a letter from an earnest man who gives his time and thought most unselfishly to the organization and betterment of country life:

> Perhaps in my enthusiasm this suggestion would be impractical, but this thought comes: Why could not one year's sole devotion of the WORLD'S WORK be made to the wage-worker, the farm-worker, and the business-worker. It seems to me that you could thus cover practically all the big work that you are now doing, under these three divisions, and be a means of bringing about a right way of seeing each other's work. Of course I am prejudiced, but I think that our political situation is the biggest farce that we have. The all important thing is for our people to get right and fair and square in their work, in their living, in their homes, and not make so much fuss over our politicians. When the politicians are right, go to them as we would go to our clerks and ask them to do the things that are necessary to make our work and homes and profits better than they are now. I think it makes little difference who our next President is. All our politicians, Presidents, and others have appealed to us or tried to appeal, in a petty way in their anxiety to secure attention. They are big men when they are not in a political wrangle. Any of them has, I believe, the capacity to be a good President if they could eliminate party and personal quarrels from their work and treat it as a big business and be in office long enough to build up a right business organization.

"The right way of seeing each others' work" — that comes pretty near to the heart of the matter. We become earnest and sympathetic and tolerant — in other words capable of real helpfulness — in proportion as we "see each others' work."

The economic organization of society so that every worker and every class of workers shall receive the "right and fair and square" return — that's the biggest task of civilization and it underlies every other task. To take our correspondent's division of men into wage-workers, farm-workers, and business-workers and his contempt of mere politicians, it is true that all political activity that does not directly or indirectly make for "a right and fair and square" relation of these divisions, one to another, is a misdirection of time and energy.

A QUESTION OF MORALS

HERE is a question of honesty: Two men, who were good friends at college twenty-five years ago, are good friends yet. One is now a speculative broker in New York and is rich, and the other is a high public officer with a low salary, and is a poor man. The broker, under a generous impulse, lately said to his friend:

"You have given practically all your working life to the public service. You have not had time nor opportunity to put aside any money for your family. Now we have all profited by your public service; and I am in a position to help you. I share in the underwriting of various successful enterprises. In some cases I put up no money at all. In most

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cases I run practically no risk of loss. Now I wish to put you down for a share in some of these. It will not cost you a cent. I'll do the underwriting; and, if money is necessary, I'll risk the money. You shall have no loss, but you'll share the gains. I wish to do this till your account shows a profit of $100,000. Then draw it out and invest it. You ought to have it. I'm going to put you down."

"No," said the other. "Of course not. I can't take a profit that I've done nothing to earn."

"Why, my dear fellow, it's done all the time. You risk nothing."

Well, the two men didn't understand one another. Their codes of economic morals were so different that they did not mean the same thing when they spoke of "profits" and "earnings." The broker was hurt by the refusal of his friend and thought that he was a very squeamish and timid politician.

HEALTH OFFICERS AND WITS

HEALTH officers in other states could study with profit the methods of New York and California, which are among the most progressive in the country. For example, Dr. Eugene H. Porter, Commissioner of the New York State Department of Health, has been holding a series of "sanitary institutes," at strategic centres, for the encouragement and instruction of city and county health officers, who attend from all the easily accessible nearby territory. Such an institute was lately held at Elmira and seventy-seven physicians registered as members. The Commissioner and the directors of the several divisions of the state Department of Health were present. "An hour was set apart each day for demonstrations to health officers individually or in small groups of any laboratory procedures in which they were particularly interested." One afternoon was devoted to a discussion of milk supply in relation to the public health. One evening was given up to a round-table conference, at which the Commissioner and his aides answered extemporaneously legal questions that were raised by the local doctors. Throughout the institute only those subjects were handled that had a direct bearing upon the practical work of health officers, but the theory was briefly discussed as well as the practice.

Imagine, if you will, the inspiring effect of such a meeting upon the health officer of Little Genesee, or of Canaseraga, or of Painted Post, N. Y., all of whom attended. Think of the better chance that a baby has for life this next summer in Cohocton or Himrod because of the freshened zeal for pure milk that their faithful guardians of health received at Elmira. A dozen such institutes in a year may well be the saving of thousands of useful lives to the community.

The Californian method of attack is less direct, but it is as novel and it has aroused much interest in sanitation in that state. Dr. William F. Snow, secretary and executive officer of the state board of health, has the knack of the pen. Besides issuing formal monthly publications that tell what has been accomplished by his office, Doctor Snow points the way for local authorities by covering a whole sanitary subject in a special bulletin that he is not afraid to make interesting. For example, Bulletin Separate No. 6 is a comprehensive and popular statement of the theory and methods of sewage disposal. It has been reprinted twice because the people asked for more copies than Doctor Snow believed they could want. It discusses first "The Sewage Problem and the Law," gives "A Review of Some Available Methods of Sewage Treatment for California," describes "Septic Tanks," and tells how to make "Residential Sewage Disposal Plants." This bulletin leaves little to be said about sewage and practical sanitation.

As an example of Dr. Snow's striking method of attracting attention to his subject so that people will read, the following extract from another bulletin, about tuberculosis, may suffice:

THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA VERSUS THE TUBERCLE BACILLUS

The tubercle bacillus is at last fairly on trial in California. The case has been pending before the Court of Public Opinion since 1871.

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Since that time the evidence in the case has been steadily accumulating. Serious complications have arisen through the implication of many "higher-ups." It has been found that the criminal bacillus has been aided and abetted by big business interests — the milk producers, the tenement house builders, the timid physicians who fail to report the victims of the bacillus, and many other interests friendly to the chief offender. But if this were all, a jury would long ago have been secured which would have convicted the bacillus and punished those who assisted it.

Following that introduction is a lucid résumé of the tuberculosis situation in the state, with practical advice for a campaign of eradication, and photographs of life-like models of houses and tents arranged to procure the "fresh-air" treatment and of sanitary dairies to aid the fight against bovine tuberculosis.

Either method is worthy imitation: socialization of health officers' work by personal contact at institutes, or stimulation by an intelligent use of imagination and printers' ink. Perhaps a phrase of warning will comprise the value of these examples: Doctors, do not be dull.

OUR LONG, SLOW SCHOOL-TASK

IF ONE read the latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education about the salaries of public school teachers and the short school-terms and the small proportion of pupils who remain in school long enough to profit greatly — if one read these facts without considering the advance that has been made and is going on, it would be a most discouraging experience. Consider these figures

The average wage of all public school teachers in the United States, including the teachers in all our cities, is $1.60 a day for the working days of the whole year — less than $500 per annum; or less than $10 a week.

The average pay in eleven states is less than $400; in eight states, it is less than $300; in two states, less than $250. A very large proportion of the public school teachers in the country are minors, and less than half of them have had any special or adequate preparation for teaching; in several states from 20 to 30 per cent. of them every year are beginners; and in the best states the average length of service is less than four years.

But these statistics, like most other statistics of large averages, tell only a part of the story and by far the least encouraging part. During the last ten years the pay of male teachers has increased 38 per cent. and of female teachers 27 per cent.; and the increase goes on. Moreover, everybody who knows the present mood of the educational world and who interprets public sentiment intelligently knows the ever increasing earnestness of the people about this very subject. More important yet, the movement for better schools, schools better fitted to the needs of the people, gathers volume and earnestness every year. There is no better leadership in any department of American life than the leadership of the best minds now engaged in public educational work.

NEW CHINA'S DIFFICULTIES

LITTLE news escapes from China, the most interesting country in the world just now, as she takes the first steps of her life as a Republic. Affairs there are complicated beyond any real understanding by foreigners except those with very special knowledge; but the failure of any definite facts to emerge from the general scene of confusion serves to justify the fear that the new régime is not proving itself strong enough to rule. China has drifted for several hundreds of years and it has not got over the habit. The revolution was an event simply astounding, but it does not seem as if the land possessed personalities equal to the task of guiding the new patriotic movement which manifested itself in a popular uprising unprecedented in history.

The loan, which is the first necessity of the new government — the first requirement for the stability of the new order — hangs fire. The six Great Powers (England, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States) are ready to "recognize" the Republic,

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when they have arranged to lend it $300,000,000. But they insist on having a voice in the expenditure of the money — which means, of course, a hand in China's internal affairs. The feeling of the Chinese against allowing this is so overwhelming that Yuan Shi-kai is probably powerless to grant the Powers' demand. Yet money he must have; the revolutionary army of half a million refuses to disband till paid; debts press from every direction; necessary expenses pile up; and his inexperienced ministry is unable to procure revenues to meet the most absolute daily necessities of the government. The President of China must have money and have it quickly, or utter anarchy will prevail over the efforts of the only man who seems in any way capable even of the attempt to form a new nation out of the broken wreck of the old.

CONSERVATIVE SOCIALISM

FIRST in the field, the Socialist party did this much to commend itself to the patriotic: it repudiated what has come to be known as "Syndicalism" — the policy of violence by working men — in unequivocal terms. The platform declares that any member of the Socialist party "who advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class, to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the party."

It is only within a few months that America has heard the open proclamation of the doctrine that industrial establishments belongs by right to the men who work in them and that they are perfectly justified in destroying them by fire or dynamite, or in taking possession of them by force, but the astonishingly swift acceptance which the new gospel has won at the hands of large bodies of workingmen is one of the most disquieting signs of the times.

This is not Socialism, nor has it any sort of connection with Socialism, and it is at least cheering that the Socialist party disavows it promptly and positively. It may turn out that the Socialists, whom we have been brought up to regard as dangerous radicals, will be classifiable as one of the strong and conservative bulwarks of the country.

WILBUR WRIGHT

THE death of Wilbur Wright is regretted all over the world; for, although the aeroplane is not yet a machine of much practical value (except for show purposes and possibly in war) it is a reasonable expectation that such improvements will be made in it as to make air-travel and transportation a practical thing. And Mr. Wright, if he had lived, might have done much more to bring this to pass. His fame as an inventor is secure — his and his brother Mr. Orville Wright's. They made the first flying machine in which sustained flights were possible, and this was an epoch-making achievement.

He was an interesting personality because in most ways he was so uninteresting. This is not a mere epigram but a literal fact. A man to be admired, a "real man," as we say, of sterling qualities of mind and character, of a sly, quiet humor, companionable in a way but always aloof and almost always silent; a man who had lived much alone; really modest, always reticent; with a certain dogged independence of spirit which seemed to scorn making advances, yet a kindly man. He was as indifferent to kings as to the merely curious. Lean, shrewd, self-possessed, fame and fortune made as few changes in him as in any man that they ever fell on.

He worked with an heroic devotion to an idea, unperturbed by failure after failure and by public indifference; and his success was hard and fairly won. It was not an accident but the result of experiments scientifically made.

OHIO'S NEW CONSTITUTION

HERE are some of the features of the new constitution which will be submitted to the people of the State of Ohio for their approval or rejection:

Legislation may be secured and the Constitution amended by the initiative and referendum.

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Five of the six Supreme Judges must concur to set aside a law as unconstitutional.

Women are given the right to vote.

All candidates for state offices are to be nominated by primaries; United States Senators are to be nominated by the people, and a Presidential preference vote is to be taken.

All appointive state positions are put under civil service rules.

The legislature is authorized to remove all state officers, including judges, on hearing.

The legislature is authorized to regulate the issue and sale of corporation stock.

The legislature is authorized to regulate bill-board advertising.

Incomes, inheritances, franchises, and minerals *in situ* are to be taxed.

The Torrens system of land transfer is to be adopted. (Under the Torrens system, a land-owner takes proof of his title to an official who, being satisfied of its validity, registers the land. Thereafter the State guarantees the title, and the land can be sold only by recording the transfer on the registrar's book.)

Appeal litigation is to be restricted; except in felony cases there may be but one trial and one review.

Jurors need not agree unanimously in civil suits.

Capital punishment is to be abolished.

CLEANING UP MICHIGAN

ALTHOUGH harassed by the unrest and agitation among women, new doctrines which the old-fashioned politician "views with alarm," and threatening labor troubles, the public in its private moments still has time to attend to such fundamentals as warring on flies and mosquitoes and taking care of its health. The response to the series of articles on how to get rid of flies and mosquitoes in this magazine shows a tremendous interest in this subject of every day comfort.

And the fly and mosquito campaign is only one. Such another is the following hopeful story of one of the men interested in the sanitary reform of Michigan.

We asked the commissioner of schools of every one of the eighty-three counties of Michigan to help in establishing sanitary environments for rural schools, a pure supply of drinking water, individual drinking cups, well ventilated school rooms, sanitary outhouses (about 50 per cent. of these were insanitary) and pleasant school grounds. The commissioners went to work with the state board of health, and great progress has already been made.

Our next move was to enlist the services of the 70,000 grangers of the state in the work of sanitary education; to show them the sanitary problem through the eyes of their commissioners of schools. The results have been marvelous. Many of the granges appointed committees on health; the lecturers of the granges incorporated health topics in their programmes. The lecturer of the state grange, Miss Jennie Buell, has prepared a special health programme for her quarterly bulletin. We have focused the eyes of the rural folk on the dangers of insanitary environments.

We next enlisted the Women's Clubs from which the response was almost spontaneous. We appealed to the managers of railways to coöperate with the state board of health in providing sanitary coaches: the abolition of the common drinking cup, sanitary closets on trains and at depots, and this part of the movement is going forward successfully.

The United Commercial Travelers have joined the campaign for better environments for hotels, outdoor and indoor closets, abandonment of the common roller towel (Michigan, as yet, has no law against its use) and better conditions in railway depots and on railway coaches. These boys are our flying squadron in sanitary education. They are getting results.

We have enlisted the newspapers in the work and the preachers of all the churches.

Recently there has been organized an enthusiastic, efficient, active state health officers' association. This organization is the regular army of the forward movement for sanitary education.

THE CLIMB OF THE PENSION TAX

ON AN accompanying page is a diagram that shows graphically how determined our politicians are that the country shall never abandon its habit of contributing liberally in the name of patriotism; how firmly resolved they are that the mere death of veterans and their widows and the growing up of their children shall never be allowed to

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interfere with our pious benevolence, and how shrewdly they meet the danger of the natural disappearance of the veteran and the mechanical extinction of the tax.

It is now forty-seven years since General Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House. One year later the Government was distributing $15,450,000 in pensions. This year, half a century later, the Government is distributing $183,780,000. By far the greater part of those who went to the war are dead; wounds and disease incurred in the service have either healed or done their work long since; widows long since have joined the husbands they mourned, and dependent orphans have become grandparents. But the pension bill keeps going up. Pensioners depart, but the pension bill is with us forever. The objects of our solicitude pass beyond its reach, but Congress creates new ones for us, and gives them bigger stipends. The processes of time must not be suffered to waste or lessen the pension bill; politicians and claim agents watch it with tender interest; no sooner does it betray a tendency to decrease than they rush to its aid with restoratives devised to create new classes of beneficiaries, to augment the rates of payment, and do away with the need of proofs.

Look at the diagram, and you will notice that after the close of the war the expenditure for pensions increased, attained its natural maximum in eight years, and began a natural decline. The decline would have continued — had not the pension-agents (by this time developed into a shrewd and powerful body at Washington) succeeded in persuading the politicians that a big, permanent pension fund could be used with tremendous effect in political work. Incidentally, the promoters of the "protective" tariff idea realized that to pay a big pension bill a high tariff would be a necessity, and that every pensioner would be an interested advocate of a higher and ever higher tariff. In 1878 began a systematic, artificial stimulation of pension legislation. It has continued ever since. The Arrears Act of 1878 instantly doubled the bill — and gave the first opening to fraud. There has followed, whenever it was needed, some new Act to boost pension payments. Notice, though, in the diagram, that in 1893 the index line suddenly drops. That was the year Grover Cleveland came in for his second term and started investigation of pension frauds. They were continued by McKinley's honest Commissioner, H. Clay Evans. Despite all that the politicians and the pension agents could do for it, the expenditure continued about even until 1907. That year the Republican Congress, under the spur of an approaching election, passed a series of pension promoters, notably the Age Act. The bill ran to 153 millions in 1908, and 162 millions in 1909. Look at the diagram, and you will see that in the last two years the index line has fallen — not much, but still fallen — down to 162 millions in 1911, and 158 millions last year. It was clearly time to do something, especially as another election was coming on.

Congress has done something. It has passed, and President Taft has signed, a "Service Pension" Act of much ingenuity, calculated to raise the pension-tax by about 25 millions of dollars — $25,797,702, according to the estimate of the Pension Bureau. This is the biggest single raise ever made. *Half a century after Appomattox it adds to the already enormous expenditure in pensions a sum equal to the total amount paid in* 1868 *to the real deserving and needy heroes of the war.* How much more it will add next year and the next we are not told, but doubtless the annual increase during the next decade will be gratifying; the 200 million mark ought easily to be passed next year, when we shall be paying out annually for an army that long ago ceased to exist double what it costs to support the largest existing army in the world — that of Germany.

It is a supererogatory virtue of the new law that it very largely increases the operating cost of the Bureau — this will now be between three and four millions.

To raise the 185 millions of dollars which pensions will cost this year, the Government will allow every man, woman, and child in the United States to contribute a two dollar bill. Every head of a household

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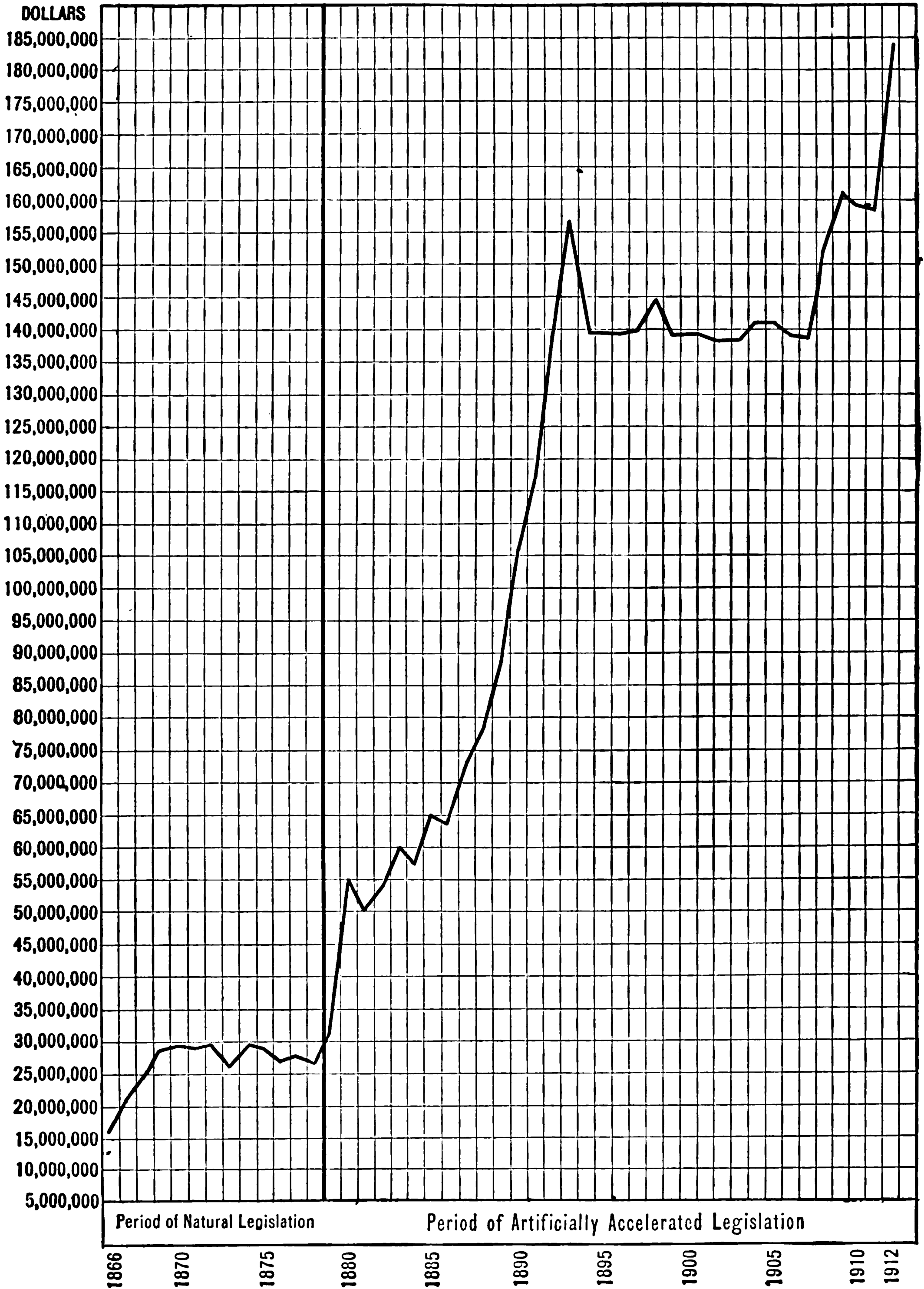

THE RELENTLESS RISE OF THE PENSION FUND

WHICH, BUT FOR ITS ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION BY POLITICIANS AND PENSION AGENTS, WOULD HAVE REACHED ITS NATURAL MAXIMUM IN 1874

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chips in twenty cents a week — ten dollars a year. This is pure disinterested charity! What a source of satisfaction it ought to be to each of us to remember that we are not selecting the objects of our gifts! They are named for us by politicians and bureau officials; in fact, pretty much anybody who wants a pension and is willing to make a few affidavits can have one, and the list includes a prodigious number of perjurers, forgers, camp-followers, deserters, and bogus widows. What a satisfaction it ought to be for us to remember that it is no longer even pretended that pensions are given only to patriots who deserve and need them! Under the law any one who spent 90 days in the recruiting camp now gets a pension, whether he needs it or not. It was proposed to refuse to give to those who already had an income of $2,400 a year, but the pusillanimous suggestion was rejected; 9,000 pensioners have confessed to the Bureau that they have a greater income than that (some are millionaires), but it would cost more in clerk hire to go into this than it would to pass out the money. What does any American family that pays its $10 tax into the pension fund care where the money goes?— care whether the recipient or the contributor needs it more?

HUNGRY ENGLAND AND SOCIALISM

AN AUSTRALIAN journalist in London discovered the horrors of the East End. At least he thought he discovered them, for he saw no mention of them in the daily press. He planned a series of articles that would stir London. Surely the people in the clubs on Piccadilly and the residents of Mayfair and Kensington were ignorant of the horrors of Whitechapel and Poplar! He would tell of the homes that were without fires when the thermometer was five degrees above zero; of the starving children who ran barefoot, their little toes raw with the cold; of the gaunt men who, failing in their search for work, sang "Britons never shall be slaves" as they begged for pennies through the streets!

The articles were powerful examples of the muckraker's art. The Australian carried them to the editor of a morning paper and sat expectantly while the Englishman glanced over sheet after sheet. The editor became excited. Finally he flung the articles upon the floor and turned upon the writer.

"Englishmen don't want to hear of this!" he cried fiercely. "No, sir! And British papers do not want to publish it! We know that this poverty exists, but England has been Merrie England for ten centuries and by the grace of God we'll keep it so!"

Nevertheless, Socialists have come nearer realizing their dreams in England than they have in any other European country; and Socialism is everywhere the instrument through which poverty and discontent make their protests heard. The audience that the British press denied them, the Socialists have found upon the stump; and they have proved to this audience that the boast of a happy England is a sorry sham. Their indictment of conditions as they are has brought about a revolution in the membership of the House of Commons so that government by "gentlemen" has given way to government by laboring men. A Socialist and labor leader, John Burns, is a member of the Cabinet; and the dominating personality in the present British Government is Lloyd George, who calls himself a Radical but who is to all intents a practical Socialist.

These are changes that completely alter the principles upon which legislation is made in England. The great Cabinet crises now arise not over questions of trade but over bills to effect a more equable distribution of taxes or the betterment of working conditions in the great industries. Mr. Samuel P. Orth, elsewhere in this magazine, shows how far England has drifted from the idyllic peace and feudal ideals of government of the "Merrie England" of sentimental retrospect. Indeed, he himself suggested the title, "The Land of Fulfilment," that appears over the article, after he had made a careful study of the advance of Socialism in France, Germany, Belgium, and England.

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As he aptly says, "England has awakened hungry," and the answer to its cry is the threat of complete Socialistic domination.

THE BEST WORK OF OUR TIME

THE stimulus to the upbuilding of farm-life that is to be given by the financial help of Messrs. Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, to the extent of $1,000,000 is a most excellent deed in itself, but it is also a suggestive indication of the advanced stage which this movement has reached. Bankers also in many parts of the country are giving their help, and boards of trade in many cities and towns. There is no other genuine and fundamental movement in American life comparable in its earnestness to this many-sided effort to build up country life.

The work provided for by Messrs Sears, Roebuck & Co. is in the main, "farm-demonstration" work — the method of instructing the farmer on his own land, which Dr. Seaman A. Knapp worked out so helpfully in the Southern States. The same method is to be used, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, now also in some of the Northern and Western states. It was a great discovery (for it is worthy to be called a discovery) that the most direct way to improve agriculture is to send teachers to the farmers. It seems absurdly simple. But it has already proved to be the most important economic force in the post-bellum history of the Southern States.

The General Education Board which has for many years given very substantial help to the farm-demonstration work in the Southern States has now begun another attack on the problem of building up country life. The rural school in most parts of the country is feeble and unfit — at once a result and a cause of inefficiency. This Board has quietly and conservatively begun the building-up of a certain number of country public schools in strategic places to do the tasks that the country schools of the future must do, schools which shall not only teach children what they must know, by right methods, but that shall be living and organizing and stimulating institutions for all the people in their communities. This Board has also given $250,000 toward the endowment of a School of Country Life in the George Peabody College for Teachers, at Nashville, Tenn., where men and women will be trained to make the right kind of country schools.

Mr. Montfiore G. Kahn, of New York, has munificently provided for the beginning of work upon another phase of the landward movement by his gift of the perpetual use of 13,000 acres in New Jersey to be let, rent free, in ten acre lots, to immigrants who come from foreign rural communities.

To describe such plans of work in merely general terms is not easy without apparent exaggeration. But this is a conservative statement: during the noises of our time — the noises of politics, of finance, of big business, of labor — which attract and distract us, there is no other work going on in our country comparable in its constructive value to such well-directed efforts as these to make country life what it ought to be and what it will become — the nursery of the nation.

TO GIVE CREDIT WHERE IT IS DUE

THERE are good farmers in the United States paying 10 per cent. interest on mortgages upon their farms of 200 or 300 acres. The holder of the mortgage can ask that it be paid off at any time upon notice. Beyond this the farmer has practically no credit facilities unless it be a crop mortgage at a ruinous rate.

In contrast to this, in Germany, Ireland, and Denmark there are farmers with only a few acres and but a small income who can borrow money upon their notes at 4 per cent. for any legitimate farm use even if they are tenants and not landowners. And men with land can mortgage it at a low rate and the mortgage can not be terminated until they wish it.

Our system almost ignores the individual farmer and it cripples his operations by denial of credit as the operations of any other manufacturer are crippled when credit is withheld. In some parts of the United States mortgages may be had on good terms, but there are many places

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where farmers cannot get mortgage loans even on good securities. In America the making of a mortgage loan is essentially a local transaction and it will be so until Americans have also established institutions to issue bonds instead of individual mortgages. American farm mortgages are not available securities in the sense in which railroad bonds are available, nevertheless the average mortgage security is greater than the security of railroad bonds. When we consider the low rate of interest paid on railroad bonds, municipal bonds, etc., there is no reason to doubt that mortgage bonds by proper methods would have similar results. That is what has come about in Europe.

A hundred and fifty years ago in Germany the same conditions existed except that the situation was more acute. The Seven Years' War was just over. Buildings were in ruins and farm equipment was destroyed. Money for improvements, tools, and implements was necessary. That situation created the *Landschaft*, an association made up of the farmers themselves who issue bonds secured by the credit of all the members and lend the money from the sale of the bonds upon mortgage at a low interest to such members as need it; and the mortgage continues until the borrower wishes to pay it off. For a century and a half the *Landschaften* have given the German farmer a credit that the American farmer lacks, and needs. In all that time the members of the various *Landschaften* have never been called upon even to help pay the interest on the bonds, for the interest on the mortgages has never failed; and in that time, though now and then the bonds have depreciated in value, they have, as a rule, been as steady as Government securities. Something like $600,000,000 is invested in these *Landschaft* bonds at present, to the vast benefit of German agriculture.

II

But the mortgage on the farm corresponds only to the bonds of a manufacturing company. For its working capital, the manufacturing company applies to the banks. Its affairs are fairly large, its business known, and its credit good. It can borrow money upon its notes. But the farmer can not. He has generally to provide his working capital himself, or go without. If his farm is already mortgaged and he needs a dozen or so head of stock, or money to tile drain or to use for any other proper purpose that will make the farm more profitable, he has no sure source from which to get that money. Our credit system does not supply it.

Abroad, the coöperative bank provides this much needed credit. In principle it resembles the *Landschaft* — a number of farmers in a district form themselves into an association. Every member assumes unlimited liability for the debts of the association. The credit of the association is not based upon land, as it is in the *Landschaft*, but upon the earning power of its members. This has been sufficient to raise whatever sums have been necessary. Moreover, none of these banks have failed or had to call upon the members to pay liabilities. As every member is liable for all the debts, candidates for membership are carefully scrutinized and the work of the officers is constantly watched. As the loans made by the coöperative banks are secured only by the notes of the borrower, the banks demand to know that the money is borrowed for some legitimate farm use and that it is used for that purpose. And these loans are like the *Landschaft* mortgages — long time loans and not subject to call.

In other words, in the United States the farmer has no certain place to get money by mortgaging his farm. He must find some local capitalist willing to lend him the money, and often he will have to pay a high rate. If his farm is mortgaged, his ability to raise money for proper and necessary running expenses and improvements amounts practically to nothing. If a farmer lacking the ready cash should wish to buy a traction engine that would be a good investment for him, he can not get money at a low rate to buy it. He buys it "on time." The manufacturer is lending him the money and the manufacturer cannot afford to do it cheaply. So it goes; from beginning to end our greatest industry

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is crippled for lack of credit and banking facilities — and needlessly so, for what has been done in Germany, in Denmark, in Ireland, even in India, can be done in America. We have come to the time when we need to have it done. It has a direct relation to the cost of food.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

"GO and see what baby is doing and tell him to stop it," expresses the philosophy on which child education has been conducted. "Discipline" has meant the restraint of the child from doing things he wants to do.

The wisest word on the subject spoken in many a day is that on which Madam Montessori bases her teaching: the true and better way is to encourage the child to do what he wants to do, not to restrain him from doing it. The child, you may depend upon it, is striving for his own good more wisely than the parent or the teacher who checks him. What he needs is guidance, not hindrance.

If we could only understand that the child is always obeying the law of his life, which is the law of action, movement, experiment, investigation, with the single end of improving himself; is literally always bent on educating himself — not, of course, that that is his conscious aim, but it is the aim of nature whose irresistible instinct keeps him busy. We complain that the child won't be quiet, won't be "good." Heaven forbid that he should be, if to be "good" means to abandon his right to develop himself through pushing and pulling and tearing and knocking down and running away and his right to protest by screaming and scratching when he is overborne and compelled traitorously to deny the voice of nature in his faithful breast.

As he so continually — and mistakenly — is. What patient mother who, tiring at last of her little son's awkward efforts to feed himself, takes the spoon into her own hands, but is grieved at the scream of anger that rewards her "kindly" act. "What a temper he has!" No, that wasn't temper at all; it was a loyal protest against being thwarted in his duty of developing his muscles and his eye-judgment through the efforts he was making with such admirable patience and such sober joy. His supper was of far less importance to him than the eating of his supper. Action is always far more important to a child than is the end achieved by the action. That is the basis of the misunderstanding that commonly prevails between the child and his parents. Their idea is to get him dressed; *his* idea is the operation of dressing. In struggling to accomplish that complicated series of movements, ever so laboriously and patiently, he finds the joy of self-improvement; his eyes, his fingers, the muscles of his body "function"; that is, they enter upon their appointed use. That is the way in which he lives, just as his parents live in the more mature struggles of the adult world. The child has a right to live and to be understood. He has a right to protest the best way he can when his instinct is forcibly violated by mistaken kindliness, and the scream and the sulk ought not to tempt parents to bewail his "temper"; it ought to warn them that they are somehow invading the rights of a personality as sacred as their own, as fully entitled to respect as their own.

"What would become of us," asks Madame Montessori in a striking passage,

> What would become of us if we fell into the midst of a population of jugglers, or of quick-change impersonators of the variety hall? — if, as we continued to act in our usual way, we saw ourselves assailed by these sleight-of-hand performers, hustled into our clothes, fed so rapidly that we could scarcely swallow, if everything we tried to do was snatched from our hands and completed in a twinkling and we ourselves reduced to impotence and to a humiliating inertia? Not knowing how else to express ourselves, we should defend ourselves from these madmen with blows and yells: and they, having only the best will in the world to serve us, would call us naughty, rebellious, and incapable of doing anything.

Whatever merits or demerits there may be about the new Italian system as a whole, there is reason to believe that Madame Montessori has laid its basis on a profound principle of epochal importance.

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The last fifty years have seen the world entirely change its attitude toward the insane and toward dumb animals. It is certainly time to alter our attitude toward little children; time to abandon the ignorant and heathenish habit of whipping and scolding them into that outward "obedience" which is death, not life, and to enter into sympathetic understanding of the particular conditions of child-life and so assist it to blossom naturally and sweetly, and very much more swiftly, into new beauty and usefulness.

FATIGUE AND POISON

"IT IS too bad what some people will do for money!" was the frivolous rejoinder of an unregenerate wit when told that an acquaintance had gone to work. That it really is too bad what some people will do for money may be a serious thought in the mind of one who reads Miss Josephine Goldmark's book on the effects of overwork.

A tired person, Miss Goldmark says, and says with perfect scientific truth, as all biologists and physicians would agree — a tired person is a poisoned person. Life consists in changes in the cells of the living person; these are constantly seizing upon nutritive elements in food and the air and casting off outworn, dead matter. When a person is at work the process of breaking down goes on in the cells more rapidly than when he is at rest, and goes faster than the up-building process. But there is a point beyond which the one kind of chemical change cannot go in excess of the other kind without harm. There is a delicate point at which activity must be balanced by rest. So long as this point is not passed, all is well: the body mechanically purifies itself, like a running stream. The noxious products of labor are eliminated, and renewing tissue is built. But that point passed, the eliminating process is clogged and quickly deranged and injured. The tired man is poisoned by his own waste products.

Health, even life itself, Miss Goldmark points out, hangs upon the metabolic balance. In extreme instances of over-exertion, as when hunted animals drop dead in the chase, they die, not from over-strain of any particular organ, such as the heart, but from sheer chemical poisoning due to the unexpelled toxins of fatigue.

> The essential thing in rest is the time at which it comes. Rest postponed is rest more than proportionately deprived of virtue. Fatigue let run is a debt to be paid at compound interest. Maggiori showed that, after a doubled task, muscle requires not double, but four times as long a rest for recuperation, and a similar need for more than proportionately increased rest after excessive work is true also of our other tissues, and of our organism in its totality.

Miss Goldmark has spent five years studying the physiological effects of fatigue, and the resulting economic effects of overwork. The point of her book is to put the case against over-long hours on a scientific basis. She gives new force and a new language to the argument especially for the protection of women and children from the greed of their employers. And she makes it scientifically clear how it comes about, and necessarily must come about, that long hours and over-speeding must result in deterioration of the human machine and in inferior and more costly output.

"A CALAVERAS EVENING"

ONE of the most difficult tasks of a school teacher is to arouse an interest in the study of English in pupils that have not a natural love of good books. Mr. Edward Hyatt, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of California, had often encountered this difficulty. One of his periodical tours of school inspection took him again into "Bret Harte's Country," as Californians call the district of the central Sierra Nevada that was the scene of most of his tales of the mining camps. This is the same territory that Mark Twain made immortal by its real name when he wrote "The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." Sitting in the "general store" beside a big stove, Mr. Hyatt met men who had known both Bret Harte and Mark Twain in the early days, and he heard from them

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their personal reminiscences of those men and those times.

Here Mr. Hyatt found the solution of his problem. He went back to his office in Sacramento and wrote "A Calaveras Evening," a pamphlet in which he told, in simple, vivid style, of the modern appearance of the old mining camp, and related the tales about the authors as they were told to him by the pioneers. With this narrative he reprinted the "Jumping Frog" and "The Luck of Roaring Camp." Then he distributed the pamphlet to the teachers of the state, with the suggestion that it might serve as an example of a method by which instruction in English may be made vital and real to unresponsive students, for it brings a subject that often seems very far away right down to their doors, relating literature to a life they understand and appreciate. The pamphlet has been in great demand, has been circulated by thousands of copies. It has been so useful that Mr. Hyatt recently caused another pamphlet, of similar design, to be prepared, describing two other famous Californian authors, John Swett, the founder of the state's public school system, and John Muir, the naturalist.

Here is a field for the ingenuity of educators. Such official publications as these of Mr. Hyatt's are an inspiration to new endeavor and are of enduring usefulness.

CAN THERE BE A UNIVERSAL RELIGION

WHAT is Bahaism? And who is Abdul Baha, the Persian, whose kind old face has smiled through its wrinkles out of all the newspapers of late? Is it another freak religion? Is he another fakir who served to centre the interest of idle women for a few weeks?

Perhaps rather more than that. The kindly old gentleman seeks seclusion rather than advertising, and when he has talked, he has said so few "queer" things — if any — in a vocabulary so free from occult terms, said so many wise and sensible things in so simple and yet somehow so impressive a way, that it is clear he is not of the type of Oriental mystic who has been in the habit of visiting us. His followers dimly hint that he is a reincarnation of all the prophets, but he smiles and waves it all away, and says: "No! No! No! I am not a prophet. I am only a servant of God. You also must be a servant of God."

His religion, if he can be said to have a religion, is this: that all religions are at bottom one. The divine voice, he teaches, can and does speak as well through one creed as through another. The Christian should continue in his faith; the Buddhist in his; the Sufi does not fail to find God in his mysticism, nor the Rationalist in his logic. Only, it behooves them all to seek to enlarge and spiritualize each his particular faith, to enter into its deeper meaning and so find unity with all other men. There are three million Bahaists already, but, while most of them are Mohammedans, because the teaching arose in Persia, it is not uncommon to find Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians, and Hindus meeting together, each sect learning a larger interpretation of its particular faith in the light of the all-inclusive spirit of Bahaism. In London, where his visit excited very great interest, Abdul Baha spoke in the Protestant preacher, Campbell's, chapel and the Anglican Archdeacon, Wilberforce's, church; and he held up the Bible as as good a guide as the Vedas or the Koran.

There is something arresting — as there is in every effort to draw men together — in the visit to the West of this wise man of the East, this lover of his race who seeks to promote better understanding among men by persuading them that their religions are really all one. If there is any fact of contemporaneous history evident, it is the fact that the nations and races are drawing together; civilization is breaking down the barriers; knowledge is showing how vitally the interests of all people of all lands are connected. But religion can scarcely be said to have been in the past a unifying force; it has rather estranged than united. Abdul Baha says: "If a religion be the cause of hatred and disharmony, it would be better for it not to exist than to exist." Yet it is a question how far a religion can surrender its distinctive character without ceasing to exist.

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HIS FIRST BOND

HE WAS one of the most cautious and frightened men who ever wrote to this magazine for information and help. He lived in the country. He had never, he said, bought anything in the nature of an investment except a mortgage. It was in the middle of the panic of 1907; and the only reason why he had thought of bonds was that the man who owed him money on the mortgage had refused to pay the interest and had told him to go ahead and sell the land if he could. The borrower intimated at the same time that it was more than he could do himself.

So the investor turned to bonds, because of a chance remark made by a friend of his in a bank. He wanted extreme safety and 5 per cent. interest on his money. The period was one of those rare periods in the history of the bond market when the two factors he wanted were obtainable in the same security. He was advised to take his choice between Chicago, Burlington & Quincy debenture 5 per cent. bonds, then selling about 97, and Pennsylvania Railroad 3½ per cent. bonds of 1915, selling at 86. He took the latter, largely because he lived on that railroad.

A few weeks ago I heard of him again. He wrote in to say that his bank had very kindly cashed the interest coupons right along. He wanted to know whether the bond was worth as much as he paid for it. The maker of the mortgage, after the trouble was over, had paid up his arrears of interest, and was paying off the principal. The question was whether or not to buy another mortgage or another bond.

When he was told that his bond is now worth about $975 against the $860 he paid for it four years ago, he thought there must be some mistake, and it took another letter to convince him it was the same bond we were talking about. When he [illegible] that fact in mind he wrote again asking for the name of another bond that would "do as well for me as this one."

That mild request is the point of this story. Some day, no doubt, there will come another panic of short duration and of sharp effect on the markets of Wall Street, so that the bargain counters will be filled again with the best bonds of the country at panic prices. But it is a long wait between panics and the uneventful years between are filled with prospects that sometimes look just as good as the best prospects of panic days but that, most unhappily, are not so good as they look.

Therefore, it is interesting to observe, in the public prints, an advertisement offering the bonds of a certain interurban trolley railroad, and recommending them as "certain to advance 25 per cent. in five years." If you are curious enough to get the literature of this concern, you will find an elaborate argument to the effect that there is no steam railroad bond that is a first mortgage on a main trunk line between two cities of two hundred thousand people in this country that is not selling "to yield less than 5 per cent." Therefore, of course, this interurban bond, on a line located between two good cities, must soon sell on that basis also, and to do that it would have to advance 25 per cent.

The argument looks inviting; but it might be very well answered by the simple fact that the people who, a few years ago, bought the first mortgage bonds on an interurban designed to connect two cities of more than a million each would be very glad to take 25 cents on the dollar for them to-day.

It takes much more than an expert to discover, in normal times, such bargains as could be bought blindfolded in the panic of 1907. In normal times prime bonds of really safe character are not for sale 15 per cent. below what all men know to be their real value. If they ever were, the individual investor in the country

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would not get them, for they would be bought up in a hurry by the great insurance companies and banks, which hire the best judges of value in the country to keep a sharp eye out always for bargains.

A WARNING FOR THE PRESENT

The present is, perhaps, a very good time to emphasize the fact that bargains in securities in normal times are not apt to be very cheap. Often they are marked down, not because of a spirit of philanthropy or even because the owner wants to get them "off the shelves," but because of very good reasons inherent in the securities themselves. You may go into Wall Street to-day and buy bonds and notes of railroad systems that look quite solvent and even prosperous, and you can get 6 per cent. or 7 per cent. — or, if you want to take a chance, even 8 per cent.—on your money. Nobody, however, considers them very rare bargains. The only people who have a right to buy them are people who can sit tight and see them through, whatever comes, without selling the automobile.

The same remark applies to a great many very alluring and perfectly legitimate offerings of investment securities. It is just about as true to-day as it ever was that the man who tries to make $1,000 earn as much interest for him as $2,000 earned five years ago doubles his risk as well as his income. Mathematically it is not true; because any economist can tell you that interest rates are higher to-day on account of the cost of living and gold production and extravagance and a few other things; but this difference is decidedly not a good reason to suppose that a man can get 7 per cent. to-day as safely as he could get 4 per cent. a few years ago.

This article is intended to be a note of warning. The alluring search for high income, the constant pressure for higher and higher revenue — they have their own peculiar dangers. Here and there, as time goes on, undoubtedly some of the stocks and bonds that now tempt the old-fashioned investor out of the safety and, perhaps, penury, of his 4 per cent. to 5 per cent. income will go to pieces in a hurry and drop him back again into a worse place by far than he held before.

THE COST OF HIGH INCOME

You cannot get abnormal interest rates combined with safety. If, in times like this, the pressure forces you to seek for higher rates, do so; but do not deceive yourself into believing that in doing so you are holding to the same principles of conservatism and safety that were characteristic of the old-fashioned investment. You are forced, perhaps, to look for higher revenue. Do it, then, with your eyes open, quite conscious that you increase your risk in some degree for every tenth of one per cent. that you increase your income. That will make you cautious and save you from blundering through a fool's paradise into poverty.

When you first venture into new paths, tread cautiously. Study the principles of the new form of investment quite as carefully as you ever studied the old. It is quite possible to change from 3½ per cent. investments to 4½ per cent. investments, these days, without giving up anything you really ought to keep; and it is equally possible to swing from 4 per cent. securities to 5 per cent. securities without getting on dangerous ground. Only — you have to give up something.

For instance, it is safe to say that no security ought, nowadays, to sell on a 4 per cent. basis of fixed income unless it is absolutely safe, perfectly marketable any day, good as collateral in the bank, and known to all men as a standard investment security. Now the ordinary investor who puts money away for income does not care whether he could borrow at his bank on his investments or not, whether he could sell them any day by telephone, or whether they are well known in the markets as standard securities.

Therefore, if you want to readjust your income to meet your expenses, figure out the change on a common sense basis. Give up some convertibility, give up some of the satisfaction of owning the best there is no matter what it costs, give up all chances for an increase in the value of your security if you like — but don't give up safety.

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A GREAT, SIMPLE, MEN'S CHURCH

THE CHICAGO SUNDAY EVENING CLUB, WHERE 3,000 MEN ONCE A WEEK CROWD A BIG AUDITORIUM IN THE BUSINESS DISTRICT MERELY TO HEAR SACRED MUSIC AND TO DRAW INSPIRATION FROM THE LIFE OF JESUS

BY

JACOB RIIS

PEOPLE nowadays don't want to go to church," said a clergyman friend to me the other day and, when I demurred, he told me this story from his own experience. A certain tradesman contributed regularly to the salary of the minister of his parish, but never set his foot inside the church. One day Deacon Jones, having collected his quarterly check, pressed him to give a reason. The man made several evasive replies, but finally blurted out: "If you will insist, I will tell you. As a member of the community, from habit — because I think it is best for the people — put it any way you like — I support the church. Outside of that, for myself, I don't care a damn for it."

"That," said my friend, "is the attitude, and how are you going to get around it?"

I think my friend is getting around it, for the order "Forward march!" that is ringing through the land has been heard in his community too. While we are limbering up and getting ready to move, all of us, let me set down here the experience of a church in the very heart of a great city, the pews of which are never empty though it depends on no social attractions, no institutional feature, to fill them, and though it offers to the people no impressive ritual or creed other than the life of Jesus Christ and its teachings. It is true that it does not call itself a church and lays no claim to denominational fellowship; but it is also true that it gathers within its doors every Sunday night during eight months of the year one of the largest congregations to be found in the land, if indeed it has an equal in point of numbers, and that it is making itself felt in constantly increasing measure as a distinct religious influence where that was the greatest need.

Its president and moving spirit is an ordained clergyman who, being a Christian, is also a good citizen. Properly, the story of his work should begin with him, but first a word of his field.

Every one has heard of the "Loop District" in the city of Chicago. It is the district of big hotels, big business, huge department stores — the trade centre of the city, with a population distinct from that of its home section. The hotels are filled with traveling men, particularly at the end of the week when they come from the surrounding country to "Sunday over" there, or to get into touch with their firms. In the upper stories of the big business buildings live thousands of engineers, janitors, and care-takers whose very existence is scarcely suspected by the crowd.

This, too, is where the homeless army of young men and women who live in boarding houses and furnished rooms spend their days, perhaps the most forlorn class in any great city, as many a reader knows from personal experience. Of amusements, good and bad, there is never a lack. But Sunday, especially Sunday evening, brings hopeless boredom to those who either cannot afford, or do not fancy, the cheap shows. Once there were two great People's Churches with services in public halls. One has disbanded; the other, Central Church, still draws large audiences to the Auditorium in the morning. In the evening its doors are closed.

Into this situation came Clifford W. Barnes, a young theologian whom Presi-

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dent Harper had brought out with a group of Yale "fellows" to teach in the Chicago University. As an instructor in sociology he became the first man resident of Hull House and battled with the powers and principalities that obstructed Jane Addams's beneficent work, made speeches from cart-tails at election times; then, by and by, ran a little settlement of his own on the civic outposts. As opportunity offered here or there for a man's work, he held one or two pastorates in the city and the presidency of a minor college. During a year's residence in Paris where, in the absence of Rodman Wanamaker, he was acting President of the American Art Association, he had conducted with Mrs. Barnes a Sunday evening service for English-speaking students. They came in such crowds as to make the problem of providing house-room always urgent. The Latin Quarter is not supposed to be especially fruitful soil for religious teaching. Here was proof that it was merely for want of tilling.

It was this experience that made Mr. Barnes consider the Loop District attentively. He saw a situation not unlike the one he had left behind in the Latin Quarter, and he believed that he had the right key to fit into it.

CHRISTIANITY BACKED BY CASH

Mr. Barnes is a man of action. Christianity to him means helping the neighbor. There resulted a series of interviews with some of Chicago's best citizens, business men like Mr. Adolphus C. Bartlett, John G. Shedd of Marshall Field & Co., Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson of the Corn Exchange National Bank, Mr. John T. Pirie, Mr. Eugene J. Buffington, President of the Illinois Steel Co., Mr. Henry P. Crowell of the Quaker Oats Co., Mr. David R. Forgan of the National City Bank, Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. William P. Sidley. The list is much longer than that, but as it stands here it is long enough to give an idea of the kind of men Mr. Barnes enlisted in the support of his Sunday Evening Club that was organized in the winter of 1908 "to maintain a service of Christian inspiration and fellowship in the business centre of Chicago." They guaranteed the cost of the experiment and in fact paid the first year's deficit. There has never been any since.

The question of location was soon settled. Two halls were offered, one that had room for seven hundred, the other, Orchestra Hall, which the people of Chicago built for Theodore Thomas as his musical home. When Orchestra Hall is packed to the last seat on the platform and in the top gallery it holds quite three thousand. The projectors of the Sunday Evening Club had the courage of their convictions — perhaps it would be more correct to say of Mr. Barnes's convictions — and they were not men to stop at half measures. They leased the large hall, and their faith was justified. It filled up rapidly during that first winter, and since then there has rarely been a Sunday evening, rain or shine, when it was not packed to the roof. The parallel of the Latin Quarter is complete: the puzzle of to-day is how to make more room. This last winter the great Auditorium Hall would have been leased, could permanent tenure have been guaranteed. That would have almost doubled the present membership of the "Club."

REACHING THE "LONELY SUNDAY" MAN

How did they do it? Feeling sure that all that was needed was to make the meetings and their purpose known, they went to work systematically to do that. They enlisted the newspapers first. Then cards were placed in every hotel, and freely circulated, giving the hour and place of their meetings. For a while, when there was yet room to spare, every guest who had registered in the hotels of the district up to a late hour Saturday night found a personal letter in his box at noon on Sunday asking him to come. As I said, it worked from the start. They came so early, for fear of losing the chance of a seat, that the lobby of the building was crowded an hour and a half before the hall was open. The people — they were nearly all men — stood around and waited patiently enough, but a lot of good time was going to waste.

Mr. Barnes considered once more and talked it over with his wife. Up in the

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building was a large room that could hold two hundred and fifty. They hired that and invited in the crowd downstairs. Mrs. Barnes played for them, and they sang. Her husband talked to them, and they listened and brought their friends. Very soon there were more wanting to get in than the room would hold. Again they had to move, this time into the big hall where, for half an hour before the evening service, husband and wife now carry on a — Bible class, would you call it? Hardly that; it is more like a neighborly gathering where they all sing together and have a good time, and Mr. Barnes tells stories of the life of Jesus in the simple language of plain men. He told me once that he shivered and shook and was afraid he couldn't do it right. If that is the way, he is like the old general who regularly before a battle went away by himself and told his limbs to shiver and get done with it, he had work to do; and then, when the fit was over, went out and won the fight. There will be, in long after years, many a Chicago business man who will remember those meetings with a glow of grateful feeling. The "Class" now numbers seventeen hundred men, regular in attendance.

A REMARKABLE MUSICAL SETTING

At 7.35 the doors of the hall are thrown open to the rush, and the evening service begins with orchestral music. The great choir that leads the worship at the Chicago Sunday Evening Club is another of its achievements. They had volunteers first, and a quartette of highly trained singers. Of their experiences with these was evolved the present choir of eighty voices from Chicago's music schools that comes twice a week for practice, glad of the chance, and gives to the service a musical setting the like of which one shall seek far to find. It lends, in its simple robes, the one touch of ritual to the meeting.

When all the hall can hold are in, the audience stands to sing the doxology and recite the Lord's Prayer. There has been no occasion in my experience when I have not had to bore my way through hundreds left outside, for whom there was no room. Within, except for the physical environment that suggests the theatre, no one would know that he was not in a church. Some citizen reads the scripture. The last time I was there it was Mr. Clarence F. Funk, General Manager of the International Harvester Company. Doctor Stuart, editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, prayed. There were the usual anthems and then Mr. Barnes, who is the president of the Club, made the announcements. And there cropped out a characteristic touch of commercial Chicago.

"Any one," he said, "who desires to join or affiliate with the church, any church — this is not a church — will find a committee in the hall ready to do business with them."

And business booms, I am told. Naturally the churches approve. They would anyhow, having common sense.

$20,000 IN THE COLLECTION BOX

There is a collection, of course. It has never been emphasized, but, as an expression of the conscience of the meeting, it has grown steadily from forty or fifty dollars until now it averages a hundred. And Mr. Barnes tells me that, among the contributions which aggregate the large sum of $20,000 that goes to support the work, are many of five dollars or less that clearly represent the gratitude of traveling men and clerks who thus pay their club membership fees — the only way they are ever collected.

"*Come Thou Almighty King*," they sang the last Sunday evening I worshipped with them, and then came the address, another hymn, and the benediction. It is a rare inspiration to look into those thousands of faces from the platform. A suggestive departure from the ordinary church congregation strikes one at once: three fourths of them are men, young men and old men, the grist of the business district. There are no cranks among them, or, if they are there, they are not heard of, for there is no discussion. But not infrequently does one hear an old-time "Amen, Lord!" And after the organ has ceased booming, many a gray-haired brother comes to shake the speaker by the hand and give him a hearty "God bless

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you!" on his way. Sometimes it is a minister who speaks, as often a social worker like Jane Addams, Owen Lovejoy of the Child Labor Committee, or Graham Taylor. Or it may be Dr. Grenfell when he comes that way, or Booker Washington, or Senator Beveridge, Justice Hughes of the Supreme Court, Gifford Pinchot, Judge Lindsey, William Jennings Bryan, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of the French Senate, the governor of a state, the president of a university or of some great business corporation. They all have their innings. Whoever has a moral message is welcomed, doubly so if it is drawn from the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Yet, Rabbi Emil Hirsch, one of Chicago's eloquent preachers, has been heard there, and this last winter Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York, who spoke on "a nation's conscience." If I were to formulate the creed of the Sunday Evening Club, I should put it, "All God's Children." It is as wide as that.

The Sunday Evening Club meets from October until May. Out of its ranks has sprung a Men's League that helps work out on week days the problems of every-day citizenship. "To promote good fellowship and mutual helpfulness among the men of Chicago" is its purpose, not a bad rendering of the neighborly gospel. It has at present 250 members, is housed under the roof of the City Club, and thrives well.

This is the story of one effort of plain men to bring the gospel to their fellows, and of how they have succeeded. It is not the end, for the idea of a great City Temple downtown that shall be used as an auditorium on week days and shall be managed, as now, by a citizens' committee, is visibly working out of it. Whether or not the Chicago Sunday Evening Club comes eventually to worship in its own house, it has already earned its place as a permanent and useful influence in the city's life. One is not surprised to learn that the man, whose energy and faith in his fellowmen has primarily wrought this result, is the same who, as Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, is battling effectively with the White Slave traffic in Chicago, and, as President of the Legislative Voters' League, brought the charges against Senator Lorimer that have stirred the country from one end to the other. It seems natural to expect Clifford W. Barnes to be that kind of citizen. And it is very wholesome that it should be so.

PICTURESQUE NEW YORK

AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED IN CHARCOAL SKETCHES AND TEXT

BY

F. HOPKINSON SMITH

NEW YORK CITY, below its man-piled coverings, is a huge stone lizard sprawled flat on its belly, its head erect at Spuyten-Tuyvel, its arms and legs touching the two rivers, its tail flopping the Battery.

All along the spine and flanks of this Reptile of Gneiss tormenting men dig and bore and blast; driving tunnels through its vitals; scooping holes for sub-cellars five floors under ground; running water pipes and gas mains; puncturing its skin with hypodermics of steam; weighting it with skyscrapers, the dismal streets below dark as sunless ravines; plastering its sides with grass bordered by asphalt into which scraggly trees are stuck and — as a crowning indignity — criss-crossing its backbone with centipedes of steel, highways for endless puffing trains belching heat and gas.

This has been going on in constantly increasing malevolence since the Dutch landed, and will continue to go on until three or four, or perhaps six, brand-new

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cities, each one placed exactly above the other, are piled on top of the poor beast. What will happen then, especially if it loses all patience and some fine morning gives an angry shiver, as would an old horse shaking off flies, some lucky survivor near the Golden Gate may know, but no one questions that it would be unpleasant for the flies.

In the meantime the sun shines on spider-web bridges; lofty buildings with gold-topped walking sticks of towers, miles of sidewalks obscured by millions of people; endless ribbons of streets swarming with wheeled beetles, and countless acres of upturned ground scarred with the ruins of the old to make ready for the new, while over, through, and in it all lives the breeze and thrill, the spirit and courage of a Great City, made great by Great Men for other Great Men yet unborn to enjoy.

In this twisted, seething mass stand quaint houses with hipped roofs; squat buildings crouching close to escape being trampled on — some hugging the sides of huge steel giants as if for protection; patches of thread-bare sod sighed over by melancholy trees guarding long-forgotten graves; narrow, baffled streets dodging in and out, their tired eyes on the river; stretches of wind-swept spaces bound by sea-walls, off which the eager, busy tugs and statelier ships weave their way, waving flags of white steam as they pass; wooden wharves choked with queer shaped bales smelling of spice, and ill-made boxes stained with bilge water, against which lie black and white monsters topped with red funnels, surmounting decks of steel.

All these in the very chaos of their variety are the spoil of the painter. Some of them are reproduced in these pages.

THE SKYSCRAPER

The Demon of Unrest and Hurry — that ruthless gore which recognizes nothing but its own interest — is responsible for this — the greatest monstrosity of our time. Away go our most honored treasures — houses, churches, and breathing spaces. No more quaint doorways and twisted iron railings; no more slanting roofs topped with honest chimneys; no more quiet back yards where a man could sit and rest. Out of my, way you back numbers!

So in go the testing drills — way down in the earth's vitals. Then the blasting begins. Never mind your old-fashioned, rickety cupboards holding your grandmother's tea-cups — lock them up in the cellar until I get through. Now the caissons are sunk — big round as a ship's funnel and many times as long: down they go, slowly — slowly — one foot at a time — the brown ground-hogs digging like moles in the foul air. A swarm of Titans rush in. Up go the derricks — the cranes swing — half a score of engines vomit steam and smoke. Then huge beams of steel — heavy as a bridge-truss and as thick — punched and ready, are swung into place, and the upward lift begins. Up — up — up — into the blue — a gigantic skeleton of steel over which is stretched a skin of stone punctured with a thousand browless eyes.

When the height is exhausted — that is, when the limit of the crime is reached — the flat lid is screwed on; partitions are run, dividing the open space into cells for the various bees who are to toil inside; the eyes of the windows are glazed, shutting out the air; below, in the bowels of the sub-cellars, huge fires are kindled, while here and there the express cars of a score of elevators mount and fall.

Outside this prison of industry — the free — those still uncondemned, look up in wonder.

And well they may!

The vertical straight line is the line of the ugly. The rectangular is two straight lines conspiring to strangle beauty. These are fundamental laws to the Demon — laws he dare not ignore. Build his bee-hive on a curve, or a slant and it would sag like a battered basket. What New York will look like when the rest of our streets are lined with this "drygoods-box-set-up-on-end" style of architecture with fronts but so many under-done waffles, is a thought that disturbs.

WALL STREET

When old Peter Stuyvesant, in 1653 built his split tree-trunk of a wall twelve

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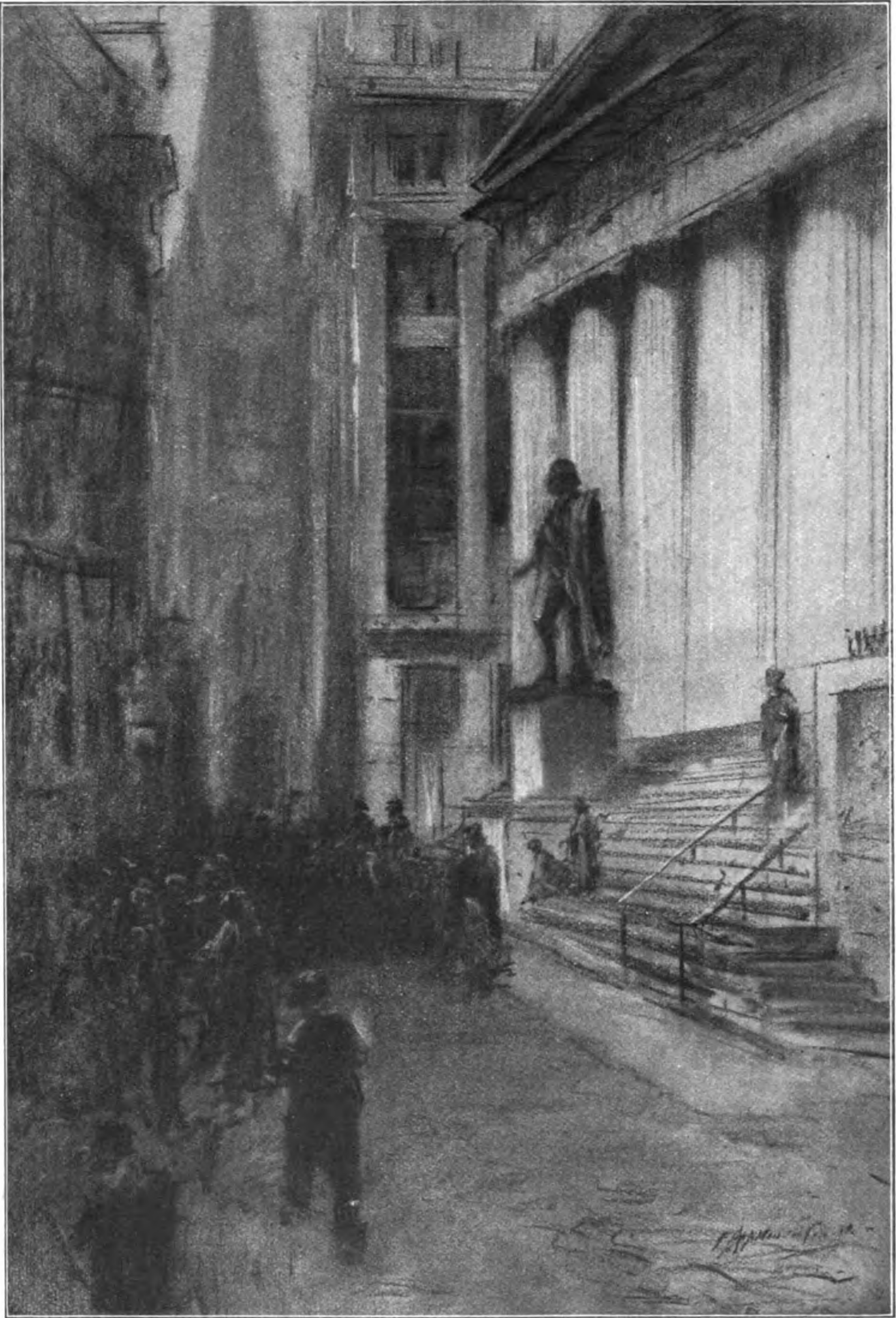

"WALL STREET"
CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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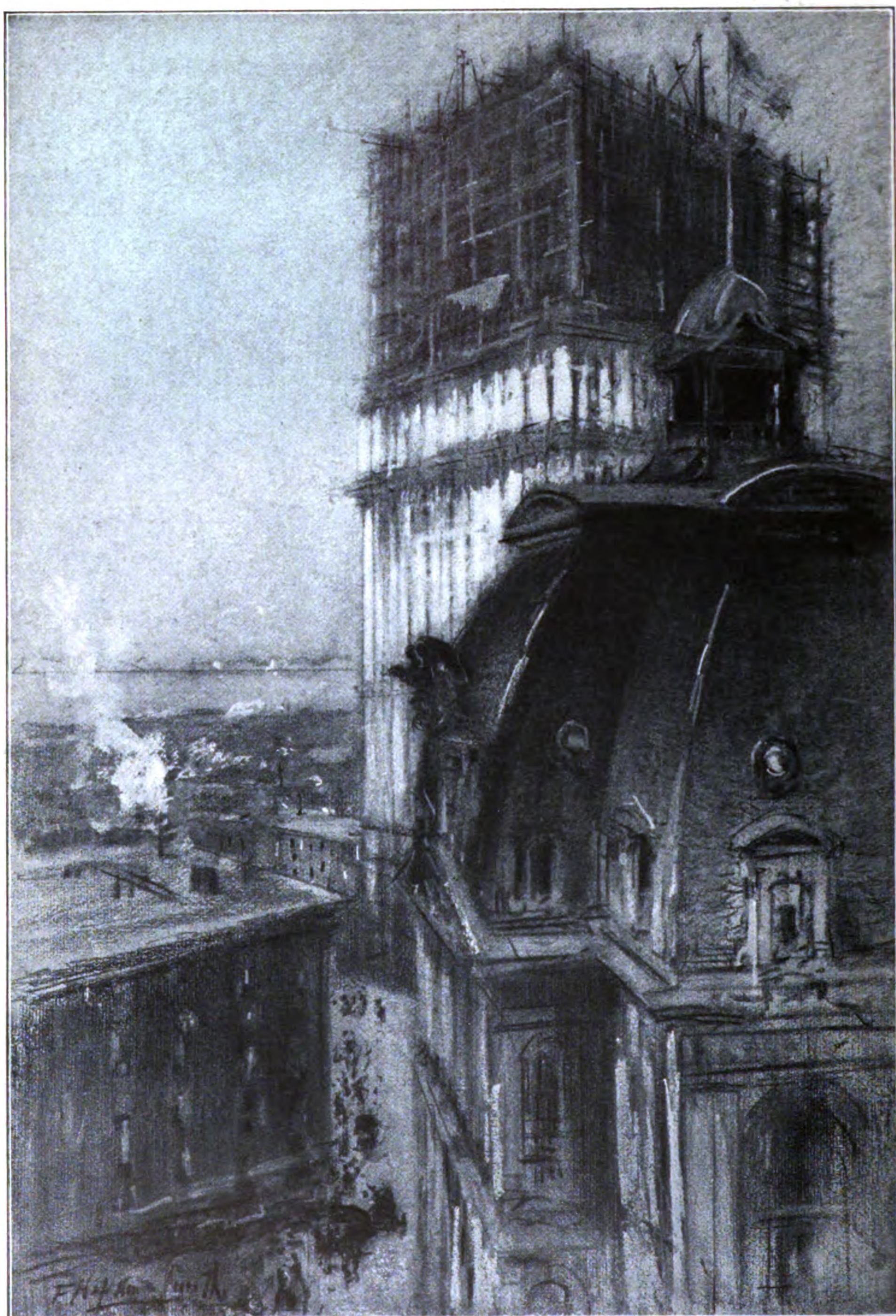

"THE SKYSCRAPER"

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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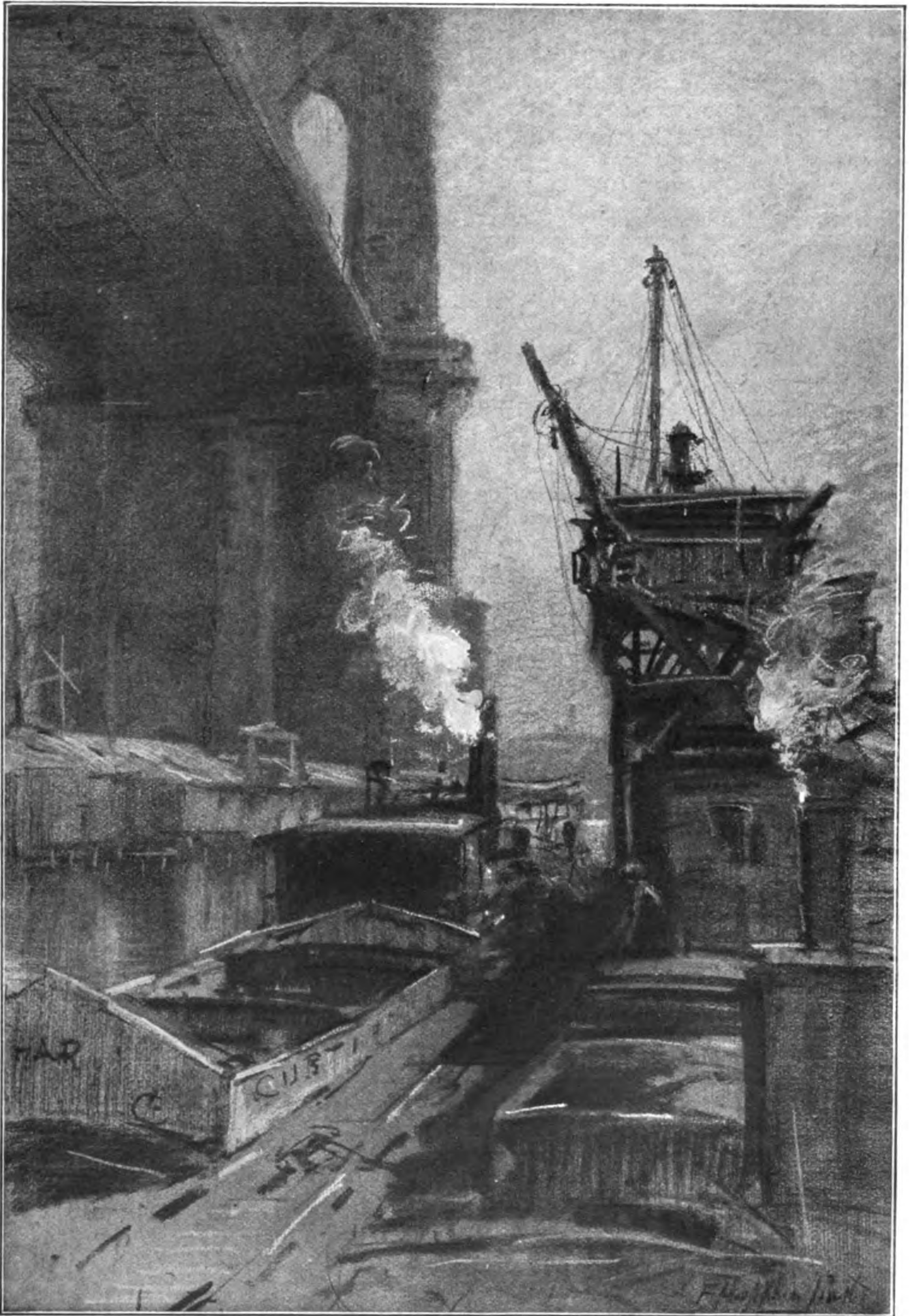

"BROOKLYN BRIDGE"

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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feet high, running from river to river, he had in mind the protection of a few isolated houses fronting a parade ground guarded by sentries: we have the same dead line to-day, but it is to keep out the thieves. The wall came down in 1699, and then the Slave Market and slaughter houses followed, together with all the horrors which the broom of Municipal Government sweeps before it.

Up the street, on the edge of the hill, old Trinity — arbiter of peace — raised its front, its shadow falling on the illustrious dead who had fashioned the new out of the old, and whose names still tell the story of the past. Then the years rolled on, and there came the Sub-Treasury, its own inherent dignity glorified by Ward's statue, and then along the narrow curb the fight for place began. One after another huge structures of steel and stone arose; while big, swaggering bullies of buildings locked arms with the clouds, looking down in contempt on lesser folk.

How he would storm — that hot-headed, irascible, honest old Peter — could he see it all; and how his old wooden leg would stamp up and down the asphalt when he found his own stentorian voice, that had once dominated the colonies, drowned in the mighty surge and clash of the forces of to-day — the never-ending roar of frenzied men bent on gain; the rumble of wheels and clatter of hoofs; the hum and whir of countless machines — one great united orchestra shouting the Battle Cry of the New Republic — America's Song of Success.

Out of the din, overlooking the struggle, are, here and there, cases of silence, where self-contained men sit in carpeted offices behind guarded doors, armed with pens whose briefest tracings spell poverty or wealth; their fingers pressing tiny buttons that sway the markets of the world.

Crouching close, hedged in, but still defiant, the Old Church — undismayed, fearless — guarding its dead — still lifts its slender finger pointing up to God — calling the people to prayer.

Ofttimes — even in the thick of the fight — men listen, close their desks, and, within the sacred precincts, kneel and worship. Then there soars a note of triumph that rises above the tumult of gain and endeavor — a note that lifts the struggle out of the sordid — a note that steadies and redeems.

THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE

A great triumph this: the master work of a great archer who, first, in thought, shot this bridge across the river; never doubting his ability, in the thirteen years of work that followed, to make real his dream.

One wire at a time: the first carried in a rowboat in the hands of a boy between towers 272 feet above tide-water, and a mile or more apart — 5,268 of these threads of steel, each one galvanized and oil-coated, before Number One of the four huge cables was completed and men landed dry shod on the opposite bank.

To-day the huge monster, both legs spread, carries on his flat hands the hurrying millions of two cities, the roar of their tumult echoing down from mid air.

These giants — men who have defied the impossible — are often forgotten in this our day of satisfactory results. "Build me a railroad across the Rockies — here's the money —" said a capitalist, and mountains are pierced, alkali deserts crossed, subterranean rivers caulked or syphoned, and spider-web bridges woven above deadly ravines. And so we lie in our berths, a mile beneath the snow line in our mad whirl to the Pacific.

"Fasten a lighthouse to a single rock breasting the anger of the Atlantic —" commanded a Government; and "All's well!" rings out from the starboard watch, as Minot's Ledge looms up out of the fog.

"Cut a continent in two —" read an executive order — "so the ships may pass and the West be as the East —" and the day is already set when the eager hands of the two oceans will be clasped in an eternal embrace.

Great men these — and not the least of them Roebling, the Bridge Builder! Take your hats off to his memory the next time you cross his master-work in a fog, or when you recall some trip in one of those big water-bugs of ferry-boats crunching its way through the floating ice — the decks black with people.

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A WILD WEST FOURTH

THAT FURNISHES MORE EXCITEMENT THAN FIRECRACKERS AND FIREWORKS CAN SUPPLY, AND THAT IS PERFECTLY SAFE (FOR THE SPECTATORS)

"JUST UP"

THE COWBOYS ROPE AND THROW THE HORSE AND BLINDFOLD HIM WHILE THEY HOLD HIM DOWN ON THE GROUND; THEN THEY LET HIM UP AND HALTER AND SADDLE HIM; FINALLY THE "BUSTER" MOUNTS HIM AS SOMEBODY WHIPS OFF THE BLINDFOLD, AND THEN THE REAL EXCITEMENT BEGINS. DELL BLANCHETT RIDING IN THE FOURTH OF JULY ROUND-UP AT PENDLETON, ORE.

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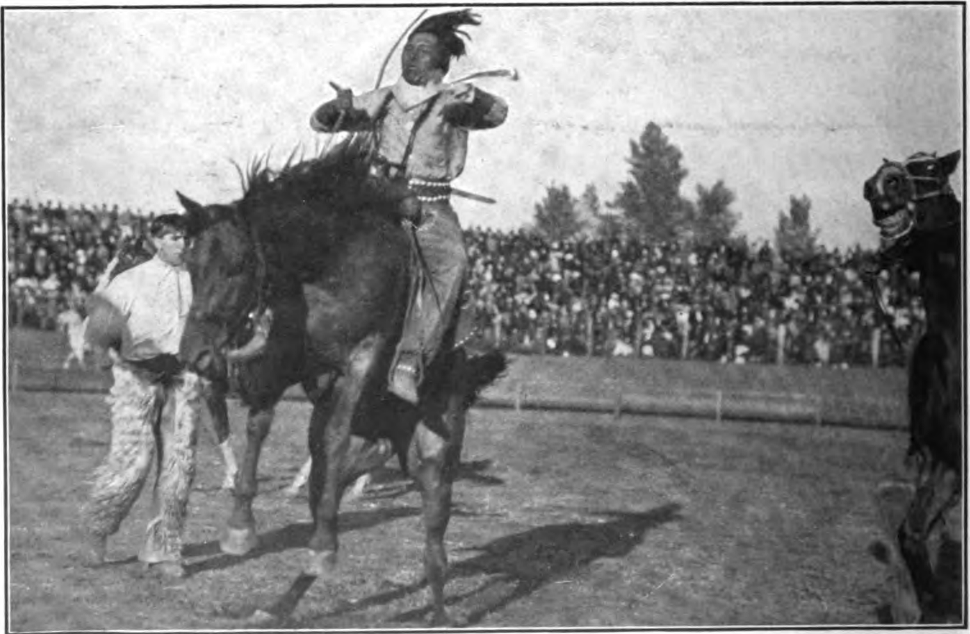
BITS ARE BARRED

ONLY A TENDERFOOT OR A MOLLYCODDLE USES ANYTHING BUT A HACKAMORE OR, AT THE MOST, A HALTER; TO USE A BRIDLE IS TO TAKE AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE OF THE HORSE — AND IT TAKES TOO MUCH TIME TO GET THE BIT IN HIS MOUTH



READY TO QUIT

USUALLY, WHEN A BRONCHO HAS TRIED THE BUCK, THE STIFF-LEGGED JUMP, THE PERPENDICULAR REAR, THE HUMP, AND THE ROLL ALL IN VAIN UNTIL HE IS BLOWN, HE IS BROKEN: THE REST OF THE JOB IS TO TEACH HIM THE FINER POINTS — MARCISE MCKAY RIDING "STRAWBERRY" IN THE FINAL BUCKING CONTEST FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE NORTHWEST, AT PENDLETON, ORE., JULY 4, 1911

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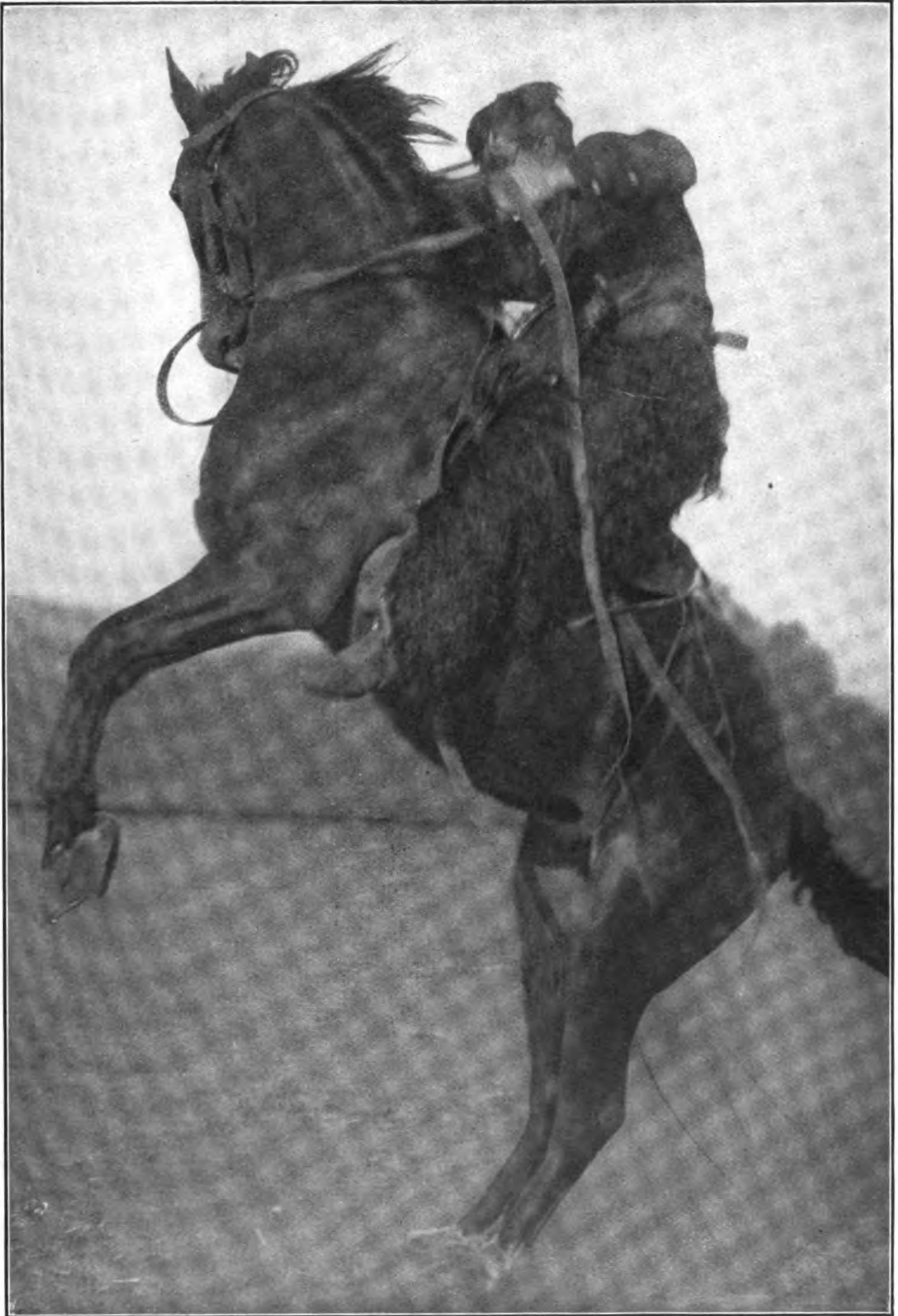

"GOING UP"

A POSITION IN WHICH THE HIGH CANTLE OF THE WESTERN STOCK-SADDLE IS AS USEFUL TO KEEP THE RIDER FROM SLIDING OFF AS THE HIGH POMMEL IS WHEN THE HORSE BUCKS HEAD DOWN

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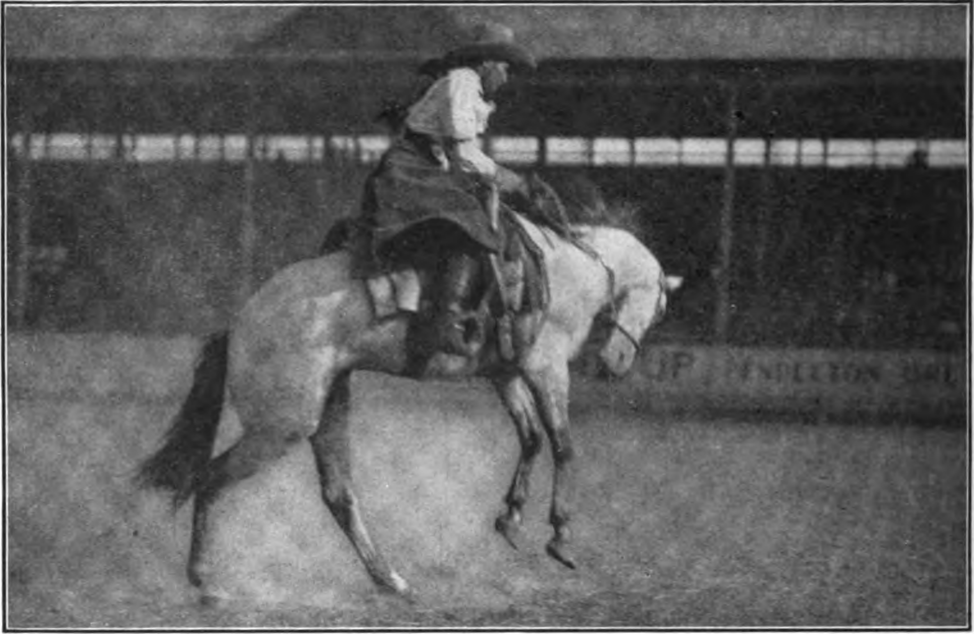

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THE CHAMPION WOMAN BRONCHO BUSTER

MISS BERTHA BLANCHETT RIDING ASTRIDE IN DIVIDED SKIRTS, WITH ONLY A HACKAMORE ON THE HORSE'S HEAD, COMPETING WITH THE MEN IN THE BUCKING CONTEST AT PENDLETON, ORE.

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FIGHTING MAD

AT THE RIDER'S WHOOPS, THE BRANDISHED HAT, AND THE WICKED SPURS; HEAD DOWN PREPARING FOR A DRIVE WITH HIS HEELS. BERT KELLY IN THE BUCKING CONTEST AT PENDLETON, ORE., AT WHICH HE WON THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE NORTHWEST

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BREAKING AN "OUTLAW" IN CHEYENNE

WHERE ANOTHER OF THE PICTURESQUE FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS INCLUDES A BRONCHO BUSTING CONTEST THAT IS OPEN TO ALL COMERS WHO WISH TO COMPETE FOR THE PRIZES — EVERETT MCGUCKIN RIDING

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A STIFF-LEGGED JUMP

NOT SO DANGEROUS AS THE ROLL, BUT THE MOST DISAGREEABLE TRICK OF THE FIGHTING BRONCHO, FOR IT JOLTS THE RIDER TERRIBLY. GEORGE FLETCHER ON "HOT FOOT" WINNING SECOND PLACE IN THE BUCKING CONTEST AT THE PENDLETON "ROUND-UP"

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CLOSE TO THE DANGER LINE

THE WORST "OUTLAWS" WILL SOMETIMES RISK THEIR OWN NECKS BY DELIBERATELY FALLING OVER BACKWARD IN THE HOPE OF CRUSHING THE RIDER — THE MOST DANGEROUS TRICK OF A DESPERATE HORSE

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"WHAT I AM TRYING TO DO"

A SCHOOL FOR ACTORS AND A BETTER THEATRE FOR THE PUBLIC

BY

DAVID BELASCO

A FEW evenings ago I saw a young man, presumably a gentleman of breeding and culture, place his hand with coarse familiarity upon the half-bared shoulder of a young lady to whom he had just been introduced. The incident was passed by without apparent notice by those in position to rebuke.

Had this happened in everyday life the offender would have been made to suffer in some manner for his unpardonable vulgarity. It really happened on the stage of one of the Broadway theatres, where an English society drama was being produced by a company of American players. The audience was forced to swallow the insult to its intelligence, knowing that the actor was guilty of no other sin than a total ignorance of the character he was attempting to portray.

In an interview published about that time I took occasion to say that not many of our younger American actors know how to speak English correctly, or even how to address a lady. This assertion aroused a storm of protest, particularly among those who do most of their studying in the bar rooms of the theatrical clubs. One of the voices loudest raised in protest belonged to the young man whose offense I have described.

MR. DAVID BELASCO
AT WORK ON THE PRODUCTION OF A PLAY

There should be no position on the stage for actors of this type, at least there should be no position for them until they have learned that it requires more than grease paint and clothes to make a gentleman, even back of the footlights. It is my ambition to do something to improve the position occupied by the actor — something that will bring nearer the day when the stage will take rank as a serious profession, the equal of law or literature. If I can do that I shall be satisfied that the thirty years I have given to things dramatic have not been wasted.

Ability and intelligence, character and power of application: these are the ingredients that go to make for success

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MR. BELASCO CONGRATULATING MISS FRANCES STARR AT A DRESS REHEARSAL

with the actor as with others. The greatest of all is character.

I believe the actor should be educated for his profession just as carefully and just as thoroughly as the young law student is prepared for the legal profession. With that idea in mind I have decided to try to start some ambitious young persons along the right road. I shall establish a class with the very best of teachers — two classes in fact, one for men and another for women — paying all expenses, and giving my own time and thought. I expect that the cost to me for the first two years will be from $40,000 to $45,000. At the end of that time I believe that I shall have demonstrated that I am on the right road, and I have assurances that other and wealthier men will then take up the burden.

My first move was to cause to be published in various papers an advertisement of which the following is a copy:

Well educated, ambitious young men desirous of entering the theatrical profession write to David Belasco, 115 West Forty-fourth street, enclosing photograph. Those averse to hard work need not apply.

It was in explaining the meaning of my advertisement that I said that in casting a play nowadays it is extremely difficult

MR. BELASCO AND HIS COMPANY GIVING A PLAY ITS FIRST READING

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IN HIS LIBRARY WORKSHOP

SHOWING ONE OF THE SCREENS ON WHICH MR BELASCO PINS MEMORANDA OF NEW IDEAS WHEN STAGING HIS PLAYS, AND SOME SPECIMENS OF HIS REMARKABLE COLLECTION OF MEMENTOES OF THE THEATRE

to find young men who know how to speak English correctly, who know how to walk, how to address a lady. And it is true. The young actor of the present generation seems to think he can not be taught anything. He thinks only about the salary that he believes he should receive, and nothing about the stage as a profession. He plays a small part and then he joins a theatrical club where he spends much of his time. He does not take the trouble to improve his mind in any manner. He knows nothing and cares nothing about what is going on around him. He is too

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lazy to learn how to dance, he has no knowledge of fencing. He can not speak the most common French and German words, except in a manner to make him ridiculous. Of the masters of literature he is in profound and happy ignorance.

These views I stated plainly and, as I have said, the result was a shower of abuse. My advertisement, however, brought an avalanche of letters from the very ones I wished to reach. I shall have thousands to choose from, and already my office force is at work sifting out the most promising of those who are making application to join the class I shall start. After this preliminary work is done, the final selecting will fall to me, and I shall give to this my most serious attention. The members of this first class will be chosen without any regard to their financial position. As I have said, I will pay all expenses. If I find in the class a son of wealth, all that will be promised him will be that his money shall not work him an injury. He will have to permit me to defray the cost of his education, and he will have to work just as hard and submit himself to the same discipline as the boy at his side who may not have a penny. One requirement I shall make; each student must pledge himself not to enter a theatrical club for three years.

LOOKING FOR "THE INEVITABLE WORD"

If I find a youth of promise who must support himself while he is studying, help will be given to him. If I find another of equal promise who is under obligation to add his mite to the Saturday envelope from which the family draws its support, employment will be made for him. I do not intend to lose a promising pupil because of his poverty.

I shall make a careful study of the temperament and of the character of each one who comes under my instruction. The young man who needs employment will be sent to that work which I think he needs for his best development. Perhaps he may be called upon to work as an apprentice to the stage carpenter. He may be sent into my library to work among the masters of literature, ancient and modern. He may have a small part in some play. Wherever he is placed, and whatever work is given to him to do, it will be with a thought of its influence upon his development and his future.

In the school I am establishing I will not have a pupil who does not demonstrate his earnestness and his right percentage of character. If he puts forth his share of effort I will assure him a reasonable success. His personality will not be smothered. His individuality will be coaxed into greater growth. I shall make it my most important duty to save the personality and perfect it. To do that has been one of the secrets of my life. As a teacher I have found it possible to thrust my fingers into the open bosom and pluck at the very strings of the emotions, compelling them to do my bidding.

There was with me a few seasons ago a young man with whom I labored and of whom I expected great things. He was growing in mental stature and in promise. We produced a play in which he scored an immediate popular success. Only he failed to realize that he had learned merely one lesson and that his real career was far ahead. The next season a contract was handed to him which carried with it a reasonable increase of salary. The con-

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tract was returned with the declaration that the young man believed the success achieved by him warranted his demand that he be starred and also paid a percentage of the receipts in addition to his salary. He refused to see the matter in any other light. He gave up serious study, accepting himself as one who had finally arrived. He has not had a success since, and now is all but forgotten by those who praised him most.

Walker Whiteside worked and studied and observed for many weary years before he could obtain a hearing in New York, but he refused to be discouraged, and simply worked on. Now he is recognized as an actor of sterling merit, and is always certain of a hearty welcome. There are other young men possessing as great natural ability as Mr. Whiteside, but who, lacking his high percentage of character, will never get beyond a first success.

There are others who will try; and judging from the tenor of some of the letters that have come to me, the proper spirit will be found in those who are to be my students. I am to be permitted to draw from all classes. Letters have come from young men who will take university degrees this year, from farmers, clerks, painters, mechanics, and from men who frankly confess that they have been unsuccessful in everything they have tried thus far in life. Among those who seem to be the most in earnest are perhaps a score of young clergymen, each one of whom believes that he can teach a better lesson from the stage than from the pulpit. Several young lawyers have expressed a desire to leave the bar for the footlights. A complete class might be recruited from those who desire to leave the newspaper offices in which they are now employed.

DISCUSSING A COSTUME WITH MISS STARR

It was with much pleasure that I received letters from young actors who recognized the weight of my criticisms of their kind. They are the ones I most desired to reach, and it is from them and through them that the best results are to be obtained. One young man who is now in a Broadway production — a success, by the way — wrote that my advertisement offered to him the opportunity he had been seeking for several years.

"Give me a chance," he wrote. "I know it is just what I need. I am not

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AN UNUSUAL PORTRAIT OF MR. BELASCO

averse to hard work, and I know that I can learn."

That letter pleased and interested me, and the evening after it was called to my attention I went to the theatre to see the young man at work. He pleases me in every way. He has the appearance of a gentleman and on the stage conducts himself as though he has been accustomed to meeting nice people. Unless he changes his mind, he will be a member of my class.

He will be in good company, too, for I shall have with me as students young men whose names have been familiar to theatre goers for more than one generation. One of the applications comes from a grandson of Lester Wallack, another from a Herne, and still another from a Jefferson. At least two other well known stage families will be represented — but their names I am not at liberty to give at this moment.

What I dread the most is the writing of the letters of refusal that must go out

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to those eager young applicants who can not be accepted. Many more than one half the writers of the letters thus received are impossible for the one reason that they lack the education that must exist as a foundation upon which to build.

I am already employing good teachers of elocution, of dancing, of fencing. One of the first efforts will be to teach the young man to speak English correctly. We may have to remove from his voice the burr of the West or the twang of the East. Next will come a master of French and German. It is not my intention to insist upon a thorough course of these languages. That is not necessary, but an actor certainly should know how to utter the few foreign phrases the meaning of which is understood by almost every grammar school boy. Something of composition will be taught by competent masters, and for this reason: no man can read his lines properly who does not understand the rules of punctuation.

The stage itself should be an institution of learning, and that fact will be carried in mind while the education of the young actors and actresses is progressing. When one leaves a theatre he should carry with him some good thought. At least he should have the satisfaction of feeling that what he has just seen was not in any way vicious. In foreign countries — notably in England, France, Germany, and Italy — youths are sent to the theatre as a part of their education. They are told to pay heed to the speech of the players that they may learn the correct pronunciation of words and that they may learn something of voice modulation and of oratory. They are told to watch the actors that they may learn how ladies and gentlemen carry themselves in the presence of others.

It is almost impossible to imagine such a thing being done in this country at the present time as the sending of a boy to the theatre to learn how English should be spoken, how a lady should be addressed, or how a gentleman should carry himself in any circumstance. Rather it would be wise to say to the boy: "See what the actor does, and do not do it yourself."

Do my words seem severe? Well, they are the simple truth. There are, to be sure, honored men on the stage to-day, men who are endeavoring with all their might to do their share honestly in life. They serve to demonstrate the smallness of the men of whom I complain. And from whence are to come the successors to the men who give lustre to the stage at the present time? Who are to fill the places of such men as Crane, and Gillette? Where are we to find among the younger actors men to take the places of William Faversham, Otis Skinner, E. H. Sothern, David Warfield, Henry Miller, Bruce McRae, George Arliss, Walker Whiteside, and a few others? Where are we to find one to take the place made vacant by the death of the studious Mansfield? Where shall we find one to take the romantic rôle and please and charm as did Kyrle Bellew? Oh, yes, one of my young critics gravely announced that another Bellew is not needed because the romantic play has gone out with its costumes, never to return. Foolish youth! In one of my theatres, "The Woman" has drawn crowded houses for months. It belongs to what may be called the "Boss" plays. There have been many of them, with much success. But they will not remain forever. I am even now putting the finishing touches to the last act of a romantic play which will be produced season after next. By that time the costume play will be the thing.

It was only a little time ago that a young actor was starring in a play which gave to him a swaggering heroic rôle. He was supposed to have been severely wounded in the right forearm. The heroine bound up his injuries, and he strutted from the room, amusing the observing ones in the audience by reaching out with his right hand and swinging the door shut behind him. Bad stage management? Yes, to be sure. But the fault is with the actor, who takes himself so seriously that he refuses to learn even the most ordinary business of the actor's craft.

ADVANCE IN THE ACTING ART

In spite of what I have said, I freely admit that during the thirty years of my experience I have seen a notable forward

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movement of the stage. We have gained somewhat the good will of the clergy, which is a splendid thing. The stage itself is cleaner, except in spots, than it was thirty years ago. It has been said with frequency that the stage is as clean as the public demands. That is not true. The public appreciates a clean, wholesome atmosphere in the theatre and will pay for it. The best way to uplift the stage and the drama is to improve the character of the men and women who are actors upon it. I think I should say that the play will keep up to the moral standard of those who appear in it.

The art of acting has not deteriorated in the last quarter of a century. In some respects we are doing better work than we did twenty-five years ago. But we are in a different school — a school created perhaps by modern mechanical and electrical invention. The audience no longer hears the machinery creak. The scene placing and picture building has come to be a true art. And so we have escaped from that school of acting which of necessity depended upon the voice for its best effects. The stage was built with an apron reaching far out into the body of the theatre. The lighting effects were poor and, when the big scene was on, the player came 'way down front, almost in the midst of the audience, where he orated and declaimed, to the delight of his hearers.

Then came the electric light and the spot light which follows the actor to the deepest corner of the stage. The stage apron was abandoned; the drop curtain and the frame for the stage appeared, permitting the actors to group with the effect of a great living picture. Light and shade lend themselves well to the stage. The art has changed, and the old school of acting has been left behind, but we have dropped none of the vice that attended upon it.

WHY ENGLAND HAS BETTER ACTORS

There are many more competent actors in England than in America, and the reason is not hard to find, nor is it much to our discredit. In England there is an upper middle class of gentlemen — I mean gentlemen in the technical sense — which does not exist in America. Perhaps it is England's misfortune that it is so. At any rate, the young men belonging to the families of this class find themselves without employment. They are not fitted for a hard battle with life, but their early education does fit them for the stage. They have the graces of the drawing room; they are well educated, as a rule, particularly in modern languages; and they travel sufficiently to know much of Europe.

We can draw from no such class as that. But, on the other hand, our men know more than do the English of the sterner side of life, and they should make better character actors. Give to them as thorough a training and as much of an education as the English boys have, and the Americans should, and I believe will, do the better work on the stage. That is the thing I hope to demonstrate.

THE THREE KINDS OF ARTIST

In all arts there are three classes. There are those who have merely the intelligence of their profession. They can paint, they can write, they can sing or they can act, but they can do only the one thing. They are in a big majority.

Then there are those who have a general intelligence, with no great natural ability. They are the students and make a success of whatever they undertake. Perhaps Richard Mansfield was the best example of this class we have had in America. Mansfield was an actor of wonderful merit, because he was ever a deep student, but he would have been a great lawyer or a great physician had he chosen either of those professions instead of the stage.

The third and smallest class is composed of those of great natural ability who are also possessed of the intelligence of their own profession. These are the truly great men. There come into my mind now the names of Booth and Jefferson. Either could have done anything well, but neither could have made so great a success of anything as he did of the stage.

It is a long look ahead to think of turning out of any school a Booth, a Jefferson, or a Mansfield. But that is what the

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school is for — the building of a broad and a strong foundation, upon which the individual may erect his own superstructure.

The great storehouse to which all dramatists must go is Life. Life must be studied constantly and minutely. Therefore, those young men and young women whose education I shall undertake to advance must train themselves to observation. I have always worked hard — have done so since I was a baby. Such education as I now have has come to me as a result of my study in those two great schools — Life and Nature. I am observing all the time. I set apart hours which I devote to the study of life as it is spread before me. My book is the people; my lesson of the day is the individual.

HOW I STUDY HUMAN NATURE

One of my favorite places of observation is the Grand Central Station, where there is a constant flow of humanity and where the emotions are bared in their utmost nakedness. There I see grief without intruding upon it; there I witness happiness and joy and permit myself a share of it.

I watched a young widow following with tearful gaze the casket holding the dead form of her young husband. Her grief tore my heart. It was real with me. I grew old with her, but I learned something of life, I added to my store of the great human emotions.

Again, I saw in a crowd awaiting an incoming train a young woman upon whose face was a look of joyful expectation. It required no mind reader to know whom she was expecting. The great train rolled in and came to a stop. Out through the gate flowed the mass of humanity. There were little dramas being enacted all about us. But my eyes were only for the one central figure. Joy passed from the face, and worried expectation took its place as the stream of home-comers began to thin out. That was followed by the keenest of disappointment, and tears of sadness wet my own eyes. Then of a sudden, joy flashed back, and rapture. Now came a straggler. He was the man.

If there is on the American stage to-day a young actress who can display the emotions as did the young woman at whom I gazed from my position behind a sheltering pillar, her future needs no assuring. But I do not know her.

When I find myself halted in my work of play writing, I know that it is because of lack of material, and for that material I must return to the great storehouse. Again I go into the streets; I haunt the shadowed doorways; I study life as it passes me. At last I single out from the throng the individual — the character that suits. I hunt him down, I stalk him as eagerly as ever the sportsman in the jungle stalked his big game. Then at last he is mine.

If great good is to be accomplished by the work I have undertaken, it must come as a result of the proper education of the young men. Women are better natural actors than are men. They have fuller emotions, and I would almost say a better understanding of human nature.

THE STAGE A SCHOOL OF LIFE

More earnest work by more competent stage artists means better entertainment for the public. As there is created in the theatre a cleaner and more wholesome atmosphere the effect will be felt in the homes and in public life. The stage is a tremendous influence for good or evil. It is a great educational institution.

Lessons are being taught every night in all parts of this country to the thousands who throng our playhouses. Styles and fashions are established by the stage — not only the styles and fashions of our clothes but of our methods of thought, action, and speech, and of our morals.

We are imitative animals. Improve the music of the stage and you will improve the music of the homes. Improve the manners of the stage and you will improve the manners of the street. Improve the speech of the stage and you will improve the speech of all the people, standardizing pronunciation and establishing a purer language.

These are some of the things the success of my plans will mean to the public; in fact, I am working for the public, for without its encouragement and patronage no theatre door would open to-night.

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THE DIRECTOR OF 10,000 BANKS

MR. THEODORE L. WEED, WHO MANAGES THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

BEHIND a flat-top desk in Washington, D. C., sits one of the busiest men in the United States. He is a slender, fragile-looking young man, and he is busy because —

He is the only director of 10,000 savings banks, all established since January, 1911;

He is establishing 1,000 new savings banks a month and expects to have 12,000 of them doing business by June 30th of this year;

He is the official custodian of $25,000,000 of the people's money, with deposits growing at the rate of $1,000,000 a week, and he expects the total deposits to reach more than $40,000,000 by the time this article is published.

He is Theodore Linus Weed, the Director of the Postal Savings System of the United States.

When, on the spur of the moment, President McKinley appointed a Commission for the Evacuation of Cuba, the clerical staff was selected in the morning and left Washington for Tampa in the evening of the same day. Attached to this train of evacuators were two typewriters — inconsequential young men claiming not even the dignity of stenographers. One was Theodore L. Weed and the other was W. Morgan Shuster, later Treasurer-General of Persia, both beginning their careers as public servants.

Born in Norwalk, Conn., March 4, 1876, Theodore Weed moved to Washington with his parents when he was a child. He went to the public schools, then into his father's real estate office. In the spring of 1898 the War Department was authorized to employ temporary clerks on account of additional work occasioned by the Spanish War. Young Weed, then twenty-two, obtained a position as typist and copyist at $1,000 a year. Though short of stature and never robust, he found that he could stand up under heavy work, and the men higher up grew to depend upon him as a copyist. It was while working at this thousand-dollar job that he was attached to the Commission for the Evacuation of Cuba.

When the Commission arrived in Havana, in September, 1898, they found the streets strewn with corpses of starved reconcentradoes, and yellow fever waiting for those whom starvation had spared. In November, their chief sent a report to Washington saying that two nervy young men had stuck to their work throughout the fever epidemic and all other dangers without faltering, and for their courage and faithfulness he urged that they be rewarded by promotion. These two young men were the typists — Weed and Shuster. Promotion duly came — to the position of stenographer, $1,200 a year. Soon their paths diverged, each speedily to work much higher up.

For more than two years Mr. Weed stayed in Cuba and was promoted through various grades until he reached the rank of clerk at a salary of $2,500 a year. While still on a $1,200 salary he married. But the Cuban climate finally forced him to return to Washington. In 1903, Mr Weed was hired at $1,400 a year to be the personal stenographer and secretary to the Chief Clerk of the newly created Department of Commerce and Labor. And when Mr. Oscar S. Straus became Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Mr. Weed was made his private secretary. When Mr. Hitchcock was selected to take charge of the Taft campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination, young Mr. Weed became also his private secretary. From February 22 until June 16, 1908, Mr. Weed worked double time as secretary to a Cabinet officer by day and with Mr.

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Taft's campaign manager two thirds of every night. After Mr. Taft became President, Mr. Weed was promoted to the position of Chief Clerk of the Department of Commerce and Labor at a salary of $3,000. In the summer of 1909, he became interested and active in the movement for a nation-wide organization to enlarge the commerce and industries of the United States through a coöperative trade extension body formed of representatives of leading chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and other influential commercial bodies. He served as Chief Clerk until 1910, when Mr. Hitchcock had been made Postmaster General and wanted him as Chief Clerk of the Postoffice Department at the same salary.

DIRECTOR OF THE POSTAL BANKS

Here Mr. Weed began organizing the Postal Savings System of the United States, which had been authorized by Congress, and which then existed only on paper. This organization work, in addition to the regular routine labor of the Chief Clerk's office, meant that for months Mr. Weed was at his desk sixteen and eighteen hours every day.

Finally all details had been attended to and, on January 3, 1911, forty-eight postal savings depositories were opened, one in each of the states and of the territories that were then prepared for statehood. By the end of this year the system will probably be self-supporting.

At the end of the first month (that is, on February 3, 1911) the deposits in the 48 experimental depositories were $60,101.

At the end of the first six months the total deposits amounted to very little less than $7,000,000 and the number of depositories had been increased to 400, despite the fact that for four months after the first forty-eight depositories began business, no new ones were established and the large cities had not been reached.

At the close of business for the first year (January 2, 1912) there were a few more than 6,000 depositories and the total deposits had grown to a sum in excess of $12,000,000.

As this article is written the number of depositories exceeds 10,000 and the amount of deposits exceeds $25,000,000. New depositories are being established in postoffices in all parts of the country at the rate of almost a thousand every month, and cash is pouring into them at the rate of $1,000,000 a week. And that means much when you consider that not more than $500 may be deposited by one person.

As soon as possible, probably within four years, every one of the money-order postoffices in the United States will also be a savings bank, and then there will be 50,000 postal banks.

In these depositories any person over ten years of age may deposit savings up to $500 and receive interest at the rate of 2 per cent. a year, and the credit of the United States Government stands back of the deposit as a guarantee of safety. The smallest amount that may be deposited is a dollar, and no one may deposit more than $100 in any one month. Provision for savings smaller than a dollar is made by having savings cards and savings stamps for sale in every office. A savings card costs ten cents and a savings stamp costs ten cents. When nine of these stamps are attached to a card the card is worth a dollar at the depository.

The Government supports the Postal Savings system by lending these savings of the people to banks at an increased rate of interest. Under the law each local postmaster may deposit the Postal Savings money in a local bank, the bank paying 2½ per cent. interest on it. As the Government thus gets $25,000 interest on every million dollars, on which it is paying only $20,000 interest, it clears $5,000 on every million deposited with banks. Already the total interest received from the banks is far greater than the total interest paid to depositors.

GOVERNMENT BONDS FOR DEPOSITORS

Twice a year, January 1st and July 1st, Postal Savings depositors may exchange a part or all their deposits for United States registered or coupon bonds, drawing 2½ per cent. interest. These bonds are exempt from all taxes or duties of the United States as well as from taxation of

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any other sort. If a depositor has $500 in a depository he may buy bonds with it and then he is free to start a new deposit.

When the Postmaster General makes up a statement of the number of bonds applied for, the Treasury Department issues them, at the same time calling in a like amount of outstanding bonds. Thus these savings bonds do not increase the public debt. The first Postal Savings bonds were issued July 1, 1911, and amounted to $41,900. By the time the next six months' issuing period came around, January 1st of this year, the amount had increased to $416,920.

For years foreigners, accustomed to Postal Savings Banks in their home countries, sent their savings to Europe for safe keeping. But now they have begun to entrust them to the more convenient Postal Savings depositories here. They are especially impressed that, contrary to the custom in Continental savings banks, no fee is charged here for opening accounts. Though the volume of international money orders issued in New York City in 1911 was about $44,000 greater than in 1910, there was a falling off of more than $36,000 during the five last months of the year following the opening of the first Postal Savings depository in that city in August, 1911.

Of the 13,869 depositors in the United States at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1911, 3,691 were foreign born, and since the opening of hundreds of depositories in large eastern cities this proportion has increased. Of the depositors at the end of the first six months 3,984 were women, 2,159 of them being married — and the married women's accounts are by law beyond the control of their husbands.

In the beginning the banks vigorously opposed the system and many citizens were apathetic toward it. Some postmasters were unable to get the news of the establishment of a Postal Savings depository published in their local newspapers, because of the opposition of local bankers. But soon it became evident that many millions of dollars hoarded by timid people would be brought from hiding and be put into productive circulation. Then the opposition of bankers rapidly disappeared. The deposits in banks have been increased instead of decreased because of the Postal Savings system.

BRINGING HOARDINGS OUT OF HIDING

The Postmaster General has in his office an interesting bit of evidence of the bringing out of hidden treasure — a silver dollar thickly coated with green mold, one of sixty such dollars deposited in a Southern Postal Bank, all showing signs of having been buried for many years.

A woman in an Illinois town brought $60 in dimes, the savings of years, to the postmaster for deposit. An aged woman went to the Postoffice Department in Washington with a well-filled wallet which she said had been her bank for more than twenty-five years, ever since she lost some money in a bank failure. She declared that she would entrust her savings to no institution excepting the Government. There are thousands of that kind of people. One of the first depositors in the depository in Globe, Ariz., was a miner who came with $47 that he had withdrawn from the Postal Savings Bank of England.

Reports from postmasters all over the country indicate that about nine tenths of the cash brought to the Postal Savings depositories is deposited by men, women, and children who never before had a bank account. Conversations repeated by postmasters show that in fully half the cases the people had been afraid of bank failures and therefore chose to hoard their savings. They preferred to lose interest rather than sleep. Now they get a little interest, have the Government's guarantee, and — the banks they feared have the money, making it earn a profit.

When one considers that, in establishing the Postal Savings system in the United States, an original plan had to be evolved that could be successfully applied to the largest territory and population that ever had been served by a banking system, and that that plan had to be worked out in every detail in a very few months, it is remarkable that there have been no mistakes to rectify. The forty-eight postmasters of the towns selected as the first depositories "went to school" for three

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days in the Postoffice Department in Washington. During all the rapid extension of the system, from forty-eight postoffices to ten thousand, it has not been found necessary to change a single detail in the plans worked out by Mr. Weed before the first depositories were opened.

KEEPING THE BOOKS BY MACHINERY

But though the system is working without friction, radical improvements for handling the rapidly increasing volume of business are being effected. One of these is the devising of a system for having the deposit certificates issued, the accounts audited, and the bookkeeping done by machinery.

The certificate system is a great improvement on the pass-book system employed in the Postal Savings departments of other countries. One of the most persistent arguments in Congress against the Postal Savings was the enormous expense for bookkeeping that would be incurred. In England, for instance, there are more than 3,000 clerks in the central office alone handling the pass-books. There every depositor receives a pass-book, and a ledger account is kept for every depositor in the central office in London, to which every pass-book, from every part of the United Kingdom, must be sent to be balanced.

But in the American postal banks, pass-books have given way to certificates of deposit in denominations of $100, $50, $20, $10, $5, $2, and $1 each. These are issued to depositors and no central ledger accounts or pass-books are necessary. Individual accounts are kept in the local postoffices. The result is that, whereas it would require under the pass-book system 1,500 bookkeepers in Washington to take care of the business already developed, all the clerical work in the central office is now done by fewer than 150 clerks.

Such errors and delays as have occurred have been due to the use of certificates of seven different denominations and to the fact that they are filled in by hand. These facts have stimulated the authorities to perfect a mechanical method of bookkeeping. In Mr. Weed's office is a contrivance that looks like a cross between a cash register and an adding machine — the latest stage in the development of the plan to run the Postal Savings system by machinery. A machine like this, or similar to it, will be put in use in every depository in the country.

Inside the machine is a roll of certificates with a blank space for the amount of money to be deposited. On top are two series of levers, one governing the amount to be credited, the other controlling the serial number of the depositor's account. When these machines have been installed and a man deposits $35, for example, the clerk will set the cash levers at "35," and the other levers at the number of the account. Then he will turn a crank, out will come a certificate and its duplicate, and printed on the end of each will be the date, the serial number of the certificate, the number by which the depository is known in the Post Office Department in Washington, the number of the account, and the amount deposited. The certificate will be handed to the depositor, who will write his name on the duplicate, and that will end the transaction so far as the clerk and the depositor are concerned. Inside the machine the same data are printed on a slip of paper that drops into a drawer which can be opened only by the postmaster. And there is still another compartment that can be opened only by a Postal Savings inspector, thus providing a quadruple check upon the clerk and the postmaster and a quadruple precaution against error. And, instead of three certificates, of $20, $10, and $5, to represent a $35 deposit, as at present, only one certificate will be needed when the machine is used.

When deposits are withdrawn the paid certificates are sent to Washington. There the certificates are put into a machine that punches holes in them that stand for the post office numbers. Then they are fed through electric automatic auditing machines. The introduction of these machines will mean that when the Postal Savings system has reached its full growth 200 clerks will be able to do the work in Washington that under the antiquated pass-book system would keep about 5,000 clerks busy.

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ISHI, THE LAST ABORIGINE

THE EFFECTS OF CIVILIZATION ON A GENUINE SURVIVOR OF STONE AGE BARBARISM

BY

A. L. KROEBER

(CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA)

AT ELEVEN o'clock in the evening on Labor Day, 1911, there stepped off the ferry boat into the glare of electric lights, into the shouting of hotel runners, and the clanging of trolley cars on Market Street, San Francisco, Ishi, the last wild Indian in the United States.

Ishi belongs to the lost Southern Yana tribe that formerly lived in Tehama County, in northern California. This tribe, after years of guerilla warfare, was practically exterminated by the whites by massacre, in 1865. The five survivors took refuge in the utterly wild cañon of Deer Creek in Tehama County, and the last recorded time that any one saw them was in 1870. There were two men, two women, and a child — probably Ishi, for he has told how, when he was a small boy, "so high," the white men came at sunrise and killed his people in their camp.

In November, 1908, a party of water-right surveyors working laboriously down the cañon, came on a hut, from which dashed two or three men or women, leaving one old, decrepit, and sick crone behind. Unable to converse with her, the surveyors left her undisturbed; but all attempts to open negotiations with the other Indians failed, so great was their fear.

Within a year, news of this adventure reached the University of California, where the Indians in question were at once identified, by their condition and location, as the long lost Southern Yana, the relatives of the almost extinct Northern Yana, whose dialect and customs had been investigated by the University ethnologists only a year or two before. After some confirming inquiries in the vicinity, a party was organized in the fall of 1910 to hunt for the Indians. A month in the cañon, in which practically every foot of their territory was gone over, revealed no Indians, but ample evidence of their recent existence — huts, smoke-houses, baskets, nets, pestles, flint-chips, and so forth. It was concluded that they had seen the expedition first and had kept consistently out of its way.

Then, at the end of August, 1911, came despatches announcing the capture, near Oroville, some forty miles to the south of Deer Creek, and in a well-settled district, of a lone wild Indian. He had been trying to break into a slaughterhouse, and had been placed in jail, where neither Indians nor whites could converse with him. A member of the staff of the anthropological department of the University of California arrived, armed with a Northern Yana vocabulary and the first communication with the aborigine began, much to the amazement of the local Indians. The next day Sam Batwi, a North Yana interpreter, arrived in response to a telegraphic call, and while finding the dialect different from his own and difficult to manage, was able to make more headway. No formal charge had been placed against the wild man, and in a few days the Sheriff of Butte County obligingly released him to the University authorities — an arrangement sanctioned by the United States Indian Office.

In justice to Ishi, his own version of his "capture" should be given. His people were all dead, he said. A woman and a child had been drowned in crossing a stream. The old woman found by the surveyors was dead. For some time he had been entirely alone — poor, often hungry, with nothing to live for. This, by the way, was no doubt the reason for his drifting, perhaps aimlessly, so far

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southward of his old home. One day he made up his mind to "come in." He expected to be killed, he said, but that no longer mattered. So he walked westward all day, without meeting any one, and at dusk came to a house where meat was hung up. Tired, hungry, and thirsty, he sat down. Soon a boy came out with a lantern, saw him, recoiled, and called a man, who ran up. In response to Ishi's signs, they gave him a pair of overalls — for he was naked except for a rude home-made garment, half shirt, half cape — ordered him into their wagon, and drove him to town, where he was put into a large and fine house — the jail — and very kindly treated and well fed by a big chief — the deputy sheriff.

ETIQUETTE OF THE PROPER NAME

Ishi's name is not genuine. When the reporters swarmed out to the University Museum of Anthropology in San Francisco the morning after he arrived, their second inquiry was for his age, their first for his name. Sam Batwi asked him, but to all inquiries he shook his head and said that he had been alone so long that he had no one to name him. This was pure fiction, but polite fiction, for the strongest Indian etiquette, in Ishi's part of the world, demands that a person shall never tell his own name, at least not in reply to a direct request. To this day Ishi has never disclosed his real name; and so strong does his sense of propriety on this point remain, that he will not yet pronounce the word Ishi, though he answers readily to the appellation. The name is singularly appropriate, being the Yana word for "man."

He was a curious and pathetic figure in those days. Timid, gentle, an ever-pervading and only too obvious fear held down and concealed to the best of his ability, he nevertheless started and leaped at the slightest sudden sound. A new sight, or the crowding around of half a dozen people, made his limbs rigid. If his hand had been held and was released, his arm remained frozen in the air for several minutes. The first boom from a cannon fired in artillery practice at the Presidio, several miles away, raised him a foot from his chair. And yet, with it all, he displayed keen observation, much interest, and sometimes delight. Only it was the little things that woke responses in him. The first penny whistle given him roused more expression and spontaneity than the thousands of houses spread out before him as he stood on the high terrace of the Museum and looked over the city.

One curious, patient gesture, which has never quite left him, was characteristic of him in those days — a raising high up of his mobile, arched eye-brows. It was an expression of wonder, but also of ignorance, of incomprehension, like our shrugging of the shoulders. It was his one sign, for he seemed afraid to use his limbs freely at that time, and even since, when he feels perfectly at home, has been given but little to gestures. He sometimes uses them effectively when he wishes to explain, but never profusely nor with any exceptional or instinctive ability to make them plain to every one.

AFRAID OF CROWDS

His one great dread, which he overcame but slowly, was of crowds. It is not hard to understand this in view of his lonely life in a tribe of five. A lone American had always been a signal of imminent danger to him; no wonder that a hundred literally paralyzed him. A week after his arrival in San Francisco he was taken for an automobile ride, through Golden Gate Park and to the ocean beach. The one thing above all others that drew his attention was the Sunday crowds. He had never been at the ocean and until that week had never even seen it from a distance. It was therefore anticipated that the surf, which as a phenomenon of nature he could understand, would interest him more than the works of civilization. But when the car reached the bluff looking down on the breakers, with a long, sandy beach studded with thousands of holiday-seekers stretching miles away, everything else was forgotten and the exclamation "*hansi saltu!*" "many white people," burst involuntarily from him.

The shock of this effect over, his mind became more receptive for smaller things.

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As the machine wound around the drives in the park, the elevated group of University buildings, of which the Museum is one, occasionally came into view, and each time a smile would break over his features as he pointed with a nod of his head and said *wowi* (home). As one drive turned into another that had previously been traversed in the opposite direction, or only crossed it, his keen sense of locality asserted itself, and again and again he told the interpreter that the party had passed there before. The car followed one of the less frequented by-roads and disturbed a flock of the quail that roam the park in a half wild state as the squirrels do in Eastern cities; instantly he stood up, following their every movement with the hunter's instinct and no doubt with a feeling of home and kinship. Next to the undreamed-of crowd of people, the familiar birds stirred his emotions more than anything else during the ride.

STONE AGE VAUDEVILLE

A week later he was invited to a vaudeville performance by an enterprising newspaper man in search of a story. Sam explained to him as best he might; and Ishi answered that he was willing if I, or one of the people from the Museum, whom he had learned to know, went with him. The reporter got his story. But he got it out of his imagination. For two acts Ishi sat in his box seat and looked at the audience. So many people crowded together so closely were more remarkable than the mysterious capers that a couple of actors might be cutting on the stage. Gradually he followed the other members of the party and the more sophisticated interpreter, and turned his eyes forward. When the audience laughed, he giggled with them, out of pure automatic response or suggestion, for they might be laughing at a pun, a joke conveyed in words that were totally incomprehensible to him. Horse-play and acrobatics had no more effect; in the midst of an act of purely physical appeal, his attention was apt to wander. When a character or event on the stage was called to his notice, he smiled politely but embarrassedly, or watched the motions of the suggestor instead of the thing pointed out. It was all absolutely meaningless to him.

By this time Ishi had come to look upon the Museum as his home — not only for the time being, but forever. The Bureau of Indian Affairs sent its Special Agent for California to see him and form plans for his future. Ishi was told that he was free to go back where he came from, or to go where other Indians lived under the care of the American Government; but he promptly shook his head. "I will live like the white people from now on," he said to the interpreter. "I want to stay where I am. I will grow old here, and die in this house." He has never swerved from this first declaration.

QUICK WITH CRAVAT, SLOW WITH SHOES

His intelligence and quick perception showed themselves from the first. Getting in and out of his coat made some little difficulty for a time, but everything else about his clothes seemed to come as natural, once he had them on, as to a civilized person. One demonstration taught him to tie a four-in-hand cravat. His pockets quickly contained an assortment of junk worthy of a small boy. In fact, three days in clothing brought him to a condition where he refused to strip for the photographer — absolutely the only occasion when he balked at obeying orders. He saw everyone else wearing clothes, and would never take them off again, he said with metaphorical emphasis.

Shoes alone had no attraction for him. It was thought that they might incommode him, so he was not pressed, but asked if he wished them. "I see all the ground is stone here," he said. "Walking on that all the time, I would wear out shoes; but my feet will never wear out" — an answer perhaps partly dictated by inborn politeness, but as ingenuous as logical. It was not until the rainy season set in and he underwent an unexpected attack of pneumonia, that he was provided with shoes, and then seemed content.

There were other instances where he reasoned more consistently than our civilization. He learned very quickly that meat, potato, vegetables, and soup are not eaten with the tools that nature

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provides; and he was so anxious to conform with good manners that he tried to use a teaspoon to eat the first peach that was handed to him.

He picked up with equal facility the daily duties which were assigned him to provide exercise in compensation for the unwonted indoor and sedentary life that the city was imposing. A few days' practice, and he was bustling about the Museum in early morning hours handling the broom, the mop, and the duster with the skill of an experienced janitor, probably with greater care, and certainly with the same willing gentleness that marked all his actions. In this or some similar direction seems to lie the avenue of his future adaptation to the material problems of livelihood and civilization.

DISLIKE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

One remarkable fact so far has stood out against his progress toward real civilization: a reluctance to learn English. In several months of association only with people of English speech (Sam, the half-satisfactory interpreter, remained only a few weeks) one would expect a tolerable proficiency in the new language, an ability of expression at least lively and fluent if not correct. But a few dozen names of objects and persons are all that have crossed his lips. It is not inability that is at fault, for his pronunciation, when called upon to repeat what is spoken to him, is excellent, and some words, such as "water," "money," and "chicken," blossomed from him in a very few days. Strange to say, a certain bashfulness seems to lie at the bottom of this backwardness; and this shamefacedness is no doubt accentuated by the tremendous difference that civilization must have impressed on him as existing between all white people on the one hand and himself on the other. He feels himself so distinct from his new world, that such a thing as deliberately imitating civilized people and making himself one of them has apparently never dawned upon him. He is one and they are others; that is in the inevitable nature of things, he thinks; and so he does not dream of revolting, of attempting to bridge the gulf by acquiring a new means of communication. Everything in his behavior, his constant and gentle obedience at the slightest suggestion, his readiness to leave the determination of the most trivial and intimate personal details to those about him, points in the same direction. It would seem that such a position of separation and aloofness would depress to dejection, but Ishi's demeanor is cheerful, and the only time he has not smiled on seeing an acquaintance was when he was sick in bed.

AN INDIAN'S BLUSH

But even stronger than this sense of distinctness, which operates only negatively, is a violent bashfulness. When, on urging, he repeats a name that is being taught him, he blushes; when he slips out for the first time a new English word or phrase, he blushes and smiles like a girl. And Ishi's blush is real. His face mantles and clouds with a frequency and an intensity never approached by any other Indian that I have seen.

What interests him most is the names of people. "*Achi djeyauna*" (what is his name?), is his first and often repeated question, until he has mastered the appellation of a newcomer. Next after individuals come nationalities and conspicuous professions. "Dutchman" and "Chinaman" were early favorites; but mounted police officers impressed his imagination even more, as being great chiefs, and he tried repeatedly until he could say "bahleeceman." The first Chinaman that he saw, by the way, happened to be an editor in American clothes and among Americans, but Ishi declared at once that he was no American but an Indian — no "ghost" but a "person," to translate his native Yana literally. Soon he began to note distinguishing racial characteristics, and to push up with his fingers the outer corners of his eyes when he said "Chinaman." And then would follow another giggle and blush.

AN ABORIGINAL SHAVE

Ishi put on weight rapidly after coming within reach of the fleshpots of civilization and their three times a day recurrence. In a couple of months he had gained be-

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tween forty and fifty pounds. His face is as clean of beard as when he was discovered, and has not been touched by a razor. This is not a racial characteristic but the result of his substitute for shaving. He pulls out his beard hairs one by one as soon as they emerge — a habit formerly universal among all tribes on the continent, but less frequently practised to-day. In this connection he manifests a peculiar personal refinement: he never follows the habit when in company. It was only after three months of constant association that I actually saw him for the first time at what must be a daily pursuit.

What Ishi's future will be is hard to predict. He himself does not worry about it in the least. He is safe in friendly hands, with no cares, and is content to let it go at that. Until he learns English he can only remain the ward of some one, as now he is the ward of the United States and in charge of the University of California.

The strange history of this survivor from the past seems to show that intelligence is not the monopoly of civilization, and that lack of civilization is perhaps due not so much to want of sense and ability as to lack of knowledge and precedent. Ishi has as good a head as the average American; but he is unspeakably ignorant. He knows nothing, or knew nothing, six months ago, of hours and years, of money and labor and pay, of government and authority, of newspapers and business, of the other thousands of things that make up our life. In short, he has really lived in the stone age, as has so often been said. That this does not involve a semi-animal, brutal, merely instinctive, and inferior mental capacity, is clear in his case, and may perhaps be inferred for other uncultured people. What it does involve, is an almost inconceivable difference in education, in opportunity, in a past of many centuries of achievement on which the present can build. Ishi himself is no nearer the "missing link" or any antecedent form of human life than we are; but in what his environment, his associates, and his puny native civilization have made him, he represents a stage through which our ancestors passed thousands of years ago.

MAKING BUSINESS TO ORDER

HOW THE SANTA FÉ AND OTHER RAILROADS DEVELOP THE COUNTRY THEY SERVE BY MEANS OF THEIR INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

BY

HENRY OYEN

AT IOLA, Kan., a few years ago, four wide-awake citizens became imbued with the idea of making something besides a farmer's market place out of their town. They looked around and estimated the visible and available raw industrial resources of the community as: "Plenty of natural gas for fuel, and plenty of rock that may or may not be worth a cent."

They wrote about it to the president of the railroad that served them — the Santa Fé — and the president turned the letter over to the industrial department. The industrial commissioner went to Iola in company with an engineer.

"We are ambitious out here," said the local men. "We want to make use of every cent's worth of natural resources that we have got. The trouble is that all that we can find which shapes up like resources is the gas and a deposit of rock."

"Let us go out and examine the rock," said the commissioner.

The men of Iola pointed out the vast deposit of hitherto unconsidered stone that surrounds the town.

"That's some kind of marble, isn't it?"

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said one. "We might get a stone quarry in here."

"No, it isn't marble," said the engineer, after making tests and surveys. "But it is the kind of limestone that will make first-class cement."

"We don't know anything about cement," was the reply. "We aren't in a position to put in a plant."

"All right," said the commissioner. "You've got the necessary raw material. Somewhere in this country there is an experienced cement maker looking for this opportunity. We'll bring you together. We'll get a plant in here for you. That is the business of this department."

Through its many sources of information the road got in touch with cement manufacturers in Michigan and found a man looking for a new field of operation.

"The place you are looking for is out at Iola, Kan.," said the road's agent. "Go out there and look that deposit over."

Through other connections it put capitalists in touch with the cement maker and the citizens of Iola. It didn't invest a dollar of Santa Fé money — it never does — but it brought together the three necessary elements for the utilization of these natural resources. The result was the erection of the first cement plant in Kansas, at Iola. This was the beginning of an industry that now comprises seventeen large mills and brings millions of dollars annually into the Kansas cement fields. Why did the Santa Fé go to all this trouble? The answer is simple: It hauls the freight.

Primarily and principally, the function of a railroad is to furnish transportation. The amount of traffic it is called upon to furnish, and generally speaking, therefore, the amount of profits that it will earn, depends upon the producing and consuming capacities of the territory that it serves. Hence, the policy of modern railroads, in all their operating and development departments, may be said to be: "The public be helped. The interests of the roads and the interests of its users are identical. A poor territory means a poor railroad. Help make our territory prosperous."

Following this policy such roads as the Southern, the Lehigh Valley, the Erie, the Santa Fé, and others are coming to occupy the position of general stimulator, friend, guide, and counsellor to their users. The work of the Sante Fé may be taken as an illustration of their ideals and of their methods.

The Industrial Department of the Santa Fé every year brings $16,000,000 of capital, invested in manufacturing and merchandising industries, into the country on its lines. These figures do not represent sales of stocks or bonds, but actual investments in new business. The territory that the Santa Fé serves is largely new country, country in which capital and industries are few and wary of adventuring. From this may be drawn an idea of the tremendous importance of the progressively conducted department of this sort to a railroad's tributary territory. Of course, such work is of equal importance and profit to the railroad.

Most localities possess in one form or another the first and basic requisite for the creation of a productive industry, raw material. In a new country there is little else. Labor is lacking, capital is lacking, and experience. The community in which the raw material is found is seldom able to develop or even sell its natural resources. The material is in one corner of the country; the capital, labor, and experience necessary to convert it into something useful and profitable is in another corner.

The big task is to bring them together. A new community, even with the enterprise and intelligence of the local commercial organizations that are being developed all over the country, seldom is able to do this. The railroad can and will do it, because it is a part of its business.

COLORADO'S SUGAR INDUSTRY

This is a typical illustration of how a railroad to-day plays the part of "business doctor" to the cities and towns along its line: The beet-sugar factories in the Rocky Ford district of Colorado now are firmly established in the sugar industry of the West. A few years ago there was hardly an industry in this part of Colorado that yielded any freight to the railroad

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except a few fruit farms. The road, through its expert appraisers, knew the value of the land that it was tapping in this section. The soil was there to raise sugar beets to an extent to rival the sugar beet districts of Germany. But it does no good to raise sugar beets unless you have a sugar mill within easy freight-tariff distance.

It took the Santa Fé Industrial Department five years to get the first sugar mill built at Rocky Ford, Col. Then the opportunity for the agricultural department of the road and for the state of Colorado to bring farmers to the sugar beet lands had been created. The sugar beet fields of Colorado now are of national prominence. The same forces that made the cultivation of this field possible now are working to bring about the same condition in New Mexico. Thousands of acres in that state are as well adapted to sugar beet farming as the successful Colorado district. Eventually some adventurous capitalist will be convinced by the railroad's statistics, a mill will be built, and New Mexico will begin to take its place among the sugar producing districts of the world.

In the Rocky Ford district the most difficult obstacle to overcome was the scarcity of labor. Most development breaks on this same reef. The mill was built, the beets were planted, and then there was a shortage of 5,000 or 6,000 laborers to thin out the growing beets, to harvest them, and to run them through the mill when the harvest was over. The mill people and the beet farmers turned to the railroad. The way in which the railroad — the Santa Fé Industrial Department — serves in this case is typical of how the new idea of coöperation between the railroad and the railroad user works out. It collects Indian and Mexican laborers by the hundreds in New Mexico and Arizona. It can not haul them up to the Rocky Ford beet fields free — as it used to — because the law forbids. Instead, it says to the beet sugar people: "Here is your labor. We have got it together. You will have to pay us, and we will deliver it where you need it."

Omaha, Kansas City, and even St. Louis and Minneapolis and St. Paul, through the road's efforts, annually feed this district with labor.

Without the factory, there could not have been any sugar beet farms. Without the labor, there could be neither farms nor factories. And without the efforts of the road's industrial men, there would be no dependable labor supply.

"Oh, no; this isn't charity on our part," says the commissioner. "We haul the freight."

That is the reason why railroads are beginning to "father" the communities they serve.

"More business — especially manufacturing — more freight. Develop business," might be said to be the new motto of the progressive railroad manager.

MR. RIPLEY A PIONEER

Mr. Edward S. Ripley, president of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé, is the man who has done as much as any one, perhaps, to stimulate and develop this idea to its present prominence. Something more than twenty years ago, when he was with the Burlington, Mr. Ripley conceived and put into operation an industrial department like the present day departments. When he went to the St. Paul he took his hobby with him, and when he became head of the Santa Fé the Industrial Department became one of his big projects.

"They all want and need something," said Mr. Ripley, referring to the towns along the line. "Most of them ought to have what they want. Most of the things they want will mean more freight for the Santa Fé to haul. If they want factories, we'll haul their finished products to market; if they want local stores, we'll haul finished products for their consumption. We must get them what they want and need."

So thoroughly has this road — taking it as an example of the most progressive railroads — organized this service, and so intimately has it connected its interests with the interests of the towns along the right of way, that now, when a Santa Fé town wants anything, it writes to the road

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about it. In the fifteen years of its operation the industrial department of the road has not once failed to supply the demands made upon it.

GETTING A GENERAL STORE STARTED

For instance, a small town in New Mexico recently wrote: "We have got to have a general store here, and we've got to have it pretty quick."

The industrial commissioner went to the general salesman in charge of this territory for the largest wholesale house in Chicago.

"Here," said he, "is a chance for a good man to get a start in the store business. This is a new town, but it is a good one, and it is going to grow rapidly. Find a man to go down there, and you will have another good customer on your books."

In a little town in Iowa was a storekeeper who had been seeking just such an opportunity. The wholesale house placed him in touch with the New Mexico town, with the result that the town got its much needed store, "pretty quick."

From small affairs like this the requests go upward with practically no limit. The biggest order so far filled was for a town — complete. In Southern California lay, untouched, a great field of raw material for the manufacture of glass. The market for this product was growing up all around. But no glass-makers were available, and no labor supply of any kind near enough to the sand fields to make the erection of a plant feasible. Finally the industrial commissioner found the owner of a glass plant in Ohio who would listen to reason, and he took him out to California to look over the field.

MOVING A TOWNFUL OF PEOPLE

"Yes," said the glass man, "here is the raw material, and a market free from competition; but what good does that do? There is no labor out here. That makes the whole thing impossible. Why, to make a success here I should have to move my whole townful of glass-makers out here and have a town to house them in when they came."

"Well," said the railroad man, "let us do that."

The glass-maker went back to Ohio and put all his experienced employees under contract to move to California and stay — when a plant and a town should be ready to receive them.

The plant was built, and the town around it. One day the people of the little glass town in Ohio got aboard special trains with their household goods and belongings and went West, to become a part of Stockton, Cal.

The Industrial Department of this road has just completed a canvass of the needs, wants, and opportunities in the towns that it serves. One town wants a paper, and the road promptly gets in touch with a country editor who wishes to make a change; another town wants a barber shop, and the want will be supplied. In one place or another practically every want known to the growing town has been expressed. One place — "about two hours old" — calmly asked the road to hurry up and make the United States Government put in a post-office.

NO BEER, NO POTTERY

More population — especially laboring population— naturally is the most important thing that a railroad can bring into a new country. The seriousness of the labor scarcity in the Southwest may be judged from the experience of Tulsa — which did not get its pottery works. There was no reason except the labor problem why it didn't. Tulsa has natural gas for fuel. Within easy hauling distance over in Texas is an unlimited deposit of kaolin, and English potteries are shipping carloads of their product into the territory that Tulsa could supply.

All arrangements for the securing of capital and the building of a large pottery plant were assured, while the industrial department went looking for pottery workers. It found them in New Jersey. Representatives of the workers came to Tulsa and looked over the situation. They were pleased; they were almost ready to move, when the report that Oklahoma was to become a "dry" state came to their ears. That settled it.

"Pottery makers won't go where they can't get beer," said they; and Tulsa

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still waits and yearns for the coming of its pottery industry. Even the railroad could not overcome this colossal obstacle.

PREVENTION OF FOREDOOMED FAILURES

But it is not enough merely for a railroad to be willing to bring industries to its towns. No good industrial department will attempt to locate an industry unless it is certain to become a success. Recently a number of citizens in a Kansas town began to break ground for a factory.

"What are you going to do here?" asked the Santa Fé man.

"We're going to put in a cement mill," was the answer.

"But, gentlemen, you can't make a go of it," said the railroad man. "This isn't the right location for a cement mill. You are too far from the markets. There is a mill up at Blankville which can undersell you and put you out of business."

The local men, however, were confident that they knew their business. They went ahead and built their mill. They failed swiftly and completely, as the railroad people knew they would. Now when an attempt is made to start an industry under such conditions, conditions that are certain to evolve a failure, the railroad fights it with every kind of weapon and almost always prevents its establishment.

"It is not good for the community, and therefore not good for the road, to have a business failure," sums up the road's efforts along this line. "Anything that hurts the individual and the community hurts the road."

Therefore the road, with its great store of knowledge and experience, watches over the efforts of the towns on its lines with a solicitous eye. It will not let them hurt themselves if it can help it. It wouldn't be good business. With its multiple fingers always on the business pulse of its towns, it knows better even than the towns themselves when one of them is neglecting its opportunities for development. In most towns there are found a few wide awake citizens who are not content to sit still and watch their town grow slowly. In a few towns, however, all inhabitants seem prone to catch the sleeping sickness. Then the industrial commissioner goes forth and does missionary work of the strenuous sort.

"We know every live business man on our line from St. Louis to the Coast," said Mr. Wesley Merritt, the Santa Fé's industrial commissioner. "We know them face to face because we go out and sit down at their desks and talk business with them. We're something like the country doctor: they are always glad to see us because they know we are going to do all we can to help them. They always want to do something to make their town more prosperous, but most of the time they don't know what to do or how to do it. That is where we come in. It is simply the idea of coöperation intimately applied. We help them. They build their town, and we haul the freight."

The railroad now even takes an active part in the plans of towns and cities for self-beautification. The railroads that are building the new Union Station in Kansas City are putting $500,000 into a park to help complete that city's admirable scheme of parks and driveways. The old-time railroad station was probably the ugliest example of American architecture. But the stations that are being built to-day are planned to be an inspiration to the builders of a city.

A town in Oklahoma wanted a new railroad station. This is a chronic condition among towns of all sizes. The files of every railroad manager in the country are crowded with demands for new stations. In this town the station was opposite the public square. Alighting from the train a traveler saw a livery stable, a dumping ground, a row of tumble-down shacks, and a waste of sand.

"You people don't want us to put a new station in here," said the road to the town. "It would make you look bad. We would put in a good looking building, and the contrast with your appearance would be awful. Reform that square and you'll get your station."

The town made a little park of the dumping ground, removed the livery stable and the shacks, and the result was a general clean-up of the town, followed almost immediately by the erection of a modern, tasteful station.

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SPREADING THE GOSPEL BY PRINTERS' INK

THE INSPIRING SUCCESS OF UNITY CHURCH IN MONTCLAIR, N. J., ACHIEVED BY THE USE OF ADVERTISING

BY

MARY and LEWIS THEISS

TWO years ago Unity Church, of Montclair, N. J., found itself in desperate straits. A mortgage on the $30,000 edifice, and heavy operating expenses, including a $3,500 salary to the pastor, were breaking the backs of the congregation. Death had decimated their ranks, and no new members had come to fill up the gaps. The average attendance at Sunday morning services was less than ninety. The church's influence in the affairs of Montclair was nothing. Everybody was apathetic, everybody was discouraged. For thirteen years the church had struggled along. Now it seemed only a matter of a little time until it should give up.

To-day the membership of Unity Church numbers 236. The average Sunday morning attendance is 165. The church can hardly hold the crowds that throng to it on Sunday evenings. Instead of being open seven times a week, the church building is now used twenty times a week. Even the janitor's salary has been raised, so greatly has his work increased! Once a nonentity, Unity Church has become a leader in civic affairs. The local newspapers are full of it and its doings. The congregation is confident, energetic, aggressive. The increased financial burden is carried easily. All this has been accomplished in two years. *It was done by advertising.*

The man behind the advertising campaign was Mr. Emerson P. Harris, president of the Harris-Dibble Advertising Company, of New York City, and one of the leading advertising experts in the United States. Mr. Harris is a devoted member of Unity Church.

The church turned to him in its difficulty because he is a successful business man. Mr. Harris agreed to serve as president of the trustees, provided he were given free rein. When he said that he meant to build up the church by advertising, some of the members objected. Mr. Harris told them that the command to preach the gospel to every creature implied the use of printers' ink. They said "Go ahead."

Montclair was overstocked with churches. Every one who was interested in religious work already had some church affiliation. And the non-church-going element seemed absolutely indifferent to all efforts to interest them.

So Unity Church presented its offering by advertising; and it advertised, not a church or a minister, but the gospel.

First of all the church made use of the local newspapers, in which it published weekly announcements. These were about five inches square, and were prominently displayed. They were live but not blatant. They were set up so as to catch the eye. They were worded, not to startle, but to impress the reader. Some little catch-word was always skilfully inserted. In an advertisement of a sermon on "Just Plain Reliability," appeared these sentences. "Is life a dash or a Marathon?" — "Duty soon tires. Love goes all the way."

First, these advertisements told about the Sunday sermon. Then they announced the other services of the week. Finally they touched on Unity Church, and extended a cordial invitation to any who cared to do so to attend one or more services. From time to time the newspaper advertisements were increased in

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size to a quarter of a page. These enlarged announcements were amplifications of the smaller weekly advertisements. They stated in the same striking way the sermon subjects for a month in advance, together with the topics of the Sunday evening talks. Other church activities were announced in detail. The advertisement was filled out with apt comment on matters of interest.

Later these quarter-page advertisements were struck off separately as handbills and distributed through the town. Thus Mr. Harris played on curiosity. Many people who would no more than glance at a newspaper advertisement would peruse with interest the same advertisement in handbill form. Another advantage of the dodger was that, being small, it could be kept for reference.

POST CARDS AND LETTERS

To supplement this use of printers' ink, a system of personal solicitation was devised. An "extension committee" was furnished with post cards printed thus: "—— will be the subject of Sunday's sermon. Won't you come and hear it?" Notice that the written part of this invitation precedes the printed. That is another advertising device to rivet attention. It makes the personal element in the note stand out. These cards were filled in, signed, and mailed regularly.

To any one displaying interest, special bulletins were mailed. These were compact and artistic pamphlets meant for family perusal. The year-book, of sixteen pages, contained the names of all officers and members of the church and congregation, of all committees and their members, and of all the church organizations. So far as possible it gave a list of activities for the entire year. The monthly bulletins gave detailed information about the month's doings and news of the general activities of the church. Other pamphlets gave biographical sketches of the speakers at the Sunday evening services devoted to the discussion of vital problems. These little pamphlets were intended for reference books.

Wherever possible, information for a month in advance was thus wrought into Unity Church's advertisements. By describing the activities of four weeks the chance of drawing the reader was increased. It gave him more to pick from, and so added to the possibility of his finding something to his liking.

Finally an artistic bulletin-board four feet square was placed in front of the church, and an artist employed to letter it. Every week he prepared an attractive announcement, embellished with apt texts, illuminated letters, or other artistic designs. This announcement told briefly of the week's doings and extended a cordial invitation to passers-by to attend some of the services.

Nor did the advertising end here, although the use of printers' ink did. Working in conjunction with the extension committee was the committee on hospitality. It was their business to welcome strangers and make them feel at home. And no one ever fell into the hands of that committee who, when he went out, did not straightway spread a good report of Unity Church. That was the very best kind of advertising.

BUSINESS METHODS IN CHURCH

The unusual element, however, in Unity Church's campaign was the methodical way in which it was run. No theatre box-office ever kept closer track of expenditures and results than did Unity Church. Sunday after Sunday a detailed record was kept. The cost of each service was carefully computed. Like college students at chapel, every member was marked for attendance. Thus the pastor knew who were away and so could keep track of them. A record was kept of the total number in attendance at each meeting. The subject of the sermon was noted down each week. Note was made of the weather conditions. Local attractions were likewise recorded. In this way the church heads knew exactly the size of each audience, the strength of the competition met, and the per capita cost of each meeting. Also they could tell what kind of preaching people liked best. Thus they gathered definite data to go by.

One result of this activity — the most important of all — Unity Church had

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not foreseen. In doing with its might what its hands found to do, Unity Church became interested in its work. It beheld the relation that should exist between life and religion, it understood that they are but warp and woof of the same fabric. It became a "seven-day church." To-day the church building is in use twenty times a week, and the congregation is planning to extend its use still farther. They do not let their plant lie idle.

Here is a list of some of their activities. The conversation class, led by Mr. Harris, is for the frank discussion of life problems and matters of public interest. Unity Alliance for women seeks to promote social life among its members. Unity Club for men has occasional dinners, lectures, and informal gatherings to promote good-fellowship. The young people's society does likewise for the younger folks, with dinners, picnics, theatricals, and dances. The Young Men's Class in Business Ethics is just what its name implies. The Strollers go forth for frequent walks of three to ten miles among the near-by Jersey hills. The Folk Dancing Class, whose members range in age from eight to eighty, a class that became so popular it had to be split into two parts; the Dante Circle; and the Playground Classes — all attract people, the young as well as the old, to the church, while the Unity lecture course for the free discussion of vital problems is notable.

TALKS BY FAMOUS MEN

Some of the speakers for the current year are Rev. Algernon G. Crapsey, President David Starr Jordan, Mr. Hudson Maxim, Dr. Woods Hutchinson, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Mr. Booker T. Washington, Mr. John Mitchell, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh, Mayor George R. Lunn, Mr. Norman Hapgood, Mr. George L. Record, and Professor James H. Hyslop. The topics discussed by these speakers range all the way from Professor Hyslop's talk on the nature of psychical research and its reconstructive influence, to Mr. Booker T. Washington's discussion of the race problem, Mrs. Spencer's statement on marriage and divorce, and Mr. Hudson Maxim's exposition of the aeroplane and the warfare and civilization of the future. Is it any wonder that the church cannot accommodate the people who crowd to these Sunday night discussions?

The church has taken out memberships in the American Peace Society, the National Conference of Charities, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the National Civic Federation, the National Consumers' League, the Religious Education Society, and the New Jersey Child Labor Committee. Just as the contributions of the Sunday School are largely given to local philanthropies, so the church building is freely lent and widely used by local organizations. The *Deutscher Verein* and the *Alliance Française* meet here regularly.

The building stands in the centre of a large plot of ground. Trees and shrubbery form an effective screen to the rear of the church yard, where the church maintains a model playground. Here are seesaws, slides, sand piles, and a score of other childish joys that make Unity Church playground a delightful haven for the little folk. For the playground is open, not only to the children of the congregation, but to all the children of Montclair. Of course, it will not accommodate all the children of Montclair, nor is it intended to. It is meant to be an object lesson to the community. It is intended to create a demand among the children which shall lead the community to construct municipal playgrounds.

Following out its policy of participating in whatever is of interest to mankind, Unity Church has taken an active part in trying to lower the cost of living. The church made a study of coöperation. It corresponded with coöperative societies in various parts of the country. When the situation had been thoroughly canvassed, a public meeting was called and a coöperative society was formed. Two hundred or more stockholders contributed an initial capital of more than $7,000, and a coöperative store was opened. And this, too, be it remembered, is a community affair. It is not Unity Church Coöperative Society, but Montclair Coöperative Society. The church merely led the way. It followed the divine precept of helping others.

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Until Unity Church brought them, Montclair was without moving pictures. The wealthy residents fought every proposition to open a moving picture show in the town. But Montclair has its poor, as well as its rich — its folks who cannot spend several dollars for a evening's entertainment — and these people, Unity Church felt, were being deprived of legitimate pleasure. Furthermore, moving pictures are one of the greatest educational forces of the day. So the Church cut the Gordian knot by turning the church building, on certain nights, into a moving picture house. Thus it is again creating demand. Sooner or later that demand must be supplied through the usual channels.

The result of all these activities is more advertising — not of the sort that is paid for by the inch, but the more effective kind that is known as news. The two Montclair papers, the week we attended Unity Church, printed seven separate items about Unity doings. These ranged from an eighth-of-a-column account of the *Deutscher Verein's* meeting to a two-and-a-third-column report of Mr. John Mitchell's talk on labor problems.

A VITALIZED PULPIT

No church that does as much as Unity Church does could fail to exhibit in its pulpit an outward and visible sign of its inward and spiritual grace. Unity Church's pulpit is a genuine reflector of the spirit of the organization. A pamphlet issued by the church says that "Unity pulpit has two ideals and two lines of endeavor; first, to seek to learn and set forth the fundamental aspects of knowledge and faith which should determine our courses of action, and second, to interpret the moral and religious aspects of the life of to-day, individual and social, so that both the common experience and the exceptional insight may quicken and guide the individual effort."

So the Reverend Edgar Swan Wiers, pastor of Unity Church, literally tries "to interpret the moral and religious aspects of life to-day." He does not preach about the fitness of Adam for the garden, or what the apostles said. For example, the day we listened to him he talked about "Just Plain Reliability," and the part it plays in life.

NOVEL CHURCH NOTICES

Before the sermon, Mr. Wiers read the church "notices," and they were as much out of the commonplace as his theme. Listen to them. "The Ten-Hour Bill, limiting the labor of women to ten hours a day for six days a week, was lost last year. It has been re-introduced as the Edge Bill. It is Senate Bill No. 61. The opposition to it is great. More than twenty states have equal or greater protection for their women. This bill should be supported by all those who believe in the conservation of womanhood and human resources. Write to Senators Edge, Nichols, and Gerhardt, of the committee on corporations, to whom it has been referred. Do it at once, for the committee is to make its report Tuesday."

Here is another notice. "The Ways and Means Committee of Congress held a hearing, January 10th, on the Esch Bill to prohibit the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. The hearing showed that the committee members were ignorant of the menace and nature of the disease caused by white phosphorus. They did not believe it a matter of much consequence. Write to Congressman Townsend about the bill. Let Unity Church do all it can toward abolishing 'phossy jaw.'"

Still another notice had to do with the campaign of the American Association for Labor Legislation for a weekly rest day, to make it impossible for people to be compelled to work seven days a week. Unity members were urged to work for the proposed legislation.

When Unity Church woke up, the average attendance at the Sunday morning services, as we know, was ninety. The average for the ensuing year, 1910, was 146. In 1911 the attendance every Sunday was in excess of the attendance for the corresponding weeks of 1910 by 10 to 15 per cent. The average attendance for the year was 165. The normal rate of growth for Unity Church had been less than 7 per cent. a year. Advertising increased the membership more

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than 50 per cent. in two years, did it in spite of an abnormally large mortality, and did it among non-church goers.

But what about the cost? Did it pay? The year-book cost about $100 per annum. The newspaper advertisements cost more. In the four months of January to April, 1911, the treasurer's report shows that $100 was spent for newspaper advertisements — and that the increase in collections was enough in excess of the usual collections to pay for the advertisements. Thus the church not only got new members, but it got its money back. And each new member added to the strength of the church, making it at first possible, then easy, to carry the burden.

The average conference church costs $56.50 per capita, Mr. Harris computes, for all who attend, and the ministers' salaries average $1,250. Unity Church costs $36 per capita and the minister receives a salary of $3,500. The yearly expenses of the church total more than $9,000, including interest on a mortgage. This money has to be raised by voluntary contributions, for all seats are free. About one third of that sum came in in regular subscriptions. The rest came from plate collections. And every Sunday, like the congregation, these kept getting larger. Thus was exemplified the truth of Caroline Bartlett Crane's statement that "a church which is struggling for the lives of others will not have to struggle for its own."

THE NEW COMPETITION

THIRD ARTICLE

SEGREGATION AND NOT DISSOLUTION FOR TRUSTS

SOLVING THE PROBLEM BY ISOLATING THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL CORPORATIONS

BY

ARTHUR J. EDDY

"WHAT shall we do about the trusts?"

"Smash em," the man in the street cries.

"Regulate them," the more conservative citizen responds.

"Put them under Government control," the politician suggests.

But when an independent competitor of one of the great trusts was asked the question he quickly answered:

"Compel them to make money."

"What!"

"I mean what I say; as an independent, all I ask is that the big corporations be compelled by law to make money."

"Why, what do you mean?"

"That if they make money I can; in fact I can make money when they lose — if they don't lose too much."

"But they do make money."

"Yes and no — yes, where they have a control — no, where they compete with me or some other independent."

"I don't understand ——"

"Neither does the public — that's just the trouble. If the public did understand, instead of crying for disintegration of the trusts, which is a senseless proposition, the cry would be for segregation, which is the solution of the problem."

Let us get at what is meant by "segregation versus disintegration."

Everybody knows what disintegration means; it means dissolution — "smashing 'em," in the language of the street.

The Standard Oil Company has been disintegrated into some thirty-five more or less — chiefly less — independent, and supposedly competing companies.

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The Tobacco Company has been disintegrated into fourteen more or less independent and — supposedly — competing units.

The net result to the public so far has been higher prices for many of the products of the one and no lower prices for any of the products of the other.

The net result to stockholders has been, for the most part, losses.

The net result to "insiders" — the men against whom public clamor was raised — has been golden opportunities for profit in the buying and selling of subsidiary stocks long before stockholders and the public could possibly form any accurate notions of the real value of them.

To illustrate — when the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey — the trust — was dissolved by order of court the stockholders of that company received *pro rata* fractional interests in all the subsidiary companies, and for the first time thousands of men and women all over the country learned of the existence of those thirty-five companies. By no possibility could these scattered stockholders form accurate opinions regarding the values of the fractional shares issued to them; only the men in control of the industry were in a position to know. What has been the result? The stockholders and public have sold and bought in ignorance, losing both ways. Take the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, one of the subsidiary companies. It was capitalized at $1,000,000; the amount cut no figure so long as all its stock was held by the trust, but when the trust was dissolved its stockholders each received his fractional *pro rata* shares in the Indiana Company. There was a general impression that the stock of this company was worth far more than par, but how much? Only the insiders could tell. As a result many stockholders who were in the dark sold their interests at less than a fifth of what the stock sold for inside a few weeks.

A few days ago the Indiana Company voted to increase its capital stock from one million dollars to thirty millions and to distribute the $29,000,000 to its stockholders as a stock dividend, and it now appears that the company is earning at least ten millions a year, or 33⅓ per cent. on the new capitalization, but it is stated in the press that the "officers refuse to give any information on this point."

The Sherman law was passed in 1890. For more than ten years few attempts were made to enforce it against large corporations. Then, in response to popular clamor, due to many flagrant abuses, came a period of indiscriminate "trust-busting." Already there are signs of reaction; the pendulum is swinging back; it is found that the Sherman law hits large and small, good and bad, labor unions and capital unions alike. At best the law is a destructive measure and the demand now is for constructive legislation. But this demand so far has not assumed any very definite shape.

The suggestion of "segregation" is worth considering; for at least it helps analyze the situation if it does not offer the solution.

THE MEANING OF "SEGREGATION"

"Busting," or the disintegration of a trust, means its dissolution into its component parts and the destruction of all ties between those parts. Segregation means simply such an isolation of all the parts as will enable competitors and the public to see clearly what each part is doing, without destroying the ties that bind the parts into one whole.

Under segregation the trust or large corporation remains intact, but in the operation of its different companies or branches and in producing and selling its different lines of products it is required to keep its accounts and make its reports in such a manner that each will stand by itself and be subject to easy investigation and ready comparison.

Segregation is entirely a matter of accounting and management, it does not necessarily affect ownership.

The proposition is simple because every well-managed corporation already segregates its different units and branches in its accounting, but no outsider has access to the results.

The conduct of a large corporation may be so unfair and oppressive as to call for disintegration, forfeiture of charter, as

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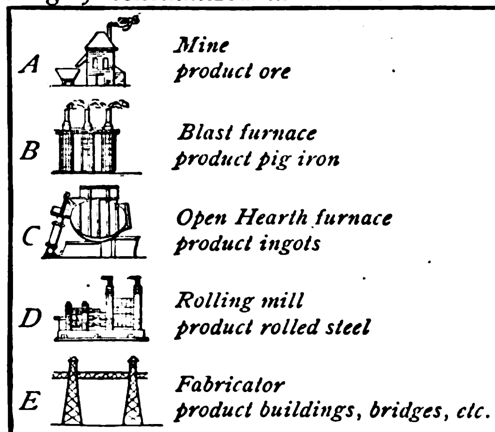
a punishment; but generally speaking segregation will accomplish far more and with less loss to innocent parties.

The production of a finished steel product such as a steel building may be roughly schematized as follows:



SCHEME SHOWING THE VARIOUS SEPARATE INDUSTRIES THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE MAKING OF A FINISHED STEEL PRODUCT

Reading up, each factory is wholly dependent upon the preceding. E must buy shapes and plates from D; D must buy billets, slabs, and blooms from C; C must buy pig-iron from B; B must buy ore from A.

Reading down, there is not the same degree of dependence save in the case of the mine, A, which has but one customer, B, the blast furnace. The others have several outlets for their production. As between D and E, the rolling mill turns out so many different products, from tin plate and wire rods to rails, that it is virtually independent of the fabricator.

Many mills do not consider it worth while to equip for the making of shapes and plates for structural steel work, notwithstanding the fact that an immense tonnage is used — some 1,500,000 tons annually.

These varying degrees of interdependence are incentives to combination and consolidation — imperative reading up the line, diminishing reading down.

Under existing competitive conditions the fabricator feels the imperative need of close alliance with some rolling mill. Unless the rolling mill owns an open-hearth furnace it knows it is not in a position to compete with mills that do. The open-hearth furnace wants its own blast furnace and the blast furnace wants its own ore supply.

Reading down, any one factor may or may not have an interest in a succeeding factor — ownership is not vital, but may be profitable.

Reading up, it may be a question of existence; reading down, it is more a matter of profit, of "branching out" to secure business, and, as every one knows, "branching out" is often disastrous. The blast furnace that buys an open-hearth furnace with a view to making steel in addition to making pig-iron may come to grief, while the purchase of a blast furnace by an open-hearth company in order to get its raw material to better advantage may be a very sound proposition; the motives are fundamentally different; results in the latter case may be quite accurately estimated and forecast, whereas in the former they are largely guess-work, a gamble on the question whether a company organized to make and sell pig-iron can make and sell steel successfully.

To make the point clearer, a blast furnace might very naturally buy a coal mine to get the coal and coke it needs, but there is no more reason why a coal company should buy a blast furnace than why it should buy a railroad or the business of any other large customer.

It is one thing for a given industry to buy a plant from which it must get raw material, it is a fundamentally different thing for an industry to buy a plant to which it sells its finished product. A railroad company may buy a coal mine to get the coal it burns, but a coal mine should not buy a railroad in order to sell it the coal it uses — as an economic proposition the first purchase may be entirely sound, the second is unsound; the first might lead to abuses, the second would be sure to.

In response to these incentives to combine and consolidate in the vertical line, a number of large steel companies in this country own *all* the factors from and including A to E.

They own directly or indirectly their own, A, mines; B, blast furnaces; C,

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open-hearth furnaces; D, rolling mills; E, structural steel fabricating companies.

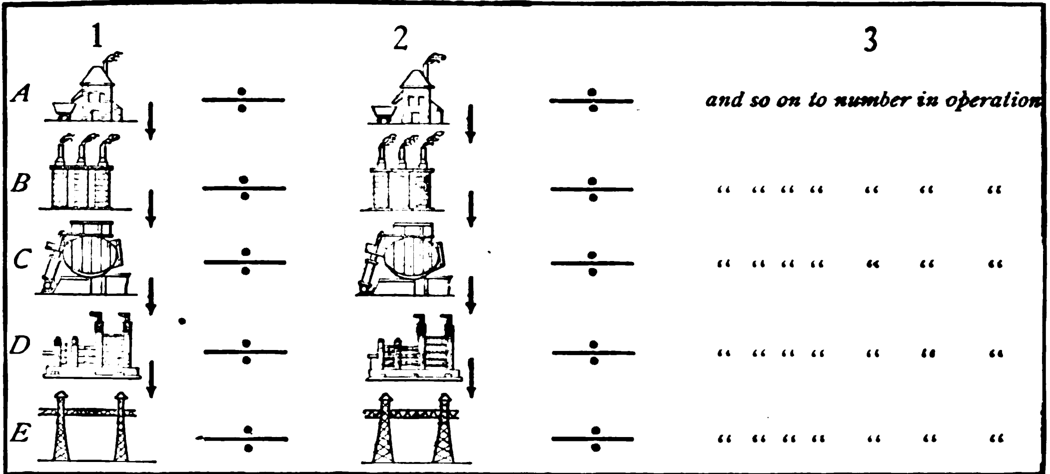
Though only a comparatively few large companies own all the factors from A to E, a great many companies own or control two or more of the factors. The tendency in the iron and steel world is so strong for a company to protect itself by securing control of the source of its raw material that comparatively few stand entirely alone.

To carry the argument a step farther let us make another diagram:

Many of these propositions may read like truisms but they have their bearing.

Generally speaking, combinations in the perpendicular line are natural and some inevitable, while those along the horizontal are artificial; the one is for the purpose of controlling costs, the other for the purpose of controlling prices — both may fail of their objects.

Combinations in the perpendicular line are made to enable the consolidation to compete to better advantage; combina-



NORMAL COMBINATION AND COMPETITION

THE ARROWS REPRESENT THE COMBINATION OF ONE INDUSTRY WITH ALL OTHERS INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCING OF ITS RAW MATERIAL; THE DIVISION SIGNS REPRESENT THE COMPETITION OF ONE INDUSTRY WITH ALL OTHERS OF ITS KIND

tions along the horizontal line are usually made for the express purpose of suppressing competition.

Line A would be extended to the number of mines in operation; line B to the number of blast furnaces — reported 208 for the year 1909 — and so on; each horizontal line being carried out to include all the mines, furnaces, mills, and fabricators in active operation.

The number varies from time to time. The sign of division is used between units on the horizontal lines because each is normally more or less antagonistic to the others; there is no necessary interdependence as in the vertical line; all unions and combinations are more or less forced and artificial.

The perpendicular is the line of normal combination, the horizontal is the line of normal competition.

A mine does not compete with a blast furnace but with all other mines that are trying to sell ore to the same furnaces.

The public is, and for a long time has been, opposed to combinations along the horizontal line, combinations of mine with mine, mill with mill; it is beginning to see that combinations in the perpendicular line may be far more effective in restraining trade and developing monopolies.

A combination of all the furnaces in the country would have the power for a time to fix any price it pleased on pig-iron — short of cost of importation — but this power would not last long; its arbitrary exercise would invite new competition. Monopolies along the horizontal line are seldom more than partial and are always short-lived, with reactions that send prices below cost.

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The monopoly that results from combination in the perpendicular line is a very different proposition. It is not due to any control of the industry, as a whole, but entirely to the ability of the combination to kill off competitors instead of buying them up as in the other case.

All other things equal, it matters little to a blast furnace that buys its ore whether it competes against a dozen independent furnaces or a number in consolidation — as pointed out, it may profit more with the consolidation in existence, but if one furnace secures control of a mine, the position of every furnace that has no mine is seriously affected.

Why?

Simply because the combination is in a position to sell pig-iron at cost or less than cost to down competitors, and make its money from its mine.

So long as A, B, C, D, and E are independent units in the production and sale each of its own products, no one can sell at less than cost for any length of time and survive, but when all are united under one ownership, the consolidation is in a position to lose money indefinitely on one or more of its units — departments — until its competitors in that horizontal line are driven to the wall, all the time more than recouping its losses in other departments.

This is the combination that the independent, who has to buy his material, cannot stand.

The independent blast furnace has nothing to fear from a combination between mine and furnace if neither is permitted to live off the other.

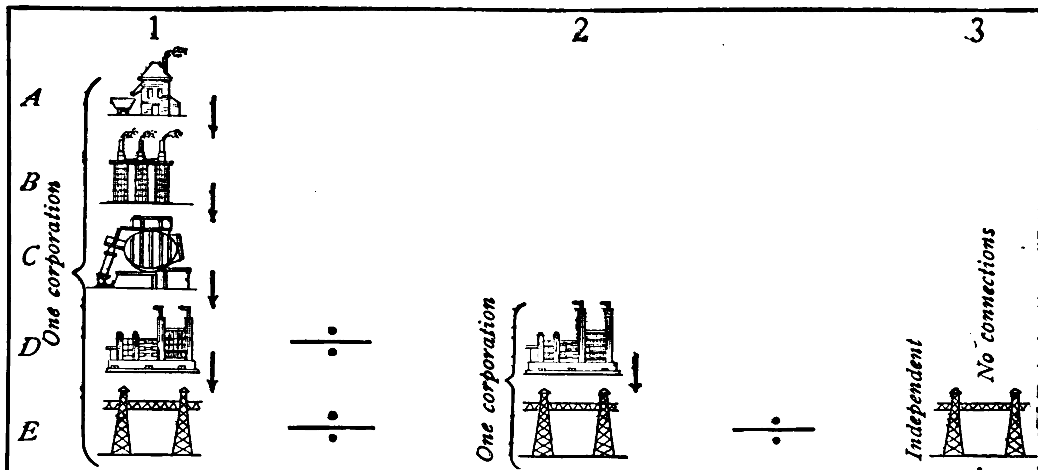
What is true of mine and furnace is true of all combinations in the vertical line — the independent competitor stands no chance unless the operations of the consolidated units are so segregated that he can ascertain just what he is up against.

Take the case of the independent steel fabricator. There are a great many in the country; he is to be found in every city of any size, and comparatively few have connections with rolling mills. Most of them buy the steel they use — shapes and plates — in the open market.

In bidding upon work they are obliged to figure their material at market price — say $1.10 per hundred pounds, or $22 per ton, Pittsburg.

Competing with these independent companies are several companies that are owned by or allied with rolling mills.

The following illustrates the situation:



THE DANGER OF NORMAL COMBINATION

IS NOT THE CORPORATION WHICH BUYS UP ALL COMPETITORS, BUT THE ONE WHICH (COL. 1) CONTROLS ALL ITS OWN SUBSIDIARY PROCESSES AND IS ABLE, THEREFORE, TO CONTROL THE PRICES OF RAW MATERIAL SO AS TO FORCE 2 AND 3, WHO BUY IN THE OPEN MARKET, OUT OF BUSINESS

Independent 3 is obliged to buy its steel in the open market, possibly of rolling mills 1 and 2.

Rolling mill 2 is obliged to buy its raw

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material in the open market, possibly from furnaces owned by 1.

It is plain that the independent (3) can exist only so long as combinations 1 and 2 compel their structural departments to figure steel at market price in making all estimates and *to make no bids except at a fair profit.*

It is equally plain that, after disposing of independent fabricator 3, the fight for control may result in combination 1 selling all the products of its mill (D) at cost — while still making money in units A, B, and C — and so compel 2 to shut down.

In short the large corporations — there are a number most efficiently organized — which own or control all the process-steps of finished steel production, are in a position absolutely to dominate the industry; independents in any one branch live only by their sufferance.

On the surface this would seem to be a dangerous situation, but it is undoubtedly true that no one of these large corporations has any desire to monopolize any particular branch of the industry or to suppress independents in various lines; on the contrary all the large corporations would like to help independents, for they make good local customers.

But conditions are bad. At the present time there is so little business to go around and competition is so keen that the large companies are bidding against themselves, and in their fight for business they are permitting some of their departments to bid at cost and less than cost, covering the deficits in other departments.

This is old-fashioned cut-throat competition, but it is death to the independent and, in the long run, detrimental to the community, for, if logically extended, it means monopoly of this and that branch of the industry by the few powerful survivors.

Furthermore it must not be overlooked that between each letter in the perpendicular line there is the big item of freight, especially important between A and B — mine and blast furnace. A combination in this line may save or make enough on transportation to enable it to sell all its products at competitors' cost and still show a good profit.

The independent fabricators are caught between the upper and nether millstones, between the rolling mills from which they are obliged to buy and the structural steel companies owned by the mills, with which they have to compete.

It is quite natural for a mill to favor its own subsidiary company, or a company closely allied to it, and make a secret price on shapes that will enable such company to secure a good contract, and many will insist upon its right to do so. A prominent lawyer representing a large company was asked:

"Given a corporation that controls two or more units of a product, has it the right to sell one unit at cost to beat its competitors in that particular line?"

"You mean —?"

"I mean, has a steel company that owns mines, furnaces, rolling mills, and — say — a fabricating company, the right to do fabricated work at less than cost to beat independent fabricators that have no connection with mills?"

"That is competition."

"Is it?"

"It is the sort of competition the public is crying for."

"Are you sure?"

"If the purchaser gets his building at less than cost, who is going to complain?"

"How about the independent that stands no show at all and is forced out of business?"

"That's his look-out; if the people want 'cut-throat' competition, the company that has no mill back of it is going to get hurt."

"But does not that mean monopoly in the end by the few big companies that own both mills and fabricating companies?"

"That can't be helped. If the big company can do the work cheaper, then it is bound to survive."

"But it can't do fabricated work any cheaper, not so cheaply as the independent who is well situated locally; the big company can show a profit in its structural department only by charging against that department a low price for its steel."

"What if it does?"

"That means it charges its own subsidiary company one price and charges

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the independents so much more that they are forced out of business. The big company uses the profits it makes in other lines to get control of the structural business."

"Isn't that competition?"

"Not the sort of competition the people will tolerate when they understand."

"Ha! it is the sort of competition every merchant indulges in when he makes a run on a particular line of goods at less than cost to drive out some competitor."

"Perhaps the day of that kind of competition is passing — but all that the individual does the corporation may not do."

"What is your remedy?"

"Segregate the departments of every large corporation in such a way that every competitor against any department may know exactly what he is up against."

"Segregation — that is ridiculous."

"But less disastrous than disintegration."

Many remedies have been proposed for the trust problem — federal incorporation, federal supervision, federal regulation of prices and profits, dissolution, but after years of close association with competitors of the trusts, who are also large buyers from them, the writer has never heard any very loud demand for any one of these remedies.

Dissolution — no one who has any knowledge of the industry seems to want that. Federal regulation of prices and profits is dismissed as chimerical. Federal incorporation or supervision — yes, if you please, then what?

Every objection that can be urged against segregation was urged with greater force against the inter-state commerce law, yet, sharply as that law is criticized by railroad men here and there, the railroad world as a whole would not go back to the old demoralized conditions that prevailed in the days of unfettered competition, secret rebates, pools, and unfair discrimination in rates.

Ten years from now manufacturers will look back upon existing conditions in the industrial world as equally barbaric.

WITH THE KNOX MISSION TO CENTRAL AMERICA

SECOND ARTICLE

THE MEETING WITH ESTRADA CABRERA, THE DESPOT OF GUATEMALA — VENEZUELA'S LAVISH HOSPITALITY AND THE PARTY'S COLD RECEPTION IN CUBA

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

THE Republic of Honduras, for reasons no doubt satisfactory to itself, has established its capital in a mountain town, distant from the nearest port a week's journey by mule over a trail all but impassable. Secretary Knox's Special Mission to the Central American Governments did not travel that trail. Members of the Government came down to Amapala to meet the Secretary, and he assured them of his sincere regret that circumstances over which he had no control compelled him to forego the pleasure of visiting the beautiful capital. Considering the delights of journeying by mule-train through the dust and cactus and dreary rocks of the Honduran Cordillera at the end of the dry season, it may be suspected that Mr. Knox's regret was less personally poignant than official.

So the Ministers gave the Special Envoy a luncheon on shore at Amapala, and he gave them a luncheon on the *Washington*

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in the bay. And it is likely that no Central American statesmen were more thoroughly convinced of the good-will of the United States than were those officials as they sat in arm-chairs on the quarter-deck of the great cruiser, dressed in her gayest bunting, gently swaying to the sea, and fanned by breezes from the mountains, about a horse-shoe table strewn with palms and greens and laden with the comestible spoils of the ends of the earth.

The troubles of Honduras much resemble those of Nicaragua, and the remedies proposed for them are much the same. A treaty was negotiated between President Dávila's Government and that of the United States in terms like those of the Nicaraguan Treaty: a New York syndicate of bankers — the Morgan group — had agreed to lend Honduras the money necessary to adjust its affairs and make the absolutely necessary internal improvements, and the custom-houses were to pass under the protection of the United States. A revolution last year supplanted Dávila with Manuel Bonilla, and the new President is naturally not eager to consummate a deal originated by his predecessor. The Morgan bankers, too, have withdrawn their offer, but the Whitney National Bank of New Orleans has stepped in with the proffer of ten millions under the suggested arrangement.

President Bonilla did not come down to Amapala. He is now an old man, and a sick man: such a journey would have been out of the question. Besides, a new revolution has broken out in his country; General Villadores is on the war-path in the North. Villadores was long Commandante of this port of Amapala. For years he maintained himself on the island on which the custom-house stood, and wielded the power of life and death over the neighborhood. His career has been one of the romances of Central America — too long to enter into here. Poe, the Princeton foot-ball hero, drifted here once as a soldier of fortune, but found things on the island little to his liking and refused the service. Last year, the U. S. S. *Princeton* found it necessary to come to the rescue of the terror-stricken white people of Amapala. Her commander trained his guns on Villadores's house and his powder-magazine, and then paid him the honor of a call. The surly ruffian, who had never in his life been forced to acknowledge anything but his own will, made something of a scene, but soon became convinced that flight was the better part of valor. Lately he has appeared on the Salvador border at the head of a band, beginning his operations by assassinating an aged and respected Honduran named Soto. Bonilla is little able to resist revolution, whether from this quarter or some other, and it was clearly impossible to do much in this land except to impress all who could be reached with a sense of the friendliness of the United States and its desire to assist them in any practical way to achieve political tranquillity.

THE TINY REPUBLIC OF EL SALVADOR

Lying in the open roadstead off what is known as the "port" of Acajutla — with two or three godowns, a pier sticking out into the Pacific and a street of huts — one gazes at the coast of the smallest, yet most densely populated, of Central American countries, El Salvador.

At Acajutla you are landed in a swinging chair. While your landing-boat tosses on the long roll of the Pacific at the edge of the surf, a trap-seat at the end of a rope swoops down, you jump into it and are jerked up and swung around by a creaking crane and deposited on a lofty pier running far out into the sea. If you are a member of a diplomatic party, you come down and pull your hat off with one hand and with the other grab one of a dozen extended glasses of champagne and stand at attention while cannons roar and the band plays a national anthem. On the pier at Acajutla, whilst the "Star Spangled Banner" was performed, there appeared in the midst of the uncovered throng one man who had kept his hat on. The military commander of the port approached him and politely suggested the sign of respect. "I am an American, and I do as I please," was the astonishing reply. Whereupon General Müller (such was this Salvadoran's name) knocked the hat off and kicked it into the sea. "I suppose," he grumbled, in speaking of

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it an hour later, "that there will now be filed with your Secretary of State a claim against my Government: 'One hat, four dollars,'"

The General was half in earnest. The Central American is very polite to the visitor from what he carefully calls the United States of North America, but beneath his politeness is a suspicion and a dislike which it will take years to eradicate. There was a misunderstanding about our landing at Acajutla; the Secretary had sent from Amapala a wireless message saying that we could not land until after luncheon, but the radiogram somehow went wrong, and the reception committee, who had come down from the capital the evening before, waited on the pier from seven until one o'clock, without breakfast. With them were a score of wives and daughters, the aristocrats of the land. Yet — so perfect was their politeness — it was only on the following day, and by accident, that we learned that they supposed they had been subjected to contempt.

Five days before our arrival no arrangement had been made for us, and there was doubt as to our reception; the newspapers were demanding to know what we wanted. News of the welcome we had received in Costa Rica and of the elaborate preparations making in Guatemala turned the tide, and the Mission was given a reception marked by every demonstration of cordial welcome. Those of us who were not officials and who mingled more freely with the people easily learned that we were not welcome — when we came — either by the Government or the people; but we also learned that the unmistakable sincerity and simplicity of Mr. Knox's words, public and private, in a day dissipated doubt and infused with considerable warmth a reception that had been organized coldly.

The military guard was as ostentatious as in Nicaragua, but here I judge it was a matter of pride rather than of apprehension, for El Salvador is conscious of the excellency of its army — it is able to muster 80,000 trained men on short notice. They were in evidence all along the route through the densely populated country, and the procession on arrival at San Salvador was an imposing military spectacle.

San Salvador rejoices in a stately national palace, as Costa Rica does in a magnificent opera house, and no more beautiful and imposing setting could be desired than the halls in which the official reception and the State banquet were tendered. Speeches were more eloquent than any delivered in a Northern country would dare be, the Special Envoy and his family were showered with flowers, the city was illuminated in undeniable splendor and champagne flowed like a mountain torrent in the rainy season. The ball — to the success of which great importance is attached in this part of the world — was, I believe, attended by the best families, barring those belonging to the opposition and the exiles from other Central American States, who live here in numbers, and who include some of the best blood, brain, and beauty of the land.

Salvador, which alone of the six Republics fronts on only one ocean, the Pacific, ought to be more benefited by the Panama Canal than the others. The sea passage to New York will be shortened 10,000 miles, and the markets of Eastern North America and Europe brought within a practical radius. The whole land is under cultivation; large quantities of coffee, sugar, and hides are exported — the cattle browsing everywhere on the Para grass would do credit to any gentleman farmer's richest meadows; Peruvian balsam is an exclusive product, and the cultivation of rubber is rapidly increasing. There are several very large fortunes in the country, and a wider distribution of comfortable means than is common in this part of the world. The capital city is pleasant, within the qualifications necessary to make in speaking of towns hereabouts, and has vistas approaching magnificence. The Salvadorans evidently have a nice taste in sculpture and architecture.

AT GUATEMALA'S CAPITAL

Nothing could be more agreeable than cruising the Pacific waters that wash the magnificent coast of Central America. Few things are more disagreeable than landing on those same magnificent coasts.

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At San José de Guatemala, as at Acajutla, you are hoisted from the landing-boat as it mounts the crest of a roller and deposited amid the horns and bass-drums on the pier.

In Guatemala they have a noble anthem. It has character; it has vim and sparkle — the music, that is; the words are nothing extraordinary, but it is a pleasure to hear that fine melody swelling from throats of brass. We heard it a score of times on the way to the capital, for the population of the country had received orders to give the North American Premier a welcome such as no man ever before received in Guatemala. On landing, a hundred school-children in sashes and military caps had greeted us, and at every station along the line they were massed, cheering and singing, as we passed. At Escuintla, where we stopped for luncheon, and where the train runs into a real "depot," we passed through a double column of children, one of whom stepped out and with uplifted hand and an occasional stately gesture welcomed Mr. Knox — in English. Everywhere, also, the military. At Laguna, a station on a pretty lake amid the volcanoes, several hundred gaily decked canoes, filled with holiday-makers, lay a little off the shore, singing and waving flags as we passed.

Guatemala City had resolved to outdo anything in the way of a triumph ever accorded — and it fulfilled its resolution. Entering carriages at the station, the Mission passed through three miles of streets lined with soldiers and crowded with the populace. From well-designed flag poles bearing medallions of patriots of United States history and that of Guatemala, hung banners of the two nations. Every building we passed had been freshly painted, and from grilled windows and gilded balconies looked down the faces of girls and women — and in feminine pulchritude Latin America can challenge comparison with the world. Arches of flowers and palms, glittering by night with electric bulbs, had been erected at several points, and the whole way was festooned in green and garlanded with flowers. At one point stood a replica of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty.

That night as we sat at dinner with the President, his cabinet, and the elite of the capital, five thousand Indians in costume, carrying torches and playing weird instruments, passed in procession before the palace of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Three fourths of Guatemala's 2,000,000 population are Indians — dirty, lazy, densely ignorant, but picturesque in the extreme, having no part nor lot in modern life beyond breathing the same air as those who are actually alive. They throng Guatemala City, tramping incredible distances from the forests, the men in bright-colored skirts; the undersized, slant-eyed women (looking for all the world like Japs, in shawls tightly pinned around their loins) invariably with a papoose slung on their necks; they spend days squatted in the streets, stupidly gazing at the town.

The chief city of Central America has no small pretensions to magnificence. The cathedral and half a dozen churches are imposing and beautiful. Several public buildings are worthy of a great State. From the roof-garden of the house vacated for Mr. Knox could be seen as fine a panorama of surrounding mountains as one could wish to view. But the chief glory of the city is the Temple of Minerva, an Ionic edifice of impressive size and perfect proportions, dedicated to exercises in honor of learning. Here, the morning after our arrival, in the midst of a mammoth concourse and a great military review, three thousand school children in white and black performed evolutions, finally mounting the steps of the temple and, clustering round a mountainous floral altar under its high-lifted roof, sang their national anthem and then ours — ours in English. There were banquets and a ball and ceremonies every hour of three days, but nothing surpassed that pleasing spectacle.

Manuel Estrada Cabrera, Guatemala's President, is much the most interesting figure in Central America. The fear and dread of him lies on all the Republics like the fear of a vengeful god. He has maintained himself as dictator of the northernmost and biggest of the nations for fourteen years by the usual methods of

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a merciless tyrant, and now he aspires to found and rule over a United States of Central America. His subjects try to kill him once in a while, and his vengeance is terrible. In another article I hope to speak of Estrada Cabrera as a chief political factor in the tumultuous Central American drama; here I will recount some personal impressions of the man:

He looks like Diaz of Mexico, except that his expression is livelier. His figure is sturdy, his head large, with a high forehead; he has a double chin and a heavy iron-gray moustache. In repose his face is not unamiable, but all manner of storms, volcanoes, and lightnings dwell in his half-shut eyes. No human face that I have ever seen compares with Estrada Cabrera's — unless Mr. Roosevelt's — in capability of passionate play, of swift intensity. In an instant it is transformed with truly terrible energy, the eyes darting commands and hurling threats. His people stand about him watching for any slightest gesture of the finger, any premonitory suggestion of a lifting eyelid. Time and again we saw him control all the details of elaborate functions with scarcely perceptible glances and movements of the hand. People came and went, rose up and sat down, were pleased or were indifferent, as he indicated; at the least tardiness or failure to understand, rage fairly transfixed his countenance for a dreadful second.

Estrada Cabrera was the only Central American President with whom I talked who freely confessed his own personal ambitions. True, he had many fine words about the welfare of the country, expatiated almost as convincingly as a Tammany boss on the beauty and glory of free elections, and dwelt lovingly on the need of education. But he was perfectly candid in acknowledging that things went better in his hands than they would go in those of anybody else, and that his was the only vision, his the sole competency to rule, that either Guatemala or all Latin-America possessed.

Noticing in his drawing room many busts and pictures of Napoleon, I asked Estrada Cabrera if their presence indicated his special admiration of the French Emperor. The Guatemalan President was instantly more eloquent even than he had been about education.

"Oh! yes. My friends all know my intense admiration of Napoleon, and they send me those pictures and statues and busts because they think nothing will interest me more, or give me more pleasure. I don't suppose they mean to suggest that I resemble him, though perhaps some things I have done might excuse that flattering suggestion. His career has been my study ever since my mind first turned, and the way first opened, to political life.

"Do I admire him especially as a general or a statesman? I suppose all the world admits Napoleon's superb genius as a military man. His campaigns are the despair of all generals since. Yet I'm not sure but it is even more as a statesman — a constructive statesman — that I revere him. No man ever did for a people what Napoleon did for the French. He owed little to advice. He dominated his councillors; he did not allow them to dominate him. He was a strong man, solitary, lofty, bent on great ends and pursuing them ruthlessly. Such must be the rulers of men. He was a great social organizer, a law-giver, a patron of education and the arts. Who has ever combined so many statesmanly virtues?"

And so he went on with kindling enthusiasm — this Napoleon-like Indian who has written his name MANUEL ESTRADA CABRERA on the architraves of his opera-house, his hospital, and his Temples of Minerva in a dozen cities and who plans the unification of Central America under the quetzal of Guatemala, as the Corsican planned the unification of Europe under the eagle of France.

Though the United States has twice prevented Mexico from invading its next-door southern neighbor, that fact has been more than balanced in the Guatemalan mind by the repeated warning the Washington Government has conveyed to Guatemala that she must not attempt to interfere in the affairs of *her* southern neighbors. That warning Mr. Knox took

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occasion to repeat, in language perfectly diplomatic but none the less unmistakable.

Splendid as had been the reception given the Secretary in Guatemala, the thoughts that came to some of us as we coasted down the two hundred miles of rails to the eastern seaboard were that we had had a glimpse of a tragedy in government — a great land of infinite possibilities wrecked by generations of tyrannous misrule. It is a land of slaves laboring miserably to enrich a few families at the capital. So, for the matter of that, are the other Central American countries, but nowhere else is the contrast quite so great as between the life of the sophisticated few in this beautiful capital and that of the exploited million of Indians who herd in the huts of the jungle.

In the heart of that wilderness we left the train and tramped a swampy path to a scene of another day and another civilization. Here in the midst of the misery of modern Guatemala we saw still standing megalithic ruins of the Mayas — great stone pillars and monuments carved with bewildering figures in consummate art, mute remains of a metropolis of prehistoric times, where life must have been incomparably richer than it has come to be in the twentieth Christian century. If any one is prone to cynicism respecting human progress, let him be careful not to spend a few weeks traveling among the present-day capitals of Central America and then stand for an hour before the mighty monoliths of Quirigua.

VENEZUELA'S GREAT WELCOME

Four days' steaming from Puerto Barrios straight across the Caribbean brings you to the happier land which the first white explorers called New Venice, because there the Carib fishermen dwelt in huts raised on piles in the sea. The owners of Venezuela to-day live in the upland valleys beyond the coast range. From La Guayra to Caracas in a straight line may be six miles; by the wonderful path which the train travels it is forty, and when you are there you are in another world.

The story of the welcome given Secretary Knox in Venezula is one which I suppose will surprise Americans — as it certainly surprised us. It is difficult to write about it except in superlatives.

Caracas, in its high mountain valley of unexcelled scenic splendor, is, of course, one of the most beautiful of cities. Our visit was made a three-day national fête. The Government declared general holiday, and the Archbishop dispensed the people — including himself — from the obligations of Lent. The programme for our entertainment was so elaborate that the Government had to issue a fifteen-page book setting forth its details — which were planned, as they were executed, in the most perfect taste, though with an embarrassing gorgeousness. Attended by troops of cuirassiers and hussars — one body in shining breastplates, horsetailed helmets, and pennoned lances, the other in braided and befrogged uniforms of white and gold, with clanking sabres, furred jackets swung across the back, and embroidered pouches at the saddle — we spent the best part of a week passing from function to function, in state coaches with jingling harness and liveried lackeys, the humblest of us attended by day and night by an Ex-President, or the son of one, or at least a Cabinet Minister. Few European capitals would have been able to lay a more sumptuous banquet than that we partook of in Castro's old palace of Miraflores, or organize more brilliant balls, or carry out with more correct etiquette the score of ceremonies attending the Secretary's welcome by the several national and civic official bodies and his visits to historic spots.

No city in North America is so rich in spots of patriotic interest: the banner of Pizarro hung over Mr. Knox's head as he received the freedom of the city in the Municipal Palace, and a hundred relics of Bolivar (among them the miniature of Washington and the lock of his hair which the Liberator wore as his chief decoration) reposed in the Museum a few steps away, to which we proceeded; while in the Pantheon lay the bones of a score of patriots, and the wall and ceilings of the Legislative Palace were covered with paintings of the great scenes of the War for Independence — made strikingly like our own by the costumes of its actors.

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GUARDING THE KNOX PARTY AT SAN SALVADOR
THE STREETS LINED WITH RAGGED, SOMETIMES UNSHOD, SOLDIERS

Everywhere — in his chief formal speeches, in his brief responses and his impromptu words as he laid wreaths on statues of Bolivar and Washington — Mr. Knox was extremely felicitous. And here for the first time, the people cheered him and cheered his companions as they drove through the streets. Elsewhere the official welcome had been all that could be desired; here alone the people were glad to see us.

Between more formal functions, when they were not more than a score or so during the day, we visited, in state, the Military Academy, the Zoölogical Garden, made processional drives out into the three branches of the valley, lunched and took tea and danced, with Ministers, and at our own Legation — in all our journey we saw nine American Ministers; two of them were a credit to their country; Northcott was one of the two.

Then they had a race-meeting for us; at which the President's horse failed to win: and there was a bull-fight, at which those who attended it saw an aged matador, a moment after he had thrown his hat into the box occupied by the Americans and pledged his sword to the honor of the "distinguished visitors," tossed by the bull and carried bleeding from the ring.

Not to speak of the cock-fight at the

SOLDIERS PROTECTING THE SPECIAL TRAIN AT MANAGUA, NICARAGUA
WHICH IS PROBABLY THE MOST TOPSY TURVY OF ALL THE CENTRAL AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS

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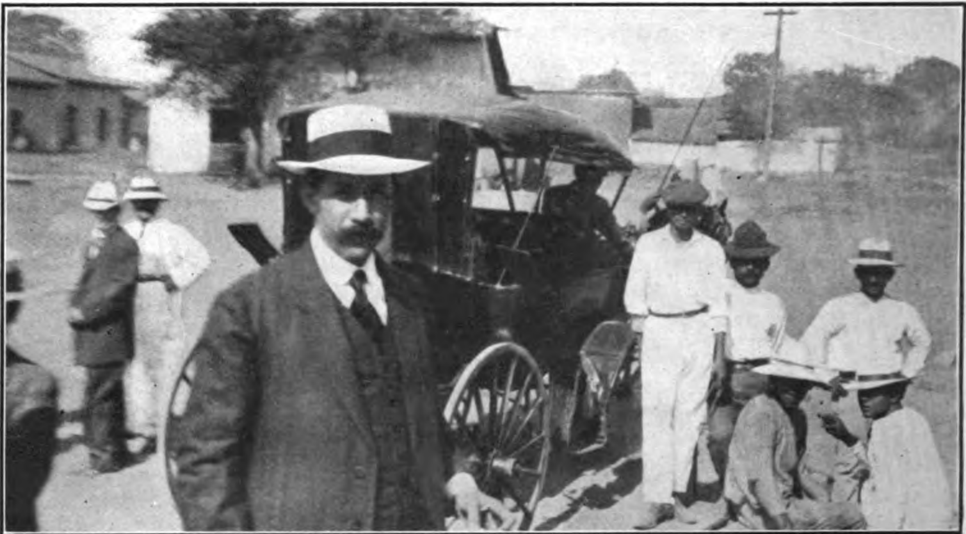
President's own pit. For on the way down from the capital to Puerto Cabello, President Gomez went with us to his own town of Maracay, where, in his great house, he served us a whole ox, had his rough-riders parade before us, and matched four of his gamiest chickens. These be queer lands in South America. A dissolute North American Congressman has been known, in moments of relaxation at home, to sneak off of a Sunday morning with the boys, and watch an encounter of fowls behind the barn — but it is not with us customary for the President to take his guests to a cock-fight in his private theatre.



GENERAL CHAMORRO, THE POPULAR HERO OF NICARAGUA

WHO WOULD BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT IF A FAIR ELECTION COULD BE HELD—PHOTOGRAPHED IN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL STREETS OF MANAGUA, THE CAPITAL

Of the sublimities of that ride down the mountains; of the pleasures of the sail across Lake Valencia, a perfect Como; of the salute from the ancient fort whose guns had not spoken for a hundred years; of the wonderful throng at Valencia; even of the gigantic electric good-bye of the people of Puerto Cabello that followed us far out to sea, there is no space to speak.

Nor can but little be said here of the remaining days of the journey. In Venezuela we had touched the high point. In the ancient city of Santo Domingo, to which the Secretary now proceeded, beyond the ball with which the Government honored him there was little of a public nature to mark the visit. The town, with its venerable churches, still pompous in their ruin, its cathedral enshrining the bones of Columbus (which were brought out and placed on a table before us), with its massive walls and castles of the Conquistadores crumbling around the miserable huts of the living population, is always one of the saddest spots in the New World. It has improved considerably in the last ten years, however, chief of the improvements being a road stretching nowhere in particular out into the jungle. The American Minister's house is on this road, and on the floor of the American Minister's house is a fresh stain, made by the blood of the late President Ramon Caceres, who was shot on the road and dragged himself here to die.

Of the political conditions of Santo Domingo and the result of the arrangement under which the United States collects the revenue and protects the custom-houses, another article, next month, will speak. After five years of tranquility, we found the country restless, a rebellion organizing, the prisons full of victims, mutiny in the army headquarters, and a lusty young general ruling through a puppet, his uncle.

To St. Thomas the *Washington* pro-

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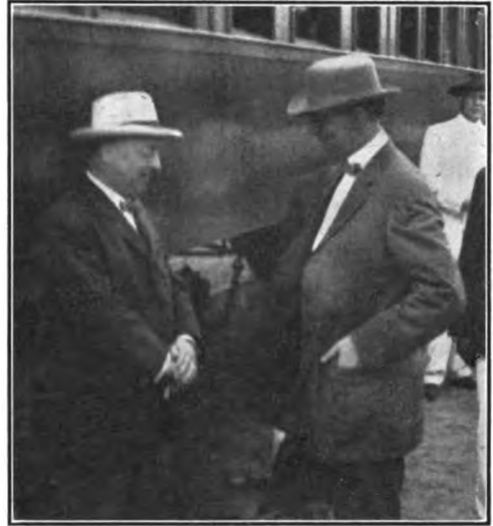
ceeded next; not, as American newspapers asserted, because the United States Government is preparing to buy that Danish colony to keep it from falling into the hands of the Germans, but because it was necessary to pass a couple of days somewhere before entering a harbor of Porto Rico, which maintains a six-days' quarantine against Venezuela. In the pretty harbor of Charlotte Amalie we met the German cruiser *Bremen*, and a hundred of her men boarded us — with no more hostile intent than to attend the moving picture show given that night on the quarterdeck.

Where did the good citizens of — no! I believe they are not citizens, certainly not of the United States — where did the good people of Porto Rico get the thousands of big American flags that draped their fine old city in the Secretary's honor? Being a part of our own nation, there could be no formal exchanges of fine speeches and official drinking of healths, but they decorated gloriously. And the Governor made it pleasant for everybody, and the soldiers paraded, and there was a little dinner and a big reception in the Palace.

Porto Rico is thinking more about the possibility of having the bonus on its sugar removed by a Democratic Congress



SECRETARY KNOX AND SECRETARY FISHER
MEETING AT PANAMA

PRESIDENT GOMEZ
OF VENEZUELA (LEFT) AND GENERAL MATOS (RIGHT)
WHO DEFEATED FORMER PRESIDENT CASTRO

than about anything else — citizenship is a matter of sentiment; the sugar bonus is a matter of a hundred million dollars a year — and what Porto Ricans wanted to do with the Secretary was to get him into a corner and lecture him on the sugar industry and the "great wrong" that they feared was about to be done them. But Mr. Knox, whose business is to deal with foreign problems, not to pronounce on internal questions, fled. Discreet friends whirled him out to the Governor's country-house, thirty miles away in the hills, and the orators that poured forth their agonized souls at the banquet-board, around which sat the wealth and conservatism of the island, had to content themselves with addressing the newspaper men — and to listen to the responding eloquence of a free-trade Democrat!

No one steaming, as we now steamed for two days, past the magnificent coasts of Hayti, could possibly get the consent of his mind to believe that this was the land about which he had heard such dreadful stories — so free are those romping and jubilant slopes, so uplifting those calm summits. Passing between the old buccaneer island of Tortuga and the mainland — the biggest ship that ever made that passage — we were so near the shore that our glasses made out the people, and told

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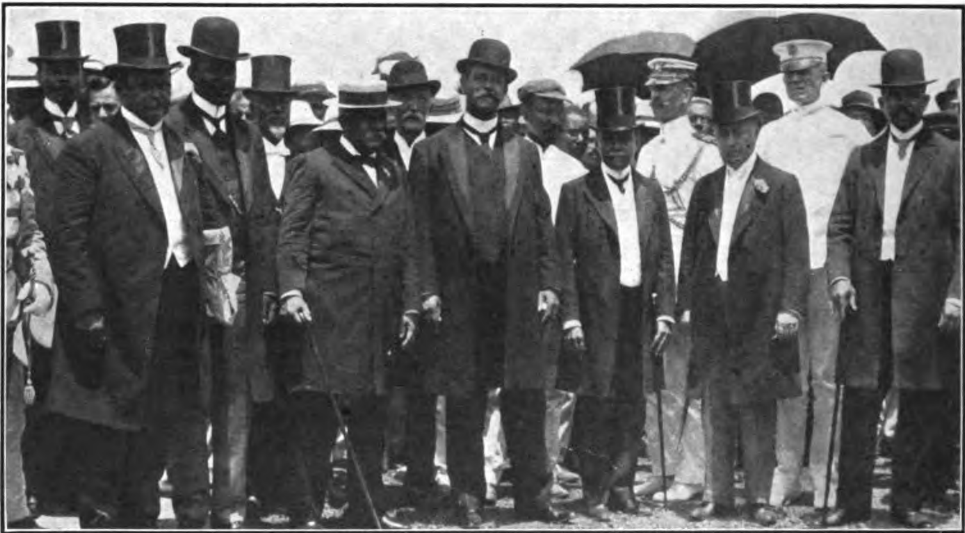
us that the apparent wilderness swarmed with human beings.

Two things new they have in Port au Prince: a cathedral on the hill and a pier in the harbor. It was not till the next day that I discovered the cathedral to be an empty shell of concrete, destined probably never to be completed, but the pier remains an amazement to those who know Hayti. Landing on it, and crossing to an enclosure which had been cleaned of débris and swept as no square rod of Haytian soil ever was swept before, the Secretary's party was saved for a few minutes from learning that the capital of the Haytian Republic is the filthiest, the most dilapidated, the most horrible town in the world — except all the other Haytian towns. Once out of that cleared spot, the truth thrust itself upon them in the form of streets knee-deep in slime, unutterable refuse, appalling odors, tumbling huts, and mobs of half-naked Negroes. In other days, the author of this article has tried to describe Hayti; but, having exhausted the vocabulary of degradation, without achieving a worthy picture of the heart-breaking scene, he abstains now from another attempt.

Mr. Knox and his party were saved much. They were conducted to a respectable house on the hill of Turgeau, far above the city; entertained at tea by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (M. Leger, well-known at Washington, where for fifteen years he represented his country in a manner far superior to its deserts); and given a banquet by President Le Conte in the National Palace. To the tea came the diplomatic corps and all official society — a strange gathering; elsewhere in Caribbean countries, one sees colored people; here one sees nothing but Negroes; a colored person seldom, a white man almost never.

The State dinner was an occasion none of the Americans present will ever forget. And yet probably none of us could tell why it so wierdly impressed us. The palace is of wood, and stands within an extensive area defended by a tall iron fence (which is more properly a palisade) and concealed rifle-pits, with machine guns commanding the gates. Within, it has some pretensions to splendor of a heavy, faded kind, dark red walls, and plush furniture being much in favor. The dinner was better than might have been expected, but conversation languished. In an ante-room a scarlet-garbed band of eighty pieces played. The speeches were over and the musicians had been silent



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THE RECEIVING PARTY OF HAYTIAN OFFICIALS

MR. LEGER, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT MR. KNOX'S RIGHT HAND

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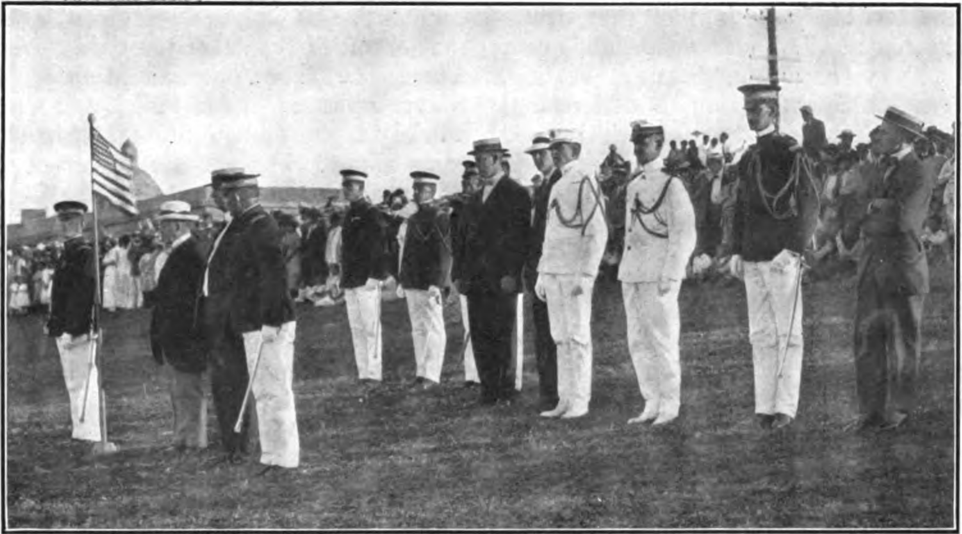

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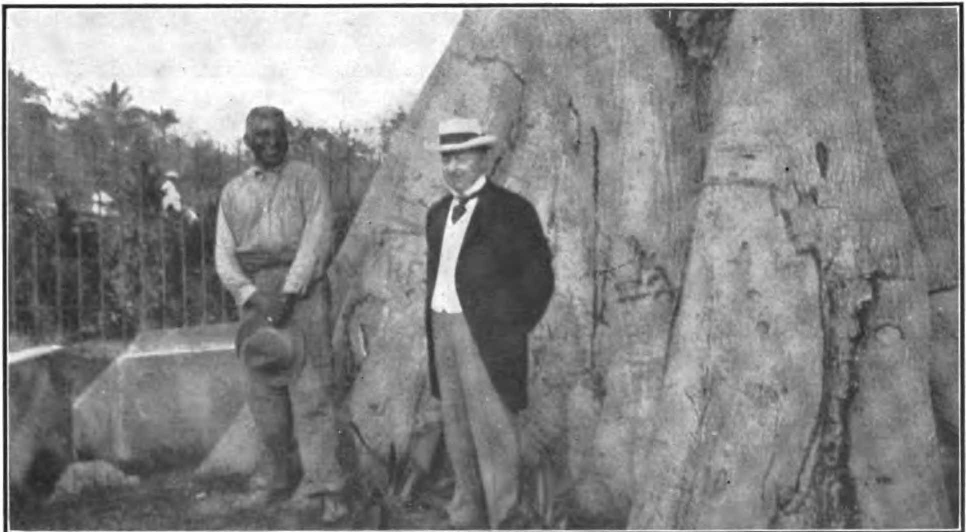
VIEWING THE MILITARY PARADE AT SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO

for a long time when a drum began to throb. It is quite true that a thrill ran round the table. The drum continued, the band struck in, and there followed such a performance as none of the foreigners had ever heard before. I suppose one should describe it as a drum obligato to a syncopated band accompaniment, but that gives little notion of the thing. The music was a sort of wild, exaggerated "rag-time" with a most peculiar rhythm indeed, singularly exciting, and the palpitations of the drum sounded out above all the din of the eighty instruments.

"This is our native music," said the President.

"We dared not let them start that till dinner was over," whispered his son-in-law, beside me, "they can't be stopped."

Under his guidance I stepped into the room where the band was playing. There was little light in the room, but it was full



MR. KNOX UNDER THE "SURRENDER TREE"
BETWEEN SAN JUAN HILL AND SANTIAGO DE CUBA

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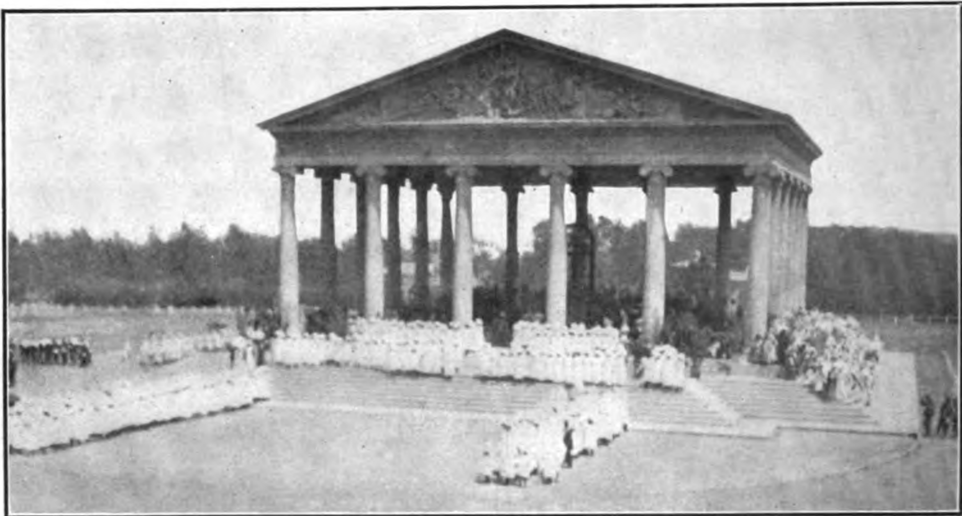
of the terrible pulsations of that drum; in the centre, the leader was bending over his unholy *bamboula*, beating, beating, with intense occupation and ferocious energy, and near a hundred dusky red figures, swayed, hypnotized, as they gave the tom-tom its terrific chorus. Returning to the banquet-room, it seemed to me that the statesmen and their ladies were under a spell scarcely less potent than that which held the band.

Cincinnatus Le Conte is an old, experienced politician, who has returned from exile to become a "reform" President. He listened gravely to the Secretary, and, both in formal speech and in conversation, proved that he could talk as magnificently of incorruptible patriotism and of sacrifice for the nation's good, in excellent French, as whiter Presidents whom we had seen could in their graceful Spanish. We shall see. If I had not seen what I have seen in other years in the interior of this darkest of tropical lands, I should have guessed it from the playing of the President's band.

Guantanamo Bay, Santiago de Cuba, with El Caney and San Juan Hill, and a motor ride across Jamaica, were incidents that have had no relation to the serious purpose of Mr. Knox's Mission. One capital more we visited — Havana.

Here the reception, it must at once be confessed, was in very great contrast to that accorded the American envoy everywhere else. The American Minister, the Mayor and the Chief of Police, and a sub-official of the Cuban State Department came aboard, but not a member of the Cabinet. When we landed at the Caballeria wharf, there was no band, no soldiery, not even police, not a committee or a single member of a committee — not a soul. We scrambled into automobiles, while curious longshoremen idlers and a few photographers looked on. Then we went to the hotel which had been set aside for us, through a couple of miles of streets, including the Prado, and not a single American flag was to be seen.



THE TEMPLE OF MINERVA IN GUATEMALA CITY
SCHOOL CHILDREN PERFORMING EVOLUTIONS IN HONOR OF SECRETARY KNOX

This was the reception which the land that the United States had freed from Spanish subjection, at the cost of much treasure and not a few lives, the land that the United States had unselfishly refused to add to her own domain, the land whose chief city she had redeemed from pestilence — this was the reception which Cuba gave the highest diplomatic official of the United States, visiting her with a suite, on friendly mission, conveyed, for greater honor, on a naval cruiser.

Later in the day, the American Club hung out a flag, and the American Legation another. The day following, still

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another, of microscopic size, was discerned at the cornice of the hotel over a side street. That was all.

The American colony would have done much, but had deferred to the propriety of leaving our entertainment chiefly in the hands of the Cuban Government.

The Government tendered a dinner, of indifferent virtue, at which the Cuban Secretary of State successfully delivered himself of an hour's effusion, the only thoughts that emerged from Señor Sanguily's astonishing rhetoric being an encomium on the goodness and patriotism and wisdom of the Cuban people and a malicious reference to Mr. Roosevelt's behavior toward Panama. Secretary Knox's speech contained a few sentences which struck, as they were intended to strike, the sober attention of the company and of the country:

> The crisis in the life of any nation that has thrown off the yoke of tyranny is the period of rehabilitation. When the cohesive bonds of a common peril are relaxed by the removal of the danger and liberty succeeds oppression, unselfish fraternity must be substituted for the unity which a common danger furnished during the struggle for national rights. A people liberated from oppressive tyranny is no better off if unrestrained selfishness, which almost inevitably leads to anarchy, is the result. A people so situated can not profitably exercise the right of self-government unless they work faithfully together with singleness of aim. Mistrust, jealousy, selfishness, aloofness, and apathy, will rob a people of their birthright.

The following night there was a ball, made lovely by brilliant illumination. The final day there was a rather disorderly "reception" at a park, from which, crushed and betrodden, we escaped to the ship.

The larger political effects of Secretary Knox's tour of the Central American and Caribbean republics will be discussed in another article. Here ends the mere narrative of the journey's events. When the Secretary landed again on the soil of his own country, he had traveled more than 10,000 miles, and visited officially ten foreign nations, besides unofficially seeing three dependent islands. Not a serious accident had marred the trip. Not a misspoken word nor an embarrassing incident had detracted from the friendly impressions it had been the purpose to achieve. Nothing had been more important toward the happy result than the engaging personality and extraordinary tact of Mrs. Knox, who, with never-failing good-humor and never-wearying thoughtfulness, indefatigable amid the labors and actual hardships that overwhelmed almost all her companions, was every-

INSPECTING THE MAMMOTH MAP OF GUATEMALA

MRS. KNOX WITH PRESIDENT ESTRADA CABRERA, PRECEDED BY FLOWER GIRLS

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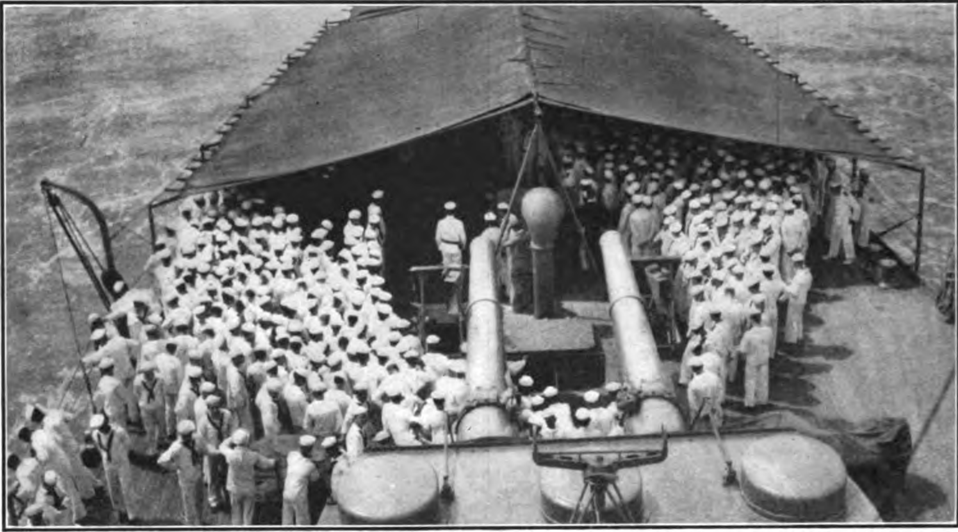

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SECRETARY KNOX ADDRESSING THE BLUE JACKETS ON THE "WASHINGTON" ON THE RETURN TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES

where the special pride of the party and the admiration of all who met her. Except at the last capital visited, and in less degree at Santo Domingo, the respective governments had not only given the Mission a warm welcome; they had gone to extraordinary lengths to impress us with the cordiality of their respect. True, there had been little of popular ovation, but equally true, in every instance, the sentiment of the people had been perceptibly warmed by the attitude and words of the Secretary. We have learned how very necessary and timely was some such step as the State Department had taken to improve the relations between the United States and the peoples to the South, and we had evidence that great improvement had now been effected.

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AN EASY SEAT ON THE BRIDGE

On the last Sunday of the cruise, Captain Hughes of the *Washington* assembled his officers and men at general quarters, and the Secretary addressed them in terms of thanks for the part in which they had been instrumental toward the progress of the Mission. He was followed by a non-official member of the party who in his address said with truth:

> The Secretary has some virtues and a number of redeeming vices, but he has only one grave fault: he is too modest. He was too modest this morning to tell you of the tremendous importance of this journey and of the success, the triumphant success, with which it has been accomplished. But there is no reason why I should not say that no man can tell how far reaching may be the results of this voyage; no man may put a limit to the beneficent results that are certain to flow from the presence in the harbors of these troubled countries of the *Washington* and the *Maryland*, colossal engines of war consecrated to a mission of peace and giving support to the words of broad statesmanship, the noble sentiments of brotherly good will, uttered by the Secretary in their capitals. This has been indeed a memorable journey.

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THE LAND OF FULFILMENT

THIRD ARTICLE OF

THE WORLDWIDE SWEEP OF SOCIALISM

ENGLAND, WHERE THE SOCIALISTS' DREAM IS COMING TRUE — THE BRILLIANT COMPANY OF MEN WHO HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

BY

SAMUEL P. ORTH

(WHO HAS RECENTLY INTERVIEWED THE PRINCIPAL SOCIALIST LEADERS IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ENGLAND)

WHEN Sir Henry Vane had ascended the scaffold which his sacrifice made historic, he said: "The people of England have long been asleep. When they awake they will be hungry."

When present-day England awoke from its generations of social lethargy it was to a greater hunger than politically starved roundheads or cavaliers ever suffered.

It is no figure of speech to speak of "hungry England." London, I am told by competent authority, is the richest city in the world. But this capital of wealth has always a host of 200,000 people who do not know where the next meal is coming from. One third of its vast population are daily underfed; 2,000,000 human beings who never have enough really to satisfy their hunger! Hardly one fifth of the population of this mammoth, amorphous, municipal monstrosity are really above the hunger danger. The visitor is sickened at the sight of loathsome beggars on every street; and troops of hungry, filthy, bony children everywhere boldly ask you for your pennies.

I went into Kensington Garden one day last summer with some dry bread to feed the birds. A poor little chap, with dirty rags wrapped around him for clothes, scattered the twittering sparrows and pounced on the larger crumbs where they had fallen among the blades of grass.

Rowntree says that 30 per cent. of the people of the kingdom are below the bread level — too poorly paid to eat. One in every forty-four in the kingdom is a pauper. One in eleven in Ireland depends upon the State for bread. The towns are flowing over with the indigent populations that have exchanged the misery of the country for the miseries of the city.

The first bill that the Labor Party introduced into the House of Commons provided for the feeding of school children that come from the homes of the poor.

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LANDLORDISM — FOUR THOUSAND PEOPLE OWN HALF THE LAND OF ENGLAND

"The business in life of my colleagues and myself is to impress upon this House the importance of the poverty problem," said the spokesman of the new party in a memorable debate.

England had awakened hungry.

These laboring men, sitting in this ancient Parliament of country gentlemen, were the evidence of the awakening. It took the shock of the Boer War to arouse these stolid islanders to their real condition.

All previous attempts to awaken the complaisant self-sufficiency of the Englishman to the poverty problem had failed. For more than a generation all socialization seems to have vanished. The elaborate schemes of Owen; the altruistic propaganda of the gentle Kingsley and of Maurice; the artistic revolt against the ugliness of commercialism led by Ruskin, who even broke stones in the streets to prove his sincerity; all these movements seem suddenly to have disappeared, like

LANDLORDISM — THE HUT OF A PEASANT TENANT

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a glacial current dropping without warning into the depths of the icy caves.

The England of the industrial revolution had returned into her own. Industrialism, commercialism, a glittering pseudo-humanitarian internationalism, all these found their expression in the alternating victories of the astute Disraeli and the grandiloquent Gladstone. The misery of her masses, the wretchedness of her festering cities, were forgotten. Or, if a feeble protest was made, it was piously thrust aside, and the protestor was proudly pointed to the repeal of the corn laws, the revision of the poor laws, the Reform Act of 1832, and the factory acts.

This was the social lethargy of England when a war with a courageous little band of Dutchmen in South Africa shook the world Empire to its foundations.

In the meantime, several Socialist organizations began, in a feeble way, to raise their voice of protest.

In 1881, H. M. Hyndman, a personal friend of Marx, organized a little group of Socialists into "The Democratic Federation." Two years later a split occurred, and Robert Morris, the artist-philosopher, stubborn and revolutionary, took the more radical members — some of them foreign refugees and anarchists — into his own "Socialist League." Hyndman then called his followers the "Social Democratic Federation," popularly known as the S. D. F. The "League" has long since vanished, and the S. D. F. leads a precarious existence, the only trace of militant Marxianism in England.

About this time began one of the most interesting Socialist groups in the world. Two Americans gave the impulse that started it: Henry George, with his single tax; and Thomas Davidson, of New York, a gentle dreamer, who went to London to lecture on "The Perfect Society of To-morrow." A number of young men who had read Henry George's books were ready to listen to Davidson. And so, in the course of time, the Fabian Society began. The youthful members did not know what they wanted, and of course did not know how to go about getting it. The world was all in a muddle, and should be straightened out. But where to begin,

LANDLORDISM — TENANTS OF ONE OF THE TWELVE MEN WHO OWN LONDON

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and when and how? They happened upon old Fabius Cunctator, who, however, knew what he wanted and how to get it. He wanted to keep Hannibal out of Rome, and he accomplished it by waiting, waiting for the right moment. So these youngsters hit upon an inspiration. They wrote for their motto: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays. But when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."

They soon found out that while they were waiting they had to prepare for the "blow" that was to transform mankind. They began to investigate. They studied Marx and threw his theory of surplus value over board. They discovered that blatant propagandism is distasteful to the British public. They discovered that the way to make Socialism win was quietly to get the rulers, the leaders, the writers, the makers of public opinion, saturated with Socialism. So this little handful of young men set about to "permeate" the earth. Meanwhile they published pamphlets and the little world of obscure literary London knew of their existence.

Then a big thing happened to them. An obscure, poverty-burdened musical critic, in ungainly dress and with a fiendish relish for vicious adjectives, joined them. From the day that George Bernard Shaw, cynic and unrelenting hater of Americans, has revised those of their "tracts" that he has not written himself, literary permeation has been easy. It requires a deft hand to sever Fabianism from Shavianism. He is the prophet of the group, and sits on the platform of its meetings with an air of ownership that harmonizes with the bourgeois audiences that gather to gaze at his Mephistophelean countenance.

THE GOLDEN CORONATION COACH
THAT SYMBOLIZES THE CRUMBLING STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRIVILEGE IN ENGLAND

If Shaw had remained alone, the Fabians would be merely interesting; but he was joined by a second genius, and the Fabians became powerful. Sidney Webb was a clerk in the Colonial Office, when he became a convert to this new kind of Socialism. His practical brain knows no trace of sentiment. "What are the facts?"

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is written across his brow. He at once got down to business and wrote "Tract No. 5, Facts for Socialists from Political Economists and Statisticians." It has gone through eleven editions, and no let-up. Webb has a genius for facts and for politics. His days as an obscure clerk were over long ago. He is now known the world over for his sociological work. He married the daughter of a railroad magnate, who devotes herself loyally to the cause of Socialism. "G. B. S." also married into plenty — these ardent Socialists have such a practical and comforting way of attacking property.

CHARITY SHOES FOR BRITISH CHILDREN OF THE POOR

AN ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION TO THOUSANDS WHO OTHERWISE WOULD GO UNSHOD THROUGHOUT THE WINTER

Webb at once began to push the Fabians into politics, local and national, to permeate the politician. And he has succeeded. I asked a high civil service official, "What is Webb doing now?" "Holding a night school for cabinet members," was the prompt reply.

There are some other members in the Fabians. If you see a name well advertised in English letters, or dramatics, or journalism, you may make a safe guess and place it in the Fabian roll. Here are a few of them: Richard Whitney, novelist; Miss Nesbit, poetess; Ernest Radford, poet; Granville Barker, actor-manager; Herbert Trench, producer of "The Blue Bird"; Edward Thompson, playwright. Numerous politicians are members, including Percy Alden, sociologist; Chiozza Money, statistician; G. Lansbury, prominent social worker; Sir Sydney Oliver, Governor of Jamaica; John Burns, member of the cabinet. Also multitudes of scholars and clergy — among them Rev. Stopford Brooke, well known man of letters; Rev. Percy Dearmer, leader of the Church Socialists; Rev. Stewart Headlam, who was brave enough to bail Oscar Wilde out of prison; and Rev. R. J. Campbell, most wonderful of preachers.

These are enough names to prove that the Fabians knew their business as permeaters. Many more, as well known, might be added. And the list of "ex-members" is significant. Fabians are found in abundance in the civil service, the London County Council, and other local governing bodies, on Royal Commissions, in the House of Commons, and

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THE CHILDREN'S BREAD LINE

HARDLY ONE FIFTH OF THE POPULATION OF LONDON IS REALLY ABOVE THE HUNGER DANGER

even in the Cabinet; and their clerical and literary "talent" are potent promulgators of the Fabian faith.

These intellectuals have made Socialism "respectable." It has spread to the universities, where many well known scholars are Socialists. Unlike the German "Socialists of the chair," theirs is not an inert theory, a plaster of paris cast of a hypothetical Society, but a vital thing.

And England is the only country in Europe where Socialism has found lodgment in the church. There are two societies in the Established Church whose

YORKSHIRE COAL MINERS GOING OUT ON A STRIKE

OF WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FORCED A SETTLEMENT WHEREBY IT NAMED THE WAGES THE OPERATORS MUST PAY — A RADICAL STEP TOWARD PRACTICAL SOCIALISM

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purpose it is to spread Socialism, and to combat the old notion that Socialism, somehow, is atheism.

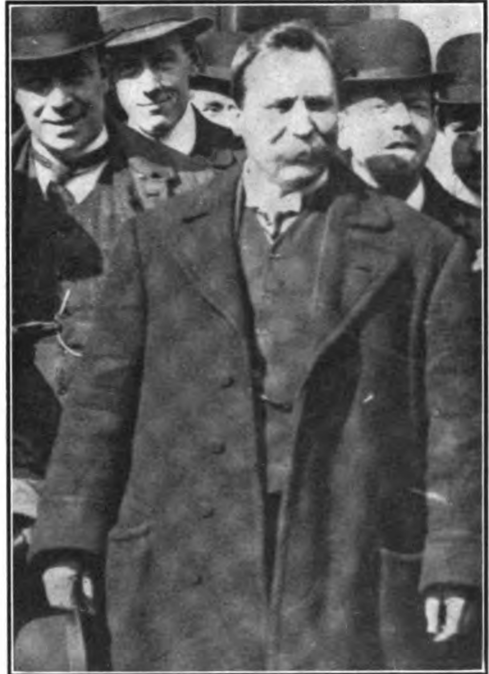
Bishop Gore, a leader in social reform, but not a Socialist, in his letter to the clergy and laity of Birmingham, published just before his transference to Oxford, last summer, said: "There is a profound sense of unrest and dissatisfaction among workers, recently. I cannot but believe that this profound discontent is justified, though some particular exhibitions of it are not. As Christians we are not justified in tolerating the conditions of life and labor under which the vast mass of our population is living. We may not say that these conditions are not remediable."

Socialism is not a shivering waif in this Island of Unrest. It is clothed in the gown of the scholar, crowned with the laurel of the poet, and sceptred with the staff of the bishop.

While the Fabians were inviting the contempt of the S. D. F., who called them "bourgeois academicians," the labor unions were beginning to discuss the advisability of political action. The new unionism in England dates from the great dockers' strike in 1889, when all the river men along the wharves of the Thames struck and, by stopping all commerce, forced public attention upon their misery. Their wages were the lowest paid any human beings in the kingdom, and not enough to keep their families in crusts and rags. The strike was spectacular. Public sentiment was with the men. John Burns raised $240,000 by public subscription to help them fight it out. Cardinal Manning and Sidney Buxton, now President of the Board of Trade, were named arbitrators. The men won. This roused labor in every section of the kingdom.

In 1892 the Independent Labor Party (popularly called the I. L. P.) was organized by the Socialist members of the labor unions, and 29 labor candidates were nominated for Parliament, receiving 63,000 votes. Only 5 were elected; 5 others received less than 100 votes each. In 1895 they elected only one member. The unions were not enthusiastic about Socialism. Keir Hardie urged political action. John Burns opposed it.

The Taff Vale decision finally drove them headlong into politics. In this case the court decided that picketing during a strike is unlawful, even if no boycott or act of violence or destruction of property resulted from it. This virtually made strikes impossible, disarmed the unions, and drove them to self-defense. In February, 1900, representatives from the unions, from the I. L. P., from the S. D. F., and from the Fabians, met to formulate a programme of the new party, called "The Labor Party." They wrote a platform



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A "GENERAL STRIKE" LEADER

TOM MANN, WHO, WITH BEN TILLET, LED THE DOCKERS' STRIKE IN LIVERPOOL AND LONDON LAST SUMMER

broad enough for all Socialists and non-Socialist union men. They provided rigorous party discipline and a compact organization. A fund is maintained by the party to pay its members of Parliament $1000 a year and all election expenses. In England the State does not bear the expenses of election. They fall on the candidates. This is one way of keeping poor men out of Parliament. During the last session, a bill was passed paying members a salary of $2,000 a year. This will ease the treasury of the Labor Party.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE
THE LIBERAL CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, WHOSE THEORIES OF BUDGET-MAKING HAVE INTRODUCED PRACTICAL SOCIALISM INTO THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND

The present leader of the party is J. Ramsey MacDonald, a man of unusually attractive personality, with the good sense that characterizes all Scotchmen.

I asked him what attitude his party took toward Socialism. "We are not a Socialist party," he said, "though I myself and nearly all of our active workers are Socialists. We offer a practical opportunity for any one who believes in bettering the conditions of society, to put in his work, not by the discarded method of revolution, but by practical parliamentary procedure. We are democratic in faith and opposed to all prerogative in government, whether of birth or of property."

The party began with a membership of 75,000 in 1900. To-day it has 1,500,000. From the first it had a few representatives in the House of Commons. But its great chance came with the Boer War.

Here the historian of the newer England will drive his first stake. Emil Boutmy,

MR. JOHN BURNS
THE FIRST SOCIALIST TO ACHIEVE CABINET RANK IN ENGLAND, WHO STILL CLAIMS TO BE ORTHODOX IN SPITE OF HIS ACCEPTANCE OF A HIGH SALARY AND OF SEMI-ARISTOCRATIC HONORS

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philosophical critic of the English, says that England, "transformed in all outward seeming — has just begun a new history." The people put aside the old ideals. The round earth had spun far away from Manchester and Birmingham, from Cobden and Chamberlain. The old question, "Will our trade endure?" gave way to the new one, asked of me wherever I went, "Will our Empire endure?" From trade to empire, from things to men.

Disraeli, in his "Sibyl," speaks of "two nations," two Englands; the England of the gentry and the England of the working classes. The elections since the Boer War have given this other England its chance. The gentry, the Whigs and Tories, the traditional leaders, will never again do their political tourneying with the other England looking meekly on.

The first Parliament of this new era was overwhelmingly Liberal or Radical, and fifty Labor members sat in the cross benches. The country was amazed, and the world was treated to the spectacle of England kowtowing to the new lords, the Labor-Socialists. Soon after the opening of Parliament, the Liberal Party took over the immediate programme of the Labor Party. This is the most significant political event in the history of modern England. It placed the Government at the disposal of Socialists and Radicals. It will make no difference if the Conservatives now come into power. The old England of government by "gentlemen" has passed away, never to return.

As an earnest of what these Radical-Liberals intended to do, John Burns was invited into the Cabinet, the first laboring man in the world to sit in so exalted a place. Though the restless labor men and Socialists are inclined to disown "Honest John" because he has acted like all other men burdened with responsibility, he insists that he is still a Socialist, "as much as I ever was, sir, and I was three times imprisoned for my bold speech." It is now twenty years since he said in the Old Bailey, where he had been arraigned for "sedition and conspiracy" in conducting a strike: "I may tell you, my Lord, that I went to work in a factory at the age of ten years and toiled from then until five months ago, when I left my work shop to stand as Parliamentary candidate for the western division of Nottingham." This prisoner is now a Cabinet minister; the revolution is advancing.

ENGLAND'S SOCIALISTIC LAWS

Let us glance at a few of the more important laws that are making democratic England, and that bear the stamp of the socialistic ideal.

I have said that England awoke hungry and began feeding the school children from the poorer homes. Last year 16,000,000 meals were served, half of them in London. The law is severely criticised by the anti-Socialists. "It is only the entering wedge of Socialism," they say. "You first feed the child, then clothe him; then it is but a step to feeding and clothing the parents." They remember that Sidney Webb has often said that, if the city furnished water free to its citizens, he sees no reason why it should not furnish milk.

Then came in quick succession a Workmen's Compensation Act, an Old Age Pension Act, and the Trades Disputes Act. Under the last law, Lloyd George, then President of the Board of Trade, won his coup in 1907, averting a general railroad strike by enlisting all the powers of the Government to force the railroads to agree upon a plan of arbitration. This last year he repeated this feat, when the men struck because they claimed the companies had violated this agreement.

In 1909 the Development Act was passed, under the tutelage of Keir Hardie, the dean of English Socialists. It is a powerful law, placing in the hands of a commission all the necessary authority to absorb all means of communication except the trunk railroad lines; grants the commission power completely to rehabilitate the agricultural system of the country; to develop a system of forestation; to reclaim waste lands; to aid the fisheries; and to aid the development of rural industries of all kinds. Sidney Webb is a member of this commission, whose first report displays every evidence of careful Webbian Socialism.

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Two other land acts are important links in this chain of economic legislation: the Small Holdings Act of 1908 and the Housing and Townplanning Act of 1909. "These two acts," Phillip Snowden, the first secretary of the Labor Party, explained to me, "form the basis of land nationalization. Under their authority, local governments can become the largest landholders of the kingdom."

The Small Holdings Act gives power to local authorities to "provide small holdings for persons who desire to buy or lease, and will themselves cultivate the holdings." The Townplanning Act gives cities and towns the power to purchase land, tear down undesirable buildings; to survey and plan, to build and extend all manner of improvements; to do everything, as John Burns pointed out to the Town Planning Congress a year or two ago, "to make a city beautiful and a city healthful."

Following the British habit, work was cautiously begun under these acts. Up to December, 1910, about 28,000 acres were purchased or leased under the Allotment Act, which were sublet to more than 100,000 individual tenants. Townplanning has become a fad, and the regeneration of the slums, the worst in Europe, is now a possibility.

Under the Small Holdings Act, there were, up to December, 1910, nearly 31,000 applicants for 500,000 acres. Only one fifth of this acreage has been acquired, for about 7,000 holders. Thirty per cent. of these applicants are agricultural laborers, and the majority of the others are drawn from the rural population who have some small business or trade in the villages and who wish a plot of land for a garden, which "often makes just the difference between a bare subsistence and comparative prosperity."

I mention these laws to show how constitutional England goes at the task of revolution, how she responds to the call of social-democracy. It is all done cautiously. Ample power is granted to an existing authority to do a most revolutionary thing, such as a town buying up all the land around it, or a county buying small farms for deserving farmers. But no town has bought up all its rural periphery, and there are plenty of farmers who cannot make a living from their small holdings. But in thirty years you will see the difference. That is the time it takes an Englishman to come to the point.

Years ago England started to buy the telephone lines of the private companies. To-day she is just closing the deal. There have been a dozen years of agitation for State ownership of railroads. A parliamentary inquiry has made a laborious report; and in another ten years the bargaining will begin.

LLOYD GEORGE'S REVOLUTIONARY BUDGET

There are three other pieces of legislation that show even more clearly the trend of the social-democracy, for they sap the foundations of hereditary privilege in property, in politics, and in industry.

First comes the famous budget of Lloyd George. When this brilliant and restless young Welshman became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he cast his first budget in the mold of his social theory. He said: "Personally, I look upon the budget as part only of a comprehensive scheme of fiscal and social reform: the setting up of a great insurance scheme for the unemployed, the sick, and the infirm; and the creation, in the development bill, of machinery for the regeneration of rural life."

Money is the prime requisite of the socialized State. Where would he find the money?

To understand the significance of his budget, it is necessary to bear in mind the mediæval, burdensome land system of the kingdom. More than half the land of England and Wales is owned by 4,300 people. More than 30,000,000 people are entirely landless. This vast population pays annually a hugh sum in rent to the "land monopoly." There has been no valuation of land since Puritans settled Salem and Boston. All the great English cities have developed since then, endowing the land with a fabulous value.

The teeming millions of London are tenants to a handful of owners of the ground, whose incomes rival the crown's,

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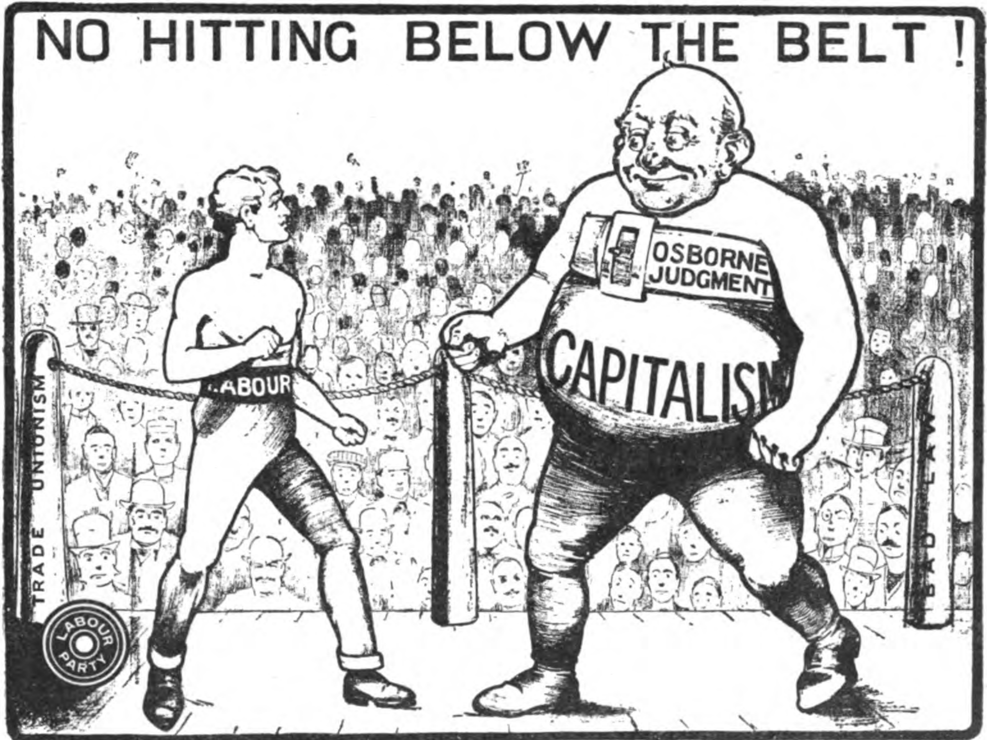
and whose power is infinitely greater. When a lease expires, the improvements revert to the owner of the land, and the tenant, if he has a business at stake, is entirely at the mercy of the landlord, and a heavy "premium" is charged for the renewal of such a lease.

The taxing machinery has been under the control of the hereditary gentry, and they have succeeded in warding off every attempt at reform.

5 per cent. tax on mineral rights was assessed upon the owners of the land who let out their mineral rights for royalties.

THE BATTLE WITH THE NOBLES

The Lords, most of them great land owners, were in a terrible stew over this revolutionary impudence, this overthrowing of established traditions. They refused to sanction the budget, after it had



ONE OF THE LABOR PARTY POSTERS

SHOWING THE TYPICALLY BRITISH ATTITUDE OF SATIRICAL GOOD HUMOR TOWARD THE QUESTION WHICH BY THE FRENCH SOCIALIST IS TREATED WITH HEADLONG MILITANCY AND BY THE GERMAN WITH SETTLED HOSTILITY

It was natural that the ambitious Chancellor should build his budget on the land. He proposed, first, to tax the land at its real value, not at a fictitious value, nor the value with the improvements, but at the *increment value* that is given to the land because of its favorable location. Second, he added a 10 per cent. reversion duty, thus inviting the landlord to share with the state the profit of rack-rent and premium. Third, a tax was laid on undeveloped land; and, finally, a passed the House of Commons by a big majority. The Government promptly prorogued Parliament and put the budget up to the people.

What was at first only an attack upon hereditary rights in land now became also an attack upon hereditary rights in politics. The House of Lords became an issue as well as the budget.

Such a campaign of song, oratory, and "heckling," the proper old island had not seen for a century. Landlordism in all

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its ugly details was displayed to the public gaze, and Socialism was hideously drawn as the scarecrow to hurry people into the Conservatives' shelter house. Peers and their friends gathered in select little parties to burn the budget in effigy. The Commons and their followers by the hundreds of thousands marched the streets singing resonant war songs to our tunes of "Marching Through Georgia" and "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching." Everywhere the chorus resounded:

The land, the land, 'twas God who gave the land,
The land, the land, the ground on which we stand,
Why should we be beggars with the ballot in our hand?
God gave the land to the people.

The budget won by a safe majority. The Lords sullenly submitted. But their submission came too late. One of the greatest victories the people had won in their long struggle for Parliamentary liberty was the right of the Commons to frame the budget and insist upon its passage. For more than a century no House of Lords had been foolhardy enough to tamper with this democratic privilege. And now, after six months of unfruitful parleying over the reforming of the House of Lords, the Liberal-Radicals again prorogued Parliament — the second time within the year, and went before the people on the question of putting the Lords on "a popular instead of a hereditary basis." They won by substantially the same majority that had been given for the budget.

THE LAST OF THE LORDS

In February, 1911, the Prime Minister brought in his parliament bill inaugurating one of the most memorable debates in the history of this ancient assembly. It passed the House of Commons by 120 majority, and the Lords were asked to pronounce the benediction at their own obsequies. They refused to yield until the Prime Minister informed them that he had the pledge of the king to create enough new peers to insure the passage of the bill. That meant four hundred new peers! Enough to lower the social value of a peerage by more than one half! The Lords submitted, the bill passed, and the curtain rang down on the final scene of aristocratic England. Henceforth the Lords, like the Crown, will be mere robes of ermine and velvet, and mongers in social distinctions.

I was in London during the heat of this Parliamentary fight. Nothing surprised me so much as the indifference of the people. There were no idle crowds, even, loitering around Westminster to see the leaders as they entered the House of Parliament. In Gladstone's day very considerable mobs used to gather to cheer him as he left his carriage. Now everybody went quietly about his work. In 1832, when the hereditary peers stood in the way of the reform bill, which had passed the House of Commons by only one majority, the populace rose en masse, surged through the streets of Westminster, threatened bodily harm to the King and his Iron Duke — whose statue now adorns every available place in the capital — and made it plain that their wishes must be obeyed. To-day, the people, secure in the knowledge of their supreme power, scarcely noticed the fervor of the Opposition in its attempt to bolster up the falling walls of hereditary prerogative in representative government. One day, during the debate in the second reading of the bill in the House of Commons, I counted twenty-one members in the benches, and a Labor Party member called the attention of the speaker to the fact that "in these perilous times of constitutional crisis, only twenty men are brave enough to face the danger!" So easy is it to change the constitution of England. Imagine what a struggle we would have to change the complexion of our Federal Senate.

After the Parliament bill had become a law, Lloyd George introduced his great insurance bill, and it was passed before the close of the session. Its object is to prevent breakdown, to cut off the greatest cause of poverty at its source, inability to earn a livelihood. Its details are largely based upon the report of the

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Royal Poor Law Commission, 1905–1909. This commission brought in two reports on the prevention of destitution. Mrs. Sidney Webb was a member of the commission, and the minority report is virtually her handiwork — and that of her experienced husband. More Fabian permeation.

SOCIALISTS EXULTANT

I have enumerated these laws — others could be named — to show how England is shifting upon a basis of social-democracy.

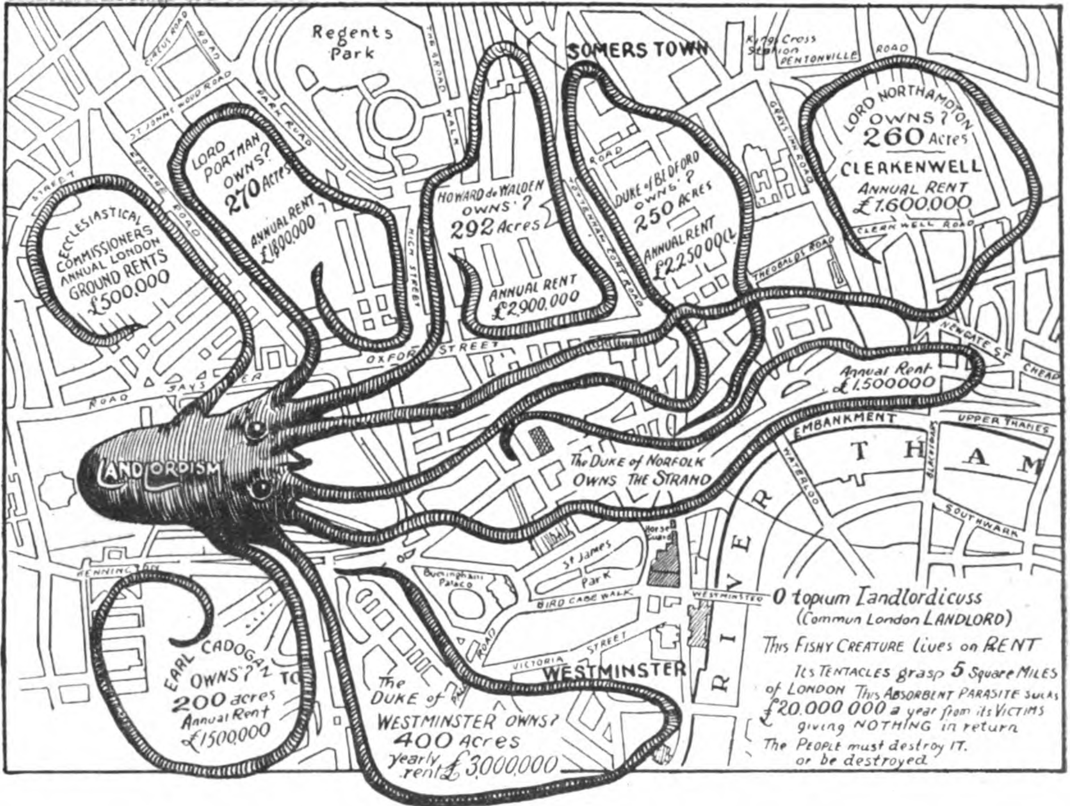
"But this is not Socialism," you say. Very well. Keir Hardie told me that these "reform laws are only the prelude to the time when property will not stand between men and their happiness. We will then legislate away the causes of poverty."

M. Hyndman, with brusque rhetoric, said: "I am a Marxian revolutionary Socialist, and don't believe in taking tinsel for the genuine article."

These are the extreme views.

Ramsey Macdonald says that society cannot be changed by cutting off a king's head and by depriving nobles of their titles. It's a slow and tedious process, this making things better.

When I asked John Burns whether this legislation was due to Socialistic ideals he answered: "There is no doubt that Socialist ideals are bearing fruit. But Utopianism is mere moonshine. These people who think the day will come when roasted pigeons, *roasted* pigeons, mind you, will fly into their mouths, are foolish dreamers. We make the world better by doing the little things that need to be done. I can see an immense difference between the attitude of society toward



THE LAND OCTOPUS POST CARD OF THE ENGLISH SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA
ON WHICH OCCURS THE FOLLOWING LEGEND: "LANDLORDISM CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT; IT PARALYZES THE BUILDING TRADE; IT PAUPERIZES THE PEASANTRY * * * THE LAND OCTOPUS SUCKS THE LIFE BLOOD OF THE PEOPLE"

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the poor and oppressed from the time I was a labor orator in the parks, and to-day. And what has brought about the change? Not dreaming, sir, not dreaming."

Bernard Shaw himself has confessed the orthodoxy of this neo-democracy. "Nobody now conceives Socialism as a destructive insurrection ending, if successful, in millennial absurdities." And of Lloyd George's budget, he says: "If not a surrender of the capitalist citadel, it is at all events letting down the drawbridge." But he dropped a few acid adjectives on my theory of the Liberal-Socialist alliance. "No, they can't be Socialists," he said. "It takes brains to be a Socialist: and these fellows need to be guided." And Sidney Webb, of course, has put his shoulder to the wheel of the new Socialist Juggernaut that is to squeeze the red ducats out of the prostrate form of lord, landowner, and millionaire by "constitutional" methods.

LIBERALS NOT SOCIALISTS

Now, I do not accuse Mr. Asquith and his followers of being Socialists. Winston Churchill, of the Admiralty, has often protested that "Liberalism is not Socialism, and never can be. Socialism attacks capital; Liberalism attacks the abuses of monopoly. Socialism wishes to wreck; Liberalism to rebuild."

Last winter, when a Socialist member in the House of Commons moved "a bill establishing the right to work, by placing upon the State the responsibility of directly providing employment or maintenance for the genuine unemployed," the motion was defeated by a brilliant speech of John Burns. Only this summer, during the railroad strike, Lloyd George gave Keir Hardie a fearful lashing on the floor of the House of Commons, because the veteran Socialist had bitterly arraigned the Home Secretary for using soldiers in maintaining order.

But it was this same Lloyd George who, in a speech in the City Temple, more than a year ago, said that there were thousands upon thousands in the city "who do not know where their next meal is coming from," and then asked dramatically, "what kind of government do you call that which allows such conditions to continue?" And one old deacon was so wrought up that he cried: "It's a sin to be patient!"

Little wonder that the venerable dean of the church Socialists, and one of the oldest Socialists in England, could tell me: "I have known Lloyd George since he was a young man. He is a magnificent fighter, and stands for everything we Socialists are fighting for at the present time."

No, the Liberal-Radicals are not Socialists. But they have "strong leanings." Sometimes they fight each other, occasionally they help each other on the hustings. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pleaded for the election of Mr. Lansbury who is now making the most exciting speeches against the use of soldiery in economic warfare. And even learned John Morley — Americans find it hard to say "Lord" Morley — even benign John Morley, friend and biographer of Gladstone, Whig of the old school, appeared on the stump in behalf of Philip Snowden, journalist and ardent Socialist.

The Liberals are not Socialists. And I will let the reader make his own adventures in treading the tortuous and narrow channel that separates "enlightened Liberalism" from "Liberal Socialism."

The truth is, Liberals and Conservatives are helpless on the rushing tide of an awakened English sentiment. Brougham Villiers wrote, some years before the Liberals got into power, that the hope of the country lay in an "alliance, won by persistent, intelligent helpfulness on the part of the Liberals, with the alienated artisans, for the betterment of the condition of the poorest, so as to give at once hope and life and better leisure for thought." And Professor Hobhouse, now a member of the Cabinet, said a few years ago: "I venture to conclude that the difference between a true, consistent, public spirited Liberalism and a rational collectivism ought, with a genuine effort at understanding, to disappear."

SYNDICALISM APPEARS

And now, just as we had comfortably concluded that the Radical-Liberal Party

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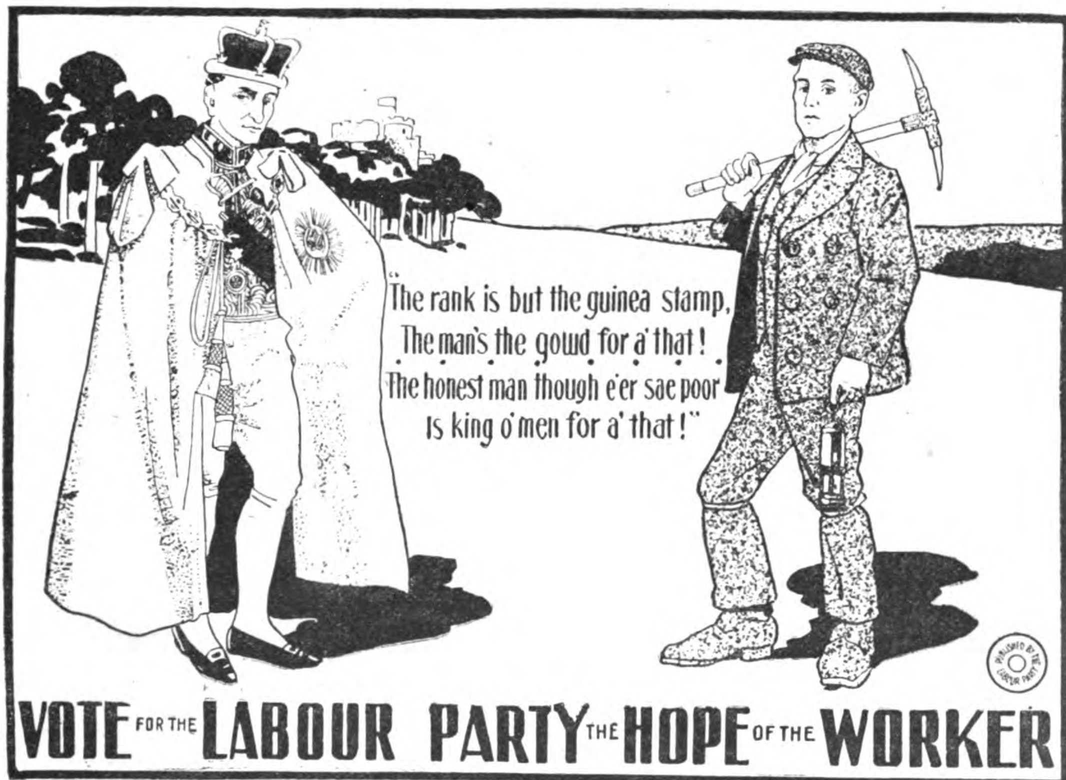
was absorbing all that is feasible in the so-called Socialistic movement, and the Socialists were contentedly being absorbed, we are rudely shocked out of our conclusions by the appearance of syndicalism, the general strike, militariphobia, and all the symptoms of violent, continental Socialism.

The unrest began in the summer of 1911 in Liverpool, with the shipping strike. It broke out in London with the dockers' strike, and spread to the railroads. The the Government succeeded in forcing both parties to an arbitration arrangement under the Trades Disputes Act.

The significant thing about this great strike is this: England has for ten years been trying to solve the Great Problem, the problem of industrial unrest. It has passed scores of laws that are Socialistic at heart, because they spread the power of the State farther and farther over the domain of private property. It



"THE LANDLORDS AGAINST THE LABORERS"
IN THE LAND WHERE THE BEST BRAINS OF THE COUNTRY ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKINGMAN, AND WHERE THE MOVEMENT IS CHARACTERIZED AS "PRACTICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM"

little island soon realized its absolute dependence upon its railroads and its ships for food. It has on hand provisions for a scant fortnight, then its people must go hungry. The strikers soon had the phlegmatic Englishman in a panic. I have never witnessed such a change as came over the Londoners in the few days of the strike from stolid, beefy indifference to nervous, panicky haste. The brilliant luck of Lloyd George stayed with him, and has democratized parliament by killing the Lords' prerogative. It has begun to strangle the land monopoly and to foster the weak and unemployed at the expense of the State. In no other country in Europe has so much genuine progress been made toward trying out the practical aspects of Socialism.

And yet, just in this country of stable and stolid conservatism, a general strike suddenly breaks over the realm.

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I have every reason to believe that this strike was the result of a plan long conceived and carefully worked up. In April, last year, a labor leader whose political disappointments embittered him toward the Labor Party, suggested to me that "things would be doing in the summer." Tom Mann was coming on from Australia, a general strike of transport employees would be an effective way of teaching people a lesson, etc. Tom Mann came, and when I returned to England in the late summer from the continent, he was leading the men in Liverpool and Ben Tillet was busy with the dockers in London.

This strike was part of an international movement. English emissaries visited Paris and Berlin before it began. France, England, Belgium, Germany, even Holland and Scandinavia, have an international labor understanding. Their transport workers are well organized.

The strike in England was partly a revolt against oppressive exactions made by employers. It was also a revolt against the leaders of the Labor Party and against the peaceful methods of the Liberal-Labor alliance.

No sooner had the railroad strike subsided, than the agitators got busy with the coal miners. Rumblings were heard in Wales, the most excitable of the mining population. They were echoed from Scotland and the north counties; and suddenly the strike broke. It was a general strike of coal workers; it was fostered by the same militant Socialistic leaders who had planned and instigated the railroad strike; it was rapidly drawing the sympathetic action of the railroad workers, dock workers, and other transportation unions and was beginning to excite international action among the transport workers of Belgium and France, when the Government succeeded in bringing about an agreement for arbitration. But not until the Prime Minister had prepared the passage of a minimum wage bill. This is, perhaps, the most significant event in recent labor wars. It means that the Government is not only willing to use the government to force industrial disputants to conciliation, but is willing to dictate how much profit a coal owner can make upon his property. When you dictate profits you absorb property, and reduce ownership to a mere bailment.

And in each successive strike, the Government is finding conciliation a more difficult task.

But all violent Socialistic movements are foredoomed to failure in England. These orderly people resent destruction of property. They have had but one bloody revolution, and that was forced upon the yeomanry by a singularly stubborn aristocracy. The attempts at upheaval will be repeated but will never succeed. It is not the English way.

THE MARCH OF SOCIALIZATION

Wherever you go in England you hear that "Socialism is in the air." You cannot talk ten minutes with anybody without touching upon some phase of the social question. It is not the red Socialism of Marx and the continent; it is the practical British Socialism of amelioration. "This practical, constitutional, evolutionary Socialism," a chronicler for the Fabians calls it. It would have to be practical to appeal to the British voter, constitutional to appeal to the British statesman, and evolutionary to appeal to the British philosopher.

"We are all Socialists now," the brilliant, word-loving Lord Rosebery said, a few years ago.

In the dark days of 1888 and 1890 there were a great many young Socialists who believed that the social revolution was waiting around the next corner, and would soon sweep over London in bloody reality. Many of the young men are Fabians to-day. Some are even straight-laced Conservatives and loose-construction Liberals. They think they were mistaken. They were not. There was a revolution around the next corner. It was not sanguinary. It was a British revolution, and to-day it has captured the high places. Government is rapidly encroaching upon private property through the powers of taxation, of police supervision, of sanitary regulation, and through State aid to the unfortunate.

Ownership, even in land, is now only an incident. The rights of society are growing daily more paramount. So far has the "revolution" advanced.

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

A NEW KIND OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

FOND DU LAC, WIS., has a boosters' organization that does things in a new way. For years the Business Men's Association had drifted along as most other such bodies do — all the work done by the secretary and a few devoted members. But early last year the association parceled out its duties to seven "divisions": (1) of manufacturers and finance; (2) of good roads; (3) of trade extension; (4) of city government; (5) of civic art; (6) of commercial travelers and publicity; and (7) of membership. Every division was made up of a chairman and five or seven members.

The division of manufacturers and finance at once attacked the problem of bringing new industries to Fond du Lac. The city had one conspicuous empty building, a shoe factory that had gone bankrupt. The division interested local capital in a new enterprise, and now a company that manufactures visible typewriters occupies that building and has a first order for 2,500 machines as an earnest of its hope for permanency.

Meanwhile, the division of good roads organized, and invited Mr. D. Ward King to come to Fond du Lac and lecture on good roads and the "King road drag"; and on May 1, 1911, it called together a "King Road Drag Congress," to which it invited the town chairman and the road supervisors of every town in Fond du Lac County. A local manufacturing concern began to manufacture these drags, and presented ten of them to the good roads division which, in turn, presented them (and more) to the township road supervisors.

The division of trade extension prepared to till the field of trade that was thus opened up. It employed an advertising manager to publish *The Fond du Lac Trade Extension* for it. This publication is made up mostly of advertisements of the merchants and attractions of Fond du Lac, with articles on good roads, pure bred seeds, better livestock, and "hints to farmers," mostly supplied by the State Agricultural College and gladly read by the farmers. The paper contains a coupon ticket to any afternoon performance of the Fond du Lac moving picture shows. Twelve thousand copies a month are circulated. The first year it earned a net profit of $350, and space allotments have been cut down to allow all the merchants who want it a chance to get in.

Another device of the trade extension division was to rent a large room in the business centre for a rest room. Country people are invited to meet and rest here; they may check their parcels here; they may read the books, magazines, and newspapers that are provided; they may write letters; they may order their purchases delivered here and pick them up on their way home. It would be hard to imagine a more useful or more appreciated convenience than this. And no more effective advertising is possible than the merchants' announcements of their bargains that are posted on the bulletin boards in this room.

The civic art division made a valuable contribution to the trade campaign when it convinced the merchants that "trade follows the light." It solicited funds and, after thorough discussion, bought 60 ornamental lighting standards, of local design and manufacture, and put them up 100 feet apart in the business streets.

Another power for publicity was tapped by the division of commercial travelers. Several hundred commercial travelers live in Fond du Lac, and the division arranged with these men so that they now report the names of concerns in other towns that are considering a change of location. The committee follows up these "leads" and tries to interest such concerns in the merits of Fond du Lac.

Altogether, the new form of organization of the Business Men's Association has brought about a wonderful revival of public interest and local pride.

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FORWARD TO THE LAND

DURING the last six months about seven hundred letters have been received in this office from farm-seekers — from all parts of the United States, from Mexico, Alaska, Canada, the Canal Zone, and countries across the oceans.

One group of inquirers are persons of means, who can afford to travel and make their own investigations. A larger class is composed of the practical farmers who have already succeeded and who have sold their high-priced land and wish to make new conquests where land is much cheaper. Still another is of those with neither experience nor theoretical training, who are striving to escape the confines and endless conflicts of city existence. Some of these — young, vigorous, optimistic men are willing to spend time, study, and hard work to enter a new field of work where they can secure independence. Others, equipped with neither youth nor health nor capital, seek simply a haven of rest and security for their old age.

Many were born and reared on the farms of yesterday whence the lack of system, machinery, and conveniences drove them to the city. Now they see both farming and city life in a new light. A business training has given them a new appreciation of what farm management may mean; they have fused their practical recollections of old-time farming with the theories of modern science and are prepared to go forth and succeed.

One third of the total number of persons have stated their capital — $975,000. It is a reasonable conclusion, therefore, that these seven hundred inquirers have nearly $3,000,000 to buy farms with. For only 4 per cent. of them confess a lack of capital. Twenty per cent. have less than $1,000 each, but 56 per cent. have from $1,000 to $5,000 each and 16 per cent. have from $5,000 to $10,000 each.

The great demand is for farms of medium size, costing not more than $5,000, which can be purchased upon comparatively easy terms. The benefit will certainly be shared by the owner who gives the purchaser a fair chance to pay for the farm out of his earnings from it.

The farm under a new manager cannot be expected to pay large returns the first and second years. But in the long run there is no greater risk in the sale of a farm to a good farmer on easy terms than in the "half down and 6 per cent." system so common at the present time. Moreover it lessens the probability of soil robbery, it permits the upbuilding of the farm, increased production, prosperity and, in its widespread application, a greater national welfare

A WAY TO BETTER COUNTRY LIVING

HOW THE GEORGIA CLUB, MADE UP OF NORMAL SCHOOL STUDENTS, HAS VITALIZED THE FACT OF GEORGIA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

BY

E. C. BRANSON

(PRESIDENT OF THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT ATHENS, GA.)

The chances are that no state in the Union was ever before studied in the way the Georgia Club at the Georgia State Normal School is studying Georgia. This club is composed of 141 volunteers from the faculty and the student body. Spare time is devotedly used by individuals and county groups for work upon special, chosen topics; and one hour every week is given to club discussions.

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For two years the club has been studying the various phases and problems of population, agriculture, manufacturing, wealth and taxation, farm ownership and tenancy, public roads, public sanitation, coöperative farm enterprise, schools and churches in Georgia. The state has been passing under searching review as a whole and in detail, county by county. Every step of the way Georgia is being compared with the other states of the Union and ranked accordingly. But also her gains and losses, between 1900 and 1910, are exhibited in a ten-year balance sheet.

STUDYING THE HOME COUNTIES

Meanwhile the various student groups have been working out similar balance sheets for their home counties, each county being ranked among the other counties of the state in all the particulars covered in the club studies. These bare facts are then translated into simple running narratives for easy reading by the wayfaring man back in the home counties. Thirty-six such county surveys have thus far been given to the public. They embody stubborn facts and well-considered conclusions. The club believes that facts without opinions are useless, and that opinions without facts are impertinent and mischievous.

And so the club is ransacking the census returns, the reports of the state house officials, the county tax digests, the grand jury presentments, the minutes of the church associations, the section on Georgia in the school library, and every other available source of authoritative information.

Most of the students are country bred and usually know their home counties thoroughly, to the last pig trail; but when they study the drift of affairs and events during a ten-year interval, within these familiar limits, and check the contrasts, they are brought face to face with causes, conditions, and consequences within small, definite, well-known areas.

The discoveries challenge interest and concern like a bugle blast. A sense of civic and social responsibility stirs in them. They hear the call to service in the countryside — to service within the walls of their schoolrooms and far beyond it. All these young people will be teachers, but few of them will be teachers merely — they will be leaders as well, in all worthy community enterprises. The rising tide of patriotic fever and fervor in the Georgia Club is a large asset for the school and for Georgia in the future. Clear thinking in economics and sociology in our schools is too often like sunshine in winter — full of light and freezing. But accurate, definite knowledge about one's own home and people is tonic and quickening to the civic sense. It is full of light and life. It is a concrete, direct approach to the formal studies of economics and sociology in our colleges and universities.

The brief economic and social surveys of the counties are first sent to alert, intelligent men and women at home, for verification and for such additional information as will make the reports full and fair. When the report has thus been overhauled by the home folks themselves, the club group speedily advertises the fact that their county has been reviewed before the club, and that the report is ready to be mailed out upon call. As a rule the affiliated member of the club, the non-resident honorary member in the county reviewed, writes for it, assumes the paternity of it, and gives it to the public through the county newspapers, and in his round of duties and addresses.

These affiliated members are strong, brave souls — judges, preachers, teachers and school officials, legislators and business men — whom the club in the two years of its work has come to know as being genuinely and generously concerned with the problems of community uplift. Many of the most interested, most effective honorary members are women. They are all fine spirits who have been keeping up with the work of the club, who understand its worthy purposes, and are ready to use the club results to the best advantage in their home counties.

The county surveys are always interesting and sometimes amazing. Oftentimes they subject a county to "the rough electric shock" that Emerson called the truest friendship. One man writes, "The re-

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port upon our county is an eye-opener. God speed the work of the Georgia Club; it gives me a vision of great things to be in Georgia." Another writes, "I am still rubbing my eyes. We have already begun to fight for a county-wide local-tax school system."

Occasionally these county reports raise a storm of discussion, just as did the Sage Foundation survey of Birmingham, and therein lies their value. The reports are fair. They exhibit the best side by side with the worst. Discussion leads to investigation by the people themselves and investigation leads to active organization to bring about better conditions.

KEEPING SOCIAL ENTHUSIASM ALIVE

The affiliated member in every county is a centre of active influence in behalf of better roads, better public health, better schools, and better churches. With his fist around the essential facts of community life he has reasons plentiful as blackberries for his campaign in behalf of rural uplift. He knows that nothing dies so quickly as social enthusiasm, unless it be informed by vital facts that convince the sober second-sense of a community.

For instance, one of the superior court judges of the state wrote for the report upon his county. He was so amazed and alarmed by it that he at once had it published in the home paper. He found that during the last census period his county had lost 17 per cent. in horses, 26 per cent. in hogs, and 64 per cent. in sheep; 23 per cent. in corn, and 88 per cent. in wheat acreage; that the average yield of corn per acre was only 12 bushels, a loss of 17 per cent. in ten years; that the county suffered a decrease of 25 per cent. in the number of farms cultivated by owners; and that the number of illiterate white children was 729, an increase of 47 per cent. in five years! In his opening addresses to his courts in that end of the state he has ever since been stirring up the people about vital matters of economic and social import.

The counties in the judicial district of this judge are now being organized into what are called Helpers' Associations, their purpose being to stir into activity the preachers and church authorities, the teachers and school authorities, the physicians and business men, the club women and the farmwives, and to bring them together for concerted action in behalf of better rural life.

The syllabus of club studies is being shaped into text-book form, so that other schools in Georgia or in other states may make similar studies. Public education of every sort, if it be worth the name, is an agency of social uplift; but only a study of life conditions themselves will disclose the obstacles and the opportunities. The State Normal School considers that, as a public institution, its duty is to know thoroughly the state it was created to serve. The authorities believe that the school cannot serve Georgia effectively without knowing intimately the problems to be solved. And so the work of the school has been a steady advance upon the economic and social conditions and demands of the state, a saner consideration of means and ends, and a better adjustment day by day to the realities of life as they exist in Georgia.

The training of teachers in this school means ample courses in the home-making arts and sciences, in nature study, school gardening and agriculture, in manual training, and the arts and crafts, in physical culture, in outdoor plays and games, and in music; all these in addition to academic scholarship and professional training. The work of the school is done with growing realization of Georgia conditions and problems.

In addition come the courses in rural economics and sociology, in which leadership as well as teachership appeals to the student.

The Georgia Club, with its honorary, non-resident members in 146 counties, is busy with research work; but also it is reaching people who do not read bulletins and never hear of census returns. They vote, however, and they ought to do so with a knowledge of the causes that are making and shaping history in their home counties, in the state, and in the nation. They are having a chance to learn that an ounce of sound economics

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is worth a whole ton of partisan politics; that "history is past economics, and economics present history."

A SIMPLE WAY TO MAKE STATISTICS VITAL

The late Doctor Knapp did not discover agriculture, but he did discover a means of reaching the farmers in their homes and fields. The Georgia Club did not discover rural economics and sociology, but it has discovered the immense importance of setting students to work upon the economic and social problems of their home counties. And, too, it has discovered a simple, direct, effective way of making their studies dynamic, through the affiliated club members.

What this club is doing is so simple that it seems likely to propagate itself easily and naturally in other institutions and in other states. Inquiries come from almost every state in the Union about this club and its work.

The club bulletins already issued are: A Fifty-Year Survey of Southern Agriculture; Farm-Life Conditions in the South; Brief Economic and Social Surveys of Clarke, Fulton, and Bibb Counties; Our Country-Life Problem; Country-Life Defenses; Denmark's Remedies; Education and Coöperation; Small-Farm Ownership; The Church as a Country-Life Defense; and The Rights of the Child.

The following bulletins are in preparation: Economic and Social Survey of Georgia (The Georgia Club Syllabus); The Physician as a Country-Life Defense; Good Roads as a Country-Life Defense; The Country School of Permanent Influence; and The Debt and the Duty of the Cities to the Country.

The club does not believe in wasting printers' ink. And so its bulletins go to its own members and to a further small company of goodly souls who believe, in Milton's phrase, that education concerns the things that lie about us, as well as things remote.

The club is planning a great rural-life conference at the school in the early future.

THE CITY MAN'S FARM

One of the staple forms of investment has long been the well selected farm mortgage. It is as safe as any other investment. It has yielded a fair return, 5 per cent. or more, higher than the best bonds. Its chief drawback has been that it cannot always be turned quickly into ready cash. A farm itself as an investment has many of the same advantages as a farm-mortgage.

A minister in Ohio, for example, has written the following experience to the WORLD'S WORK:

My duties keep me in the busy life of the city. I had saved some money and, a few years ago, I bought eighty acres at $65 per acre. My experience has persuaded me that the professional man can profitably invest in good farm land. The details of the management need not be given but the results are as follows. The amount I had paid down was $3,500. The balance was carried as debt. This debt and the interest, taxes, ditching, clearing, repairs, and improvements have made the farm cost about $7,000. The farm has in eight years paid all this and several hundred dollars profit besides. The annual rental for the last three years has been $775, my share being one half grain rent. The taxes, insurance, trips to farm, repairs, and improvements average about $175 a year, leaving me $600 net, or about 8½ per cent. on my $7,000 investment. The land is well located, is level corn land in the heart of the corn belt. I have been offered $150 an acre for it, but the profits from the rents are much better than could be obtained from any other safe investment.

With the proceeds of the eighty acres and other savings I afterward bought a twenty-acre tract with a small house and barn on it. This cost me $2,700. This is another good corn farm. In the community where it is located, farms are small and it is easy to rent the fields. I rent the house and truck patch for $50 a year and the fields for half the grain delivered in market. On both farms I furnish the clover seed and seed of any crop sown for green manuring. As corn is the paying crop, it is the purpose to keep this little farm in corn as much of the time as possible and to keep up the fertility by the summer sowing of

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clover or of rye and vetch for turning under in the spring. The first year this little place netted me 5.25 per cent. on my investment after I had been to larger expense than will usually be the case. As the clover seed failed I bought vetch and rye, so there was a double expense for one crop.

The next year the yield was 65 bushels of corn as against 43 the year before. My share at 52 cents brought me $304.20. The rent of the house paid the taxes and other current expenses. This made me about 11 per cent. for the second year. This, it is true, is a little better than the average is likely to be; for the land was all in corn, and I cannot have it all in corn every year. There is no reason why it should not pay 8 per cent. or better on an average. Besides, I have been offered $3,000 for it. I figure that my savings from my salary and the original investment would, at this time, have amounted to about $8,000. The two farms are now worth $15,000. It has been a profitable investment for me.

If you ask any five native Americans that you meet in the city what they know about country life, you will find that one or two of them are interested in a farm somewhere. If they are rich men the farm probably costs them money. If they are men of moderate incomes they probably "break even" or perhaps make a little. The farm is a kind of old age insurance and investment. It is a home to retire to and it is a good speculation. Unless the owner lets it deteriorate, the principal of the investment is safe. Like the mortgage it probably cannot be disposed of quickly. Like the mortgage also the interest on the investment would probably not be very high. If the owner had a good tenant, or was a good manager himself he might make 8 per cent. as the Ohio minister did, but probably most city owners do not make so much. On these considerations only perhaps the mortgage is the better form of investment, because it is more easily taken care of. But on the other hand, no matter how much the land increases in value, the holder of the mortgage gets none of the benefit of the rise. The owner of the farm land on the other hand gets it all. And the steady rise in the value of good farm lands all over the United States is one of the most certain things in the investment world. Between 1900 and 1910, for example, farm land in Georgia increased 161 per cent.; in Illinois 105 per cent.; in Maryland and Massachusetts between 30 and 40 per cent.; in South Dakota and Wyoming about 250 per cent.; and in Nevada 150 per cent.

In the case of the Ohio minister the 8 per cent. interest which he gets from his farm is sufficient justification for the investment. In most cases, however, not even a farmer on the land will make 8 per cent. on his investment. Most farmers make their living and little else from year to year. The profit in the farming business has too often been only the rise in the price of land. In this the many city dwellers can participate as the Ohio minister has done.

HOW NOT TO BUY A FARM

A correspondent puts this question:

I am being confronted by the most perplexing problem of my life and I have decided to let you settle it for me no matter which way you decide.

I am twenty-seven years old and have been thinking of taking up a Government claim in Arizona. I will have from $1,000 to $1,500 by the time I intend to start. What is your opinion with regard to the amount of money? Do you think it will be sufficient, or do you think that I had better wait a couple of years until I am able to have about $3,000? . . .

I have had four years' experience on a farm when I was eighteen years old. I shall guide myself entirely by what you think because I have been advised so many different ways that I have decided to hear what your opinion in the matter is.

This man is not fair to us nor to himself if he is content to decide so important a question in such a manner. We do not accept such a responsibility. He gives no details; no guess can be made about his ability; he does not tell the type of farming he contemplates. Upon all these depends the wisdom of his actions.

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The danger is that his plans are no more systematized than his information.

Too many men — and women — buy farms in this slipshod way. Two sisters write requesting advice as to which of two farms they should buy. They have the agents' descriptions of both but no first hand knowledge of either. One costs $6,500 and includes buildings, stock, etc.; the other costs a little over $2,000 and is without improvements but has apparently the better location. "We depend wholly upon what we earn," they say, yet they have made no attempt to investigate the money-making powers of either place. The farms are in different sections and yet the prospective purchasers have made no inquiry into the value of either as a productive, profitable farm.

Of the numerous principles that the farm seeker should bear in mind, a few should stand out preëminent and absolute:

1. Never buy land without seeing it.

2. Examine it at least once alone or in the company of an expert, practical farmer whom you know to be disinterested.

3. Listen to all that the agent or owner says, but obtain also the opinion of neighbors who know and are more willing to speak of the disadvantages.

4. Choose only the farm that suits first your capital, second, your special type of farming, third, your main crops, and fourth, the needs of your family.

5. Remember that the asked price is only a part of the real cost. Ascertain taxes, the cost of repairs and improvements needed, the expense of stocking and planning, and the cost of living until returns come in.

6. Study the environment and learn its adaptations, its advantages and disadvantages, its peculiarities, its history, and its possibilities.

7. Study every phase with equal reference to the home aspect and the business aspect. If you want advice about a farm, tell where, what kind, how much you want to pay, what you want to raise, and we will try to help you find one. If you do not know whether you want one or not, tell your story, your plans, and your desires, and we will try to help you decide. But don't "go it blind" on anybody's advice.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FARM LANDS

27.—*Q.* I am told that hemp and wheat raising are very profitable in Northern Kentucky. Is this true in Fayette and Jessamine counties? What is the price of land, the climate, the nature of the soil, etc., there?

A. Next to light tobacco the chief and most profitable crop in these two counties is hemp, with wheat and corn second and third in importance. Kentucky produces about nine tenths of the hemp of the country and the greater part of the acreage is in the north central part of the state. You will make no mistake in growing either wheat or hemp as part of a well balanced rotation.

Conditions in the counties referred to are typical of the famous blue grass section (briefly described under Question 18 on the Farm Lands and Farming page of the May WORLD'S WORK). The climatic data (for Lexington, Fayette County) is: average annual rainfall 43.57 inches; average annual temperature 54 degrees F.; highest temperature recorded 102 degrees; lowest, 20 degrees; prevailing wind direction, southwest; average annual humidity, 73 per cent. The assessed land valuations are, for Fayette County, $74 and for Jessamine County, $35 per acre, but you will very probably have to pay more for good farm lands.

28.—*Q.* What are the possibilities for farming and fruit raising in the Boise River Valley of Idaho?

A. Ada County, in which this valley is located, is the wealthiest and most populous of the state — largely as a result of the development of its agricultural resources. The soil and climate are well adapted to the raising (under irrigation) of wheat, barley, oats, rye, alfalfa, clover, sugar beets, potatoes, and truck crops. But apples are the chief crop, the product of nearly 6,000 acres of orchards around Boise City being shipped out of the state each year. This city with a population of about 18,000 offers excellent school, market, and social facilities. The Oregon Short Line crosses the county and a high grade electric road passes throughout the valley.

Under the Carey Act some 197,000 acres in

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clover or of rye and vetch for turning under in the spring. The first year this little place netted me 5.25 per cent. on my investment after I had been to larger expense than will usually be the case. As the clover seed failed I bought vetch and rye, so there was a double expense for one crop.

The next year the yield was 65 bushels of corn as against 43 the year before. My share at 52 cents brought me $304.20. The rent of the house paid the taxes and other current expenses. This made me about 11 per cent. for the second year. This, it is true, is a little better than the average is likely to be; for the land was all in corn, and I cannot have it all in corn every year. There is no reason why it should not pay 8 per cent. or better on an average. Besides, I have been offered $3,000 for it. I figure that my savings from my salary and the original investment would, at this time, have amounted to about $8,000. The two farms are now worth $15,000. It has been a profitable investment for me.

If you ask any five native Americans that you meet in the city what they know about country life, you will find that one or two of them are interested in a farm somewhere. If they are rich men the farm probably costs them money. If they are men of moderate incomes they probably "break even" or perhaps make a little. The farm is a kind of old age insurance and investment. It is a home to retire to and it is a good speculation. Unless the owner lets it deteriorate, the principal of the investment is safe. Like the mortgage it probably cannot be disposed of quickly. Like the mortgage also t[illegible] investment would prob[illegible] high. If the owner had was a good manager him[illegible] 8 per cent. as the Ohio probably most city own[illegible] much. On these consi[illegible] haps the mortgage is [illegible] investment, because it [illegible] care of. But on the o[illegible] how much the land in[illegible] holder of the mortga[illegible] benefit of the rise. farm land on the o[illegible] And the steady rise farm lands all over one of the most ce[illegible] vestment world. B[illegible] for example, farm creased 161 per [illegible] per cent.; in Mary[illegible] between 30 and [illegible] Dakota and Wyom[illegible] and in Nevada 1[illegible]

In the case of 8 per cent. intere[illegible] farm is sufficien[illegible] vestment. In [illegible] even a farmer [illegible] per cent. on his [illegible] make their livin[illegible] to year. The [illegible] ness has too of[illegible] price of land dwellers can minister has [illegible]

HOW NOT TO BUY A [illegible]

A correspondent puts this question:

I am being confronted by the most perplexing problem of my life and I have decided to let you settle it for me no matter which way you decide.

I am twenty-seven years old and have been thinking of taking up a Government claim in Arizona. I will have from $1,000 to $1,500 by the time I intend to start. What is your opinion with regard to the amount of money? Do you think it will be sufficient, or do you think that I had better wait a couple of years until I am able to have about $3,000? . . .

I have had four years' experience on a farm when I was [illegible] myself entir[illegible] have been a[illegible] I have deci[illegible] the matter [illegible]

This m[illegible] self if he [illegible] a questi[illegible] not acc[illegible] gives no[illegible] about h[illegible] type of all these [illegible]

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The danger i; that his plans are no more ... systematized than his information.

Too many men — and women — buy farms in this slipshod way. Two sisters write requesting advice as to which of two farms they should buy. They have the agents' descriptions of both but no first hand knowledge of either. One costs ... and includes buildings, stock, etc.; the other costs a little over $2,000 and is without improvements but has apparently the better location. "We depend wholly upon what we earn," they say, yet they have made no attempt to investigate the money-making powers of either place. The farms are in different sections and yet the prospective purchasers have made no inquiry into the value of either as a productive, profitable farm.

Of the numerous principles that the farm seeker should bear in mind, a few should stand out preëminent and absolute:

1. Never buy land without seeing it.
2. Examine it at least once alone ... in the company of an expert, practical farmer whom you know to be disinterested.
3. Listen to all that the agent or ...

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

27.—*Q.* I am told that hemp and ... raising are very profitable in ... tucky. Is this true in Fayette and ... counties? What is the price of ... climate, the nature of the soil, etc., there?

A. Next to light tobacco ... most profitable crop in these ... hemp, with wheat and corn ... in importance. Kentucky ... nine tenths of the hemp of the ... greater part of the acreage ... central part of the state. ... mistake in growing either ... part of a well balanced rotation.

Conditions in the counties ... typical of the famous blue grass ... described under Question ... and Farming page of the May ... The climatic data (for ... County) is: average annual ... inches; average annual temperature ... F.; highest temperature ... lowest, 20 degrees; prevailing ... southwest; average annual ...

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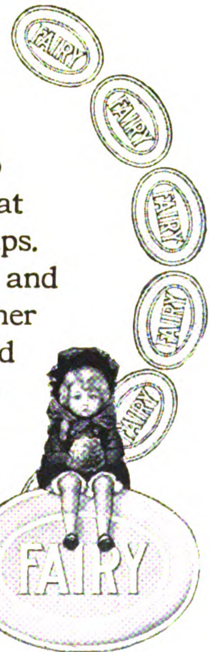

this county have been placed under irrigation canals and more than 120,000 acres are already irrigated. The Snake River project is already open to settlement and some 4,000 acres of the original 6,000 are still available with water rights at $50 per acre. There are about 461,000 acres of homestead lands not on irrigation projects still open, but these are of the less valuable type. Unimproved land with water rights can be bought for from $50 to $75 per acre; improved farm land for from $75 to $150; and bearing orchard lands for from $300 to $600 per acre. For further details, write to the State Commissioner of Agriculture and the Chamber of Commerce, both at Boise.

29.—*Q.* I have been offered ten acres of woodland in the southern part of New Jersey, somewhere in the neighborhood of Vineland, on condition that I plant five acres in apple trees. As I don't want to live there I should have to have all the work done. Is the gift worth having?

A. In this case it will pay to "look the gift horse in the mouth" very carefully. South central New Jersey is very flat country with light, sandy soil, excellent — when fertilized — for strawberries, other small fruits, and peaches, but not, in our opinion, well suited to apple growing. The clearing of five acres, their planting to apples, and the necessary care until the maturing of the trees would cost a very appreciable sum, not to mention the uncertainty of future returns. Moreover, we rarely advise farming of any sort from a distance; we doubt whether New Jersey woodland will rise much in value in the near future. In any case you should first locate exactly the tract in question, then visit and examine it in company with an expert apple grower.

30.—*Q.* What is being done in the San Joaquin Valley of California by the United States Reclamation Service or individuals in draining swamp lands? I am told that the Government is doing much reclamation work there. Do such lands, when drained, need irrigation?

A. You are mistaken as to the purpose of the Reclamation Service which works only along irrigation lines and which is not doing anything at present in the San Joaquin Valley. The Government does no actual drainage work in California or elsewhere; the Drainage Investigations Division of the Office of Experiment Stations investigates proposed drainage projects and reports on their feasibility, cost, methods, etc., but whatever drainage work is going on in California is being done either by the state or by private concerns. For information about the extent and nature of this work, consult the Office of Experiment Stations, Bulletins 217, 239, and Circular 76; Reprints from the Annual Report of the Office for 1910, on The Development of Methods of Draining Irrigated Lands and Work of the Drainage Investigations in 1909–10; House Document 1180; and Soil Surveys of the Stockton, 1905, Modesto-Turlock, 1908, Madera, 1910, Fresno, 1900, and Portersville, 1908 Areas — which may be obtained from the United States Department of Agriculture.

Throughout the San Joaquin Valley, irrigation is necessary whether the lands are naturally or artificially drained.

31.—*Q.* Will you inform me about the semi-arid lands of the West, of which 320 acres can be obtained by homestead entry? Is dry farming a practical success and what yields can be expected under that system?

A. By the Enlarged Homestead Act of December 19, 1909, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to designate, from time to time, tracts of non-timbered, non-mineral, non-irrigable land in Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Arizona, and New Mexico, of which areas of not more than 320 acres can be applied for by *bona fide* entrymen under the regular Homestead Act. The location of such tracts can be ascertained from the General Land Office at Washington and the various local land offices to which it will refer you.

Where there is an annual rainfall of at least fifteen inches, dry farming methods, if correctly practised, will permit the profitable raising of the more drought-resistant varieties of oats, barley, potatoes, sugar beets, etc. The theory of the system involves the storing up of two years' rainfall by means of tillage and summer fallowing, for the production of one year's crop. This necessitates the management of twice the area of land that is actually cropped, and continuous, unremitting labor. A fair average yield of wheat is fifteen bushels and of other crops in proportion. Some of the expert dry farmers of the semi-arid section have made remarkable yields by this method. But no one should attempt dry farming without thorough, practical training or abundant capital. For discussions of the system, consult L. H. Bailey's Cyclopaedia of American Agriculture, Vol. I. pp. 171 and 399; Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletins 187 and 188; and Bulletins 112 of the Utah Experiment Station at Logan, and 96 of the North Dakota Experiment Station at Brookings.

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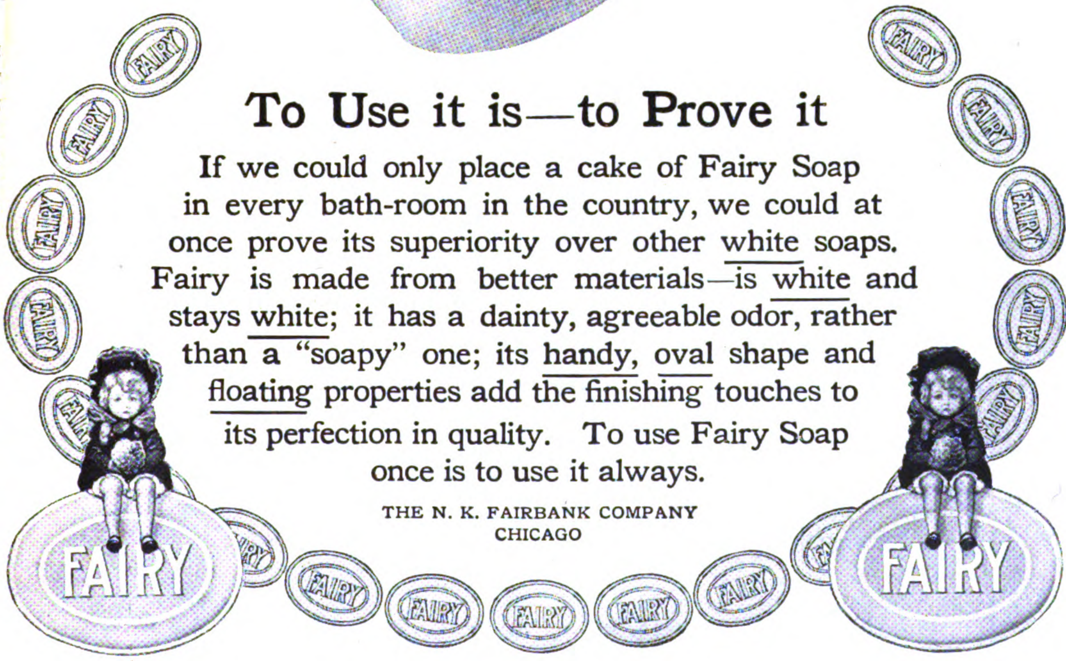
"HAVE YOU A LITTLE 'FAIRY' IN YOUR HOME?"



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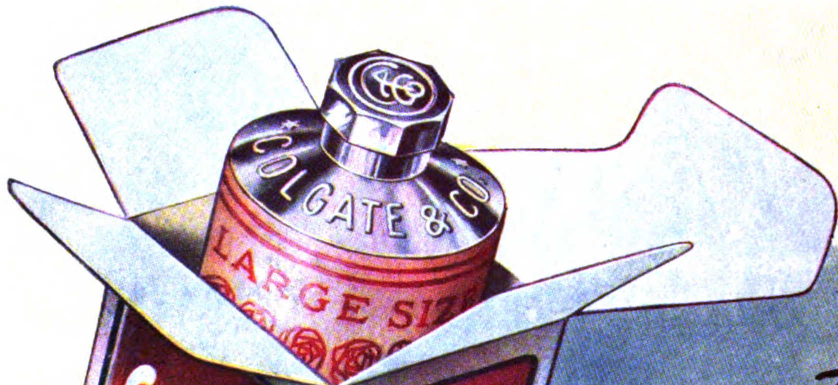

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GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON

THE DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT AND OF LIFE AS FORMULATED BY HIM AND APPLIED TO PRESENT CONDITIONS WILL PROFOUNDLY AFFECT AMERICAN THOUGHT AND DETERMINE THE NEXT MOOD OF THE REPUBLIC

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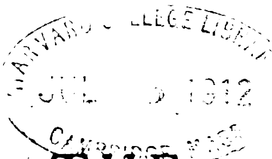

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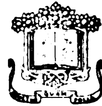
VOLUME XXIV  NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE inevitable defeat of Mr. Roosevelt and the victory of Governor Wilson will remain the two historic political events of our year.

Mr. Roosevelt had made his notable contribution to our public life, and unluckily he did not seem to know that it does not need repeating. Other conditions and other duties are now come, and another — man.

Governor Wilson will now fill the public mind for a term at least, and he will bring another mood. What statutes and decisions will mark his Administration none can foresee, and, in a way, these are of less importance than the turn he will give to American thought. What may be called the democratic philosophy of life will receive forcible formulation by him. And the democratic philosophy of life is not a vague generality. It may take many forms. At bottom it means the denial of privilege, the demand of equal opportunity. It means right social ideals. It means broad educational ideals — very broad. It means a quickened human sympathy and right human relationships. It means discouragement to the cynical in literature as well as in life and the encouragement of the sympathetic.

His speeches and writings clearly set forth such a philosophy. He believes fundamentally in the democratic ideal. His acts, his state papers — all that he does and says as President — will embody and illustrate this doctrine and this temperament.

This will be a new influence — this old-time creed, revived with sincerity and applied to present conditions and set forth with authority. It is a quieter force than Mr. Roosevelt's robust shaking-up of a people. But it is permeating and it has the quality of permanence.

As the dull gray day of Mr. Taft sinks to its close, a day of well-meaning indecision, with no distinct quality, no invigorating atmosphere, no positive impulse — we witness the passing of one vigorous man and the coming of another, wholly different in their kinds of service and in their ways of rendering it. After all, in its own way our democracy does manage to find voices for its various moods; and there is something majestic in its struggles to lift them to its great sounding board which we call the Presidency.

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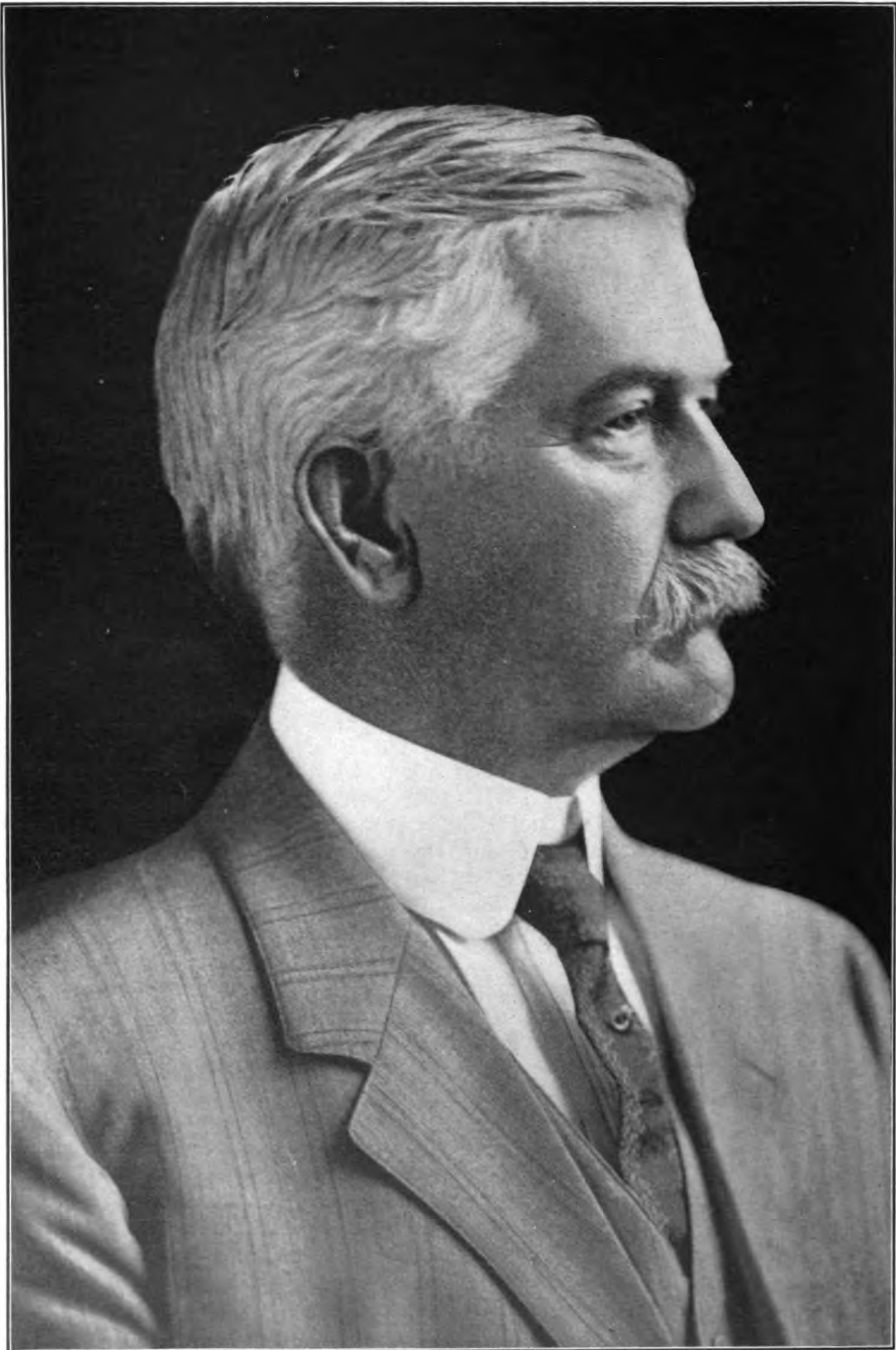

COL. WILLIAM C. GORGAS

WHOSE EFFICIENT WORK AS CHIEF SANITARY OFFICER OF THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE MAKES POSSIBLE THE COMPLETION OF THAT TASK WITH A DEATH RATE LOWER THAN MOST AMERICAN CITIES'

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TWO BATTLES FOR ONE CAUSE

THE same great impulse of the people was felt at both the national conventions, and that was the impulse to shake themselves free from bosses and from commercialism in government.

At the Republican convention the effort was fettered and entangled. Mr. Roosevelt stood for one aspect of the people's cause against privilege. But fundamentally his position was false. The Progressive movement to wrest the Government from excessive tariffs and from business control had been neglected and insulted by him during its period of struggle. His effort at leadership came too late. And there was the very essence of bossism in his manner and method and temperament. His personal popularity carried him far toward defeating Mr. Taft. But the standpat lines held their entrenched position against so personal an assault.

The American people have not lost their sense of humor; and many of them could not keep from smiling at Mr. Roosevelt in his ferocious attack on his own error of four years ago, an error for which he did not apologize to us; but he proceeded to substitute himself for it — an error that now meant the reversal of human progress itself! His vehemence was not entirely convincing. The situation smacked of the comic as well as of the tragic. Let us hope, too, that a new conscience about "tainted" delegates (especially from the Southern States) was born out of that fierce wrangle.

In truth there was much fury and much fear that was artificial at Chicago. The deep note of sincerity was lacking. It was in the main an unseemly personal combat. No duellists ever lacked "a great principle" when they fought; and on any battlefield you can pick up a great principle or two as soon as you see the enemy coming. In fact it is easy to acquire them anywhere when you are in the fighting mood.

Thus Mr. Taft won — to lose, the Progressives were defeated, and the Republican party stands as the party of reaction.

Mr. Roosevelt promptly set out to organize a new party, a task that, with his large personal following, he might hopefully have undertaken if the Democratic convention had had as bad fortune as the Republican.

But the same impulse of the people struggling for expression at Baltimore as at Chicago, struggled sincerely and it found a real leader in Governor Wilson. The hungry horde and the temperamentally commercial elements of the convention died very hard. But they lost. And the real voice of the people was heard there.

The Progressives, therefore, fighting in each convention from the same impulse failed to capture the Republican party but succeeded in capturing the Democratic party; and the future — the immediate future and a fair chance for a longer season — seems easily within its reach. The Democratic party stands, under Governor Wilson's leadership, as the party of progress.

THE CONVENTIONS AS GREAT SHOWS

WHENEVER national conventions are supplanted by other machinery there will perish from the earth a sort of spectacle which nothing in the world surpasses. The two conventions of this year were dramas which, in the spectacular brilliancy with which they delighted the eye and the suspense with which they engaged the mind and the emotions, deserve to rank with great scenes in history.

At Chicago and at Baltimore strong men fought a frenzied fight as thousands looked on. There is something that stirs, as nothing else can stir, in the sight of a struggle fought out before the physical eye. We may wait with much interest to hear the outcome of a contest in which great stakes are involved, but it is when the fight takes place visibly in a circumscribed arena that it thrills. A national nominating convention furnishes one of the best thrills left in a rather matter-of-fact world.

The Baltimore fight was the better of the two shows; and probably it has never been equalled. Ten thousand ball-games rolled into one would be tame compared with it; no joust at Ashby-de-la-Zouch

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provided such moments of suspense; the Colosseum at Rome never echoed such a riot of cheering.

Make no such mistake as to think of it as an intellectual contest. There was splendid oratory, quite surprising brilliancy of oratory — mostly feats of prowess in the hurling of a thrilling defiance, the loosing of a trenchant phrase, mighty swords flashing for a moment in thrust and parry above the mêlée. But it was more a physical struggle, a contest of endurance, lung power, and nerve strength. The first requisite of a delegate was to be able to go without sleep and without food and drink; to yell and wave things for an hour and twenty minutes; to stay in his place twelve hours; to keep his feet during a stampede and to buffet his way through the press; to watch every move of the enemy under the trying light of the hundreds of arc lamps in the ceaseless activity of 20,000 frenzied people; to hear enough to know what was going on, with ears cracked by the roar of hours of turmoil, and to be as fresh when the weird daylight stole again into the hall as when it had departed.

Baltimore began decorously; a thousand respectable gentlemen sitting with considerable composure in the midst of a throng of 19,000 spectators of equal propriety of appearance and conduct, among them many fashionably-gowned women. Many of the men kept on their coats for half a day; some even retained their collars well into the session, but when real work was under way the scene was one of a gang of disheveled railroad "hands" in a general riot. There were frequently periods of an hour when no articulate voice could be heard, while the ear was stunned by the roar of mingled approval and rage.

It was holloing, yelling, screaming, roaring, raised to the *n*th power; they "hollered," simply hollered for an hour at a time. When a telling speech was successfully shouted or a significant vote was cast, they carried banners up and down and around the aisles; they reared mammoth pictures of candidates against the galleries; they sent up toy balloons, and tossed pigeons into the air; they carried a girl about the hall; men and women shied hats through the air; horns, whistles, and infernal contrivances without name contributed to the diabolical din.

The wonder of it was that what looked like a general riot really managed to preserve the character of an electoral assembly. Straight through all the din, men voted steadily for the man of their choice. Everybody was doing his best to stampede everybody else, but when it came to his own vote, he preserved his composure.

Every one who saw either of the National Conventions of 1912 got there a new conception of the possibilities of explosive energy. Beforehand, no one could have imagined that the world contained so many foot-pounds of power as suddenly broke out upon the suffering air when the State of Delaware yielded to the State of New Jersey for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson or when Tammany's ninety votes were given to Champ Clark. One was a Krakatoa, the other a Mt. Pelée; only a volcanic explosion could release such a noise.

But there was another feature of both conventions that no one present at them will ever forget, and that was the ability of a mob of apparently crazy men to sustain the stress of terrific onslaught without flinching. "Demonstration" followed "demonstration" and passed into "counter demonstration," without altering a vote. Uproar that shattered the voice of a new chairman every five minutes, and wore out fresh platoons of police every hour; the efforts of bands drowned under the vocal din, and the chromatic clamor of banners assailed the delegates and left them stubborn at their posts. At Chicago, they stood pat to the end. At Baltimore, they changed, but they refused to stampede. They changed slowly, and only under the slowly increasing realization that Woodrow Wilson was the right man.

Apart from the result, either at Chicago or at Baltimore, apart from the question whether a better method of nomination can be found, it is certain that those who went to the conventions this year will never forget the magnificent amplitude of the picture and the tense dramatic strain of a scene animated by the unchained passion of a nation.

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WHAT DOES THE PRESIDENCY DO TO THE PRESIDENT?

MR. ROOSEVELT WHEN HE ENTERED THE PRESIDENCY

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WHAT DOES THE PRESIDENCY DO TO THE PRESIDENT?

MR. ROOSEVELT WHEN HE RETIRED FROM THE PRESIDENCY

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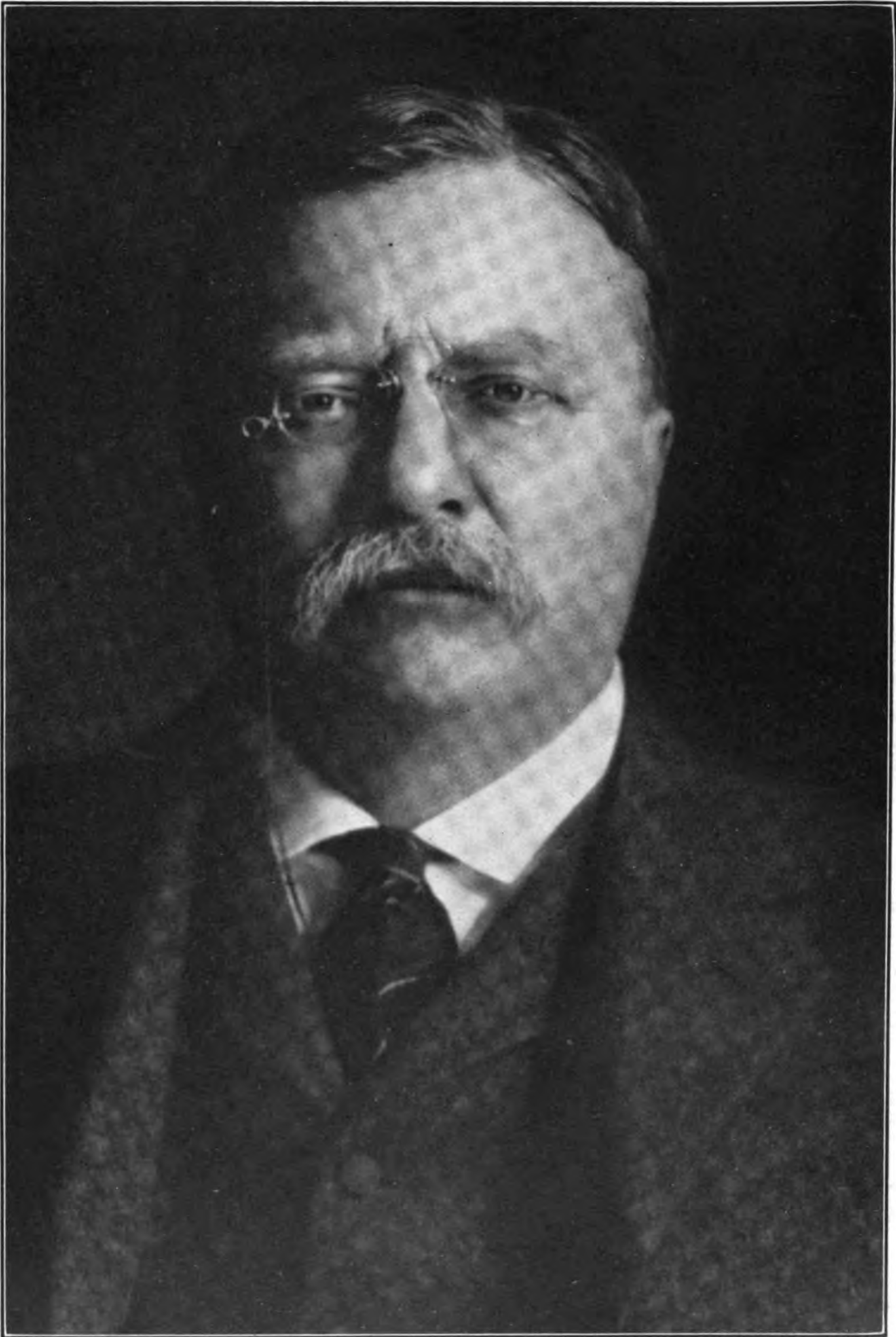

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WHAT DOES THE PRESIDENCY DO TO THE PRESIDENT?

MR. ROOSEVELT AS HE IS TO-DAY

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WHAT DOES THE PRESIDENCY DO TO THE PRESIDENT?

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MR. CARL R. GRAY

WHO RECENTLY SUCCEEDED MR. LOUIS W. HILL AS PRESIDENT OF THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILROAD UPON MR. HILL'S RETIREMENT TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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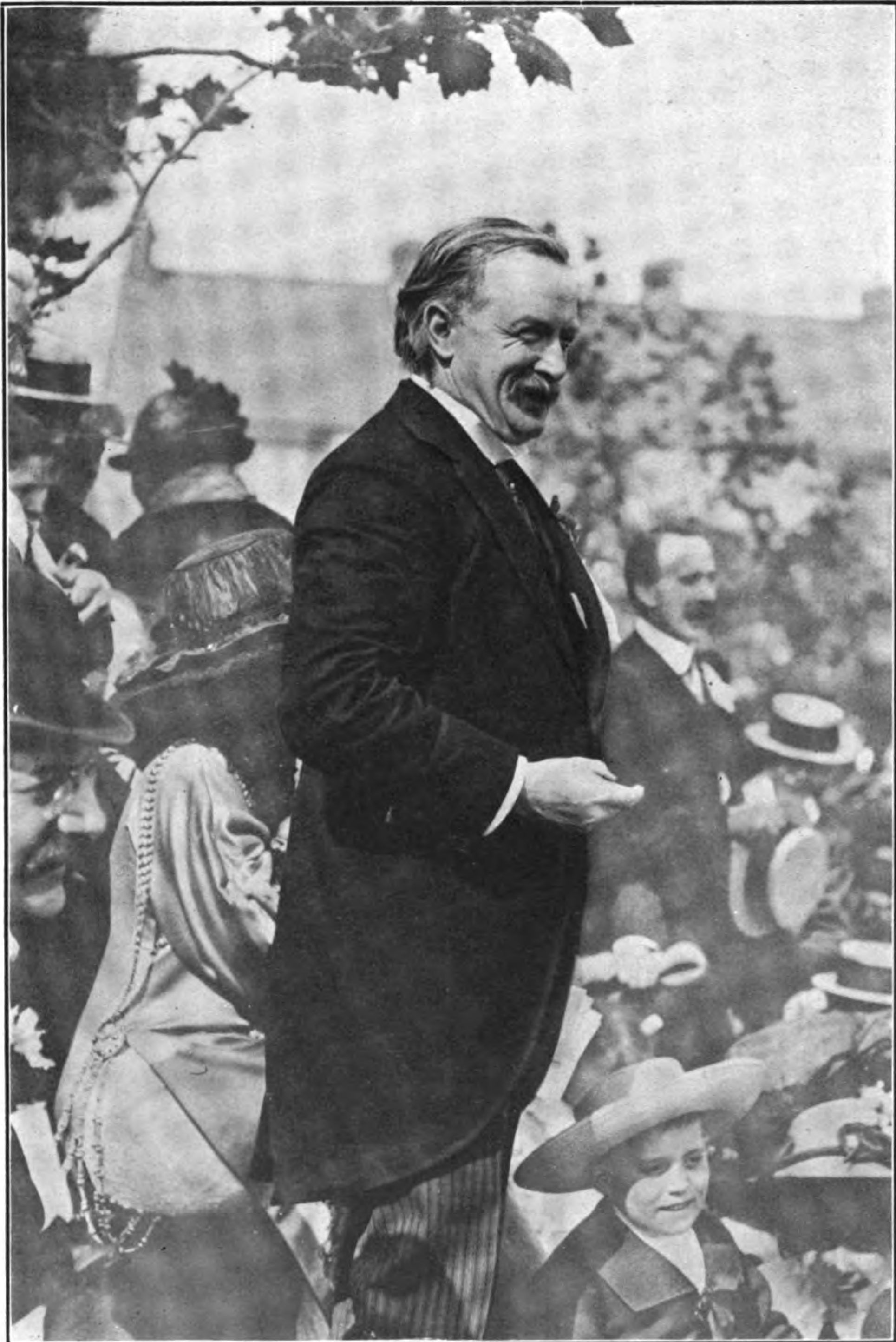

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THE HON. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

WHOSE RECENT REPLY TO THE LANDED OPPONENTS OF WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT WAS:

"They come here, when we are trying to recover some part of this pillaged property for the poor for whom it was originally given, and they venture, with their hands dripping with the fat of sacrilege, to accuse us of robbery of God."

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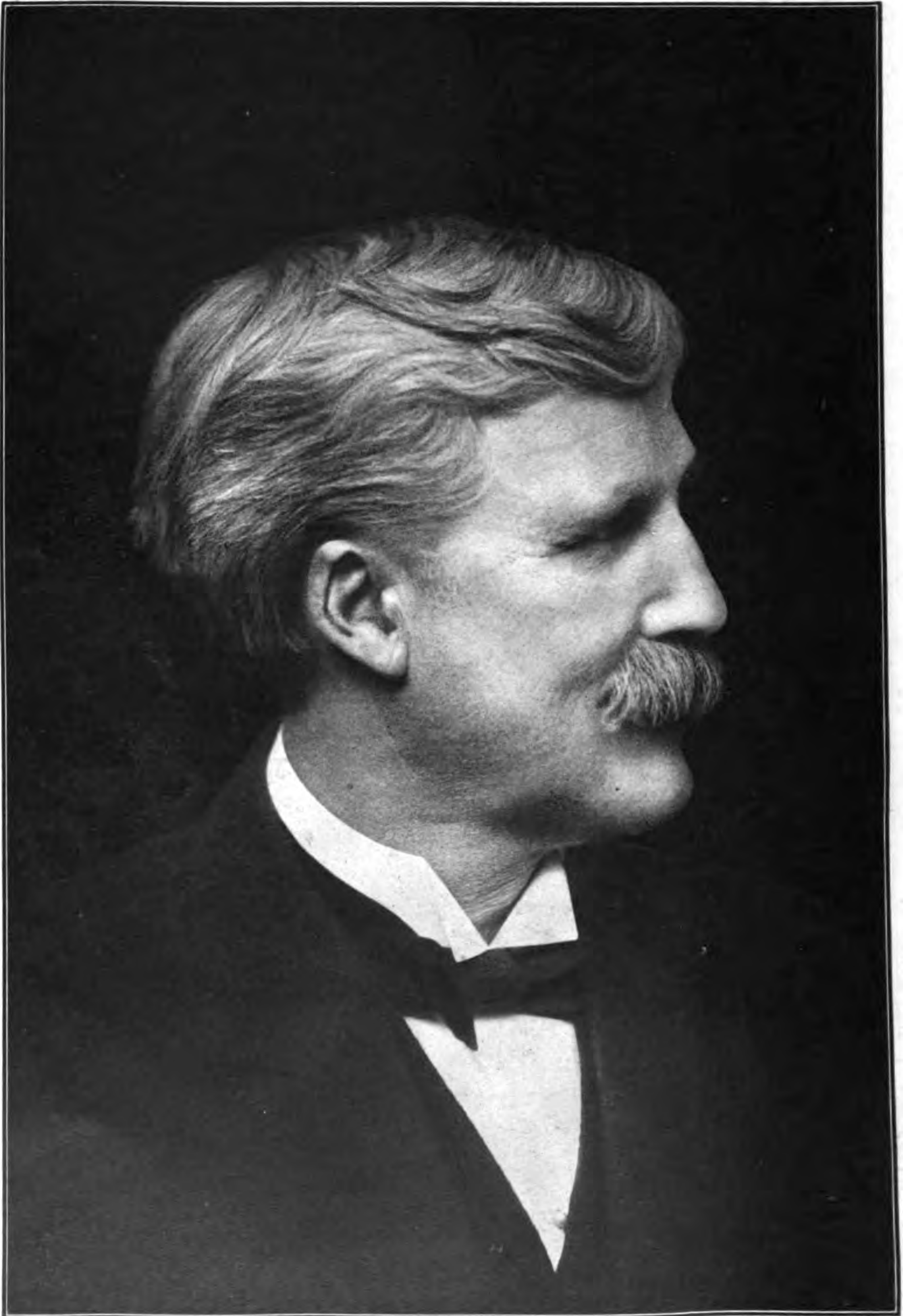

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MR. F. T. GATES

CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD AND PROMOTER OF A NEW ERA IN RURAL SCHOOL MANAGEMENT [See page 460]

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THE LATE SIR LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA

WHO ACHIEVED INTERNATIONAL DISTINCTION AS A PAINTER OF ANCIENT HISTORICAL SUBJECTS IN THE CLASSICAL STYLE, AND WHO RECEIVED ESPECIAL HONOR IN ENGLAND, WHERE HE RECENTLY DIED

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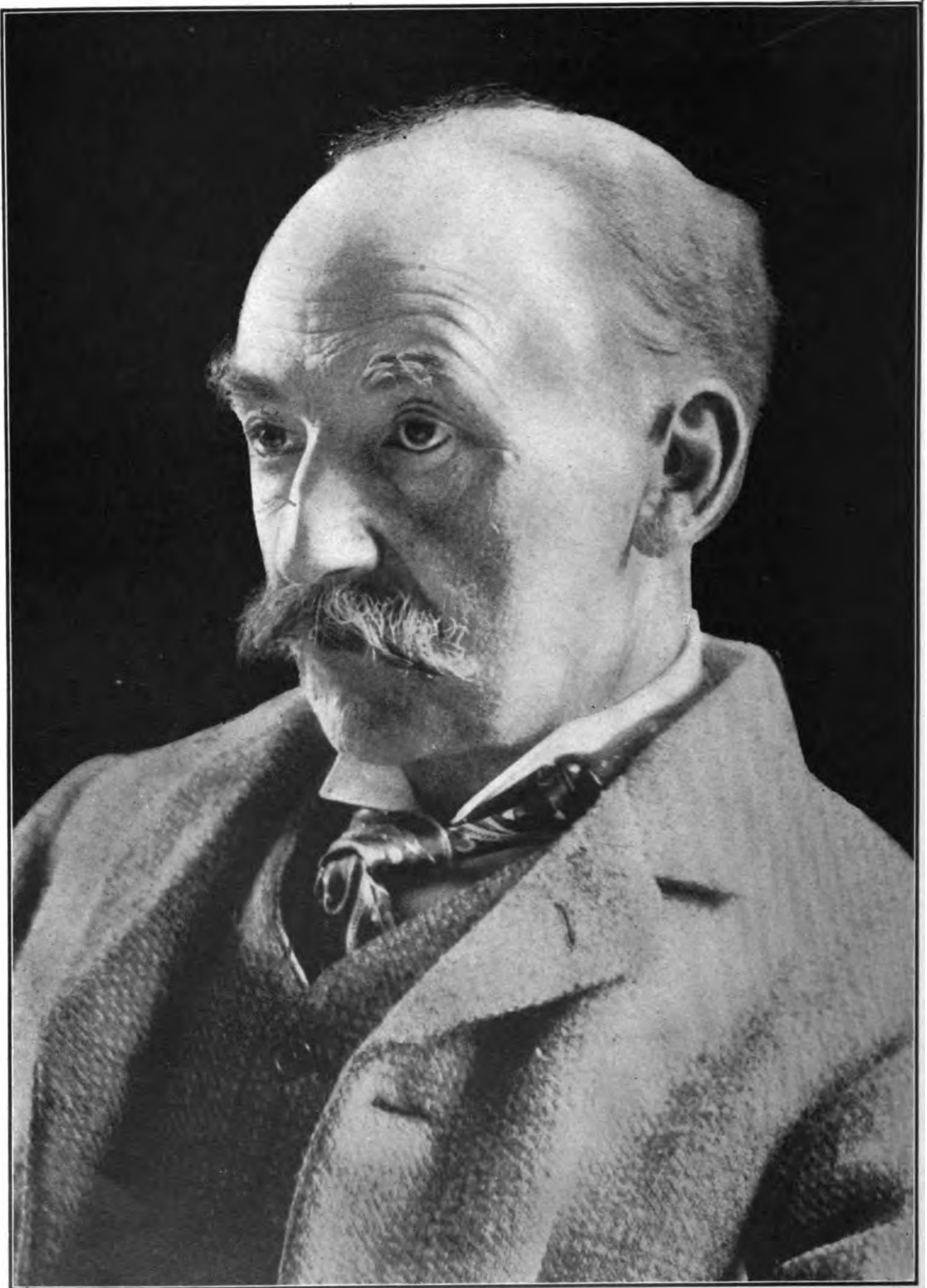

MR. THOMAS HARDY

A NEW PORTRAIT OF THE VENERABLE AND DISTINGUISHED ENGLISH NOVELIST WHO IN HIS 73RD YEAR RECENTLY BEWAILED THE DECLINE OF LITERARY ART IN THE GREAT VOLUME OF CONTEMPORANEOUS WRITINGS

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THE REAL "PROGRESSIVES" — IN THE COUNTRY

THE article about country schools by Mr. F. T. Gates, chairman of the General Education Board, published in this number of the WORLD'S WORK, has this significance in addition to its clear-cut analysis and its pointing to a remedy. The General Education Board has set to work, in its usual methodical and careful way, to establish one or more model country schools as well as to apply the best educational methods thus far worked out to one or more country schools that now exist. The word "school" hardly fits such a group of activities as this plan contemplates; for the "school-yard must be as big as the community," and every teachable person will become a part of the neighborhood activity. Children will of course be taught (not caught, confined, and branded) but the grown folks also will receive and give instruction and inspiration.

What Mr. Gates modestly calls a dream is not a dream: an approximation to it has been worked out, in small measure at least, in a number of rural communities. And there is no part of American activity to which a higher purpose or a finer zeal are given than to this very problem. More high purpose and more zeal are needed. In what other way can the best men and women among us better serve?

Great results come slowly. But nobody who knows American life and knows the wide-spread earnestness of this country-movement can doubt that we have definitely entered a new era of activity — the era of building-up the land and the people who till it.

WHY NOT A FEW FREE PORTS?

WHY does not one of the political parties propose the establishment of a few free ports and a few free manufacturing zones? The idea appears to have occurred to nobody, yet what a popular idea it would assuredly prove! Why not allow American manufacturers to establish shops at certain designated ports, into which the raw materials for their productions would be admitted duty free, to be manufactured into articles of export? Such a "*Freihafen*" as the German Government has established at Hamburg, immensely augmenting the commercial importance, and greatly increasing the prosperity, of the city would be a boon to many classes of manufacturers, compelled now to pay a fine on every piece of raw material which they presume to think they can manufacture as well as a German or a Briton.

The idea has no bearing on the question between a protective tariff and free trade. It means only that where Americans find themselves able to turn raw materials into finished articles for general consumption, they may do it, without paying a heavy tax on their enterprise. Why, on any tariff theory, should raw wool, or rubber, or coffee, or silk, or lumber, which comes here to be manufactured for European use (because our methods are more scientific and our workmen better) — why should it be subject to an assessment merely for sojourning in the land of the free for a few weeks? Why should an American manufacturer be fined for presuming to think he can manufacture as well as a Frenchman, and incidentally make a little money for himself and give thousands of workingmen employment?

Is there no one with vision to see rising, under provision made by enlightened commercial genius, two or three great reservations, where big bonded warehouses open their doors free for material for clothmakers, ship-builders, which mammoth factories turn into products for the ends of the earth? Any of the material which, after manufacture, goes out of the free zone into our tariff-"protected" states would still pay duty; only that which straightway went away out of the country again would not be brought under the attention of customs-officers.

Only under some such arrangement can America expect to compete with free-trade England, or the free ports of Germany. The time is specially opportune to try it, now that the opening of the Panama Canal inspires us to hope for something more like a great nation's share of the commerce of the world.

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A WASTE OF 75 MILLIONS A YEAR

THERE is a way to save $75,000,000 a year by the proper handling of the cotton-crop. The grower takes his cotton to the gin, and there it is baled in jute bagging that costs the grower $1. The local freight charge is 50 cents, insurance 15 cents, drayage to the warehouse 10 cents, weighing 10 cents, warehouse charge 50 cents, commission to the factor who sells it $1.50 — so that, by the time the grower has sold the bale it has cost him $3.85 in handling charges. In other words, out of the $50 for which his factor sells it to the cotton merchant or exporter, the grower gets only $46.15.

But that is not all. When the American factor sells it for $50 a bale, the Liverpool importer (who sets the world price) buys the same bale for $60. Instantly you say, "American exporter's profit." You are wrong: only $1 of that $10 difference is exporter's profit. Three dollars more pay the freight to Liverpool; another dollar pays the charges at Liverpool; 75 cents the marine insurance — $5.75 of comparatively inescapable charge out of the $10, leaving $4.25 to be accounted for by

1. Fixed charge for tare, 6 per cent. of gross weight	$3.60
2. Drayage to local compress	.15
3. Compress fees	.25
4. Probable loss in weight	.25
	$4.25

Practically all these items are economic waste. Why should the cotton not be compressed at the gin and be properly covered with light, tight burlap instead of ragged jute bagging, thereby saving all but a fraction of item 1 and all of items 2, 3, and 4? The answer is, it is done, universally, in Egypt and on a small scale in the United States.

The proper system of handling — square bale compression at the gin — can so reduce the costs that the grower will receive $49.15 a bale, instead of only $46.15, or a saving of $3 a bale. The fixed charges under the wasteful compress system are $3.85 for baling plus $10 for handling by the exporter, or $13.85 in all; the fixed charges under the gin compression system are 85 cents for baling and $6.70 for handling by the exporter, or $7.55 in all. Thus the difference in cost between the two methods is $6.30 a bale, or an economic waste on an average crop of $75,000,000.

The only justification for the old method is that it exists and that much capital is invested in compresses. The growers should be awakened from so expensive an acceptance of an existing evil, and the capital that is involved should be better employed in economically productive enterprises. Another waste is in road-building. A million dollars a day is spent in the United States in building roads; and government engineers estimate that nearly one third of it is practically wasted.

By the study and adoption of such details as these, the prodigious wastes of our economic life can be saved. This habit of cotton-handling is only an example of many. By organization they can all be eliminated.

WHAT IS A CLEARING HOUSE?

IN THE so-called money-trust investigation, one of the first steps of the committee was to inquire into the workings of the New York Clearing House. What is a clearing house? The general impression seems to be that clearing house certificates are issued only in times of acute trouble to take the place of money, and that they are artificial money made to order without any security.

As a matter of fact, every commercial city in the country has a clearing house. Its business is to facilitate the interchange of credit amongst the banks in that city and to strengthen them in their relationship to banks outside. In principle it is simply an addition to the economical machinery of banking.

The New York Clearing House is, of course, much the biggest in the country. It was organized in 1853; its membership is voluntary; to be a member, a bank must have a capital of a million dollars and must undergo an examination as to its solvency; 64 of the largest banks and trust companies are members; they pay an admission fee of $5,000 if their capital is less than

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$5,000,000 and $7,500 if it is larger; there is an annual levy of $200 for expenses, and members may be assessed for more if necessary. Its administration is in the hands of five committees of which the Clearing House Committee holds the real power. At the present time it consists of Messrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, James G. Cannon, Walter E. Frew, Richard Delafield, and Otto T. Bannard.

This committee has the power to fix the charge for the collection of out-of-town checks, which at present is one tenth of 1 per cent. with the minimum of ten cents. This, however, is not really a very important part of the Clearing House Committee's business. Its main business goes on every day. At ten o'clock in the morning all the credits and debits of the banks in the association are exchanged on the floor of the Clearing House and within an hour or so it is known exactly how much of the business of the day preceding has created a credit for each bank and how much has created a debit. Notice is sent out to the banks and between 12.30, and 1.30 o'clock every day all the debtor banks must pay their balances in gold, legal tender, or Clearing House certificates. At 1.30, the members who have a credit balance receive it.

This is the daily routine. In the New York Clearing House the annual clearings (that is, the balances that are settled each day between 12.30 and 1.30 through this association) have run in recent years to about 100 billion dollars. In 1911, they were 92 billions and in the preceding year, 102 billions. This is about three fifths of the total clearings of the country.

This word "clearings" means this: If, for instance, on a certain day, the business of a bank has resulted in its owing a million dollars to other banks, the "clearing" of these transactions through the association in the morning will show that fact. This bank, therefore, will have to pay this million dollars to the association between 12.30 and 1.30 on the next day, and the various other banks will receive their due proportion of this credit from the association. Thus, instead of having to adjust a dozen or a hundred different little credit balances, this bank will have only the one adjustment to make, namely that of the Clearing House Association. Thus this clearing process is merely a mechanical economy in time, labor, and trouble.

II

Clearing House certificates are not the same as the Clearing House loan certificates which are issued in times of panic and which pass for money. The regular Clearing House certificates are not negotiable except between the members of the Clearing House Association. The method of making them is very simple. The Clearing House receives and stores gold coin, United States legal tender, notes, or other Government notes, places them in its vaults, and issues, instead of them, Clearing House certificates, which pass to and fro amongst the banks themselves in the settlement of balances.

In times of panic, a different kind of certificate is issued. Instead of accepting gold or legal tender as security, the Clearing House agrees to accept, from its members, for deposit with a specially appointed loan committee, securities and commercial paper, against which this committee issues certificates which pass for a sort of emergency currency amongst the banks that are members of the association. These are loan certificates. The amounts of this kind of loan certificates that have been issued in various crises have been:

1860	$ 7,375,000	at 7 per cent.
1861	22,585,000	at 6 " "
1863	11,471,000	at 6 " "
1864	17,728,000	at 6 " "
1873	26,565,000	at 7 " "
1884	24,915,000	at 6 " "
1890	16,645,000	at 6 " "
1893	41,490,000	at 6 " "
1907	101,060,000	at 6 " "

By its issuing loan certificates in times of trouble, the Clearing House Committee becomes a sort of vigilance committee. In other words, it usurps, for the time being, the power to create what is practically money. To meet an emergency it takes the law into its own hands and becomes a maker of currency. There is no authority for this function under the laws of the United States. Therefore,

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this sort of issue, which has come to be a habit in times of great stress, is technically the use of Governmental power or of power vested in national banks under the national bank act. Therefore, the Clearing House certificates are not made for general circulation but are for Clearing House purposes only.

There is a parallel, to a certain extent, to this habit, in the practice in England. In more than one serious crisis, Parliament has suspended the operation of the bank law so as to permit the Bank of England to issue its notes above the legal limit.

Thus clearing houses are necessary for the economical carrying on of the banking business of the country. To strike at them, or to make them illegal, would probably effect no great benefit and would certainly lay an added burden of cost upon the credit facilities of the country.

It is probably not necessary, however, to leave to the clearing house associations the power to issue currency in times of panic. This is not a function that the clearing houses want and most of those who exercise this power would be immensely relieved if a financial system were devised to make such emergency measures unnecessary.

Perhaps the main valid criticism of them is that a great deal of discretion is allowed as to what securities or commercial paper shall be available for collateral security in times of need. This is a dangerous power to put into the hands of any committee or any individual; yet as a matter of fact this discretionary power underlies the whole banking system, not only of the United States, but of all the world. A bank must be allowed to exercise its discretion in the lending of the funds of its depositors to others.

HAVE AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES LESSENED?

HAS a young man of character and brains and without fortune as good a chance of success in the United States as the same kind of young man had thirty years ago? You can't prove that he has or that he has not, and your guess will depend on what business or trade or profession you know most about, somewhat on what part of the United States you live in and somewhat on your own temperament.

There is a very general impression that the trusts have narrowed opportunity. But, if they have narrowed it in some ways, they have surely widened it in others; and it would be hard to strike a balance. You may hear, too, in many circles that the old professions, especially medicine and the law, are more crowded than they ever were before. On the other hand there are a number of new professions. You may hear that it constantly requires larger capital to become a merchant or a manufacturer. On the other hand there is much more capital at the service of capable men of character, and credit is better organized. Thus you may argue *pro* and *con;* and so complex is the organization of activities that you will find a clear answer difficult.

Yet two important facts do stand out. One is that good training helps a young man to success and good training for most pursuits is easier to get than it was a generation ago. The untrained man surely has a heavier handicap as the years go on. The other fact is that the increasing applications of scientific knowledge increase the number of opportunities for trained men. As good a general conclusion as one can reach is that trained men have more opportunities and untrained fewer. In agriculture, for instance, which is one of the largest occupations, this principle holds good.

II

Of course the kind of opportunity is as important as the number of opportunities. Any capable man can earn a living anywhere in the United States. But are the chances lessening for the man of fair ability "to become his own boss?" That's the real question. There may be more well-to-do and even prosperous "hired men," but is the opportunity passing for men to command their own time and to work out their own personalities as they wish?

It is fair to remember that in any genera-

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tion the number of men who can be their own bosses without making a mess of the job are few. Still, a democracy demands and ought to see to it that as many men as possible have such an opportunity. Many a man had rather be his own master with a very modest success — so modest that others might call him a failure — than to sacrifice his own individuality with a large financial gain. Mr. John Muir, the naturalist, said to Mr. E. H. Harriman when they first met:

"I am a richer man, Mr. Harriman, than you are."

"Yes?"

"For I have all the money I want, and you haven't."

Mr. Harriman died prematurely in the harness of great financial and industrial enterprises; and Mr. Muir, who was born earlier, still lives to wander through the forests of South America and Africa in his study of trees and to write a book about the Yosemite Valley that interprets it as few of the earth's wonderlands was ever interpreted.

Both these men were their own masters but with a difference.

Thus you may go on endlessly debating the passing of opportunity and never be quite sure whether it is really passing or only changing its forms. It is the most important question that can arise at any time in a democratic society, for it includes most of the political and social and economic subjects that we wrangle about. Perhaps the best that any man can do is to ask himself whether he is working out his own career for his own fullest development and for his best service to his fellows or is merely the slave of the accidental circumstances that placed him where be stands. Whether a man may be his own master yet depends mainly on the man. That much is certain.

If the range and kinds of opportunities that offer themselves in different parts of the country could be tabulated, it would most likely show that there is yet no lack of good chances in American life for young fellows who are made of the right stuff — the stuff that stands toil and is not impatient of steady progress.

A UNIVERSITY EXPOSITION

MR. CARL BECK, a graduate student of the University of Wisconsin, conceived the idea that a systematic study of the university would bring about a better inter-relation of its departments and thereby make the whole institution a more efficient servant of the people. The first step that he suggested should be taken toward such a study was a "university exposition" — a miniature "world's fair of learning" by which every department should reveal to every other department the scope and efficiency of its work.

The exposition was held and was an enthusiastic success. In only 15,000 feet of floor space its managers crowded 55 exhibits. Interest was stimulated by a festive investiture of electric lights and red and white bunting and music by the university band. The hum of motors and the sputter of wireless apparatus gave a pleasing air of excitement to the hall. Thousands of people paid 25 cents for admission and learned much of the wonders of modern science and education from the undergraduates who "demonstrated" and explained the exhibits they had prepared.

In the booth of the hydraulic engineers, for example, a miniature pump took water from a reservoir and forced it through pipes, meters, and mill wheels. The structural engineering department exhibited blue prints and tracings of all types of bridges; and reinforced concrete arches, dams, and retaining walls were made real by beautifully constructed models. Maps, profiles, and models in masonry, designed by students, illustrated the principles of railroad engineering. The mechanical engineering exhibit contained a working model of the battleship *Maine*, illustrating the method by which it was raised; and a complete model, several feet square, of a steam laboratory with all its engines and machinery. All the materials that are used in roads and pavements were on display, having been collected by students on inspection trips and from manufacturers. At the electrical engineering exhibit a complete

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wireless station sent messages for the crowd.

Powerful microscopes revealed the unseen workings of plant and animal cells, the mechanical basis of heredity in the division of the cells and their life histories as seen by botanists. In the medical school one might see his pulse actually draw a wavy line on a lamp-blacked cylinder, or see an artificial muscle illustrate the theory of muscular contraction. Models in wax showed the marvelous construction of the human nervous system and of the eye and the ear. Psychologists, with bright colored bits of woolen yarn, tested the visitors' color sense and, with other devices, their proneness to optical illusion. In the bacteriological exhibit tubes of leprosy culture were displayed, and plates containing the bacteria responsible for tuberculosis, lock-jaw, diphtheria, typhoid, hydrophobia, and cholera. A guinea pig posed as an example of the effects of pathological bacteria.

Another booth showed the work done in zoölogy. The forest products laboratory dealt with the work in wood and forest preservation by showing samples of treated and untreated materials.

The studies in journalism, Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek, the Classics, and German were appropriately represented by books, charts, and manuscripts that were explained by boys dressed in Oriental, and girls dressed in German, costume.

The agricultural exhibit included many growing things, from lambs to Percherons, and from newly sprouted seeds to whole corn-stalks. Plots several feet square of growing grains explained the actual process employed in producing pedigree types and the value of seed corn testing and of rotation. The poultry exhibit contained natural and artificial incubators and the newly invented electrobator. Chicks and ducklings chirped an accompaniment to the bleating of blooded sheep and the lowing of cattle. The cream of the state's animal aristocracy was there to preach the gospel of animal husbandry. In the dairy exhibit a "life size" model of a cheese showed by its different colored sections the relative production of the different states, Wisconsin leading with nearly half the total amount for the United States.

Live pigeons and mice illustrated the principles and laws of heredity. The economic entomology exhibit contained specimens of insects injurious and of insects beneficial to man, and the methods employed in exterminating the destructive kinds. Near by, attracting great crowds, was a model farmhouse and an "orchard" composed of geraniums. The house was made, complete, by the girls in the department of Domestic Science, aided by electricians, who supplied a porch-light and dotted the "orchard" with tiny electric bulbs to keep frost from the ten acre lot represented. Soils and fertilizer tests were exhibited; and living plants told of the diseases and fungi attacking field, forest, and orchard. A model farmhouse, with complete plumbing arrangements, and surrounded by a wire fence with concrete posts, demonstrated the possibilities of farm life improvement. And a power plant capable of running both washing machine and churns demonstrated that farming need not be all drudgery for men or women.

Here is a hint to those colleges that lack a hold on the large public about them, to make their case so plain and so picturesque that no one can be indifferent or doubtful of their benefits.

MEDICAL EDUCATION ABROAD

MR. ABRAHAM FLEXNER'S comprehensive report on "Medical Education in Europe," recently issued by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, suggests several points in which America may profitably copy European, and especially German, models: by making it easy for medical students and young doctors to gain access to public and private hospitals; by developing clinical specialists rather than leaving clinical instruction to be an incident for the spare moments of busy practitioners; and by simplifying the courses of medical instruction so that students may have more time to think broadly and deeply on the subjects that interest them, rather than continue to

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be forced to hurry, as they now do, from subject to subject in an effort to get a smattering of everything.

But perhaps the most significant matter in the report is Mr. Flexner's conclusion that the high average of medical knowledge in the profession in Germany is the direct result of rigorous insistence on an adequate education preliminary to entrance in the medical schools. Nine years of such preparation are invariably required. They are necessary for two reasons: first, because they make sure that the student will be grounded in physics and chemistry, and have acquired the habits of scientific thought; and second, because the classroom instruction is so highly specialized that a broad preliminary training is essential to keep the students from being narrowed by it.

This secondary preparation for the medical school goes to the root of one of the worst evils of American conditions. It is notorious that most of the medical schools in this country are below a respectable level of teaching efficiency. And they exist chiefly by the patronage of unprepared students — young men who have been too indolent to acquire the laborious groundwork of a solid education, or who are impatient to be quickly in the field gathering the financial rewards of practice.

For these last named, who think of their calling as a trade, the report holds out small comfort. "On the whole the profession is not financially prosperous." And rightly so, for in the nature of things the men who achieve the greatest results in the science of alleviation are those men who are called to it by high ideals of service and not by desire for gain. And right here the report offers a little sermon that should be thoughtfully considered: the popular theory that a doctor should charge a poor man for being healed and a rich man both for being healed and for being rich has worked a great injury to medical progress. This is especially true in America where, in the absence of state aid, advance in medical science and practice depends so largely upon the generosity of private philanthropists. For the rich man of whom the doctors take an unreasonable toll is thereby frequently hardened even to the most legitimate appeals for his financial aid in the endowment of hospitals and laboratories.

A final word of caution and exhortation to the common man gives the report value to a wider audience than the technically interested profession. Beware how you choose your family physician; require that he be a man of training and of character. Even by so little a thing as this every man may have his effect in raising the standards of the profession. And when you are ill and in a hospital, consent that the young doctor may examine you, under the direction of your own physician, for by that act you are advancing the teaching of medical practice by the most efficient of all methods, the method of hospital demonstration.

LENGTH OF DAYS

ELIE METCHNIKOFF, he who taught the world more about the blood and its method of doing its work than had ever been known before and who in general ranks as the foremost of biologists, has spent a good part of his later years — he is now 67 — in investigating the causes of old age and in trying to find a cure for them.

For though years are unavoidable, "old age" is a disease. The bodily conditions generally observed in the aged are pathological; the palpably old man is sick. What is his sickness? The answer is, Poison. Metchnikoff long ago located the seat of the trouble in the colon — which he regards as a useless, or worse than useless, member, like the vermiform appendix. Here flourish colonies of microbes whose interference bring about senile decay — hardening of the arteries, atrophy of the nerves, and the rest of it. Here are secreted the dangerous substances which Metchnikoff calls indols and phrenols.

For several years the head of the Pasteur Institute has recommended the habitual use of lactic acid as a destroyer of the intestinal enemies, and drinking of scientifically prepared soured milk has had a

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vogue around the world. He now announces the discovery of a remedy of greater efficiency. The aim of the lactic acid treatment was to carry sugar to the colon. This the sour milk treatment did to a moderate degree; the new specific, which Metchnikoff calls "glycobacteria," is a microbe which, so to speak, manufactures sugar on the spot where it is wanted. "Glycobacteria" was discovered by one of Metchnikoff's assistants in the intestines of dogs — modern science goes to strange places for its materia medica.

The Sunday Supplements will now be blossoming forth with highly colored articles entitled "The Secret of Eternal Youth Found at Last!" Yet, however fantastic may be the popular misrepresentation of the Paris savant's discovery, the sober fact is that scientific investigators are gravely seeking and are actually finding means by which human life may be prolonged. Already sanitation, improved surgery, and antisepsis, apart from all medicines, have appreciably prolonged the average span of existence. Now, biologists are hopefully occupied with the definite task of combating the particular causes of deteriorating bodily tissue, the task of curing, and of preventing, "old age." There is nothing far-fetched in the expectation that man's term of life may be materially lengthened.

"HUMANIZING" A DANGEROUS BUSINESS

ONE railroad system (by no means the largest in the United States) reduced its average of accidents in the sixteen months ending April 30, 1912, by 107 in the number of persons killed and by 3,996 in the number of persons injured.

How did the Chicago and North Western Railway do it? By "humanizing" the situation to its own men. The management appointed Mr. Ralph C. Richards to check the alarming and costly increase in deaths and injuries. He organized Safety Committees, on which the men who do the work in the yards or on the road have a majority over the executives whose orders they obey. These committees have been encouraged by every means to inspect the railroad property thoroughly, on company time, and to report all defects or conditions that tend toward accident.

Then Mr. Richards took every occasion to impress on the men the danger to their own lives that lies in the least carelessness. A printed slip, for example, is attached every month to every man's pay check, with such reminders on it as these:

Remember that it is better to cause delay than it is to cause an accident.

Better be careful than crippled.

Every time an employee is killed or injured it brings suffering and sorrow to himself and his family and necessitates the employing of an inexperienced man in his place, thereby increasing the risk of injury to all other employees.

Report men who are reckless and careless and disregard safety rules, not to harm them, but to help them and to prevent injury to themselves and others; it may be you who will suffer from their recklessness.

Other devices were used to remind the men of such facts as: that it was the men and not the stockholders or officers who were being killed and injured; that the men and their families benefited most by the prevention of accidents; that it took less time to prevent an accident than to report it; that the greatest risk a careful man runs is the carelessness of an indifferent fellow workmen.

The results of this policy are reflected most impressively in the following itemized table. An increase of two trackmen killed was recorded, and the number of bridgemen killed (three) was the same as the year before; but all other items showed decreases:

	DECREASE PER CENT.
27 fewer trainmen killed	53
1,940 fewer trainmen injured	44
10 fewer switchmen killed	41
146 fewer switchmen injured	17
3 fewer stationmen killed	50
148 fewer stationmen injured	16
1,044 fewer trackmen injured	43
261 fewer shop and R. H. men injured	15
1 fewer other employee killed	7
Total reduction of —	
45 fewer employees killed	31
3,708 fewer employees injured	32
9 fewer passengers killed	42
201 fewer passengers injured	17

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53 fewer other persons killed . . . 18
87 fewer other persons injured . . . 11
Total of 107 fewer persons killed . . . 23
Total of 3,996 fewer persons injured . . 29

During seven of these months no trainmen were killed.

This system, so full of promise, has now been adopted by the Pennsylvania; the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern; the Baltimore & Ohio; the Frisco System; the New York Central Lines; the Illinois Central, and other railroads. Altogether, it is as hopeful a sign of better protective management as recent days have afforded.

THE CARIBBEAN CAULDRON

THE "Platt Amendment" has been made law not only by the ratification of the treaty between the United States and Cuba, but by being formally incorporated among the statutes both of the United States and of Cuba. The right of the United States to intervene, when Cuba's government shows itself unable to protect life and property and to discharge its obligations, is unquestionable. Here it is:

The Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba.

A right is a thing which may or may not be availed of. Cuba may need us, without our needing Cuba. There is no doubt that the administration of the shameless José Miguel Gomez and his precious lieutenant, Orestes Ferarra, is incapable of preserving order and undesirous of discharging obligations; no doubt but we have the legal and moral right to intervene. Yet we may well hesitate before concluding that intervention must take the shape of occupation — for if we were to occupy again, it would almost certainly be a permanent occupation. That may be best; to that we may have to come, but there should be no haste to burden ourselves with another piece of tropical territory without a full realization of what the step means.

The Cuban situation, though troublesome of itself, is part of a problem far bigger — the problem of Latin America; in particular, of the little Central American and Island states which a member of the WORLD'S WORK staff describes in this number. It is a gigantic task of constructive statesmanship that awaits the hand of some genius able to resolve the Caribbean confusion into orderly civilization. The interest of the United States is vitally involved in the establishment of order and responsibility on the shores of the American Mediterranean, but order is not to be established by the pronunciation of some magic formula. "The Monroe Doctrine," for instance, is an element in the problem, not its solution. "Annexation" is not to be thought of. A "protectorate" means anything you want it to mean. "Federation" would only transform half a dozen big perplexities into one very much bigger problem. "Control of finances" might serve as a palliative, but hardly as a cure.

In short, not until the whole subject has been given the study and the discussion that it ought to have received long ago is any one in a position to make a suggestion worth while — and he will deserve to be hailed as a political genius who then can propose a happy solution.

MR. HARDY AND OUR HEADLINES

THOMAS HARDY is troubled over the state of literature, or rather of written language, the medium of literature. The prose style of English and American writers has gone bad, he charges; the taste of readers has become demoralized, and it is all the fault of American newspaper writers, especially of the writers of the headlines of our papers.

Mr. Hardy has been duly rebuked for daring to bring his railing accusation, and doubtless he deserves rebuke. True, the number of readers has vastly increased, of late, and a great volume of careless writing has been produced for them; hun-

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dreds of thousands have learned to read but have not yet learned to discriminate between good writing and bad, and, for the moment, critical standards being down, much hasty, slip-shod work, unworthy of toleration, fares as well at the hands of the multitude as does Mr. Hardy's finished, chaste, and lovely style. The ease with which the new armies of readers are satisfied has undoubtedly produced a corps of cheap writers. It would be going too far, however, to assert that there are not still some who maintain in their work the severe standard of the literary past.

But Mr. Hardy's indictment of American head-lines is a true bill. If ever there were a device calculated to destroy respect for words and bring the primary laws of sentence construction into contempt, the head-line is that device. What can a man refuse to do, what verbal crime will he abstain from, when he is forced to cram a summary of a column article into two lines of, say, sixteen letters and spaces, each? What can he do but give us:

EQUITABLE STEAM
A BERLIN MENACE

LEAD HALTS BLACK
HAND OPERATORS

3 NEAR DEATH
AUTO TURNS TURTLE

O'CALLAHAN OUSTED,
JENKINS DECLARES

T. R. BARS REGULAR
BAN ON TAFT MAN

BOWDOIN HONORS 6
BIGGEST JAM EVER

STRANGERS LEARN
WED 18 YEARS AGO

Headline English bars, bans, hits, flays, halts, wires, bolts, ousts, and does many other like brief and breezy feats, but it does them in season and out of season, grammatically or ungrammatically. Headline English is a language of little words which have consented to be tortured into availability for hundreds of situations for which they were not intended. It has an extremely limited vocabulary — at the present enriched by just two words which have a mysterious charm for the copy-reader, namely, "impact" and "menace." It has only one tense; it flouts all rules, and ignores all prepositions, articles, and adverbs. The headline writer is a person whose life study and labor is to squeeze as much of a narrative as possible into the exact number of characters that the width of a column requires. Otherwise no doubt a worthy member of society, the headline writer is by profession an assassin of English, an anarchist, and a corruptor of morals. Yet his work is more widely read than that of any other writer. It is printed in bold-face type in the most prominent positions. Few can hope to escape entirely the baneful effects of long and constant familiarity to which we are condemned with its mutilated, twisted, and ugly features.

Mr. Hardy himself could have no objection to the conciseness and vigor of some of the work of copy-readers: "Death Toll Forty Sea Yields Victims," "Old Maid of To-day Spiritual Mother of To-morrow," "Steak up Two Cents, Sheep and Hams Rise," — these are complete and satisfactory. But what could he make of "Bars Work Will Action," "Coney Lid Off." "Stuffy Does It Twice," or "Sox Halt Senators."

The proper use of language is not to propose conundrums, nor to show off smartness. Brevity is an excellent attribute, but clear meaning is another. Prepositions are a part of language without which it is likely to lose all definiteness — especially is this the case with undeclined English.

No period ever stood more in need of writers with the power of clear statement. The world is in the midst of great movements, social, political, scientific. Concerning them, there is no end of muddle-headed, slip-shod writing; how little clean, sharp exposition! No language ever existed that could speak the new thoughts, tell the new story, more accurately, clearly, and powerfully than English. Yet how it is slaughtered; of how small a part of its resources is advantage taken!

The headline, as we know it, is an influence adverse to good writing.

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BLUNDERING INTO BUSINESS

ONE of the most usual errors in putting money away is to buy into a business risk without knowing it. A few months ago, a man who inherited $20,000 in 1905 told me a story to illustrate this point.

In 1908, he went out West. In Washington he met a man who owned extensive timber holdings in British Columbia. The one imperative need of this man was capital. He talked about lumber as the one sure road to wealth, if only he could get enough ready money together to build a mill and begin to turn his standing timber into marketable lumber.

The upshot of this chance meeting was that the Ohio man put all his money into the stock of a new lumber company. It was a very favorable bargain, perfectly honest on both sides. No cash was wasted. The business began in a legitimate way. It paid from the start. In 1909, it paid 20 per cent. on the money invested, and in 1910 and 1911 25 per cent. The investor congratulated himself on the use of his money.

Last winter, however, letters began to complain of the restricted working capital. A good line of credit at the bank was open, but the restricted method of doing business did not suit the Washington man. He wanted more capital. He wanted to expand the credit of the company. The investor did not know just what to say. He saw that more money was needed; but he could not put up any more himself. The alternative was easier and, he figured, perfectly safe. Yielding to the request of his partner, he agreed to sign his name to notes of the company, and so do what he could to expand the credit and the working balance of the concern. This done, he sat down to await the larger dividends he felt certain would come.

Only a few weeks later came the thunderclap. A terse telegram informed him that a great lumber concern had failed, and that the Canadian banks were curtailing credit on that class of enterprise, and asking that debts be paid.

"We must have a hundred thousand dollars by Saturday," was the conclusion.

Then, only, did the would-be investor realize that he was in business. He rose to the occasion. He took his whole correspondence on the matter, from the very beginning, down to Cincinnati, to a business man whom he had known for years. He threshed it out for two days. On Friday, he wired to Seattle, placing funds at the disposal of the company to meet its crisis. In the process, however, of getting that money, he had handed over control of the whole concern to other men. He had learned that he who borrows under fire pays for what he gets.

This experience has not turned out unhappily. It is told here merely to illustrate how a man seeking the peace and security of a sound and careful investment may blunder into business, with its worries and its joys.

Unfortunately the man most likely to be lured into a business venture when what he really wants is an investment is the very small and innocent investor. The promoter and the speculative broker count upon the fact that the average small saver of money does not know the difference between investment and business and they lead him into dangerous business risks under the guise of investment securities. Speaking generally, all mining promotion stock and bonds represent not established investment opportunities but business risks of an extreme type. The only mining security that remotely resembles an investment issue is that made by established mining property managed by reliable and experienced people, and having an established record for dividend payment, for production, and for consistent depreciation charges. Not more than one in three hundred of the mining securities offered to the public possesses these characteristics.

In the railroad field there are plenty of

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investment opportunities, but there are also plenty of business risks. Any stock or bond that represents a railroad property under construction, without established earning capacity and without established traffic, should be bought only on the full understanding that it is a partnership in a business enterprise rather than a sound and established investment security.

In the industrial field an even larger percentage of the public offerings has the character of business risks rather than of investment securities. A new industrial security is particularly apt to be a speculative business proposition. Many industries, no matter how well established they may seem, can never be conservatively classed as investment propositions. This is particularly true of companies that manufacture products representing an invention or a machine, because they may be superseded at any time by new inventions or new machines; and industries that represent products sold to the public by means of a heavy advertising appropriation. There are, of course, some exceptions to this rule, but they are companies that have been in business for a long time, whose products have become staple articles of merchandise, and whose good-will is extremely solid and almost beyond the reach of competition.

The most alluring of all forms of security is the construction issue; that is, the issue of stocks or bonds put out to build some new railroad, to open some new mining property, to establish some new industry, or to float some new invention. It is here also that the greatest risks may be found. Even the wisest and shrewdest of American business men cannot foretell with any accuracy how such an investment will turn out. Every year our great financiers, pushing forward big construction enterprises, trip over unlucky incidents and lose large amounts of money in business ventures of this sort.

The late David H. Moffat of Denver, trying to build a new line of railroad from Denver to Salt Lake, encountered the panic of 1907 and practically lost at one stroke the fortune that he had taken a life-time to build up. The late E. H. Harriman blundered into an even more obvious speculation in a big copper company of the Southwest. He found himself so much involved that at one time he contemplated making a fight for control of the company. From all accounts he lost a substantial sum of money as a result of this little business venture. Mr. Morgan's house stepped into a similar loss in the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton. Their venture into this property was probably not entirely voluntary; but no matter what the cause, the fact seems to be that they went into this road at a good price and got out of it at a good loss.

Similarly, this same firm has been identified from its beginning with the International Mercantile Marine, and some of its partners were probably involved in the American Ship Building Company fiasco of 1902. A few years ago, the Guggenheims blundered into an adventure in the Cobalt field and got out of it, it was reported at the time, at a substantial loss of money and at a great inconvenience besides. The late H. H. Rogers, as shrewd a financier as the United States has produced, became ambitious to build a new railroad from the coal fields of West Virginia to tidewater. Before he finished that task he had been obliged to pledge a large amount of his personal fortune to Wall Street and had gone through a strain that probably helped to break down his constitution and to kill him.

If you analyze such instances as these, you will discover that in some cases apparently level-headed business men put all, or very nearly all, their private fortunes into a single venture, and stood to win another gigantic fortune or to lose practically the entire fortune that they already had. The result is sometimes complete ruin, as in the case of Mr. Moffat. On the other hand, when such men as Mr. Harriman, or such firms as the House of Morgan, have been found in losing ventures, it invariably turns out that only a small proportion of their wealth is involved in the venture, and they write off their losses without much trouble.

Unhappily, the smaller the investor and the more difficult his accumulation of money, the more likely he is to risk it all on a single chance.

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THE BUILDER OF THE CANAL

COL. GEORGE WASHINGTON GOETHALS, THE BENEVOLENT DESPOT OF PANAMA, UNDER WHOSE ABSOLUTE RULE THE GREATEST ENGINEERING FEAT IN HISTORY HAS BEEN SWIFTLY AND SMOOTHLY DONE

BY

FARNHAM BISHOP

"I EXPLAIN it in one word: Colonel Goethals!" So replied Madam —— to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, when that most venerable and sceptical of American historians asked her to explain, as one born to the Isthmus, the difference between the Panama of ten years ago and that of to-day. And though at first inclined to regard the lady's ready reply, "conveyed quite as much through the movements of the hands as by the mouth," as a dining-room epigram rather than as a careful statement of historic fact, Mr. Adams became more and more impressed with its literal exactness, as he made his own painstaking investigations in the Canal Zone. Taking it for his text, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Adams declared:

I think Madam —— was right. Her female instinct guided her straight to the central fact. It is so in Panama. The individuality and character of Colonel Goethals to-day permeate, and permeate visibly, the entire Zone; unconsciously on his part, unconsciously on the part of others, his influence is pervasive. Nor, in expressing this opinion of Colonel Goethals, do I for a moment wish to depreciate, much less to ignore, the zeal and fidelity shown by the heads of departments in the present Canal organization. Gorgas, Hodges, Gaillard, Devol, Rousseau, Bishop, one and all, so far as my brief stay afforded me opportunities of reaching an opinion, were stamped by the same die. Of some, of course, I saw but little; others I did not meet at all; but indications of the influence of Goethals were, I thought, perceptible everywhere. Quiet, reserved, unassuming, known to everyone engaged on the work, but noticed, as he quietly moved around, by no one, he gave the impression of conscious because innate but unobtrusive force. He was a natural diplomat as well as an educated engineer; and, whether dealing with labor conditions or Latin-American officials and races, the Panama situation of to-day stands in quite as much need of a skilful diplomat as of a trained engineer.

If such be the case, then the local demand for diplomacy must be great indeed. But though the Chief Engineer were to combine the wiles of Machiavelli with the virtues of Mr. Bryce, it would seem as if he had more than enough engineering on hand to keep him from exercising them. He has to dig a deep artificial cañon nine miles long; and build a dozen huge locks, each containing more solid concrete than there is stone in the great Pyramid of Cheops. In these locks must be erected forty-seven pairs of steel gates, each as tall and as broad as a six-story office building; and to move the elaborate machinery that will open and close these gates and tow ships through the locks, the Chagres River has been turned into the concrete-lined spillway of the Gatun Dam, where it will drive, with all the force of its once-dreaded floods, the turbines of the electric power-plant. The United States Government has increased the width of the locks, originally 95 feet, to 110, and their length from 950 to 1,000 feet; has added half as much again to the 200-foot channel through the cut, and has ordered $14,000,000 worth of fortifications — all to be done without delay or an increase of force. Instead of throwing up his hands in despair at these huge additions to his task, Colonel Goethals welcomed them as needed improvements. And when someone asked him whether these things and the 18,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock brought into the cut by slides would delay the opening of the canal until after January 1, 1915, the Colonel replied:

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"Some day in September, 1913, I expect to go over to Colon and take the Panama Railroad steamer that happens to be at the dock there and put her through the canal. If we get all the way across, I'll give it out to the newspapers; and if we don't, I'll keep quiet about it."

This failed to satisfy one visitor, who, after entering the Chairman's modest office with great pomp and circumstance, delivered the following oration in a voice that was distinctly heard at Bas Obispo, in spite of the noon blasting in the cut:

"Colonel Goethals, my office in Washington is, as you probably know, the centre of the diplomatic life of the capital. All the diplomats come there almost daily, and they constantly say to me, 'You know the canal will never be finished; the slides and-ah, this and that will prevent it from ever being used.' Now Colonel, what would you advise me to say to them?"

With a twinkle in his eye, and the ready smile they know so well on the Isthmus, the Colonel replied instantly,

"I wouldn't say anything."

NIPPING A "SPICKETY" REVOLUTION

Colonel Goethals has much diplomatic work constantly thrust upon him. Panama City is the capital of a free and independent republic and our Government maintains there a legation of the first class. The native officials and politicians, however, persist in taking their troubles to the chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, who is also the Governor of the Canal Zone, instead of to the American minister. This is a Presidential year in Panama as well as in the United States, and early in the spring the representatives of each party came running to Colonel Goethals to warn him that the wicked men on the other side were trying to stir up riot and revolution. The Colonel smiled on them paternally.

"Well, if there should be any disturbance, you know we have a regiment here."

"Oh, no, no, no, Señor Gobernador! It will not come to *that!*"

Colonel Goethals and the commander of that regiment were presently made the members of a committee, under the chairmanship of the American minister, to supervise the registration and voting. "Before the Americans came," the head of the Liberals assured me, "it was not the man who had the most votes who was elected. It was the man who had the most rifles and machetes." Refereeing a Presidential campaign and teaching Central Americans to vote with ballots instead of banana-knives are among the interesting minor duties of the Chief Engineer.

A far more serious affair than any number of Spickety revolutions was the threatened strike of the American railroad men in 1911. Every shovelful of dirt that comes out of the cut is hauled, on the average, ten miles by rail before it is finally disposed of. An elaborate network of tracks (the skilful arrangement of which is a monument to the practical knowledge of railroading possessed by Colonel Goethals's predecessor, Mr. John F. Stevens), hundreds of locomotives, and thousands of cars are required that the dirt may be carried away as fast as the big steam-shovels can dig it. Then there is the Panama Railroad, with its heavy passenger and commercial freight traffic, which must not be interrupted, though the line is being changed from a double track running through the rapidly filling bed of Gatun Lake to the new permanent single track on higher ground. Finally there are the labor trains, that are kept as busy carrying the men back and forth from their work to their quarters as the traction system of a small city. Without railroads, work on the canal would be confined to dredging at the two entrances.

One dark night in August, 1910, an engineer whom we may call Jones heard two torpedoes explode under his locomotive but, instead of stopping, kept on and crashed into the rear of a freight train, killing the conductor. Jones was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter by the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone and was sentenced to one year in the penitentiary. At a somewhat excited mass-meeting of engineers and trainmen, it was resolved that unless Jones was immediately released they would resign and return to the United States, where they could "enjoy the protection of the Con-

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stitution, a jury trial, tranquility, and the pursuit of happiness."

Colonel Goethals was then on his way back from a visit to Washington, and the acting chairman persuaded the men to postpone action until he reached the Isthmus. He arrived on a Thursday and, unless Jones was released by six o'clock Friday afternoon, the men were to walk out Saturday morning. About half past seven Friday evening, a member of the union called the Colonel up on the telephone and asked for his decision. He got it.

"Call up the penitentiary and they'll tell you my decision. Jones is still there; and every man that fails to report at seven to-morrow morning goes out of the service."

There was no walk-out Saturday morning. At a ball game the next week, the man who had telephoned came up to bat and a voice from the bleachers yelled:

"Hello, Bill! You here? Thought you and the rest were goin' up North to live under the Con-sti-too-tion!"

Bill struck out.

LIKED BY EVERYBODY

Do the free-born American citizens in the Canal Zone actually "enjoy" this stern military despotism more than "the protection of the Constitution, a jury trial, tranquility, and the pursuit of happiness?" They certainly behaved as if they did on a certain occasion when a very distinguished visitor came to the Isthmus and the Colonel stepped forward, as chairman of the mass-meeting that had been called in the visitor's honor, to introduce him. A large majority of the five or six thousand American employees had crowded into the old machine-shop that had been cleared and decorated for the meeting and, at the sight of that familiar white figure standing at the edge of the platform, they exploded like a stampeded National Convention. It was fully five minutes before the cheering stopped and the Colonel was able to introduce the speaker of the evening. The very distinguished visitor arose and was received with a little polite hand-clapping.

Colonel Goethals is a fighter and he will fight a trust as readily as he will fight a labor union. Whole cargoes of tainted meat have been shipped back by the Commissary, because the Beef Trust's goods were not up to sample. Thousands of square yards of screening were condemned and left unpaid for, as soon as it was discovered that the Copper Trust had put in so much iron that they were rapidly falling to pieces with rust. Colonel Goethals is determined that no contractors shall become rich by supplying the Panama Canal with rotten food and shoddy material, as so many did in the days of the De Lesseps Company.

"THE SQUAREST BOSS"

"He's the squarest boss I ever worked for," said a gray-headed member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as we sat on the platform at Culebra station and listened to the hymns the Jamaican Negroes were shouting in the red and black tin chapel across the tracks. "And I've worked for 'em all, from Jim Hill to a bunch of Spicketies in Guatemala. I've been at it twenty-five years, and I've never seen better railroading than they've got right here on the Isthmus."

The man in the cab speaks that way of the President of the Panama Railroad; the Republic of Panama is glad to be nursed by the Governor of the Canal Zone; and Congressmen have almost ceased asking the Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission unimportant questions in an important manner, because, as one M. C. plaintively declared, the Colonel, though invariably courteous, "always makes us feel like a lot of darned fools."

The most absolute despot in the world, he can command the removal of a mountain from the landscape, or of a man from his dominions, or of a saltcellar from that man's table. As an engineer, he could earn a millionaire's income whenever he chose to go into private employ. As a judge, he is spoken of with Solomon and Daniel and Haroun al Raschid. He has received honorary degrees from Harvard and Yale and Columbia and he has been invited to lunch by the Emperor of Germany (where, instead of kissing the hand of the Empress,

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he innocently shook it). Distinguished foreign visitors have assured him that in their countries such work as his would be rewarded by a title of nobility and high rank in the army. Even the praise-grudging American admits that "about the only thing you can say against that man Goethals is that he is handing down a mighty tough name for posterity to pronounce." Success and fame and power are his; and yet, when discussing the remote possibility of a revolutionary outbreak in Panama City, he sighed wistfully and said, "The 10th Infantry would be sent in to put it down — and I couldn't march in at the head of them."

For no amount of success as an engineer and administrator can quite compensate this true West Pointer for the loss of his own chosen trade of war. Though he has under his command an army of forty thousand men, with all the efficiency of the German army and none of its stiffness, and a love for their leader like that of the Old Guard for the Little Corporal, still he cannot help envying the youngest "shavetail" who ever led a half-company in pursuit of a gang of Moro outlaws. For he has never seen active service. Entering West Point in 1876 on the appointment of the then famous "Sunset" Cox, Colonel Goethals has spent all the thirty-two years since his graduation in building irrigation works in the West and coast-fortifications in the East, as instructor in engineering at the Military Academy, as Chief Engineer of the First Army Corps during the War with Spain, and as Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission. Surely this has been better service for a man of his brain-power than endlessly shouting, "Squads right! Squads left!" on a dusty parade ground, or doing dare-devil police work in Mindanao. He is changing the whole map of the world: a change that promises to be far more permanent and profound than any brought about by a mere conqueror. And yet Colonel Goethals cannot help an almost boyish feeling of discontent because, while his classmates and a whole generation of younger men, to say nothing of untrained civilians like Wood and Funston and Roosevelt, have had their chances to lead charges and win hard-fought actions, he has been a mere peace-soldier,

> Who never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knew.

A SOLDIER WITHOUT A UNIFORM

He has not worn his uniform since he came to Panama in 1907 (and when he does take it out of moth-balls at the end of the job he will not have to let out the sword-belt by a single hole). They waste very little time on the Isthmus changing uniforms and turning out the guard. All the military smartness you will find there, outside the camps of the Marines and the 10th Infantry, is the exclusive property of the Zone Police. The trooper's right hand flies up to salute a white-haired man in baggy duck trousers, a black alpaca coat, an an ugly little straw hat—and you realize that the latter is the more soldierly figure of the two. In spite of civilian clothes and more than thirty years' absence from drill, Colonel Goethals is no shapeless desk-chair warrior, but a man to inspire the words of Bret Harte's priest:

> Now, by the firm grip of the hand on the bridle,
> By the straight line from the heel to the shoulder
> By the curt speech — nay, nay, no offence, son,
> You are a soldier.

The only misleading thing about that quotation is the first line, for, though the Colonel keeps an exceedingly firm "hand on the bridle" of the whole canal organization, no one ever sees him in a McClellan saddle. His trusty steed is a swift and comfortable motor-car mounted on flanged wheels and looking more like a taxicab gone railroading than anything else in the world. It is painted the regulation bilious yellow of Panama Railroad passenger coaches, and you can scare a shirker out of a wet-season's growth by yelling, "Here comes the Yellow Peril!" But as likely as not the "Yellow Peril" (also known as the "Brain Wagon") is running empty, because the Colonel has dropped off to take a short-cut to a steam shovel or a bunch of compressed-air drills, or a new drainage ditch, or something else that has interested him. Presently he will come along perched on top

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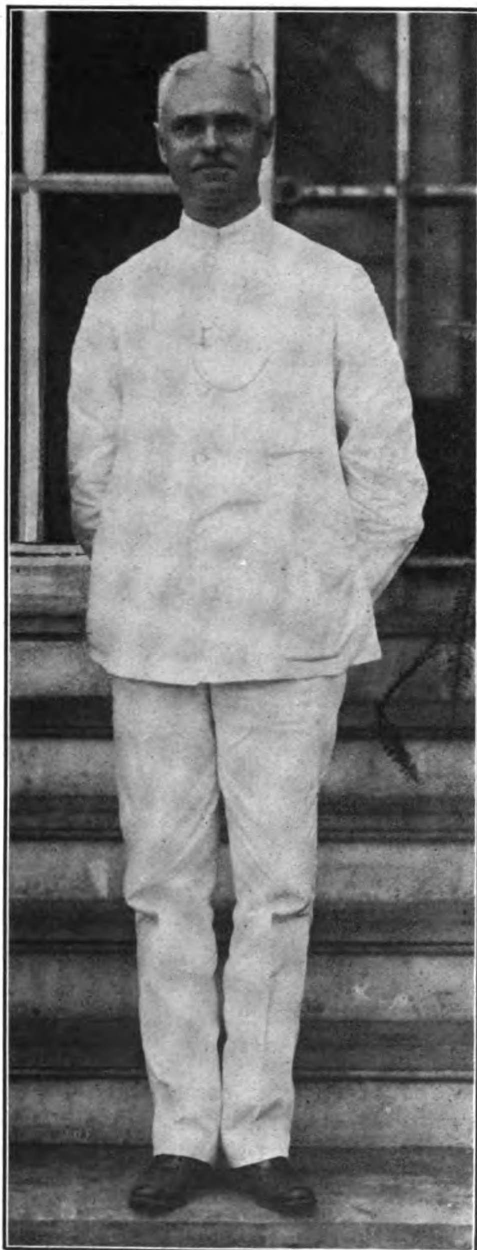
of a loaded dirt-train ("dirt" means anything from mud to 10-ton lumps of trap); or walking at a good, swinging pace over rough construction tracks and slippery fragments of splintered rock. A morning



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COL. G. W. GOETHALS

THE EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE GENIUS OF THE PANAMA CANAL, FROM WHOSE DECISION ON ANY QUESTION FORTY THOUSAND PEOPLE IN THE CANAL ZONE CAN APPEAL ONLY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

WHEN HE BECAME A D.S.

A SNAPSHOT OF COLONEL GOETHALS, MADE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY JUNE 5TH, WHEN HE RECEIVED AN HONORARY DEGREE

stroll with Colonel Goethals in the Culebra Cut is fully equal to a walk with Colonel Roosevelt in Rock Creek Park.

There are ninety-nine busy steam shovels on the Isthmus and one idle one, and the Colonel would rejoice more over putting that one to work than over the ninety-and-nine that are safe in the fold. That idle steam shovel is standing back of Sosa Hill, near Balboa, at the Pacific entrance of the canal, ready to dig the great dry dock that is to be built there — when Congress gives the word. The rising waters of Gatun Lake are fast backing up to the machine shops at Gorgona, which cannot be removed to their permanent site near the dry-dock until Congress gets through playing Presidential year politics. The construction force is rapidly breaking up, but the operating force cannot be organized; and hundreds of trained men, as eager to stay with their chief as he is sorry to lose them, have had to go North.

In the meantime, a few concrete wharves are being built at Balboa; and, at the other

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end of the canal, the beautiful avenue of palms that used to fringe the water-front of Cristobal is being left far inland, as an elaborate system of docks is being pushed out into Limon Bay. Eight powerful electric cranes have been ordered to handle freight at Balboa, where hundreds of acres of land have been made by filling in swamps and tidal flats with earth and rock from the Cut. When this land is finally covered with docks and warehouses, it should bring in a very pretty rental to the United States Government, which owns every inch of it. Here at Balboa, Colonel Goethals plans to concentrate all the equipment of the present Commissary and Quartermaster's Departments: a cold-storage plant that can freeze a thousand carcasses of beef or a thousand gallons of ice-cream; a bakery equipped with automatic bread, pie, and cake machines; a completely-stocked general store; and a laundry that could receive an in-coming ship's linen and deliver it to her by the Panama Railroad before she reached the other end of the Canal. The Government would then, with its dry-docks and machine-shops, with its own coal-bunkers and lighters, and with the handy tanks and pipe-line of the Union Oil Company of California, be able to supply any ship that passed through the Canal with anything from a seabiscuit to a new propeller shaft. And some day this peaceful, profitable trade might save us more than could be counted in time or dollars, when a fleet of transports came through with empty bunkers, or a battered dreadnought limped into Balboa shipyards, to be sent back to the fighting line.

THE LIGHTER SIDE OF LIFE IN THE CANAL ZONE
EMPLOYEES PLAYING BASEBALL ON A HOLIDAY UNDER THE PALMS

Colonel Goethals is thinking of all those things — but most of all of that idle steam-shovel behind Sosa Hill.

The operating force (about 2,500 men with their wives and families) will live at Balboa in a model town to be built entirely of reinforced cement. Here also will be barracks for a battalion of marines, who

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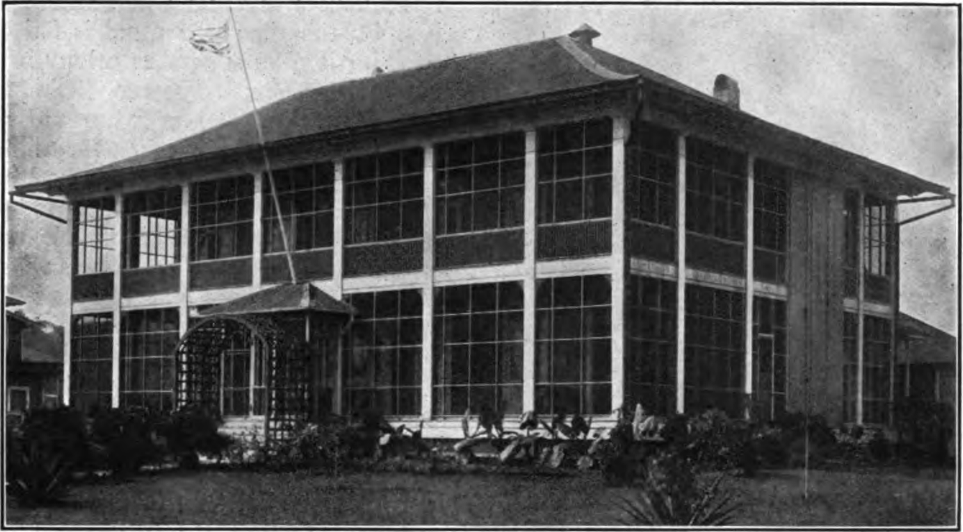

COLONEL GOETHALS'S RESIDENCE AT PANAMA

may be needed to keep drunken stevedores and sailors from breaking up the toy police force of Panama City. The main body of the garrison which the War Department wishes to keep permanently on the Isthmus, two brigades of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a battalion of field artillery, besides enough coast artillerymen to man

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THE MOSQUITO-PROOF QUARTERS OF THE ENGINEERS

SECRETARY KNOX AND PARTY (FOREGROUND) VISITING THE CANAL ZONE ON THEIR CARIBBEAN TOUR

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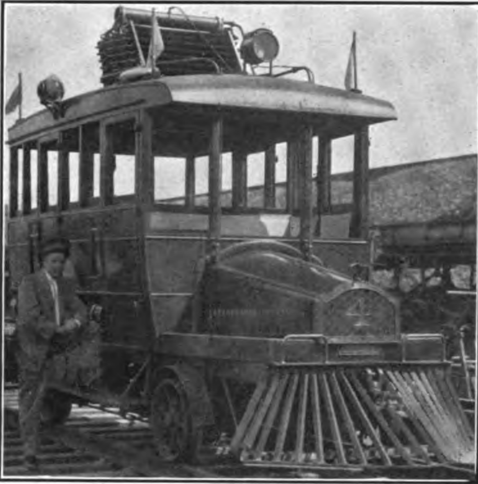


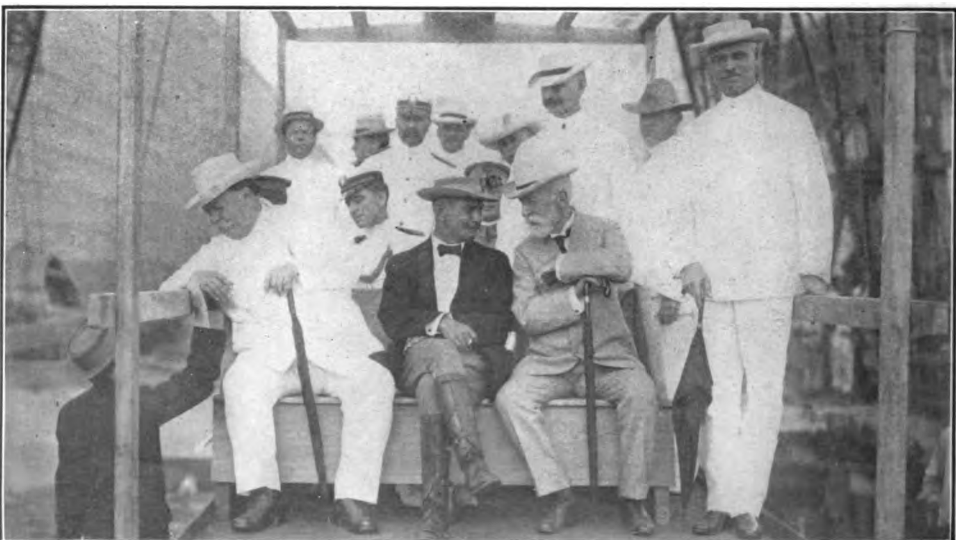
"THE BRAIN WAGON"

COLONEL GOETHALS'S RAILROAD MOTOR CAR, ALSO KNOWN AS THE "YELLOW PERIL" TO THE EMPLOYEES ON THE CANAL

the heavy fortifications on either side, will be quartered at a place just across the canal from the present town of Culebra. Ten years from now, the empty concrete shell of the unfinished Catholic church may serve to point out to the tourist the site of Old Culebra, as the gaunt stone tower of San Jerome does that of Old Panama. Colonel Goethals says:

"All our present towns are mere temporary construction camps, and practically all the houses in them will be falling to pieces by the time the canal is finished. As for settling an American colony in the Canal Zone, there will be very little farming land left outside of what must be covered by the lake or taken for military purposes; and the best of that is already held by native and Chinese market-gardeners, with whom our people could not hope to compete. Americans wishing to buy farms in Panama will find more room and better land in the Province of Chiriqui. The Canal Zone should be made a military reservation, like Sandy Hook. Our primary purpose in building the canal was not commercial but military: to make sure that no battleship of ours would ever have to sail round South America, as the *Oregon* did, in time of war."

Colonel Goethals naturally prefers the sort of tolls that would bring the greatest volume of business to the canal, that would enable it to pay the largest direct revenue to the Government. He favors a toll slightly lower than that of Suez, and absolutely uniform, regardless of flag or owner, except to American ships plying between our coast ports, if that trade is kept closed to foreign vessels. His idea of the way to keep down freight rates is beautifully simple, but imagine the angry protests that would go up from every



SHOWING THE PRESIDENT THE CANAL

BEHIND, IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES, THE PRINCIPAL ENGINEERING ASSISTANTS TO COLONEL GOETHALS

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American railroad and shipowner if it were put into effect:

"The determining factor in all rates is the tramp ship. Any attempt to raise rates unduly could easily be upset by the Government's chartering a number of tramps and running them as public freighters between the ports affected until the rates came down. This would be more economical than the proposed plan of turning the existing Panama Railroad Steamship Line into a permanent Government-owned line between Atlantic and Pacific ports. Such a line would probably not pay, and should not be made a charge on the canal."

When I asked his opinion of the scheme to use the Panama Railroad and Canal equipment, after it is no longer needed on the Isthmus, for building Government railroads in Alaska, Colonel Goethals replied:

"Its advisability must be determined by two things: the cost of transfer and the character of the roads to be built. If what are contemplated are comparatively short, isolated lines running from the coast to the coal-fields, then our 5-foot gauge equipment would probably do well enough. But if the Government is going in for railroad building there on a large scale, there would be no economy in anything but new and standard gauge equipment. As for transferring the organization from Panama to Alaska, there will be none left to transfer."

THE SPILLWAY

IT WILL CARRY OFF THE EXCESS WATER FROM GATUN LAKE WHEN THE CANAL IS IN OPERATION

The place to see Colonel Goethals at his best is from a certain chair in his private office at Culebra, between eight and eleven on Sunday morning. Here, at a flat-topped desk and with a tin of cigarettes before him, the Colonel sits in most informal state, and every man or woman who has a grievance can come and state it to the Man at the Top. From his decisions there is no appeal, except to the President of the United States. M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, after witnessing one of these Sunday morning interviews, compared it to St. Louis's court of justice beneath the oak at Vincennes.

In quick succession the cases pass through. A Colon banker wants the privilege of handling ships' drafts for

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canal tolls, and is referred to the Treasury Department. An engineer's wife wants a "Type 17" house in Corozal, because the baby cánnot stand a flat. Couldn't the Colonel see the district quartermaster about it, before they go up on leave, Tuesday? The Colonel promises. If the Spanish War Veterans get free transportation on the special train, Memorial

A LIGHTHOUSE IN THE JUNGLE

ONE OF THE CURIOSITIES OF THE CONSTRUCTION WORK IS THE ERECTION OF LIGHTHOUSES THAT ARE NOW IN THE DENSE FOREST BUT THAT WILL STAND ON THE EDGE OF GATUN LAKE WHEN GATUN DAM IS CLOSED

Day, are the Kangaroos, who are employees, to be crowded out by the 10th Infantry, who are not? Let a committee of all the fraternal orders appear next Sunday to talk it over. When a man has been brought down from the States as a locomotive hostler, but has got a run the day he hit the Isthmus, why hasn't he drawn an engineer's pay for the first month? He shall get it, if the records of the Division Office bear him out. A man's brother has been terribly injured by the relocation of the Panama Railroad, but has been told that he cannot sue for damages, because that work is being done by the Isthmian Canal Commission, which is the United States Government. The Colonel will report favorably on it if their Congressman will introduce a special bill — the only remedy. The best nurse in Colon Hospital has resigned after a tiff with the head-nurse, and the doctors want her back. Can the Colonel get her to apologize for the sake of discipline? He'll try.

No matter how sudden the change of subject, the Colonel always seems to know the rules of a man's division, or shop, or union, by heart. He never has to look them up in a pamphlet; though the touch of a button will bring it, together with the written record of any man in the service. And almost invariably he winds up the interview with a good, hearty laugh, in which the visitor joins. Even the little gray-haired woman who begged for protection from a drunken husband, "He knows he mustn't hurt me, Colonel, since you wrote him that letter, but he's got into a fuss with another woman now," ceased sobbing and went out almost smiling when the Colonel said, "I'll speak to him."

For that office is famous also for interviews of another sort, that do not end in laughter. One stalwart Westerner, who distinguished himself at San Juan Hill but neglected his work on the Isthmus, collapsed into a chair when he reached the outer office and after five minutes said tremulously, "I guess my knees will hold me up now." A man who had been caught in an intrigue with another man's wife was told curtly to take his annual leave at once and resign as soon as it expired. When he furiously demanded an explanation, Colonel Goethals said simply,

"Mrs. —— was sent up on the ship before you."

The man took his hat and left without a word.

The last visitor of the morning is Big Bill Morrison, the Socialist blacksmith from Gorgona, and he comes, not with a

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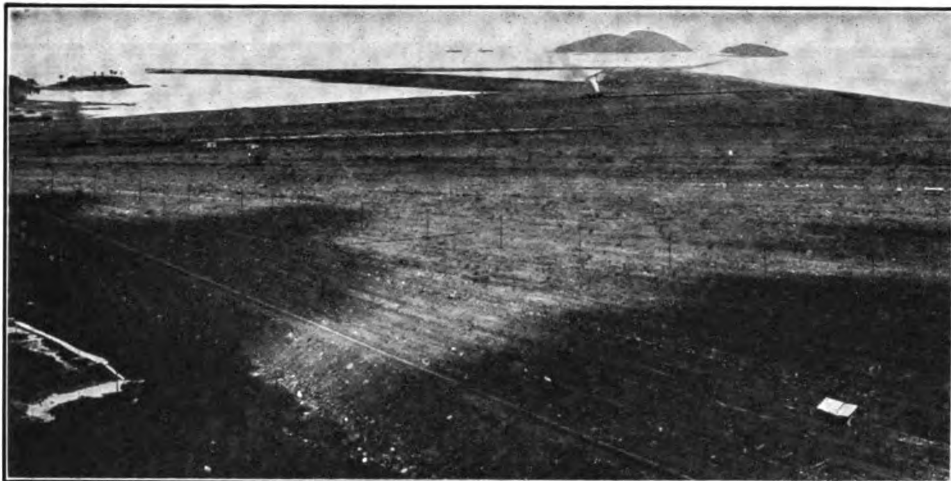

WHERE THE DIRT GOES TO

THE EXCAVATION OF CULEBRA CUT IS UTILIZED TO MAKE LAND AND A BREAKWATER AT NAOS ISLAND AT THE SOUTH END OF THE CANAL TO ENCLOSE THE FUTURE HARBOR OF BALBOA. ALL DIRT IS HAULED TEN MILES, ON AN AVERAGE, TO BE DUMPED

WHERE THE DIRT COMES FROM

CULEBRA (SNAKE) CUT, THE EXCAVATION OF WHICH HAS BEEN THE MOST LABORIOUS PART OF THE WORK OF DIGGING THE CANAL, INVOLVING THE OPENING OF A CHANNEL 300 FEET WIDE AND 9 MILES LONG, THROUGH HIGH HILLS

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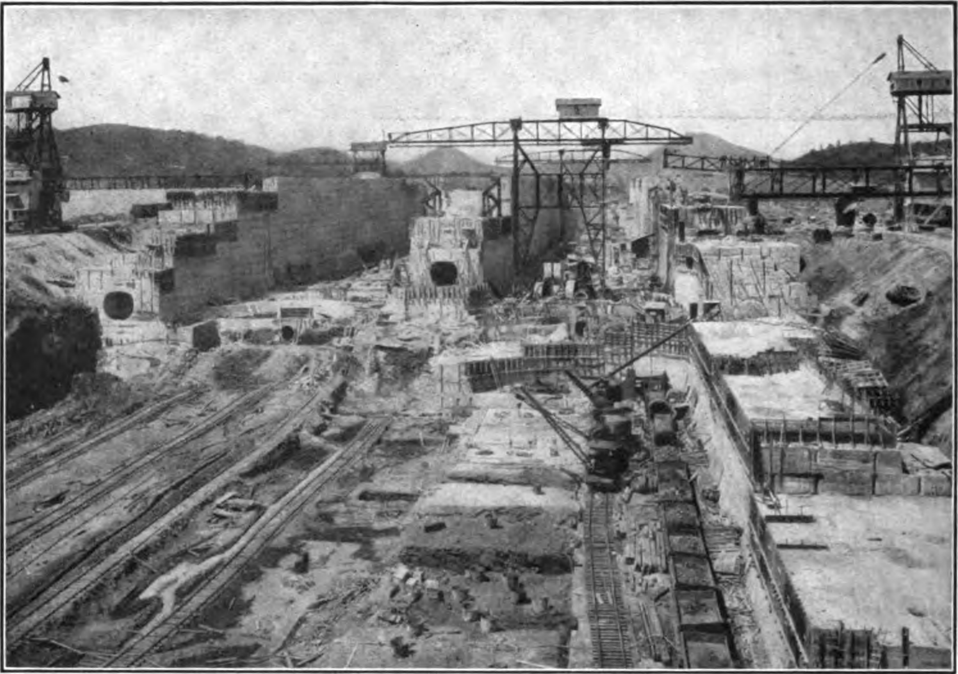
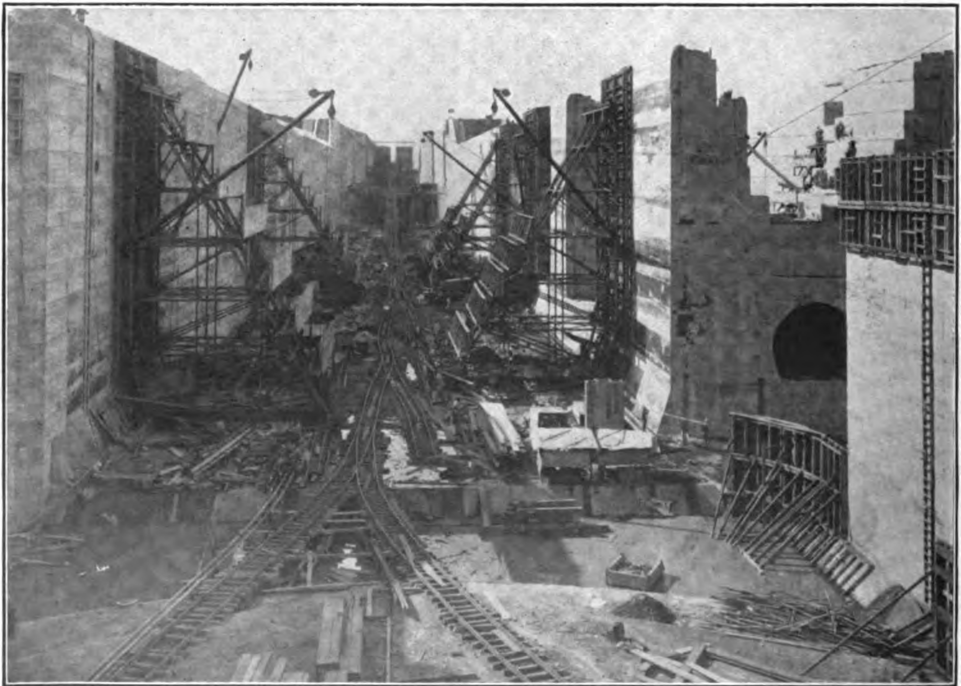


THE UPPER LOCKS AT MIRAFLORES

SHOWING BY COMPARISON WITH THE MEN IN THE MIDDLE FOREGROUND, THE PRODIGIOUS SIZE OF THE CONCRETE CONSTRUCTION; ALSO THE GREAT CULVERTS FOR FILLING AND EMPTYING THE LOCKS



LOOKING UP THROUGH THE GATUN LOCKS

SHOWING THE THREE GREAT CHAMBERS, EACH 110 FEET WIDE AND 1,000 FEET LONG, WHICH WILL BE SEPARATED BY GIGANTIC STEEL GATES AND BY WHICH BOATS WILL BE RAISED TO GATUN LAKE

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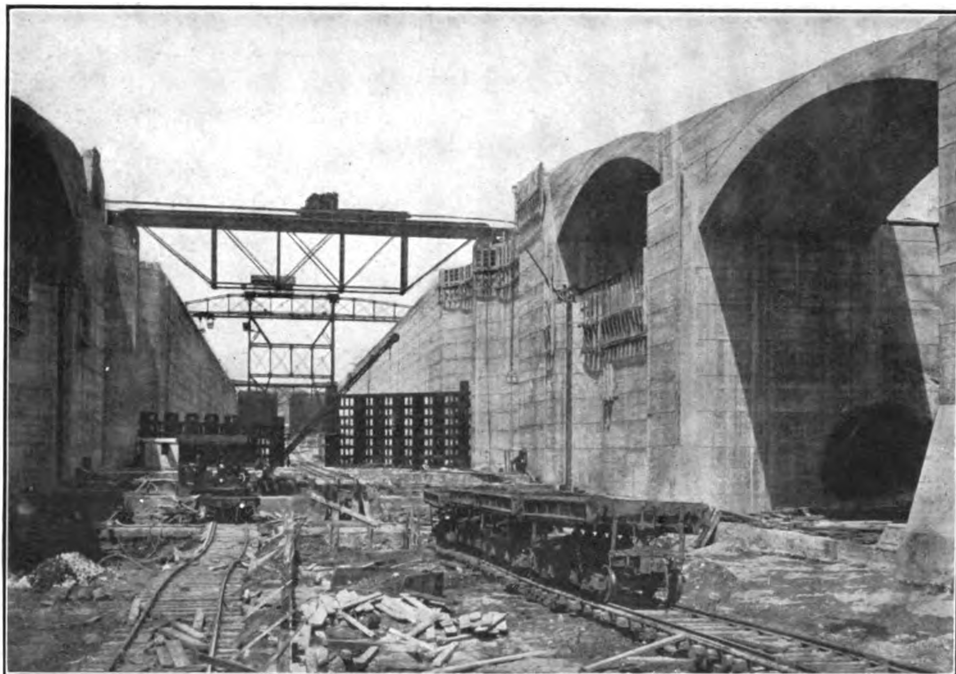
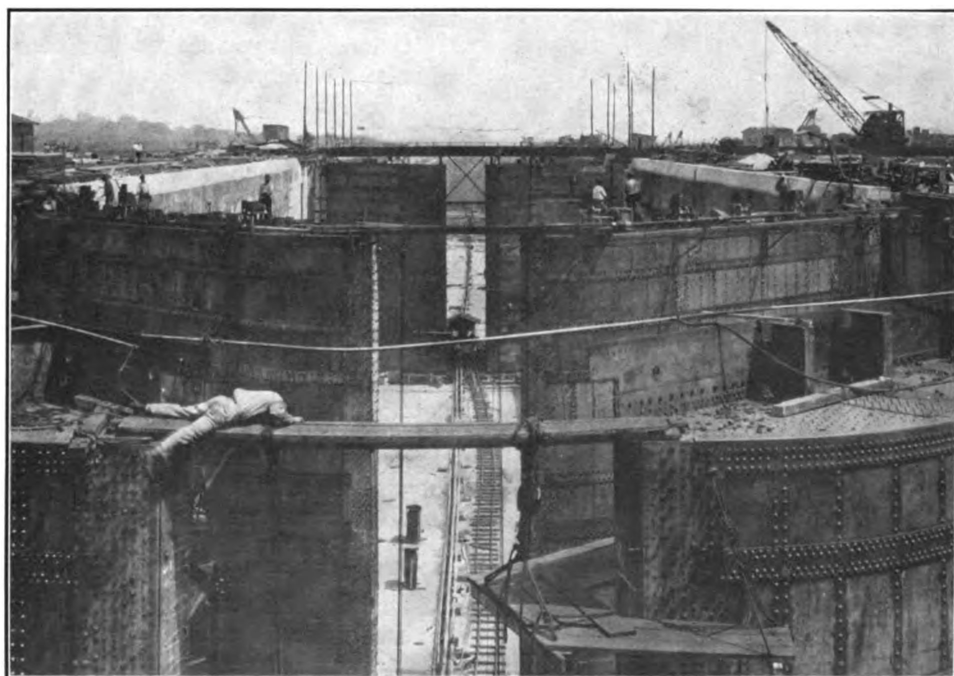


ARCHES TO CARRY THE TOWING RAILROAD TRACKS

ALL VESSELS WILL BE TOWED THROUGH THE LOCKS BY LOCOMOTIVES THAT WILL RUN ON TRACKS BUILT ON THE RIM OF THE LOCK WALLS. THESE ARCHES SUSTAIN THE DESCENT FROM LEVEL TO LEVEL



THE GREAT GATES TO HOLD THE WATER IN THE LOCKS

EACH 1,000 FOOT LOCK IS DIVIDED INTO TWO CHAMBERS OF 400 AND 600 FEET LENGTH, RESPECTIVELY, FOR THE USE OF ALL BUT THE LARGEST VESSELS; AND EACH MAIN GATE IS BUTTRESSED BY A GUARD GATE

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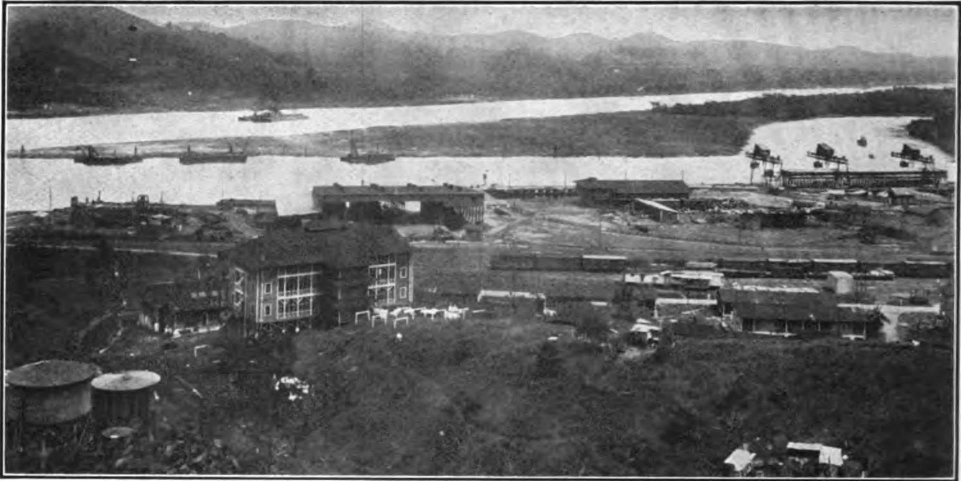
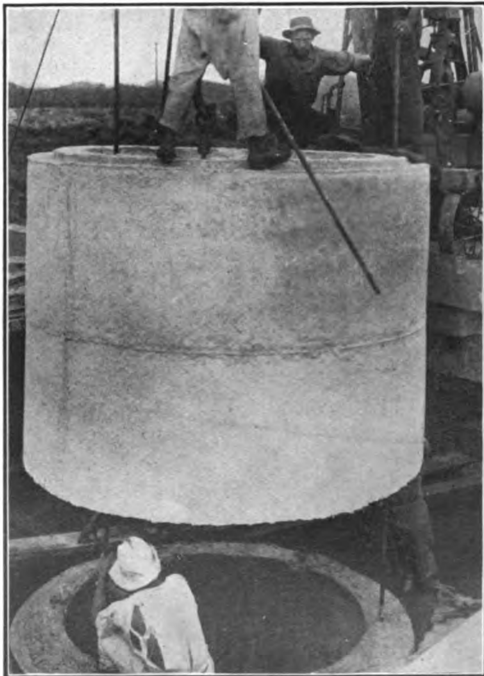


MAKING A GREAT NAVAL DEPOT AT BALBOA

WHERE, AT THE PACIFIC END OF THE CANAL, COLONEL GOETHALS PLANS TO HAVE, BESIDES THE MACHINE SHOPS AND SHIP WAREHOUSES SHOWN IN THIS PICTURE, A CITY AND HARBOR WITH EVERY KNOWN CONVENIENCE FOR THE CARRIERS OF THE WORLD

kick, but with an invitation. The boys in the shops are going to give a banquet, to celebrate the breaking-up of the old camp, and they want the Colonel to be there.

"Can I get such a breakfast next morning as I had at Mrs. Morrison's in 1907? That was the best I ever had on the Isthmus."



SINKING DOCK CAISSONS AT BALBOA

FOR THE NEW DOCKS THAT ARE PART OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN TO PROVIDE COMPLETE SERVICE TO ALL PASSING SHIPS

"Sure!"

"Then I'll come." He passes over the cigarettes and the two sit down as amicably as if there were not a shoulder-strap or a red flag in the world.

"Colonel, did you see much of Socialism when you were in Germany?"

"The Kaiser told me he was going to stamp it all out."

"Bismarck tried that, you know."

"Now look here, Morrison, you mustn't say we have Socialism down here. Introduce the franchise, and we'd go to pieces. It's a despotism; and that's the best form of government."

"It is," agrees the big Socialist, with a laugh; "if you've got a good despot."

The last visitor is gone and Colonel Goethals tilts wearily back in his desk-chair. The cigarette-box is empty; for the last three hours he has been nervously lighting cigarettes and throwing them away half-smoked. There are very many wrinkles in his face and the white curls are growing thin about his temples, but his smile is still patient and unwearied. Looking over his spectacles at the interviewer in the corner, the Colonel says,

"Do you know, sometimes this gets to be a blamed old grind?"

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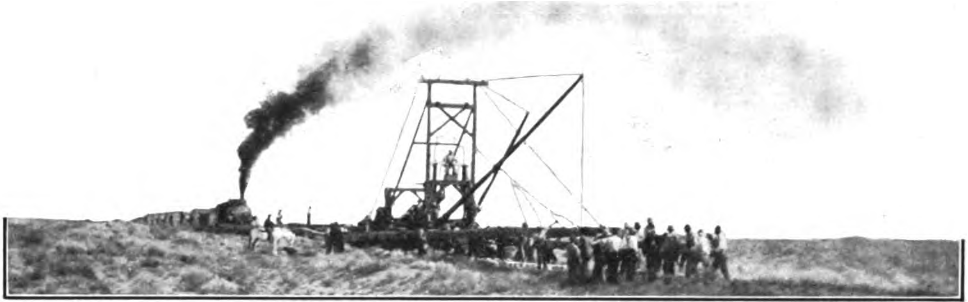

CHANGING THE TRANSCONTINENTAL TRADE ROUTES

THE ROUTE TO THE ORIENT TO-DAY THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL OUT OF NEW YORK — WILL NEW ORLEANS GET THIS TRAFFIC? — STARTING ANEW THE BATTLE BETWEEN RAIL AND OCEAN — HOW TRAFFIC FLOWS ACROSS THE CONTINENT — HOW MUCH CAN BE DIVERTED FROM THE RAILS?

BY

C. M. KEYS

ABOUT the time that the Government of the United States was engaged in the task of trying to break up the Harriman railroad dominion in the courts, many tales were current concerning the fact that American ships could not get cargoes for the Orient out of Pacific Coast ports. One remembers best, perhaps, a telling photograph of nearly a dozen great ships lying at anchor, idle and useless. At the time, it was an argument for ship subsidies, for the right of the railroads to make practically secret rates on Oriental business, and for other points worth while, perhaps, to some people.

About the same time, the real answer to this puzzling situation came out, indirectly and somewhat sketchily, in the evidence of various gentlemen before the Harriman court. A lot of men were summoned to tell about the way the Harriman lines combined and worked together. Incidentally, most of them were asked how they routed traffic that was bound from American factories to the Orient. It was an incidental question only. When I came to write this article about the traffic results of the Panama Canal, I dimly remembered these old questions, and dug up some of them, because in the answers to them is revealed the greatest and most world-wide change that will be worked by the Panama Canal if it really does its business.

The traffic manager of the Carnegie Steel Company, Mr. L. C. Bihler, was one of these witnesses. Mr. Severance asked him the question which way his freight went to the Orient.

"At the present time, it moves via the Suez Route, via the Atlantic Seaboard."

After him came James E. Henry, who managed the shipment of Standard Sanitary goods to all the corners of the world. To the same question he gave answer:

"It was moving via Pacific Coast ports; but lately it is moving via Suez."

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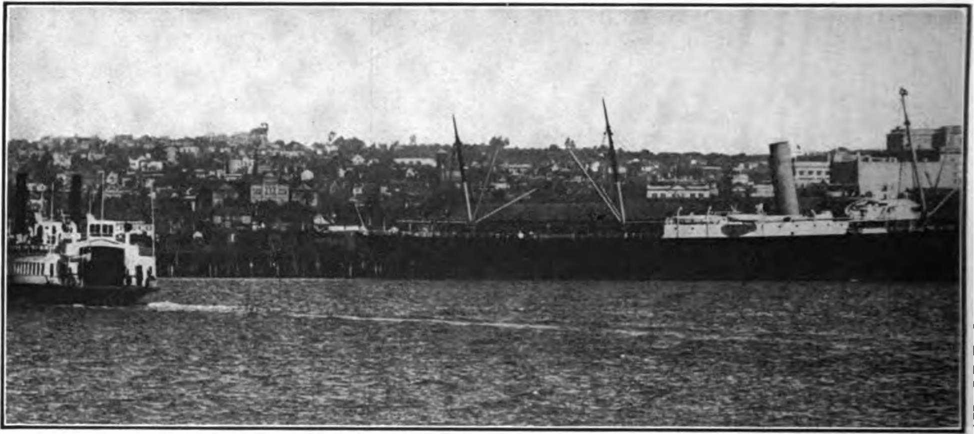


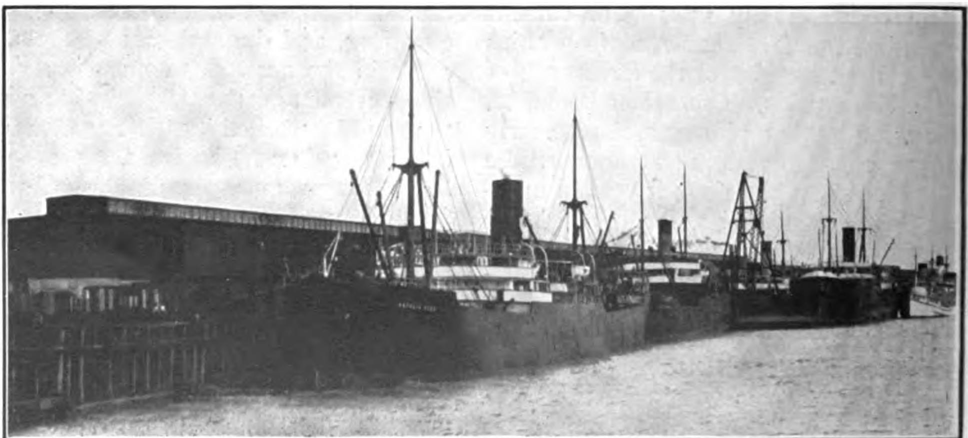
THE HARBOR OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

ONE OF THE PORTS THAT WILL PROFIT BY THE OPENING OF THE CANAL. IN THE FOREGROUND, A STEAMER OF THE AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY WHICH NOW CARRIES 8 PER CENT. OF ALL AMERICAN TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAFFIC AND WHICH WILL TRANSFER ALL ITS BUSINESS TO THE NEW ROUTE

Following him came Messrs. Wilbur B. Everest, of the Westinghouse Electric, and men of equal knowledge from the Oil Well Supply Company, the Buckeye Engine Company, and many other manufacturers of the Pittsburg district and the regions eastward, all telling the same story.

One man, Mr. John F. Lent, Traffic Manager for the National Paving Brick Manufacturing Company, the Pennsylvania-New York Brick Association, the Carbon Steel Company, the Hussey & Binns Shovel Company, the Pittsburgh Steel Foundry, the Mack Manufacturing Company, the Independent Brewing Company, the Republic Rubber Company, the United Engineering Company, was asked the sweeping question: "Do you know of any Oriental business going on from Pittsburgh to the Pacific Coast?" He answered briefly, "I do not."

It was the story of a lost opportunity, perhaps; or of the triumph of the British merchant marine, according as you look at it. In any event, the gist of it was, and is, that American manufactures seeking Oriental markets have moved in a steady river of traffic across the Atlantic and out through Suez to the Orient.



THE DOCKS THAT KILLED THE PANAMA RAILROAD

AT NEW ORLEANS, WHERE THE SHIPS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY, CONNECTING NEW YORK WITH NEW ORLEANS AND THERE WITH THE SUNSET ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA, PRACTICALLY DESTROYED THE OLD TRAFFIC ROUTE BY THE RAILROAD ACROSS THE ISTHMUS

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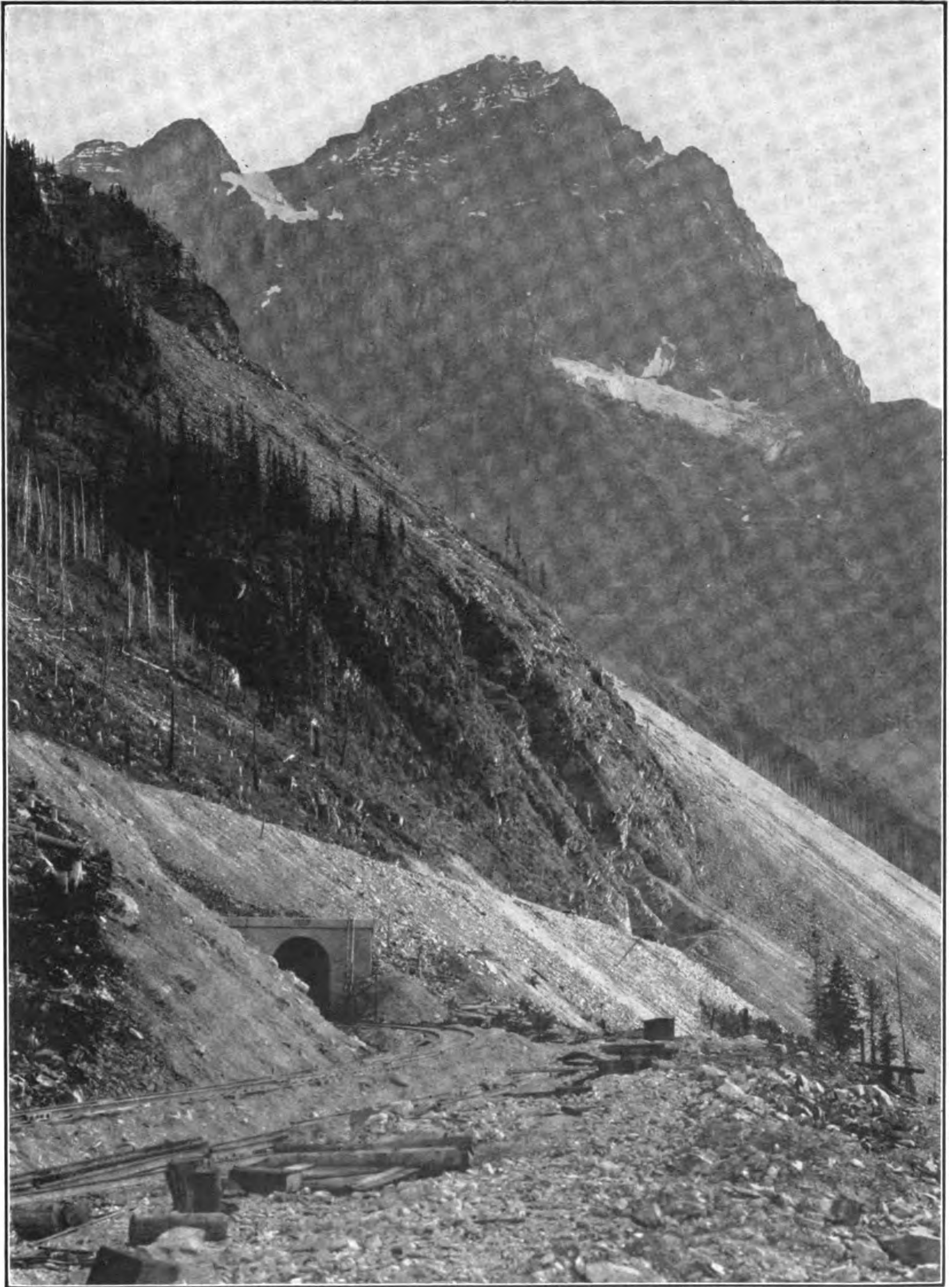

PREPARING TO MEET THE COMPETITION OF THE CANAL

THE GREAT KICKING HORSE CAÑON TUNNEL BY WHICH THE CANADIAN PACIFIC LOWERS SOME OF ITS WORST GRADES AND SAVES MANY MILES OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL HAUL

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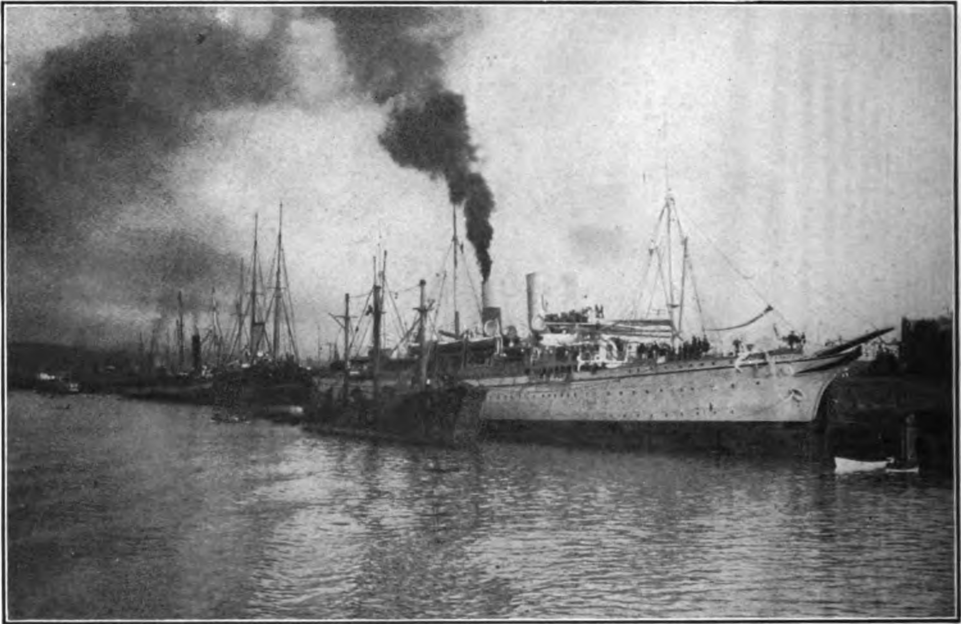
Strong efforts, at times, have been made to swing this current westward, and carry, on the long transcontinental haul, the shiploads of export freight of the highest class that slipped away from the manufacturing cities on the short rail haul to New York and thence on the long ocean route, in British bottoms, to the Orient. Of course, it is all a matter of rates. The ships for the Suez make what rates they please, change them as they need, adapt them over-night if forced to do it. The rail lines, on the contrary, must publish every change in rates for thirty days ahead. Therefore it was no battle.

I am no ocean-traffic expert, and I have no figures to show the actual cost of moving a hundred tons of American-made machinery out of New York through the Suez to China and moving this same freight out of New York through the Panama Canal; but it takes no traffic expert to figure that there will certainly be a saving, particularly if the tolls favor the Panama route very heavily.

Therefore, the pull against the transcontinental railroad lines must be still heavier to-morrow than it was yesterday. It is a tonnage that grows fast, this trade with the awakening nations of Asia. If, by reason of the competition of the Suez Canal against the shorter rail lines across the continent, most of the heavy manufactured goods of the Middle West went out through New York in other days, it may almost be taken for granted that, in years to come, practically no manufactures of the East and the Middle West in bulk will move across the continent for shipment out of Pacific Coast ports.

The Panama Canal will almost certainly, in time, become the highway for manufactured goods moving from the industrial centres of the United States into the Orient. Wherever a stream of manufactured traffic moves in one direction, a backward stream is almost sure to be created. In all human probability, so far as Oriental trade in finished products is concerned, the Atlantic and Gulf ports will steadily increase in both export and import business. To guess whether New York or New Orleans or some other port will be the chief beneficiary of this change of route is little better than prophecy at this moment; but there is no reasonable



THE VANCOUVER DOCKS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILROAD

WHICH WILL BE ONE OF THE CHIEF COMPETITORS OF THE PANAMA CANAL FOR THE FREIGHT BUSINESS BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC COASTS

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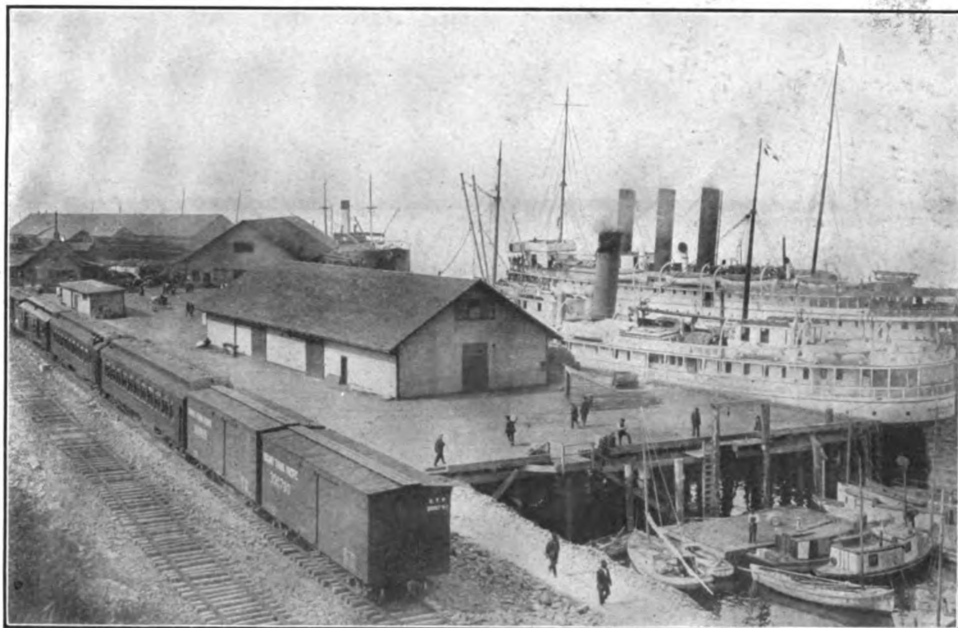
ground for doubt that the Gulf ports will be stronger in their competition with New York than they ever were before so far as Oriental traffic is concerned. It is not all imagination, this boast one hears in the cities of the South, that in the years to come the headquarters of America's Oriental traffic may be along the Southern coast. Only, on the other hand, one well may doubt that the city which is the central American market for Oriental imports will ever lose its present domination in that particular traffic to and fro.

is usually only to get a better trade in some other place. Peace has reigned in transcontinental circles for twelve years past, ever since the big Canadian line made discount rates out of all the markets of the East through Vancouver and down the Coast to San Francisco — a wicked raid on a peaceful and harmless — so said its bosses — little pool arrangement of their own made by the American transcontinentals.

Into this atmosphere of peace and, more or less, prosperity comes Uncle Sam with a fine new canal, open to anybody that



THE DOCKS OF THE NEW GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC AT PRINCE RUPERT

ANOTHER RAILROAD THAT WILL HAVE TO FIGHT THE CANAL FOR THE CARRIAGE OF FREIGHTS ORIGINATING IN THE GREAT CENTRAL VALLEY AND DESTINED FOR THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE ORIENT

Pass from the little question of Oriental trade to the larger problem of domestic trade — the barter between Americans of the East and Americans of the West. To-day, this trade flows back and forth along well-worn channels, routes of long standing, courses fixed and unchanged for many years. It is a long time since any daring railroad broke seriously into the transcontinental situation. Occasionally, even now, the Grand Trunk or the Canadian Pacific starts some excitement at New York, some back-door route at a fancy discount all the way around up through New England and Ontario; but it

may care to use it, within limits. Steamship lines out of New Orleans and New York — let us say — may bid powerfully for traffic across the continent, for this great, steady river of traffic flowing so smoothly along the rails.

Here is a challenge and a threat from Mr. Franklin K. Lane, contained in a decision handed down last year by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a Government body. Railroad traffic managers and railroad shippers alike may find it interesting:

> The railroads, moreover, must soon meet with a competition by water more intense than any that they have heretofore suffered; for

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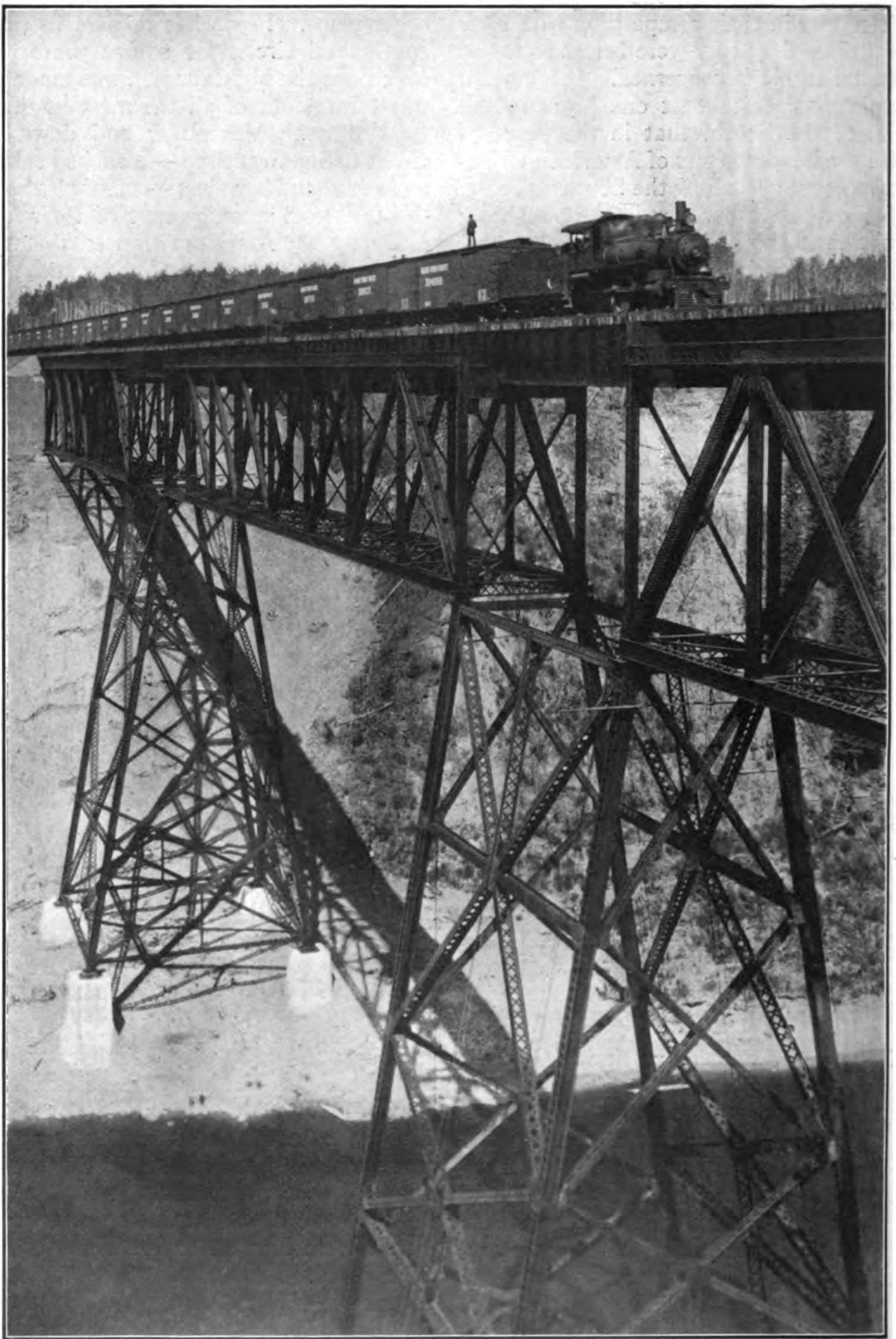

IN THE WAR FOR FREIGHTS

THE GREAT STEEL BRIDGE, 900 FEET LONG AND 213 FEET ABOVE THE WATER, THAT CARRIES THE TRACKS OF THE NEW GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILROAD OVER THE PEMBINA RIVER

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within three years another route, one more important, searching, and determinative in its effect upon railroad rates than any other, will be opened — a route all water by way of the Panama Canal. The cutting of this canal will in effect bring the straits of Magellan 3,500 miles to the northward, and with modern steamships it is estimated that San Francisco will by water be removed from New York but fourteen days.

So, according to Mr. Lane, there is to be reopened the long quiescent question between the sea and the land transportation machine in transcontinental traffic. It is a long time since anything like that really happened. It was in 1885, to be exact, that the ocean route died a quiet, unnatural death. That was the year when the Sunset-Gulf route — the ships from New York connecting with the Southern Pacific at the Gulf — demonstrated its power to drive the clipper ships of America from the highways of the sea, to sterilize the Pacific Mail, and thereby to make the Panama Railroad more a curiosity than a railroad. That marked the end of the traffic epoch in the long transcontinental trade, and the beginning of another — the epoch of unchallenged railroad dominancy over the highways of commerce.

In the six years from 1885 to 1891, this Sunset-Gulf route carried nearly ninety tons out of every hundred tons of freight that moved from the Atlantic Seaboard to California. That constitutes pretty nearly a monopoly. It was earned by hard fighting. Along in the later stages of this battle to clear the sea of ships that would compete with the railroad-owned lines, the Sunset-Gulf route established a new record in New York-California trade. It was a carload of bamboo chairs. It moved from New York to San Francisco for $9.40! Let that instance be remembered as typical of the reason why the railroads have not been bothered much by sea-borne traffic from that day to this.

One minor factor has entered into the traffic equation in very recent years, in the shape of the American-Hawaiian steamship line, operating a rail-and-water route from New York to the East coast of Mexico, thence by rail across that republic, and by water again to the Pacific Coast ports. Twelve years ago, this route began to operate through the Straits of Magellan; and six years ago it adopted this new hybrid route. It has lived, apparently, at peace with the railroads. Its rates are adapted to get the kind of tonnage it can handle to the best effect. It picks no quarrels with the railroads, and they pick none with it. At the present moment, it is probably carrying pretty close to 8 per cent. of the total transcontinental tonnage. If the total number of tons of freight across the continent is to-day approximately 3,500,000 tons — an unofficial figure — the American-Hawaiian line probably carries 280,000 tons. One finds it hard to call it a competitor of the railroad group.

"It lives," says Mr. Lane, "upon sufferance."

So, in the business between East and West, the empire of the railroads has been firmly established. The Cape Horn route is merely a tradition. The Panama Railroad and Pacific Mail are legends of twenty years ago. The Tehuantepec route works peacefully at settled rates in a strictly money-making venture that has no bearing on the question of traffic supremacy. Only the Suez, an ancient and too powerful rival, enters the Eastern field and sweeps it clean so far as the Oriental trade is concerned.

The great trade routes across the continent are man-made lines of steel. East of the Missouri, dozens of railroad lines, gathering traffic from all the busy industrial cities, pour this traffic through the gateways of the West into the assembling yards of seven so-called transcontinentals. These are the great trade routes from East to West, for the East, in a traffic sense, extends far into the West, even to Denver, where the rate blanket ends.

Beginning at the South, the first, and probably the most powerful, of these traffic giants is the Southern Pacific, the Sunset route. New Orleans is its Eastern terminus by rail; but its real Eastern terminus is on the docks of Manhattan, where its controlled freight steamers bid traffic out of every city and village and field from the Atlantic almost to Chicago.

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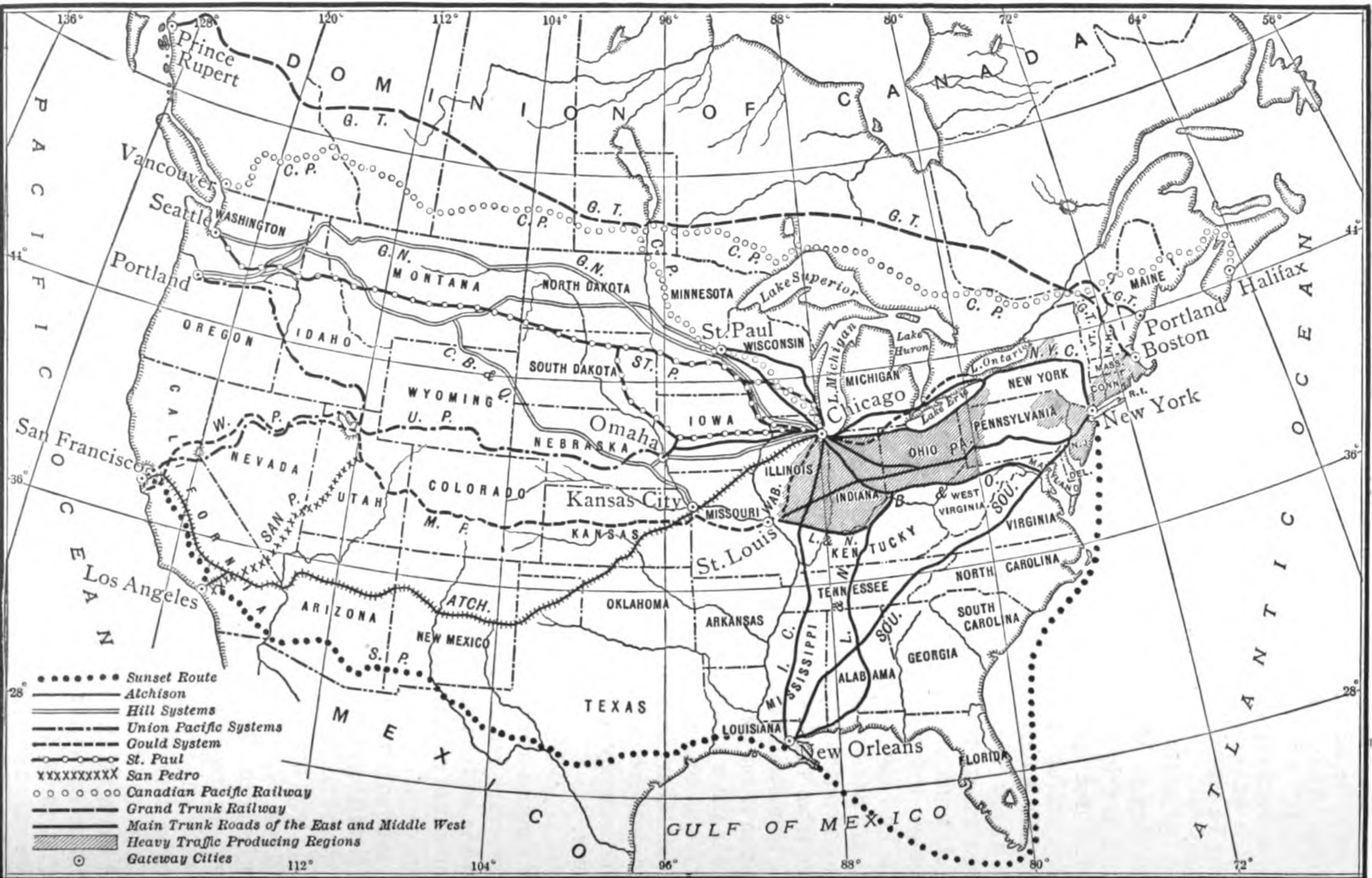

THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS THAT MUST MEET THE COMPETITION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

AND WHOSE FUNCTIONS MAY BE NARROWED TO TRANSPORTING FREIGHT FROM THE GREAT INLAND TRAFFIC PRODUCING REGIONS TO THE SEABOARD AT NEW YORK, NEW ORLEANS, AND THE PACIFIC PORTS

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This was the king of the transcontinentals until the day when C. P. Huntington died, twelve years ago, and Harriman gathered in the control of the Southern Pacific to place it in the treasury of the Union Pacific.

THE GREAT FREIGHT ROUTES

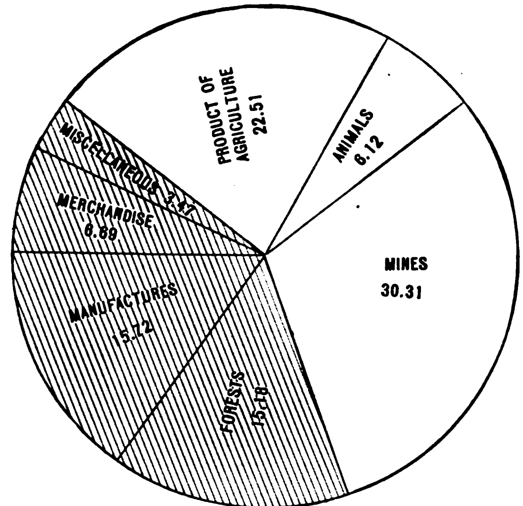
Into Southern California and San Francisco, the next natural route is the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, running from Chicago out across Missouri to Kansas City, down through the plains of New Mexico and Arizona, and thence by the fertile valleys of California to the great ports of the South Pacific coast. It is a wonderful road, the Santa Fé, with strong connections East and West, a powerful element in all traffic matters, and itself a great originator of freight.

A new line into California is by the Salt Lake Route, a string across from Salt Lake to San Pedro, the new port of Los Angeles. It was designed to be a new empire builder; but from all accounts it does about as it is told. It depends on connections East of the Great Salt Lake. Still another is the Western Pacific, an unknown element, resting on the Gould system at Ogden. Some say it may be a traffic giant, but to-day it limps and stumbles. It is hardly a great figure in the situation as it stands.

Then one comes to the Northern routes, and Harriman's great Union Pacific. Here, at Omaha and Kansas City, a dozen splendid railroads throw their freight across the river — the Northwestern, the Illinois Central, the Burlington, the Rock Island, the Great Western, the St. Paul — and it is gathered to the rails of the Union Pacific for the long haul westward through Ogden and thence across the Sierras over the Central Pacific to San Francisco.

This is the keystone of the transcontinental arch. This line was planned to be the main highway of transcontinental trade. It has few branches of its own. It is main line from end to end. Harriman found it a wreck, and raised it up to be the King of the Transcontinentals. It did the task he set it. In a ten-year campaign it became practically dictator of the Western across-country trade.

The growth of the Harriman Empire, however, stirred up new rivalries. In 1901 Mr. Hill bought, for the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, control of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Before that time, the Hill roads, which had their terminals in St. Paul, had depended upon freight traffic relationships for their connections in Chicago and the East. Knowing that the Harriman ambition would result in weakening the position of his roads, Mr. Hill made this purchase to get his own line into Chicago, and to-day the Burlington bids in Chicago and all the river points for transcontinental traffic to the northern gateways at Seattle and Portland. This Hill system, with a double



WHAT TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS CARRY

SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF EACH CHIEF PRODUCT TO THE TOTAL TONNAGE CARRIED IN AN AVERAGE YEAR BY THE SANTA FE, THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC, AND THE UNION PACIFIC

transcontinental line and with its network of Burlington line throughout the rich traffic section between the Missouri River and the Great Lakes, is the next great element in the transcontinental situation.

THE NORTHERN TRANSCONTINENTALS

A couple of years ago a new transcontinental, the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound, pushed its way through from the Missouri into Seattle and Tacoma. It is, in fact, a duplication of the route made by the Burlington and the Northern Pacific. There are probably no two traffic

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competitors in the United States that are more closely similar than these two systems.

Still farther north, across the Canadian line, lies the Canadian Pacific. It reaches the Twin Cities through owning control of the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie and it reaches Chicago through a comparatively recent purchase of the Wisconsin Central, control of which in turn is owned by the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie. This route, which on the map looks like a roundabout route, is, as a matter of fact, almost as efficient a transcontinental line to Chicago and the East as any of the other railroad lines, and it is perhaps stronger than most of them in that it controls its own line of steamships to the Orient and has few entangling alliances with other railroads.

Still farther north, a new line is creeping toward the West. It is a Government helped Canadian line, the Grand Trunk Pacific. The parent company, the Grand Trunk, has for a generation or more been the main local railroad of Ontario and of all the manufacturing section of Canada. Now that it is going to the coast, it will certainly become a new element in the transcontinental situation, although its primary object is understood to be the opening of new territory, lying farther north of the Canadian Pacific.

I would not care to say that the opening of the Panama Canal will seriously interfere with transcontinental business on these railroads. In fact, the entire transcontinental tonnage is well under 4,000,000 tons a year and probably does not comprise more than 2 or 3 per cent. of all the tonnage moving on these western lines. Therefore, even though a complete diversion of all transcontinental tonnage would not be a very serious menace to the railroads, it is inconceivable that more than a relatively small amount of this freight could be diverted to the Panama route unless the rates made by that route were overwhelmingly in favor of it.

HOW PANAMA WILL AFFECT RATES

The real change will not, in all probability, be shown in the form of decline of transcontinental tonnage. The important matter is the question of rates. Theoretically, through rates are based on local rates; but in practice, local rates are very often based upon through rates, particularly in the territory lying immediately back of a seaboard. For instance, if a route from New York or New Orleans makes a transcontinental rate from the whole eastern territory to San Francisco which is very far below the railroad rates to these points, it will affect not only the through tonnage moving to San Francisco, San Pedro, and the other coast cities, but will also affect the movement of freight, not on transcontinental rates but on the higher rates prevailing to inland cities back of San Francisco and San Pedro. In other words, the whole transcontinental rate situation will probably swing upon the rates that can be made by independent steamship lines running through the Panama Canal.

Therefore, it is not inconceivable that, when the Panama Canal is an operating traffic route, there will be a great deal of readjustment in this whole matter of Western trade routes. To-day there is no doubt that the main highways of traffic across the continent are the steamship lines from New York to the Gulf ports, plus the Sunset line to California, and the trunk lines of the East to Chicago and St. Louis, plus the Middle-Western roads to Omaha, plus the Union Pacific, plus the Central Pacific. This latter route is the main all-rail highway of commerce across the continent. It is quicker than the southern route. Therefore, it handles a very large amount of business that demands speed. It will also be much quicker than the Panama route and this advantage will undoubtedly enable it to maintain its command of high grade tonnage even if its rates are higher than the rates made through Panama.

Let us suppose that the Panama steamships will make blanket rates from any points east of Detroit to any port on the Pacific Ocean very much lower than the rates made from the same points by the now existing transcontinentals. Either these new lower rates would have to be met by the railroads and a new schedule of railroad rates would go into effect

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immediately, not only to the Pacific Coast ports but also throughout the whole country, which would be very much lower than the present rates, or the long-haul freight of the country, westbound, would be lost to the transcontinentals. In case the railroads meet the lower rates that will undoubtedly be made by independent steamship lines, there would probably come a period of declining railroad earnings on the Western railroads and a painful readjustment to new conditions; for even if the opening of the canal stimulates growth on the Western coast to a marvelous extent, the result of the growth would necessarily be so slow in showing itself that, in all probability there would be a gap of several years in which the transcontinental railroads would suffer.

WHERE OHIO VALLEY FREIGHTS MAY GO

If, on the contrary, the diversion of the heavy transcontinental tonnage to the Panama Canal were allowed to go on unchecked, the transcontinental business of the country would be swung into new channels. Let us take Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Buffalo as representing the four corners of a great freight-producing section. It is a section in which there is produced a very large percentage of the fastest growing American lines of export, and all classes of freight that will naturally move into the developing country of the West. It is perhaps the centre of the machinery manufacturing and steel manufacturing industry of the United States. What would be the effect upon the movement of the tonnage out of this area to the Pacific Coast and to the Orient and to all the markets of the West, if very low transcontinental rates were made out of the ports of the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf through the Panama Canal to the markets of the West, and if these rates were not met by the railroads?

The freight moving out of this region to the Atlantic ports and the Gulf ports would travel over existing lines of railroad. The main trunk lines — the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, and Erie — would carry the freight five hundred miles or more eastward to place it on the docks where the steamships load. If the heavy movement were toward the Gulf, such lines as the Illinois Central and the Louisville & Nashville would feel the impulse of new traffic most acutely. Practically it would be a duplication of the present Tehuantepec route, except that in all probability the volume of business would be very much larger and it would be a very much more powerful competitor of the railroad lines. If a few powerful traffic groups went into this business and established strong agencies at all important traffic-producing points, they would probably build up, in time, a practical monopoly of transcontinental business as well as of all business consigned to the Orient and to ports of the West coast of South America

So far as the manufacturing centres of the East are concerned, the only freight that would move by rail to the Pacific Ocean, if the Panama Canal route were carried on on a regular twelve-day service at rates one third lower than the present lowest rates, would be freight that could almost afford to pay express rates in order to get quick delivery and to move without being reloaded. Perhaps the main advantage of the railroads is that the big shipper of perishable products can load cars in his own plant and consign them, without breaking bulk or rehandling, into the hands of merchants, manufacturers, and dealers at Pacific Coast points. This advantage could not be taken away by the steamship routes unless some new mechanical method of handling manufacturers' products in bulk was invented and came into general practice. It is perfectly obvious, however, that this is so simple a mechanical process that it might well become a reality in transcontinental traffic when a quick water route is in open competition with the railroads.

QUICK FREIGHTS BY RAIL ONLY

Most railroad men claim that the high grade freight traffic will never leave the railroads across the continent. Fruits, dressed meats, and other perishable commodities, in the handling of which speed is the main element, would possibly continue to move on the rails under any

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circumstances. It is, however, in the lower grades of traffic that one must look for the real future of the Panama route. For instance, it is a well-known fact that on the Pacific Coast there is practically no coal which compares with the anthracite and better bituminous coal of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. It is equally well known that the future supply of lumber for Eastern markets must be drawn from the Far West. Here are two low grade freight items, one produced in abundance in the East and lacking in the West, and another standing in abundance in the West and growing scarce in the East. Both are so heavy in proportion to their value that they can barely stand a transcontinental journey by rail, except in rare instances; so that the markets which would naturally be tributary are supplied as best they can be supplied from other sources.

In a general way, one studying the traffic situation at the present time and figuring upon the future can hardly help concluding that any loss there may be to existing routes will probably fall most heavily upon the transcontinental lines running West from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and possibly upon the coast lines of steamers now trading successfully from New York to the ports of the Gulf. On the other hand, one must reach the conclusion that the greatest stimulus to existing routes would probably be felt by lines running North and South from the ports of the Gulf into the producing markets of the Middle West and by the railroads carrying finished products from these producing centres into Atlantic ports. As between these two, the present writer confesses to have no opinion as to whether the greatest stimulus will be felt by the lines running into New York or the lines running into New Orleans. In all probability, in volume of traffic gained the first five years after the opening of the Canal, the Atlantic seaports will gain very much more heavily than the Southern ports; but in proportion to present tonnage and business moving on the lines at the present time, the gain by the Southern ports will probably be very much heavier.

A PICTURE OF THE CANAL

A LABYRINTH OF WONDERS WROUGHT THROUGH THE GENIUS AND WILL OF A BENEFICENT AUTOCRAT

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

"WHEN the waters of the two oceans are blended in the soil of Panama!" exclaimed Secretary Knox, in the speech inaugurating his notable mission to the Central American republics — and proceeded to develop with much eloquence the commercial and political transformations that are bound to follow the opening of the canal. "At no distant time," ran the answering phrase of the Panama cabinet minister who spoke on the occasion, "the deep blue waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific will be united for all eternity!"

The cold, unimaginative fact is that the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific will not meet nor be blended in the Panama Canal. Rhetoric aside, there is no approaching marriage of the seas, and the first surprising physical fact which dawns on the visitor to the colossal labors in which the gods of steel and concrete are engaged on the Isthmus is that fact.

The Panama Canal is a water bridge over the Isthmus — not a channel through it. A ship steams into Limon Bay, on the Atlantic side, and comes to a stop in a lock, the first of three locks, by which she is lifted to the level of a fresh-water lake, eighty-five feet above the sea. She leaves

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the water of the Atlantic behind her and she sails through the lake. Then three locks more lower her to the level of the Pacific and to the salt water.

That is what really happens at Panama, and it is just as well to get that clearly in mind at the outset, if one is to have any proper conception as to how the Isthmus is to be crossed. One must still, for a few months, probably until the end of this year 1912, write, "is to be," but the greater part of the titanic task is done, and even now decreasing numbers of workers and fewer steam-shovels tell that the conquerors of the Isthmus are preparing soon to rest from their labors, the biggest job ever done by man accomplished.

It is a job so big, the scenes along its route are so confusing and must in earlier stages have been so much more confusing, that it is no wonder the American people have been given no clear, easily-understood account of it. They who have had the sustained interest to read a fair portion of what has been poured out in the press about the Gatun Dam and the Culebra slides and the Pedro Miguel and Miraflores locks, the Chagres River and the Spillway, the West Diversion, and all the rest of it, may understand; but it is much to be feared that the majority of us have got no good general notion of it at all.

To-day, however, a traveler whom official favor sends through the canal, up and down and across, on the bottom, along the edges, through the great cut, down into the locks and beneath them, on an inspection car, can come out unconfused by the innumerable and mammoth details of an onslaught on 200-square miles of earth, stretching through a broken and mountainous country. The great outline is perfectly clear now.

The lake is the centre, the key, the kernel of the work; an artificial lake created by building an enormous dam, the Gatun Dam, across the course of a river — the Chagres — that comes down from the mountains. The dam (if you want figures) is a mile and a half long and half a mile wide and it will flood 164 square miles of country, over which great ships will steam for thirty-three miles — in fresh water. Or rather they will steam thus for twenty-four miles and then enter a channel cut into the hills — a channel nine miles long, made by digging up, blowing apart, and carrying away 85,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock. There is another dam at the Pacific end of the cut, to maintain the level. The lake, extended through the Culebra Cut (Culebra means snake, but the cut is fairly straight) and two series of double locks — at Gatun on the Atlantic side, at Pedro Miguel and Miraflores on the Pacific side — such are the factors of the Panama Canal. Its marvels are the Gatun Dam, the Culebra Cut, and the locks — each of the six of them with two chambers 1,000 feet long and 110 feet wide.

RELIEF MAP OF THE PANAMA CANAL

GIVING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE LOCKS AND DAMS, AND SHOWING THAT THE LARGER PART OF THE "CANAL" IS AN ARTIFICIAL LAKE CREATED BY DAMMING THE OUTLETS OF THE CHAGRES RIVER

You may think you can manufacture a mental picture of these locks, but you cannot — not till you have gone down their perpendicular sides a thousand feet and got aboard a dummy train that journeys three fourths of a mile along the bottom; not till you have looked up and seen the cathedral arches springing in

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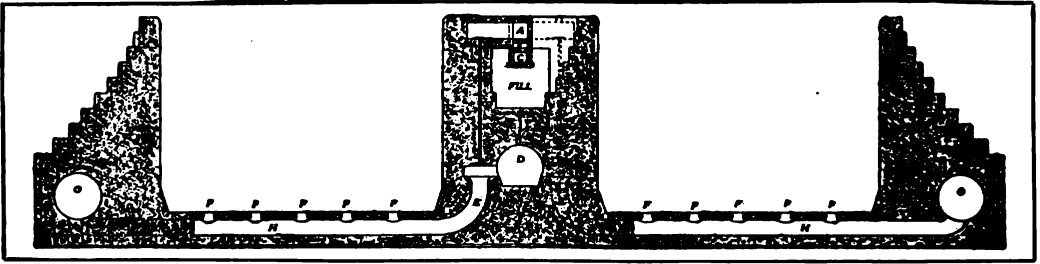


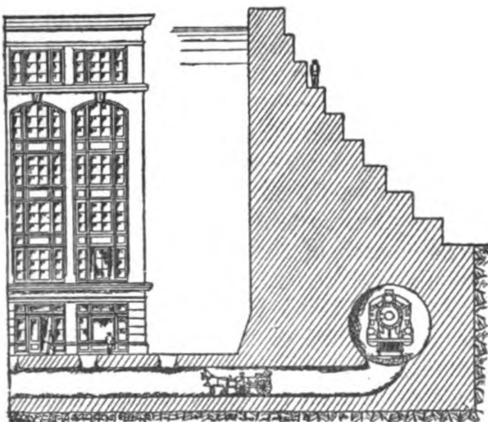
CROSS SECTION OF A DOUBLE LOCK CHAMBER

THE MIDDLE WALL IS 60 FEET THICK AND THE SIDE WALLS ARE 45 FEET THICK AT THE BASE. THE LOCKS ARE FILLED AND EMPTIED BY MEANS OF THE CULVERTS G, G, AND D, WHICH CONNECT THROUGH THE MAINS E AND H WITH THE CHAMBERS BY MEANS OF MANHOLES F F IN THE FLOORS

glory from side to side, and gazed at the steel gates seven feet thick, and marked the cistern-holes in the bottom of the channel, up and down through which will move the strong streams that will lift and let down the ships of the nations into their cradles with the tenderness of a mother with an infant. For underneath extend culverts the size of railroad tunnels; it is through these and through mighty valves that the locks are filled and emptied. Move about awhile among these works like a pygmy lost in a labyrinth of the gods and it will dawn on you what sort of thing men have been about here on this neck of Darien.

A LABYRINTH OF MIGHTY WORKS

It is a place of wonders. A shovel that sticks itself into the side of a cliff and scoops up three tons of rock and deposits it in a car is a sight to regard with awe, and to see three hundred such vast and almost intelligent implements at work at once is rather awe-inspiring. To see the ground strewn with networks of pipes conducting compressed air to a thousand drills, to hear blasts unceasingly, to watch hydraulic attacks on the mountain-sides, to regard gigantic stone-crushers and cement-mixers, and to see during a ride of fifty miles nothing else but these labors, makes one wonder how imagination ever dared to project an undertaking so vast.



THE COMPARATIVE SIZE OF A SIDE WALL

SHOWING ITS HEIGHT, WHICH IS EQUAL TO THAT OF A SIX STORY OFFICE BUILDING, AND THE RELATIVE SIZE OF THE CULVERTS

It is worth pausing to see a long train come to a stop on a bank above a tropical jungle, and then to watch a plow, drawn by a powerful cable, run along the cars, dumping off their loads on the shamed heads of the royal palms below. It gives one a curious sensation to see a train pull up the track on which it has been running, and move it bodily to the right or left. More than in anything else, the derision in which conquering man of the Isthmus holds nature, comes out in the light-houses which he has erected here and there among the astonished palms — range-finders for the ships that are soon to sail over this dry land.

How nature fought against this conquest may be gathered from the piles of machinery on every hand abandoned by the French; from the ruins of their houses and their deserted excavations; and, most of all, from the graveyards whose thousands of head-slabs populate every hillside. To-day the Isthmus is fit to be a health-resort. That is a chapter by itself. These colonels and admirals found an enemy worthy of their utmost heroism, but they have subjugated him utterly. One of them was explaining to me how all

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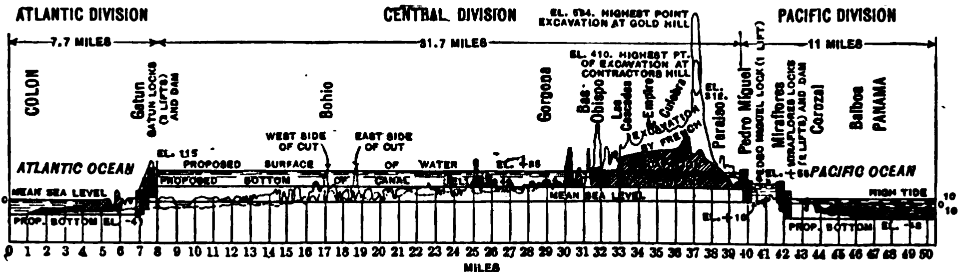
the work of operating the canal and working the locks was to be done by the waste waters of the Chagres. "We ought to have utilized that power earlier," he soliloquized. "If we had it to do over, we would make the canal dig itself."

The canal is done. The problems of its construction are solved. The problems of its operation await settlement; they ought to have been settled long before this. Although it is not intended to mark the formal opening before January 1, 1914, as a matter of fact vessels will be passing through many months before that date. No legislation exists arranging for the operation of the canal; the present Commission is empowered only to build it. The large force necessary to operate the finished work ought soon to be in training. It ought now to be organizing. Somebody ought at this moment to be authorized to enlist this force. There are now 35,000 men at work in the Canal Zone, and it is highly desirable that the operating force should be gathered from among these, from men who have become used to life on the Isthmus and who are willing to live here permanently. It has been very hard to get men to stay here; only by providing for them safety, comforts, and recreation such as men are nowhere else provided with has the Government been able to secure anything like a stable force. Unless steps are very soon taken to retain them, they will within a few months be scattered among the four quarters of the earth.

It goes without saying that the question of tolls ought to be decided immediately, so that steamship companies and shippers throughout the world may make their plans and arrangements for the new routes of trade. Steamships cannot be built in a day, nor trade arrangements involving in one degree or another the commerce of two hemispheres be altered off-hand. If the canal is not to wait for years before it begins to earn tolls, the rates must be decided on at once.

Colonel Goethals, the Kitchener of the Isthmus, the iron man to whom more than to any other is due the credit for opening the path to the Indies of which Columbus dreamed and which he searched so hard for here, lingering for weeks off Portobello — Colonel Goethals has his plan. Now that the labor of construction is drawing to an end, he has thought long and hard of the means to make the canal a success. It will not be enough to have built it and thrown it open; it must be worked on inviting principles.



PROFILE OF THE CANAL

INDICATING THE SCALE OF MILES OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS, THE HEIGHT AND POSITION OF THE SIX LOCKS, AND THE RELATIVE AMOUNTS OF EXCAVATION DONE BY THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICANS

Colonel Goethals would write off the cost of digging the canal — something like \$360,000,000 — as a necessary charge against our national defense. He would ask patrons to pay only the cost of operation and upkeep; this, he believes, would be met by a charge of \$1.25 a ton. He would establish a dry dock and a coaling station, and he would enlarge the existing commissary stores and open them to all. At the Isthmus, ships could be certain of obtaining repairs, coal, and stores at the lowest prices.

Whether according to this plan or some other, it behooves the Government that has opened the water-way across the Isthmus to take immediately the steps necessary to make it practicable and popular.

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HOW PANAMA WILL ALTER TRADE

THE SHIFT OF ROUTES OF OCEAN TRAFFIC — ITS STIMULUS TO THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA — THE UNITED STATES THE GREATEST BENEFICIARY

BY

EDWARD NEVILLE VOSE

(EDITOR OF "DUN'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW")

ON THE morning of Wednesday December 27, 1911, a little group of Federal officials and representatives of the steamship company gathered on the deck of the Red Star liner *Kroonland* to witness a ceremony that may become historic. As eight bells sounded, the red, orange, and black ensign of Belgium was hauled slowly down from the flagstaff and presently the watchers saw the stars and stripes rise majestically in its stead. The officers and crew of the ship stood at attention, and the band played the "Star Spangled Banner," and then the Captain read a short prayer. This change in the registry of the *Kroonland* was made in anticipation of the change in ocean traffic routes that will result from the completion of the Panama Canal.

On Wednesday, January 3, 1912, the same ceremony took place on the *Finland*. If, inspired by this example, Congress should repeal the navigation laws that have stifled our mercantile marine for half a century, December 27, 1911, will be remembered as the end of the long period of decline that has so nearly driven the American flag from the seas, and as the first step toward the recovery of our proud preëminence in this field during the first seventy-five years of our national existence.

Foreign observers of American progress at Panama are no longer asking one another, "Can they do it?" In place of this has arisen another question, equally important, "What will they do with it?" What is to be the policy of the Federal Government with respect to the fundamental matter of tolls? What are to be the charges for towage through the locks? What will be the charge, if any, for passengers? What facilities will be offered for coaling, for repairing, for taking on food supplies and water? Will a free port be provided where goods may be transferred from one line to another, or warehoused, without payment of customs duties or any undue hampering by customs regulations?

Three plans as to the rate of tolls have been proposed: (1) That the rate be such as to yield the largest possible income on the nation's investment; (2) that the President be authorized virtually to make a present to the world at large of the $400,000,000 of American money invested in the canal, by making its use entirely free; and (3) that the rate of tolls be sufficiently high to yield a moderate income on the capital invested, yet so low as to encourage the largest possible use of the waterway. The third plan now seems likely to be the one adopted by Congress during its present session, with the additional provision that no tolls whatever be paid by American shipping engaged in the coastwise trade — railroad-owned tonnage excepted — and the possible exemption of American shipping engaged in the foreign trade. If Congress decides thus to make the canal virtually free to vessels of American registry, several foreign governments may do the same for their shipowners either by subsidies or by refunding the tolls paid. In no event is the toll to exceed $1.25 per net registered ton, while it may be as much less as is consistent with providing for the actual maintenance and operation of the canal.

Assuming, then, that the tolls will be moderate for all who are not exempt from paying any, what will be the probable effect of the canal upon existing ocean routes of commerce? What new routes will it

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create? What buying and selling markets will it bring closer together? What countries will it most benefit? What will be its probable effect upon our own export trade?

The considerations that will decide shipowners whether to send their vessels by way of Panama or not will vary according to the type of ship, the traffic she is seeking, and the ports at which her voyage begins and ends. The distance saved by the canal will be an important consideration, but it will not be the only one, and in many cases it will be very far from being the decisive one. Four types of vessels may use the Panama Canal: sailing ships, barges, "tramp" steamships, and liners. What does the canal offer to these four classes of possible customers?

From time immemorial the most picturesque of all ocean carriers has been the ship propelled by sails, but the march of steam is fast driving this type of vessel from the seas, as the accompanying table of steam and sail tonnage recorded in Lloyd's shows.

THE DECLINE OF THE SAILING SHIP

YEAR	[*Steam*] NUMBER OF VESSELS	NET TONS	[*Sail*] NUMBER OF VESSELS	NET TONS
1890	11,108	8,295,514	21,190	9,166,279
1895	13,256	10,573,642	17,112	8,219,661
1900	15,898	13,856,513	12,524	6,674,370
1905	19,153	18,583,769	10,603	6,037,501
1910	22,008	23,046,122	8,050	4,624,070
1911	22,473	23,931,751	7,614	4,365,582

The Panama Canal will undoubtedly hasten rather than retard this rapid decline in sailing tonnage. Lieutenant Maury, the great authority of the middle of the last century on ocean winds and currents, wrote in 1866:

> If nature, by one of her convulsions, should rend the continent of America in twain and make a channel across the Isthmus of Panama or Darien as deep, as wide, and as free as the Straits of Dover, it would never become a commercial thoroughfare for sailing vessels, saving the outward bound and those that could reach it with leading winds.

The reason for this opinion, the correctness of which is generally conceded, is that the west coast of Panama lies in a zone of calms. Cases are on record of whaling ships becalmed in this locality that have been delayed so long as to miss the whaling season completely; and every mariner and ship owner dreads the uncertainty regarding the duration of a sailing voyage across these too tranquil waters. The master of a sailing ship reckons his voyage in days, whereas the steamship captain reckons it in miles, but the necessity of making a wide detour out into the Pacific to catch a favoring breeze makes the disadvantage of sail as compared with steam greater in this region than in almost any other except the Suez route. To go from Panama to San Francisco the sailer would travel nearly 2,000 miles farther than the steamer, taking 37 days on an average, as against less than 15 days for a 9-knot steam freighter and 11 days for a 12-knot steamship. Moreover, the Caribbean side of the canal is a region of light and baffling winds at some seasons, and of violent hurricanes at others; and thousands of coral reefs and many hundred miles of unlighted coasts render navigation in this locality exceptionally difficult and hazardous for sailers that are constantly liable to be blown off from the few well known and comparatively well lighted passages. As the United States owns 1,696 sailing vessels registered in Lloyd's, of an aggregate tonnage of 1,195,898 tons, or nearly a fourth of the number and more than a fourth of the sailing tonnage there recorded, some sailing vessels will undoubtedly use the canal. But, in view of the steady decline of this type of ship as an ocean cargo carrier, and of the peculiar disadvantages that it will encounter in the Panama route, it is probable that the number will never be large, and that it will show a tendency to decline

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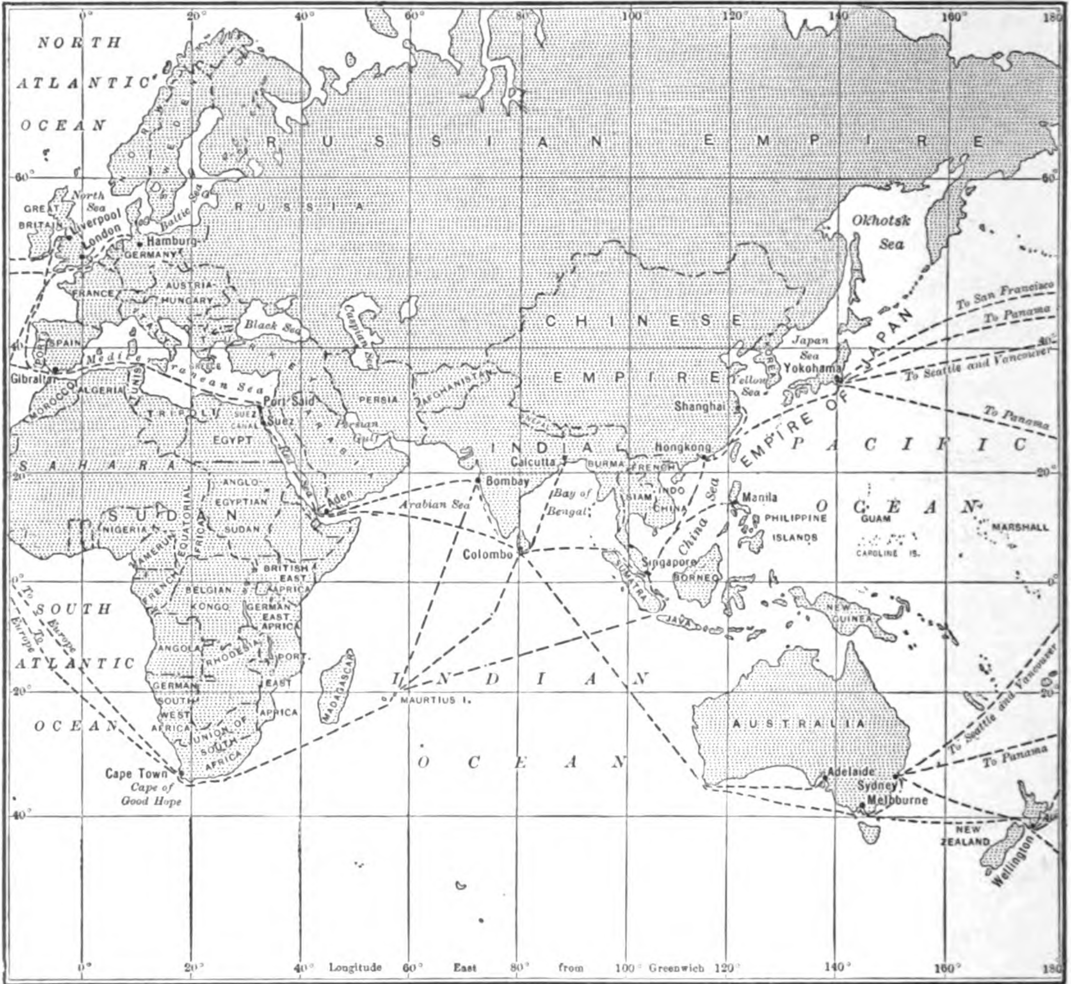
gradually after it has attained what may be regarded as its normal volume. For the most part such sailers as will use the canal will be lumber and grain carriers, and vessels engaged in the coasting trade as carriers of heavy and bulky freights.

The extent to which barges such as are extensively employed on many of our inland waterways will use the canal, has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but such an investigation contains many interesting possibilities. Consider, for example, the coal barges, towed by powerful ocean-going tugs, that are very common in the North Atlantic coasting trade, even making trips from Norfolk to Boston. This voyage is, on the whole, more dangerous than the trip from New Orleans to the canal would be, and as coal can be brought down to New Orleans by river at the cheapest transportation rate on earth it seems very probable indeed that a considerable barge traffic in coal will develop to and through the canal — with a resulting lowering of the cost of bunkering coal at all points thus reached. There would be little or no difficulty in finding a profitable return cargo for such barges, as tropical hardwoods and dyewoods are shipped in abundance at many Central American ports.



HOW THE CURRENTS OF WORLD TRADE WILL

SHOWING, ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION, THE GREAT DISTANCES THAT THE CANAL WILL SAVE BY THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE ORIENT; AND INDICATING THAT PANAMA WILL

Every newspaper reader is familiar with

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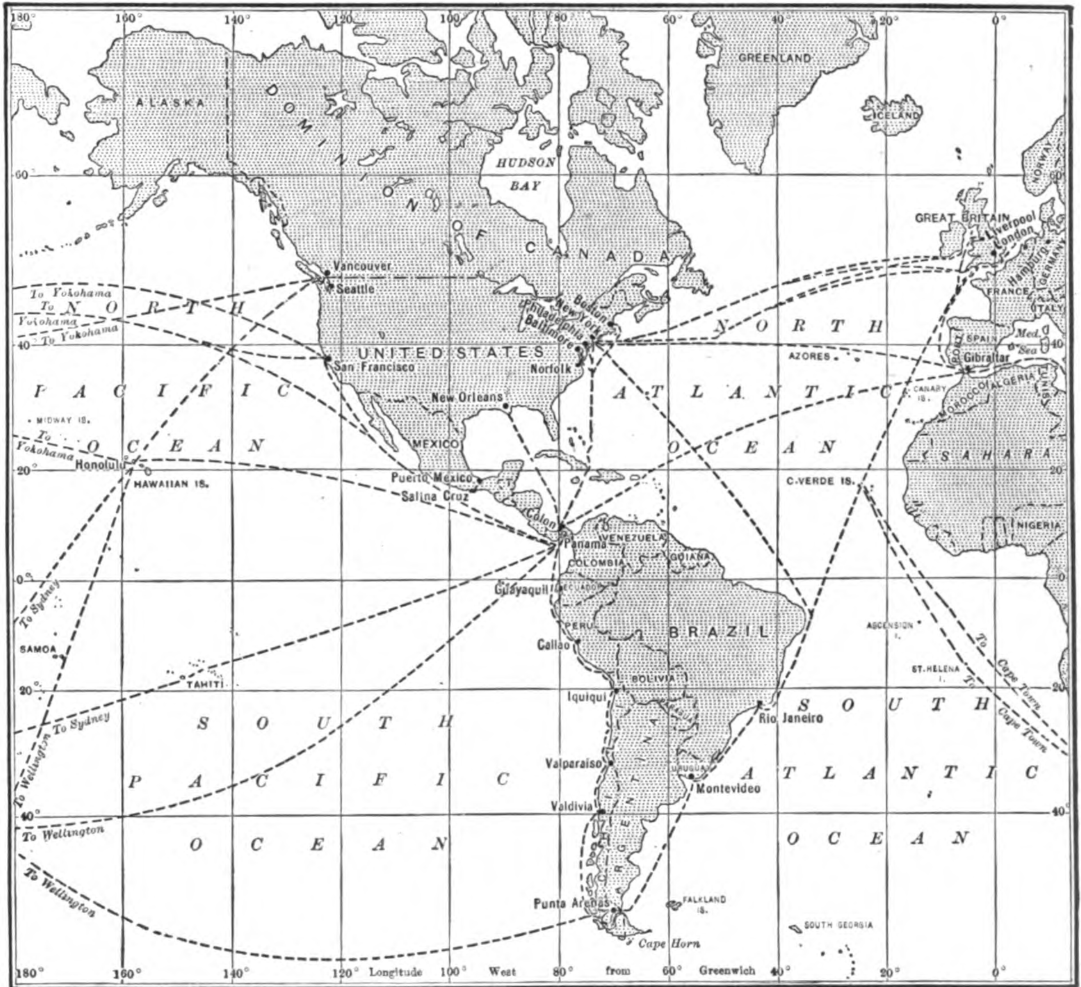
the arrivals and departures of the great passenger liners — the "greyhounds of the sea" — whose very names are almost household words. Actually, however, a very small part of the maritime business of the world is handled by these famous and imposing vessels. The bulk of the ocean terials of industry, and vast quantities of manufactured goods. The Panama Canal will unquestionably be used by every tramp steamer whose route it will shorten if a Government refund of the tolls paid will render its passage virtually free. If there is no such refund the problem be-



FLOW AFTER THE PANAMA CANAL IS OPENED

ELIMINATION OF CAPE HORN IN THE CARRIAGE OF FREIGHTS FROM EUROPE AND NEW YORK TO THE NOT COMPETE WITH SUEZ FOR THE EUROPEAN TRAFFIC TO INDIA

transportation of the great commercial staples is done by chartered steamships, that are usually called "tramps." These homely but exceedingly useful vessels slip in and out of the world's great seaports almost unnoticed, but the list of commodities they carry from one part of the world to another includes all the great foodstuffs of mankind, most of the great raw ma- comes one of simple arithmetic — so many days' steaming time saved at so much per day, against so much in tolls. Two other elements, however, may interfere with taking the canal, even if it should prove nominally the cheaper route. One of these is the necessity of coaling en route on either the outward or the return journey. If coaling stations by the canal route are

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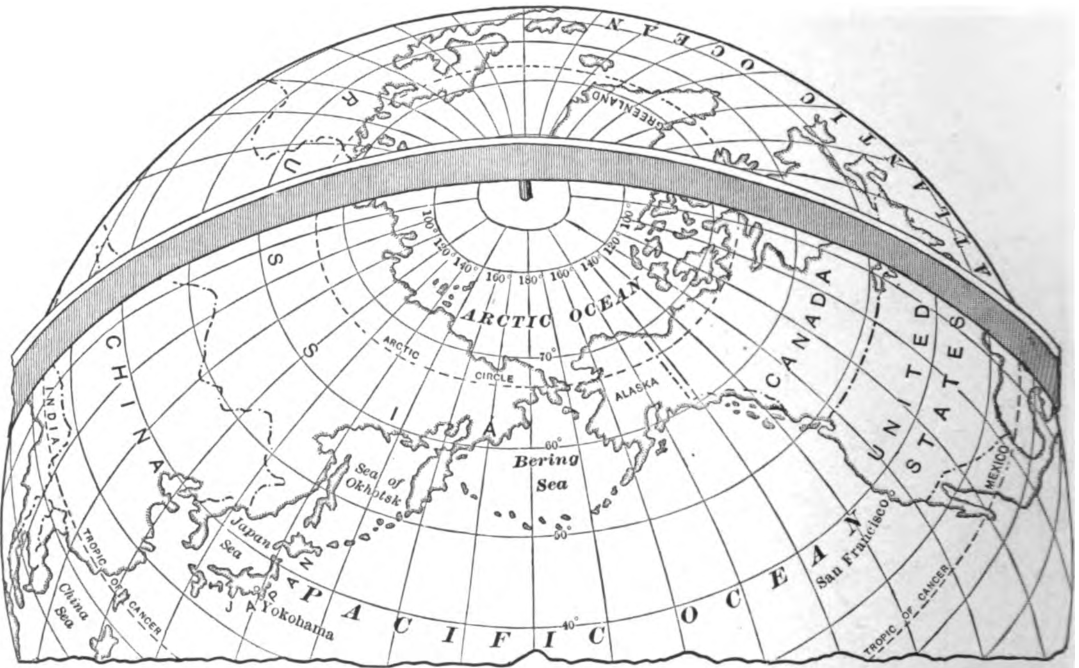
scarce and the price of coal high the longer route may still have a slight advantage. The second element is the lack of facilities for repairs, revictualing, water supply, securing additional crew, and keeping in touch with the steamer's owner or manager at home. If the plans of Colonel Goethals for making a gigantic freight distributing centre on the isthmus for meeting all these requirements are given effect by Congress, the Panama route may even attract tramp steamers from other routes that are actually shorter. If not, the lack of these facilities will offset to some extent any saving in distance.

Line traffic carriers are of three types: the freighter, differing from the chartered tramp only in that its voyages are over a regular route, or that it has perhaps been designed primarily for a single type of cargo; the combination passenger and freight carrier; and lastly, the costly and luxurious type of express steamship built for passenger traffic only. Except for excursion traffic during the first years after the canal is opened and during the San Francisco Exposition, the passenger type is not likely to use the canal, as anybody who wishes speed will naturally go overland by rail. The extent to which line steamship traffic for the other two types of carriers will be diverted to the canal will depend largely upon the peculiar conditions that exist along the routes which such steamers are now following.

Two of these routes will be affected by the opening of the canal only to a relatively small extent. These are the routes connecting Europe and the United States, respectively, with the East coast of South America. The canal will give a shorter mail route to the River Plate ports, by way of Valparaiso and the Trans-Andean Railway, and a quicker route for commercial travelers from the United States, but freight will continue as heretofore.



THE TRUE RELATION OF PANAMA TO THE ORIENT

NOTE THAT, ON A GLOBE, A COMPARATIVELY STRAIGHT LINE FROM PANAMA TO YOKOHAMA PASSES CLOSE TO ALL THE PACIFIC PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, THUS INDICATING THAT THESE PORTS WILL ATTAIN A NEW RANK IN WORLD TRADE

The great North Atlantic route between the United States and Europe will, however, be very considerably affected by the canal — and in a way that a great many people do not anticipate. According to the Mercator's projection map shown on

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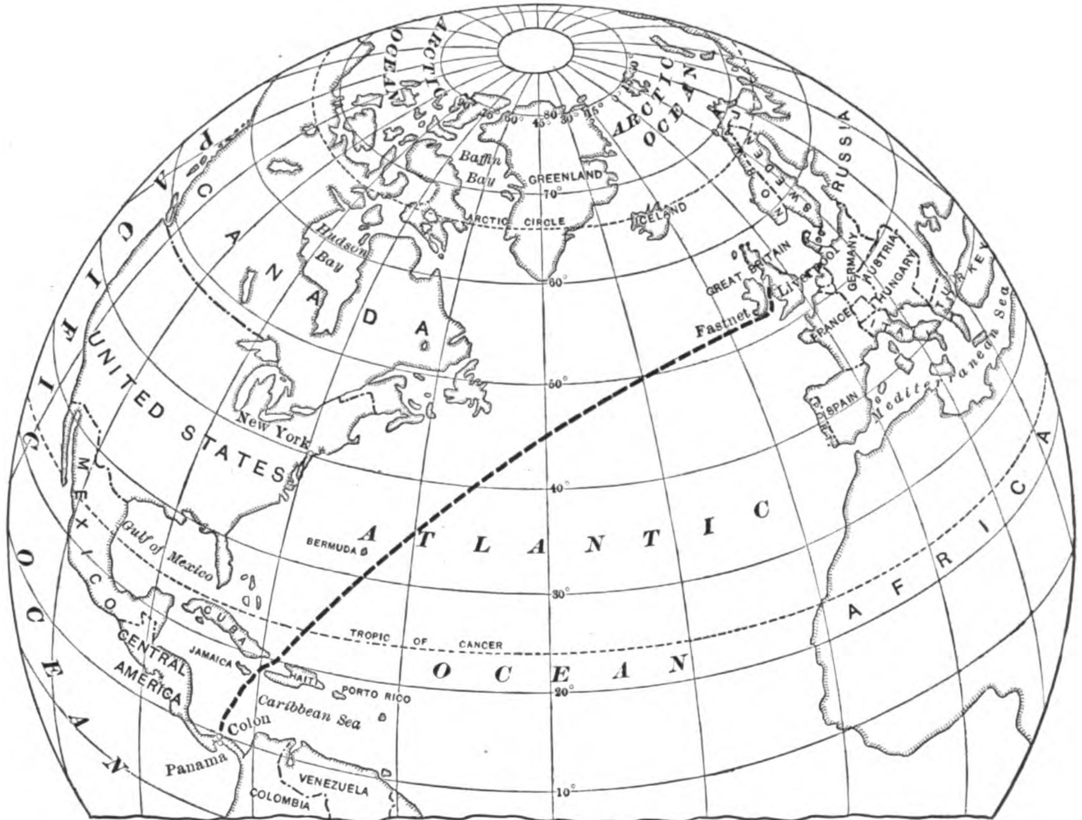
page 421, the shortest route from the English Channel to New York would appear to be a straight line drawn between those two points. Similarly, the shortest route from the Channel to Colon would seem to be a straight line between those two points. These two straight lines appear to diverge radically in direction. Actually, if traced on a globe, they will be found to be very nearly identical and to follow what mariners call the "great circle route" which runs parallel to the Atlantic coast line of the United States clear to the Gulf of Mexico. Vessels bound from northern Europe to Colon will follow this "great circle route" and thereby pass so close to New York that it would only be 314 miles farther from Liverpool to Colon by way of that city than by the shortest possible route.

This estimate, which is made by Prof. Emory R. Johnson in a report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, refers to the difference between the length of the direct voyage and that of the two voyages — from the Channel to New York and New York to Colon — combined. A glance at the map of the globe showing the North Atlantic Ocean will make this clear. Instead of following the great circle route past Bermuda, where no harbor accommodations for large vessels at present exist and no traffic whatever could be obtained, a steamship, by diverging gradually to the northward, would arrive at New York, the greatest traffic producing port in the world.



THE "GREAT CIRCLE ROUTE" FROM LIVERPOOL TO PANAMA

THIS ROUTE IS ONLY 314 MILES (ONE DAY'S STEAMING) SHORTER THAN THE ROUTE FROM LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK TO PANAMA, THUS INDICATING THAT NEW YORK WILL BECOME A PORT OF CALL OF ALL VESSELS IN THE TRADE FROM NORTHERN EUROPE TO THE FAR EAST

This fact has a very important and interesting bearing on the future traffic of the canal. It will enable vessels running

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between Europe and points on the Pacific by way of the canal to coal at Norfolk, or discharge and take on cargo at New York or any other Atlantic port, at the cost of only a moderate day's steaming. As the freight traffic between American and European ports is normally much heavier eastward than it is westward, there will be a great temptation to vessels that lack full cargoes and that are returning from Pacific ports by way of the canal to call at some American port where eastbound freight is known to be heavy. And, as cargoes from Europe to Pacific ports will probably not, at first, be equal to the capacity of the carriers, it is likely that these vessels will also call at New York on the outward passage to secure additional freight. This will greatly benefit American manufacturers by increasing the number of sailings available for them to ship to these markets, and it will tend to make New York the great trans-shipping port for much of the Pacific coast trade by way of the canal, just as it is to-day the great trans-shipping port for the bulk of the West Indian trade. There will also be a vast amount of trans-shipment of merchandise that will be brought as far as New York in European bottoms to vessels of American register to be transported to our Pacific coast. Announcements have already been made regarding several lines of steamships that have been projected to run from European ports to the canal and beyond, so that Panama traffic over this extension of the North Atlantic route will no doubt begin as soon as the canal is opened.

Of the routes directly affected by the opening of the Panama Canal, by far the most important is that by way of the Suez Canal from Europe and the United States to the Orient and Australasia. Running as it does directly through the heart of the greatest land mass in the world this route serves 1,300,000,000 of the earth's population and bears a commerce that has existed since the time of the Phoenicians.

The accompanying table, showing the distances for full powered steamships by great circle sailing from New York and Liverpool to ports in the Far East and Australasia via Suez, the Cape of Good Hope, and Panama, will indicate what portions of the traffic are most likely to be diverted and what portions will undoubtedly, or most probably, continue to go as at present.

DISTANCES FROM NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL TO THE FAR EASTERN PORTS

	[*From New York*]			[*From Liverpool*]	
	VIA SUEZ	VIA GOOD HOPE	VIA PANAMA	VIA SUEZ	VIA PANAMA
Bombay	8,186*	11,393	14,982	6,266*	17,610
Colombo	8,629*	11,133	14,112	6,736*	16,740
Calcutta	9,829*	12,254	14,165	7,973*	16,794
Singapore	10,177*	12,409	12,522	8,329*	15,151
Hongkong	11,628	13,687	11,190*	9,783*	13,819
Manila	11,547	13,521	11,543*	9,699*	13,743
Shanghai	12,384	14,457	10,645*	10,539*	13,274
Yokohama	13,079	15,099	9,677*	11,234*	12,306
Melbourne	13,009	12,838	9,945*	11,095*	12,574
Sydney	13,471	13,306	9,691*	11,563*	12,220
Wellington	14,387	14,034	8,522*	12,489	11,158*

(Shortest distance in each case is indicated by *)

This table shows clearly the extent to which Panama is an American rather than a European proposition as regards the Orient, distances from New York being shortened for all ports beyond Singapore, and very greatly reduced for ports in Australia and New Zealand, whereas the only port in all this region for which the route from Liverpool by way of Panama will be shorter than by way of Suez is Wellington, N. Z. The advantage in respect to distance which is against New York and in favor of Europe for every port in the table by the Suez route will be

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in favor of New York for all ports in Japan and Australasia. There will be practically no advantage either way in the case of Shanghai, China. Manila is almost precisely on the line of equidistance from New York by either Suez or Panama and will therefore be the last stop of most of the steamers coming out by way of Panama. This will not make Manila the "gateway" to the Orient by this route — as some writers seem to assume. It will be the last port in the line. By way of Suez it is merely a port of call for such steamers as find it worth while to stop there on their way from Singapore to Hongkong. A glance at the map will make this clear.

To sum up, the effect of the opening of the Panama Canal on the Suez route will undoubtedly be to divert all New York traffic to Australasia and Japan from the Suez route, and, as most of the ships to Japan go on at present to North and South China ports and Manila, this region also will probably be added to the sources for Panama tonnage. As these are chartered vessels and as return cargoes will normally be light they may go as far westward as Singapore for additional freight. Those vessels that go beyond this point, however, will probably return by way of Suez, whereas those that go to Java for sugar will be apt to return as they do now, by the Sunda Strait and Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape of Good Hope route, which 400 years ago destroyed the commercial supremacy of Venice, has in recent years waged a steadily losing battle with Suez for the trade of the Orient, although it has held a share of the trade with Australasia. Panama, with its saving of nearly 5,000 miles for American steamers, will undoubtedly divert practically all our Australian traffic from the Good Hope route; and, if toll rates at Panama are low and coaling facilities first class, much European traffic will probably prefer the Panama route to the Good Hope route, where coaling stations are few and far apart and prices generally rather high. For convenience in comparison, distances by the Good Hope route have been inserted in the preceding table between those

MAKING THE "KROONLAND" AN AMERICAN

RAISING THE UNITED STATES FLAG ON A BELGIAN VESSEL IN NEW YORK HARBOR, TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PREFERENCE LIKELY TO BE SHOWN AMERICAN SHIPS IN THE TOLLS CHARGED FOR THE USE OF THE PANAMA CANAL

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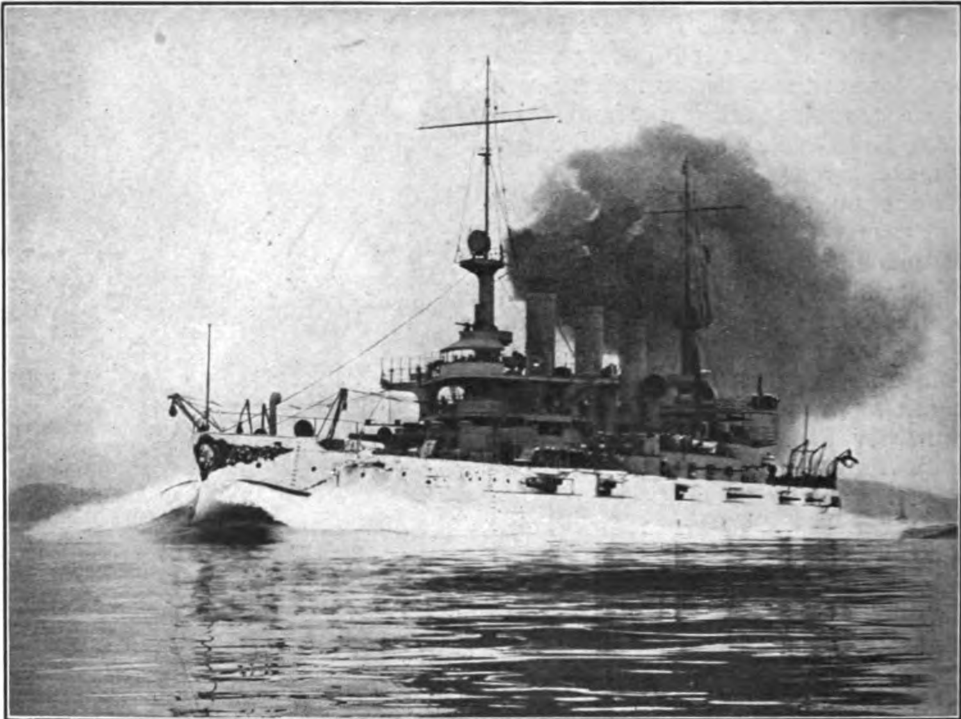
by Suez and by Panama. In no instance are distances by this route the shortest of the three, but the ports in India and Ceylon are nearer by way of Good Hope than by way of Panama, so that the traffic of that region is not likely under any circumstances to take the new waterway.

The Panama Canal can at most make a bid for only a portion of the existing traffic of the routes thus far discussed. There remains one route from which the canal will, in all probability, divert practically all of the inter-continental traffic now going over it. This is the route from the United States and Europe around the continent of South America, either via Cape Horn — which many sailing vessels take — or via the Straits of Magellan. The subjoined table presents at a glance the situation with respect to this route, by showing how much shorter the distances are by way of Panama than by way of the Straits of Magellan for ships bound from New York and Liverpool to points along the West Coast of South America.



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THE CANAL AS A WARTIME DEFENSE

DOUBLING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NAVY BY SAVING 10,000 MILES OF THE VOYAGE FROM THE ATLANTIC COAST TO THE PACIFIC

Obviously, the difference in favor of Panama is here so tremendous that any tolls could be profitably paid rather than steam from twice to three times as far. Some writers have stated that, as the

DISTANCES FROM NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL TO WEST COAST SOUTH AMERICAN PORTS

	[*From New York*]		[*From Liverpool*]	
TO	VIA MAGELLAN	VIA PANAMA	VIA MAGELLAN	VIA PANAMA
Guayaquil	10,423	2,864	10,722	5,603
Callao	9,702	3,359	10,072	6,098
Iquique	9,221	4,021	9,591	6,760
Valparaiso	8,461	4,630	8,831	7,369
Coronel	8,230	4,838	8,600	7,577

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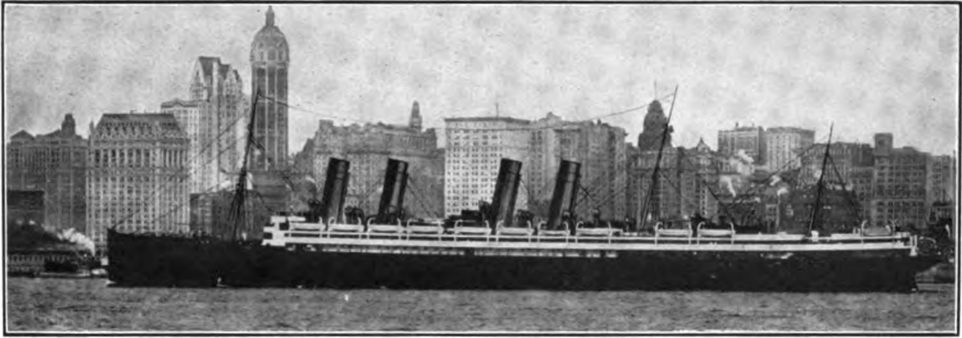


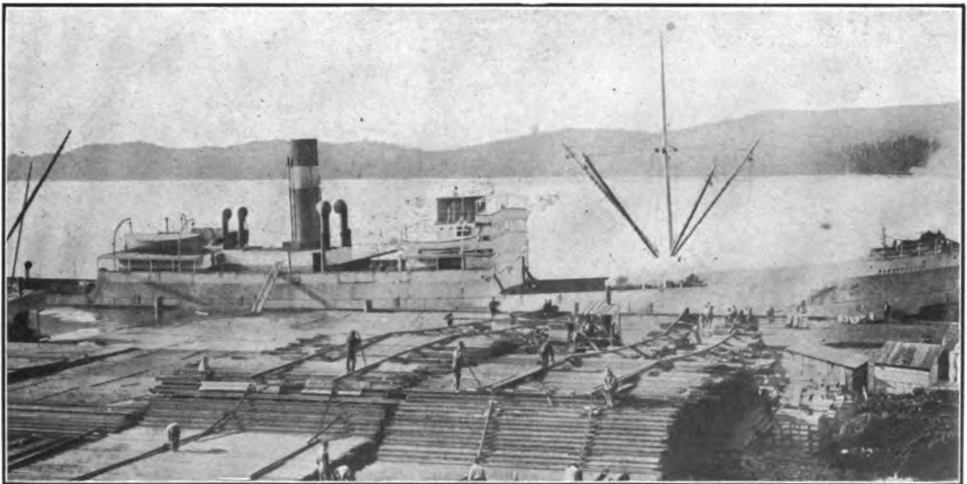
THE ARISTOCRAT OF THE SEAS

THE "KRONPRINCESSIN CECILIE" OF THE NORTH GERMAN LLOYD, A TYPE OF THE EXPRESS STEAMERS THAT ARE BUILT ESPECIALLY FOR SWIFT AND LUXURIOUS PASSENGER TRAFFIC AND THAT WILL NOT BE GREATLY AFFECTED BY THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

difference between the Panama route and the Magellan route to Coronel is only 1,000 miles, many vessels will go by the older route to Southern Chile, and as far northward as Valparaiso. This is quite improbable for the reason that these two ports do not offer sufficient traffic for a 9,000-mile trip with no other stops, whereas the voyage down the coast from Panama has the advantage of a possible call at New York both ways, together with calls at many smaller ports.

This, then, may fairly be regarded as one route that will become the exclusive property of Panama — a route starting in Europe and following the "great circle" to or near New York, thence along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and southward to Colon, and from Panama southward to Coronel. The present volume of traffic by Magellan Straits, around Cape Horn, and across the Panama Railroad combined is no criterion as to what the traffic may become with a new route so much shorter, quicker, and cheaper as this will be. The people of Chile expect a five-fold increase in their trade with the United States alone in the next decade.

A second new route will also follow the great circle — but this time in the Pacific. Apparently the shortest route from Panama across the Pacific to Yokohama would follow a straight line across the Pacific on the Mercator map. The



THE "HOBO" OF THE SEAS

A "TRAMP" STEAMER, AN EXAMPLE OF THESE HUMBLE BUT UBIQUITOUS AND SERVICEABLE CARRIERS OF THE WORLD'S MERCHANDISE, TO WHICH THE OPENING OF THE CANAL WILL MEAN AN ANNUAL SAVING OF MILLIONS OF MILES OF TRAVEL

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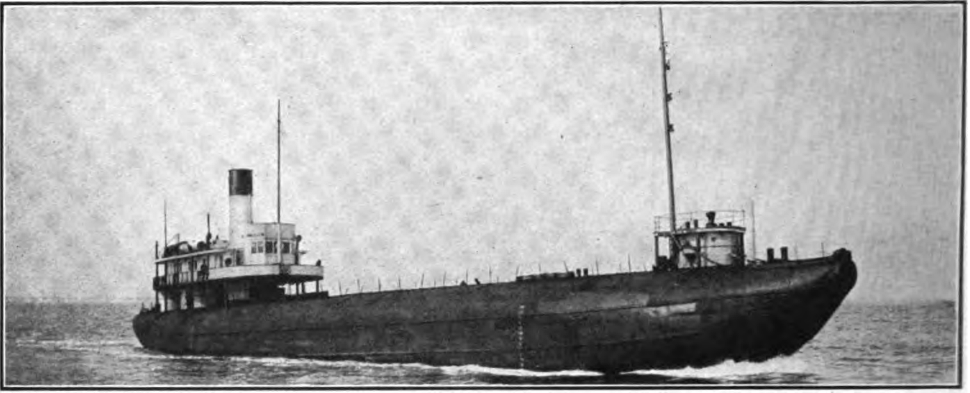
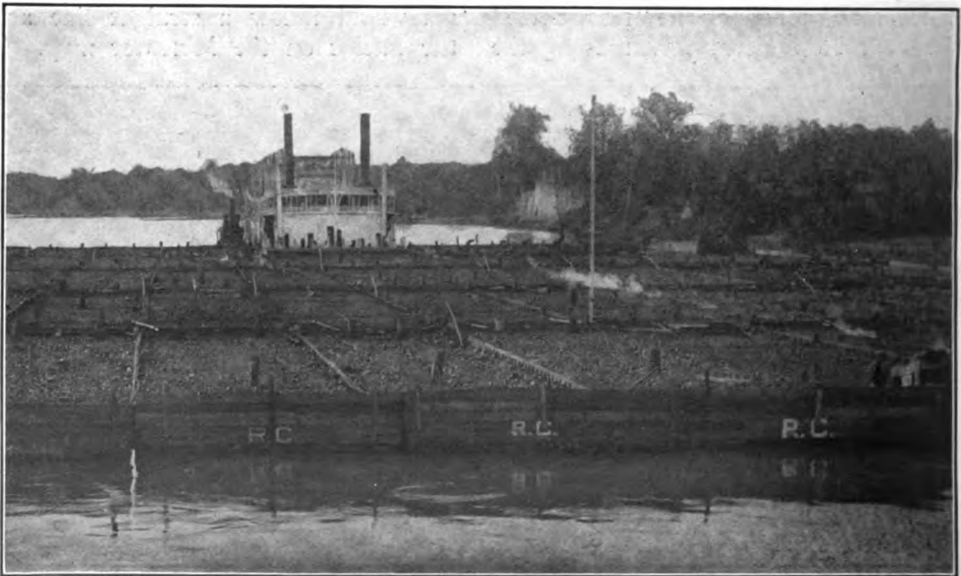


A WHALE THAT IS A BEAST OF BURDEN

A WHALEBACK BARGE OF THE GREAT LAKES, WHICH CARRIES WHEAT OR OIL, AND THE USEFULNESS OF WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE DOUBLED BY ITS ADAPTATION TO TRAFFIC THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

globe, however, shows the surprising fact that the west coast of the United States and the east coast of Asia, instead of facing each other across thousands of miles of water, are actually on a line with each other. The "great circle route" from Panama to Yokohama passes so close to San Francisco that a deviation of 114 miles would enable a steamer to call there. Honolulu is 300 miles distant from the shortest route, and it is therefore probable that most steamers will call at San Francisco, or some other port on the Pacific mainland, on the western trip, where additional cargo for the Orient is more likely than in the Hawaiian Islands. On the return trip there will always be cargo for Europe among the Pacific coast ports of the United States, so one or more of these will probably be ports of call on the return voyage of steamers running between Europe and the Orient via Panama.

For Australian ports two routes from Panama are probable, one directly to New Zealand without stop, and thence to Sydney; the other by Tahiti or some



A SOURCE OF AMERICAN PROFIT FROM THE CANAL

CHEAPLY FREIGHTED COAL, BROUGHT BY BARGES FROM PITTSBURGH TO NEW ORLEANS AND TRANSSHIPPED TO PANAMA FOR SALE TO THE STEAMERS THAT USE THE CANAL

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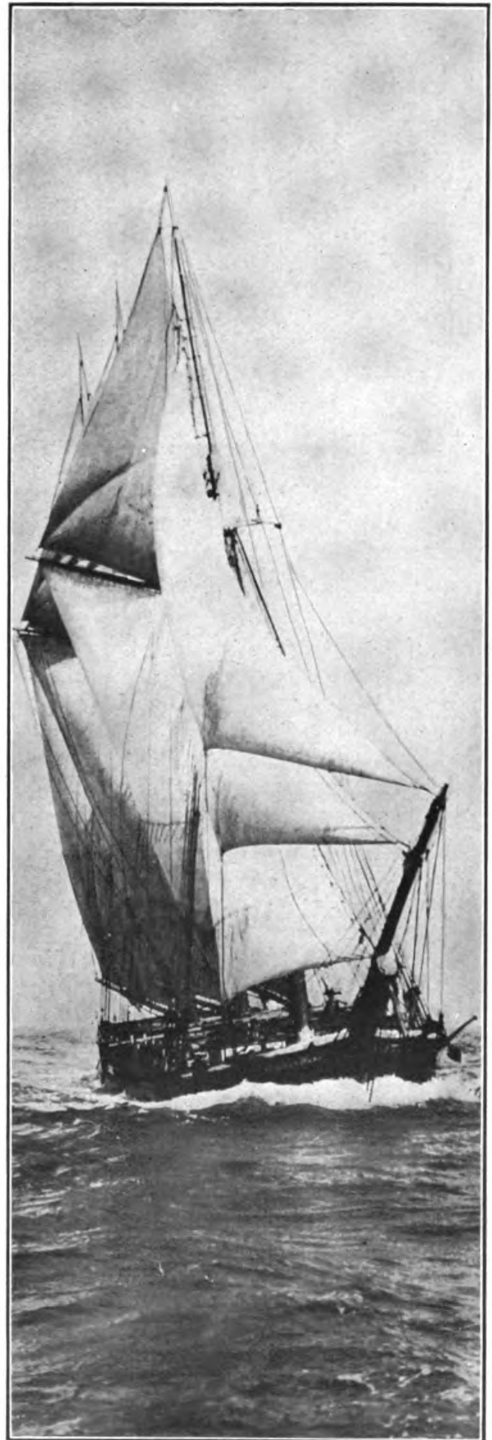
other island group in the southern Pacific. These Australian routes, as well as the Yokohama and Oriental great circle route across, or rather around, the North Pacific, will be essentially freight routes, with very little passenger traffic; but the route down the West Coast of South America has passenger traffic possibilities that will call for combination steamers of good size and speed. A freight route that is already in existence, bringing Hawaiian sugar to the east coast of the United States by way of the Tehuantepec Railroad, will contribute about 600,000 tons of traffic annually to the Panama Canal totals, beginning the day the canal is opened, and having a prospect of rapid growth to 1,500,000 tons in the near future. This route is served by a fleet of modern cargo steamers, with five new vessels now building. On most maps showing ocean steamship lines, the Hawaiian Islands and several other insular groups are depicted as centres of a score or so of different lines radiating to all points of the compass. These lines, however, while useful as indicating steaming distances or directions, seldom represent actual routes over which vessels regularly ply. Honolulu is a port of call for several steamship lines between Pacific ports and the Orient and Australia, but not for vessels running in all the directions indicated on such maps.

This readjustment of the ocean traffic routes of the commercial world will affect, directly or indirectly, more than half the countries on the globe. Next to the United States, the republics situated along the western coast of South America will be most benefited. At present these republics are profoundly handicapped as regards both their commerce and their industries, because the only routes available for them are the long and dangerous route by the Straits of Magellan, or the shorter but costly route over the Isthmus of Panama with its double handling of freight. Owing to the length of the voyage much of this traffic has always been by sail, and that has given Europe an advantage, as the sailing voyage from the English Channel is ten days less than from New York. The completion of the canal will substitute a swift steam service



THE VANISHING SAILER

OF THE OLD ROMANTIC TYPE, NOW GIVING WAY TO THE SWIFTER AND MORE CAPACIOUS STEAMSHIPS; TO WHICH THE CANAL WILL BE OF LITTLE BENEFIT BECAUSE IT LIES IN A BELT OF CALMS

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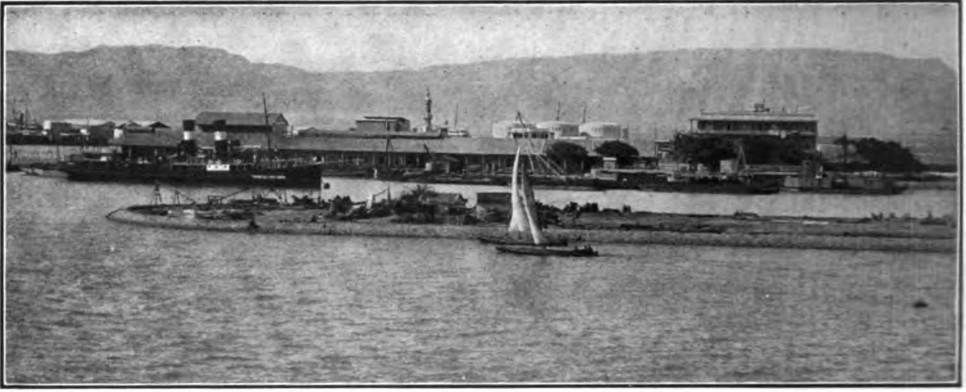

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SUEZ, THE FIRST GREAT CANAL

WHICH ALMOST DESTROYED THE TRAVEL BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AS THE PANAMA CANAL WILL NEARLY END THE TRAVEL BY CAPE HORN. PANAMA WILL DEPRIVE SUEZ OF MUCH ORIENTAL TRAFFIC

over a route one third as long — a change that in itself will vastly increase the volume of the traffic. There will without doubt be a large influx of American and European capital into these West Coast countries as soon as the canal is finished; and the new enterprises thus inaugurated will in turn lead to still greater traffic. Panama will give the United States a 3,000-mile advantage over Europe in place of the 10-day disadvantage just mentioned. For return cargoes Peru will contribute sugar, Ecuador cacao, and Chile nitrate of soda from its northern ports of Iquique and Antofagasta to the amount of more than two million tons annually. As the saving by the canal or the voyage from Iquique is 5,200 miles, far more of this product will come to the United States than formerly, and it will come by the canal. For Liverpool the saving is 2,831 miles and for Hamburg 2,852 — probably enough to send vessels for these points by the canal, although this would depend on the rate of tolls and the size and operating cost of each steamer.

A GREAT TRADE CENTRE THAT THE CANAL WILL AFFECT

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, ON THE GOOD HOPE ROUTE, WHICH WILL LOSE SOME OF ITS TRAFFIC TO THE NEW ROUTE BY WAY OF PANAMA

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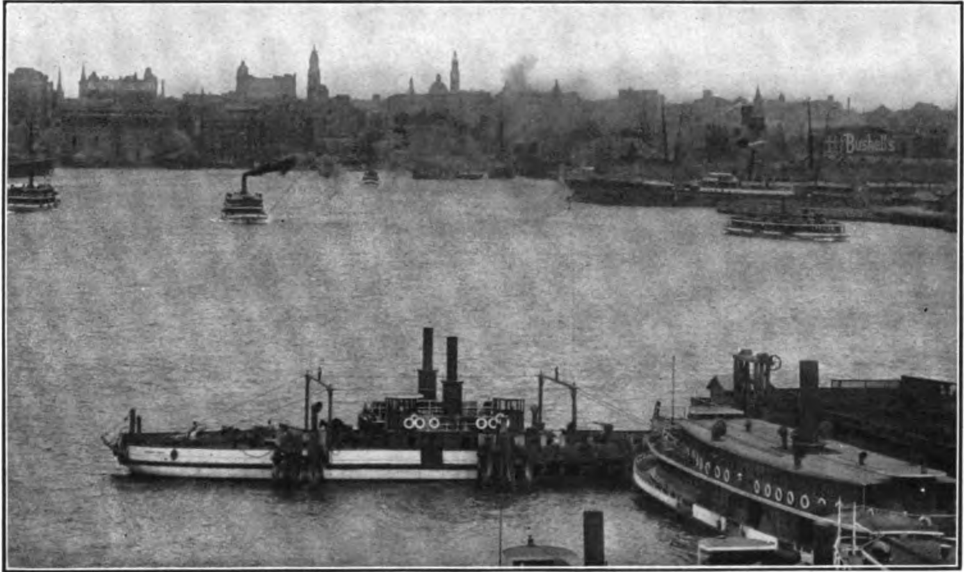
Of the West Coast South American countries, Chile will probably benefit to a greater extent than any other, being largely in the temperate zone, and already possessing a stable and efficient government, a very considerable railroad system, an energetic and industrious population, and many industries of great economic promise. Peru, where the greatest need at present is capital to develop its agricultural and mineral resources — most of its best lands requiring irrigation — expects to see its industries and commerce double within the next decade. Ecuador, already the chief source of one of the world's great agricultural staples, cacao, offers a wide field for capital and industrial development, as does also Bolivia. Colombia, though already possessing an Atlantic seaboard, will be immensely benefited by the opening to world commerce of its now almost unknown ports on the Pacific. The Central American republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala are in the same position, with the added fact that the bulk of the population of each of them lives on the Pacific slope. Heretofore the commerce of Europe and America has been trickling into these countries by the Atlantic back door. It can now enter at the front foor, avoiding the costly haul over the continental divide now necessary in two of them. Salvador, like the South American republics above mentioned, has no outlet on the Atlantic and will probably see its foreign trade vastly increased as traffic routes to it by the canal are developed. Mexico will perhaps gain less relatively than any of these countries, but as its West Coast states are commercially larger and more important than those of some of its southern neighbors its absolute gain will be even greater.



THE HARBOR AT SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

EVEN THE PORTS OF THE ANTIPODES EXPECT TO FEEL A STIMULATING IMPULSE TO THEIR TRADE FROM THE OPENING OF THE CANAL

In the Orient, Japan will undoubtedly be the chief gainer by the canal, Baron Kenko Kimotsuki estimating recently that $150,000,000 would hardly represent the country's eventual revenue from supplying coal to the new coaling ports, and water at Japanese ports, and repairing and outfitting the enlarged mercantile navies that would put in at Yokohama and other leading ports of the Island Empire. Japanese economists expect a vast increase of traffic between Japan and the East coast of the United States and Europe as a result of the canal. Shipping men and merchants are already making active preparations to meet the new conditions

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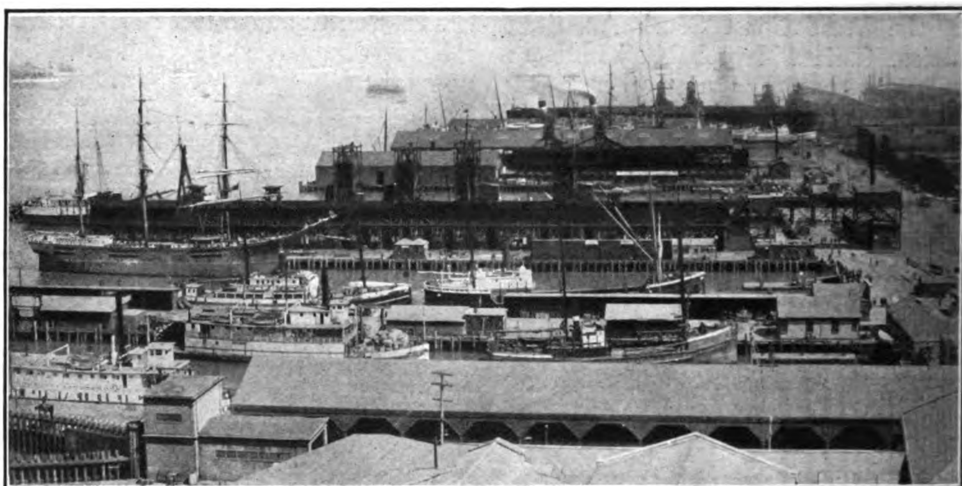

AN AMERICAN PORT THAT EXPECTS GREAT THINGS OF PANAMA

SAN FRANCISCO WHICH, WITH OTHER WESTERN PORTS, THE CANAL WILL PUT WITHIN A DAY'S SAILING OF THE "GREAT CIRCLE" ROUTE OF VESSELS BOUND FROM EUROPE AND NEW YORK TO CHINA AND JAPAN

that will then exist. Conditions for the rest of the Far East, as the table of distances shows, will not be so profoundly modified as to occasion any particular preparation, although a new alternative route, with the prospect of a very considerable increase in shipping, will promote commercial and industrial activity to some extent. In Australia and New Zealand the greatly reduced distance to the United States East coast will bring about a considerable increase in trade with this country, with substantial benefit to Australasian buyers in many closely competitive lines.

It will be, however, the United States that after all will reap the largest benefits from the new waterway. Pacific Coast grain and lumber will secure a vastly shorter route to Europe; Southern cotton to the Orient; Eastern coal to Panama, Central and Southern America for both bunkering and industrial use; Southern lumber to these countries and the Orient; iron and steel products and general manufactures to the entire circle of markets

WHERE THE CANAL WILL MULTIPLY BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CALLAO, PERU, ONE OF THE PORTS ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA THAT THE NEW ROUTE WILL BRING THOUSANDS OF MILES NEARER TO NEW YORK AND EUROPE

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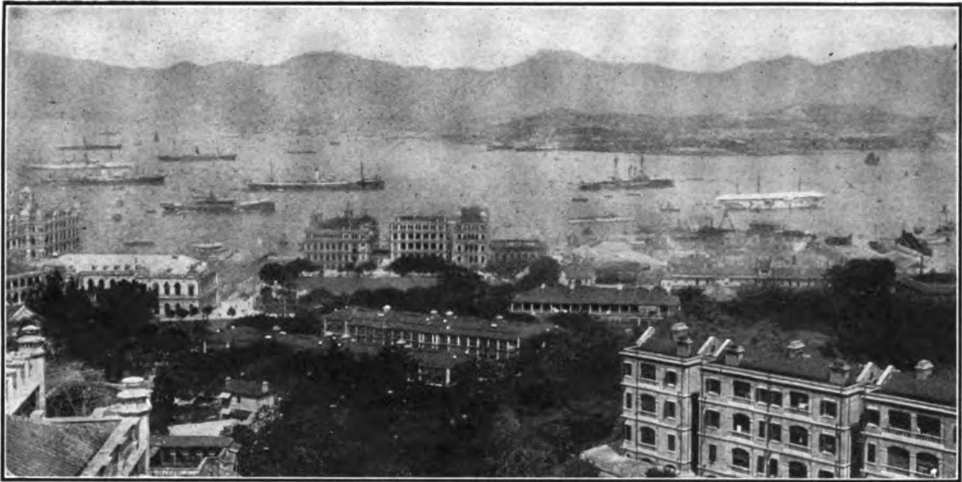
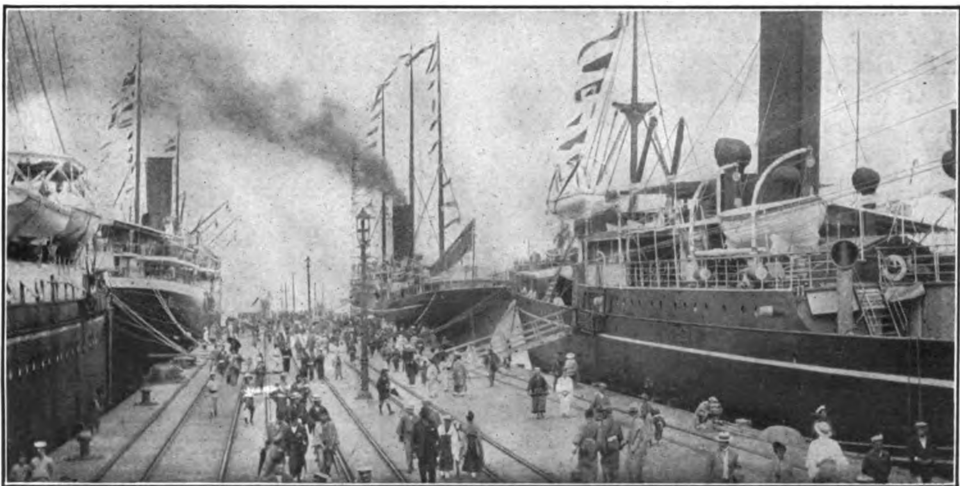


"THE GATEWAY OF THE ORIENT"

HONGKONG, WHICH THE CANAL WILL BRING SO MUCH NEARER TO EUROPE BY THE ROUTE BY NEW YORK AND PANAMA THAT NEW YORK WILL PROBABLY BECOME THE WORLD CENTRE OF FAR EASTERN TRADE

surrounding the Pacific. Along each of the new ocean routes above described and at their diverging termini are a score of seaports that the canal will bring nearer to our shipping points. Behind each of these ports are scores of cities to which our manufacturers will thus have improved transportation facilities and resultant broader demands. All the elements in the new situation that the canal will produce mean larger opportunity, but the time remaining during which to prepare the foundations upon which increased business relations must ultimately rest is very short. No trade, even in the zones that the canal will bring the closest to us, "belongs" to American manufacturers. Banking facilities, safe and strong trade connections, wise adjustments of products to local trade requirements and preferences, arrangement of all the multitudinous details of an export campaign designed not merely to win but to hold the trade of the buyer overseas — all these things must be looked after during the next twelve months!



A DEPOT OF THE NEW PACIFIC TRADE

THE PIER AT YOKOHAMA, WHERE PREPARATIONS ARE UNDER WAY TO REAP THE MILLIONS THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THE OPENING OF THE CANAL TO ADD TO ITS PEOPLE'S COMMERCE

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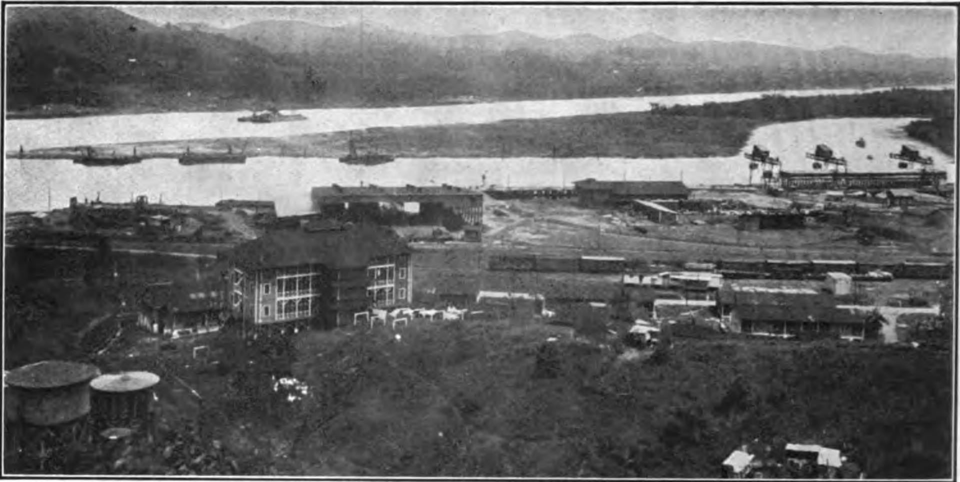
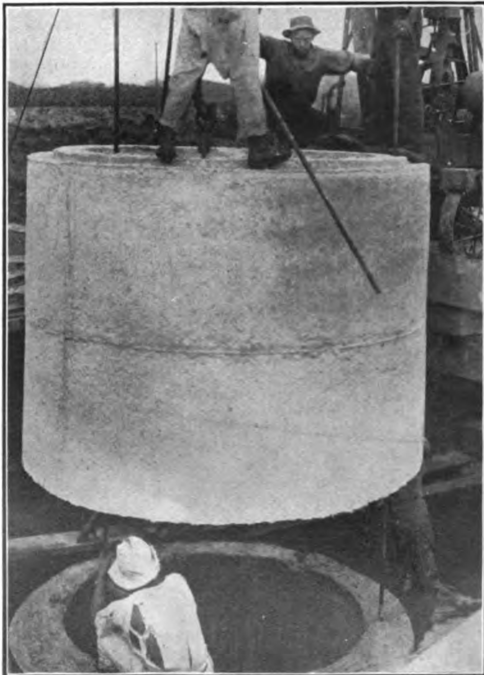


MAKING A GREAT NAVAL DEPOT AT BALBOA

WHERE, AT THE PACIFIC END OF THE CANAL, COLONEL GOETHALS PLANS TO HAVE, BESIDES THE MACHINE SHOPS AND SHIP WAREHOUSES SHOWN IN THIS PICTURE, A CITY AND HARBOR WITH EVERY KNOWN CONVENIENCE FOR THE CARRIERS OF THE WORLD

kick, but with an invitation. The boys in the shops are going to give a banquet, to celebrate the breaking-up of the old camp, and they want the Colonel to be there.

"Can I get such a breakfast next morning as I had at Mrs. Morrison's in 1907? That was the best I ever had on the Isthmus."



SINKING DOCK CAISSONS AT BALBOA

FOR THE NEW DOCKS THAT ARE PART OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN TO PROVIDE COMPLETE SERVICE TO ALL PASSING SHIPS

"Sure!"

"Then I'll come." He passes over the cigarettes and the two sit down as amicably as if there were not a shoulder-strap or a red flag in the world.

"Colonel, did you see much of Socialism when you were in Germany?"

"The Kaiser told me he was going to stamp it all out."

"Bismarck tried that, you know."

"Now look here, Morrison, you mustn't say we have Socialism down here. Introduce the franchise, and we'd go to pieces. It's a despotism; and that's the best form of government."

"It is," agrees the big Socialist, with a laugh; "if you've got a good despot."

The last visitor is gone and Colonel Goethals tilts wearily back in his desk-chair. The cigarette-box is empty; for the last three hours he has been nervously lighting cigarettes and throwing them away half-smoked. There are very many wrinkles in his face and the white curls are growing thin about his temples, but his smile is still patient and unwearied. Looking over his spectacles at the interviewer in the corner, the Colonel says,

"Do you know, sometimes this gets to be a blamed old grind?"

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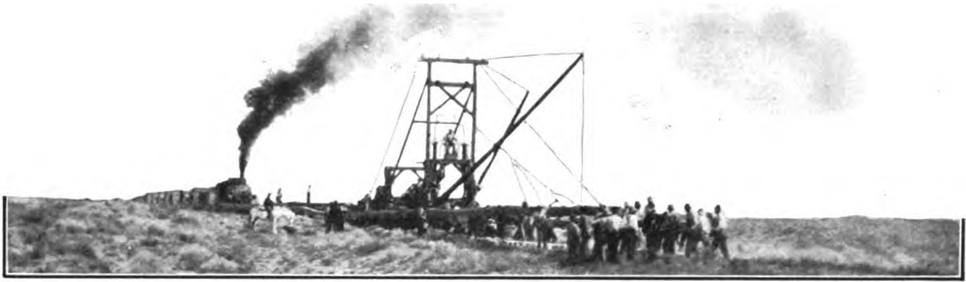

CHANGING THE TRANSCONTINENTAL TRADE ROUTES

THE ROUTE TO THE ORIENT TO-DAY THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL OUT OF NEW YORK — WILL NEW ORLEANS GET THIS TRAFFIC? — STARTING ANEW THE BATTLE BETWEEN RAIL AND OCEAN — HOW TRAFFIC FLOWS ACROSS THE CONTINENT — HOW MUCH CAN BE DIVERTED FROM THE RAILS?

BY

C. M. KEYS

ABOUT the time that the Government of the United States was engaged in the task of trying to break up the Harriman railroad dominion in the courts, many tales were current concerning the fact that American ships could not get cargoes for the Orient out of Pacific Coast ports. One remembers best, perhaps, a telling photograph of nearly a dozen great ships lying at anchor, idle and useless. At the time, it was an argument for ship subsidies, for the right of the railroads to make practically secret rates on Oriental business, and for other points worth while, perhaps, to some people.

About the same time, the real answer to this puzzling situation came out, indirectly and somewhat sketchily, in the evidence of various gentlemen before the Harriman court. A lot of men were summoned to tell about the way the Harriman lines combined and worked together. Incidentally, most of them were asked how they routed traffic that was bound from American factories to the Orient. It was an incidental question only. When I came to write this article about the traffic results of the Panama Canal, I dimly remembered these old questions, and dug up some of them, because in the answers to them is revealed the greatest and most world-wide change that will be worked by the Panama Canal if it really does its business.

The traffic manager of the Carnegie Steel Company, Mr. L. C. Bihler, was one of these witnesses. Mr. Severance asked him the question which way his freight went to the Orient.

"At the present time, it moves via the Suez Route, via the Atlantic Seaboard."

After him came James E. Henry, who managed the shipment of Standard Sanitary goods to all the corners of the world. To the same question he gave answer:

"It was moving via Pacific Coast ports; but lately it is moving via Suez."

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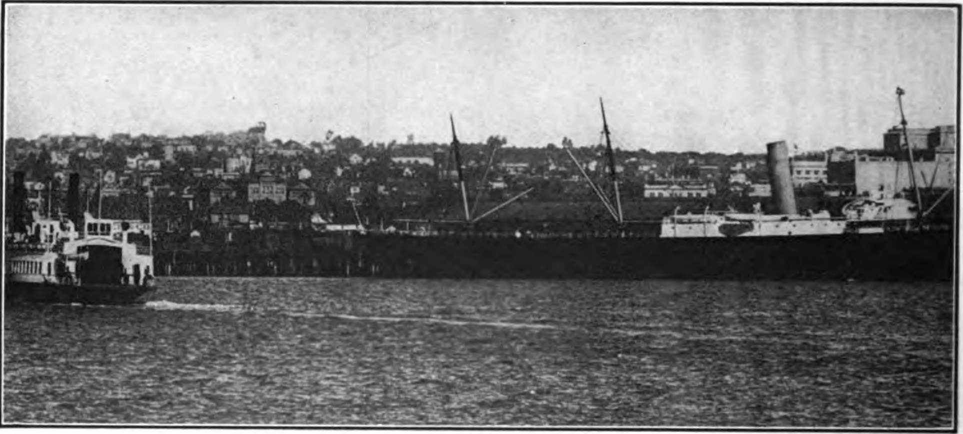


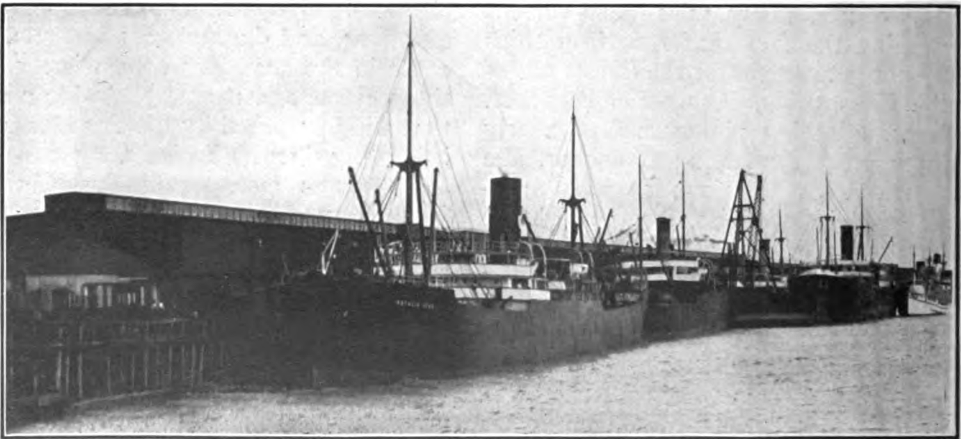
THE HARBOR OF SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

ONE OF THE PORTS THAT WILL PROFIT BY THE OPENING OF THE CANAL. IN THE FOREGROUND, A STEAMER OF THE AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY WHICH NOW CARRIES 8 PER CENT. OF ALL AMERICAN TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAFFIC AND WHICH WILL TRANSFER ALL ITS BUSINESS TO THE NEW ROUTE

Following him came Messrs. Wilbur B. Everest, of the Westinghouse Electric, and men of equal knowledge from the Oil Well Supply Company, the Buckeye Engine Company, and many other manufacturers of the Pittsburg district and the regions eastward, all telling the same story.

One man, Mr. John F. Lent, Traffic Manager for the National Paving Brick Manufacturing Company, the Pennsylvania-New York Brick Association, the Carbon Steel Company, the Hussey & Binns Shovel Company, the Pittsburgh Steel Foundry, the Mack Manufacturing Company, the Independent Brewing Company, the Republic Rubber Company, the United Engineering Company, was asked the sweeping question: "Do you know of any Oriental business going on from Pittsburgh to the Pacific Coast?" He answered briefly, "I do not."

It was the story of a lost opportunity, perhaps; or of the triumph of the British merchant marine, according as you look at it. In any event, the gist of it was, and is, that American manufactures seeking Oriental markets have moved in a steady river of traffic across the Atlantic and out through Suez to the Orient.



THE DOCKS THAT KILLED THE PANAMA RAILROAD

AT NEW ORLEANS, WHERE THE SHIPS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY, CONNECTING NEW YORK WITH NEW ORLEANS AND THERE WITH THE SUNSET ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA, PRACTICALLY DESTROYED THE OLD TRAFFIC ROUTE BY THE RAILROAD ACROSS THE ISTHMUS

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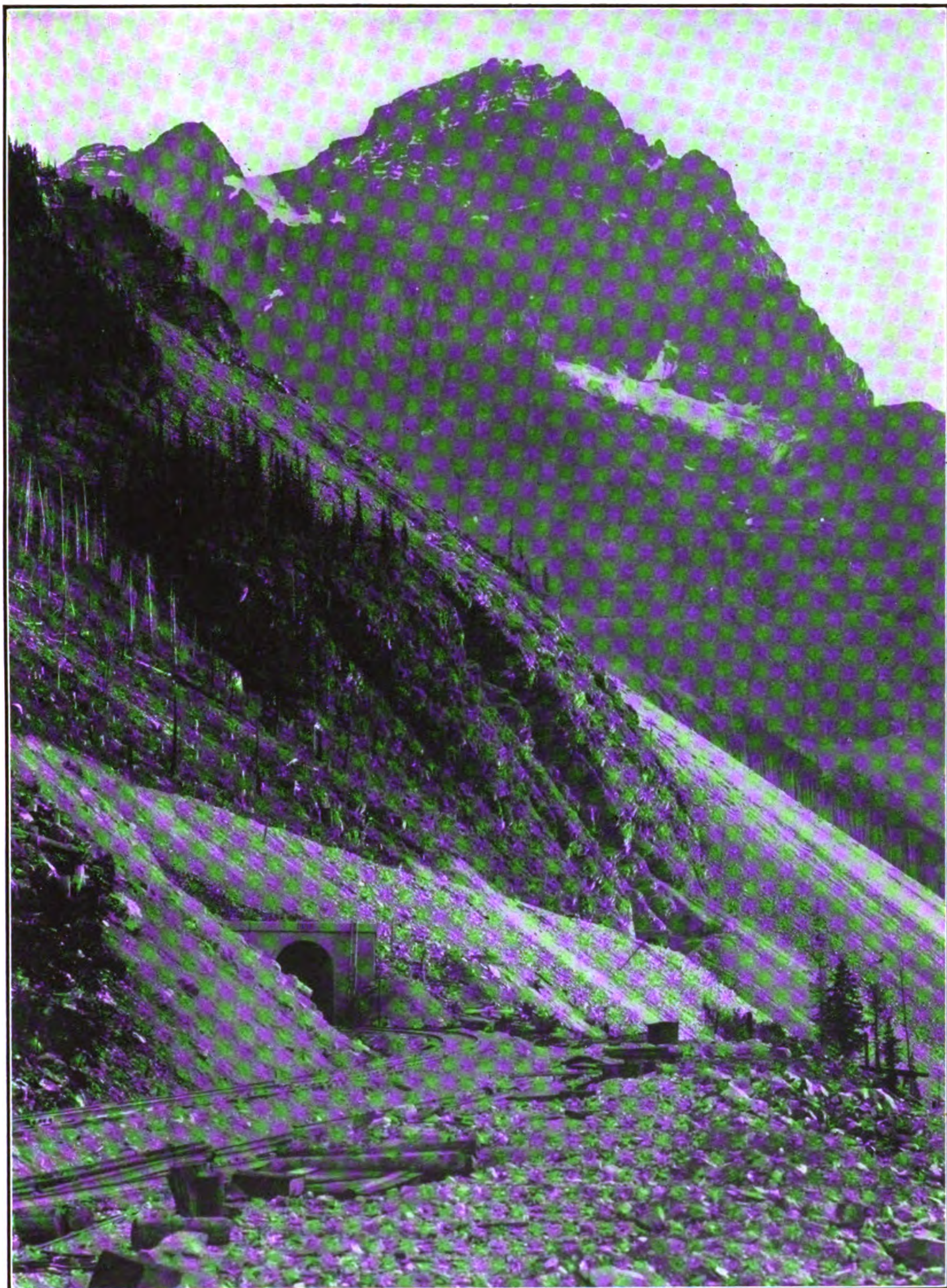

PREPARING TO MEET THE COMPETITION OF THE CANAL

THE GREAT KICKING HORSE CAÑON TUNNEL BY WHICH THE CANADIAN PACIFIC LOWERS SOME OF ITS WORST GRADES AND SAVES MANY MILES OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL HAUL

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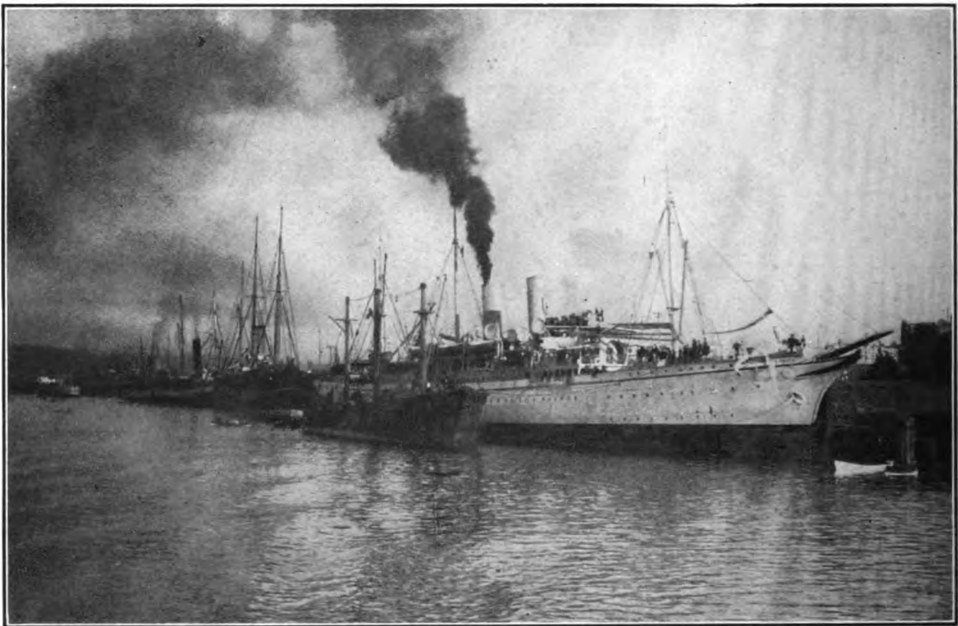
Strong efforts, at times, have been made to swing this current westward, and carry, on the long transcontinental haul, the shiploads of export freight of the highest class that slipped away from the manufacturing cities on the short rail haul to New York and thence on the long ocean route, in British bottoms, to the Orient. Of course, it is all a matter of rates. The ships for the Suez make what rates they please, change them as they need, adapt them over-night if forced to do it. The rail lines, on the contrary, must publish every change in rates for thirty days ahead. Therefore it was no battle.

I am no ocean-traffic expert, and I have no figures to show the actual cost of moving a hundred tons of American-made machinery out of New York through the Suez to China and moving this same freight out of New York through the Panama Canal; but it takes no traffic expert to figure that there will certainly be a saving, particularly if the tolls favor the Panama route very heavily.

Therefore, the pull against the transcontinental railroad lines must be still heavier to-morrow than it was yesterday. It is a tonnage that grows fast, this trade with the awakening nations of Asia. If, by reason of the competition of the Suez Canal against the shorter rail lines across the continent, most of the heavy manufactured goods of the Middle West went out through New York in other days, it may almost be taken for granted that, in years to come, practically no manufactures of the East and the Middle West in bulk will move across the continent for shipment out of Pacific Coast ports.



THE VANCOUVER DOCKS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILROAD

WHICH WILL BE ONE OF THE CHIEF COMPETITORS OF THE PANAMA CANAL FOR THE FREIGHT BUSINESS BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC COASTS

The Panama Canal will almost certainly, in time, become the highway for manufactured goods moving from the industrial centres of the United States into the Orient. Wherever a stream of manufactured traffic moves in one direction, a backward stream is almost sure to be created. In all human probability, so far as Oriental trade in finished products is concerned, the Atlantic and Gulf ports will steadily increase in both export and import business. To guess whether New York or New Orleans or some other port will be the chief beneficiary of this change of route is little better than prophecy at this moment; but there is no reasonable

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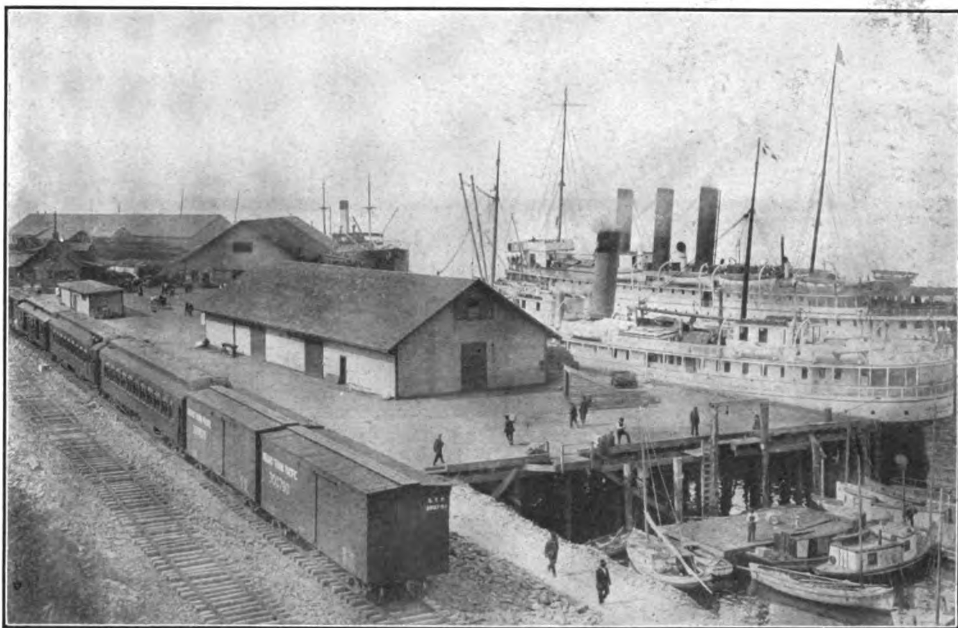
ground for doubt that the Gulf ports will be stronger in their competition with New York than they ever were before so far as Oriental traffic is concerned. It is not all imagination, this boast one hears in the cities of the South, that in the years to come the headquarters of America's Oriental traffic may be along the Southern coast. Only, on the other hand, one well may doubt that the city which is the central American market for Oriental imports will ever lose its present domination in that particular traffic to and fro.

is usually only to get a better trade in some other place. Peace has reigned in transcontinental circles for twelve years past, ever since the big Canadian line made discount rates out of all the markets of the East through Vancouver and down the Coast to San Francisco — a wicked raid on a peaceful and harmless — so said its bosses — little pool arrangement of their own made by the American transcontinentals.

Into this atmosphere of peace and, more or less, prosperity comes Uncle Sam with a fine new canal, open to anybody that



THE DOCKS OF THE NEW GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC AT PRINCE RUPERT

ANOTHER RAILROAD THAT WILL HAVE TO FIGHT THE CANAL FOR THE CARRIAGE OF FREIGHTS ORIGINATING IN THE GREAT CENTRAL VALLEY AND DESTINED FOR THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE ORIENT

may care to use it, within limits. Steamship lines out of New Orleans and New York — let us say — may bid powerfully for traffic across the continent, for this great, steady river of traffic flowing so smoothly along the rails.

Pass from the little question of Oriental trade to the larger problem of domestic trade — the barter between Americans of the East and Americans of the West. To-day, this trade flows back and forth along well-worn channels, routes of long standing, courses fixed and unchanged for many years. It is a long time since any daring railroad broke seriously into the transcontinental situation. Occasionally, even now, the Grand Trunk or the Canadian Pacific starts some excitement at New York, some back-door route at a fancy discount all the way around up through New England and Ontario; but it

Here is a challenge and a threat from Mr. Franklin K. Lane, contained in a decision handed down last year by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a Government body. Railroad traffic managers and railroad shippers alike may find it interesting:

> The railroads, moreover, must soon meet with a competition by water more intense than any that they have heretofore suffered; for

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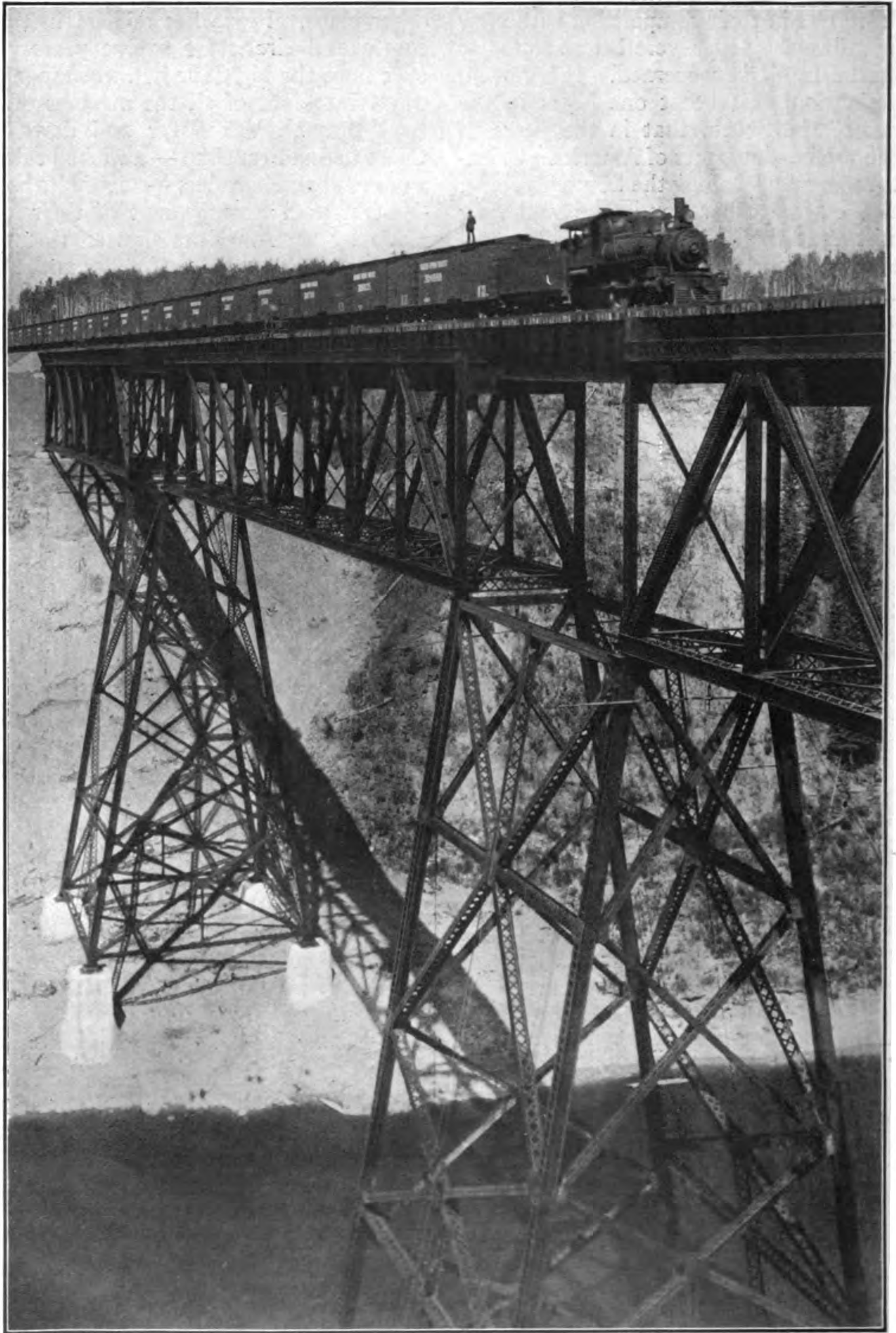

IN THE WAR FOR FREIGHTS

THE GREAT STEEL BRIDGE, 900 FEET LONG AND 213 FEET ABOVE THE WATER, THAT CARRIES THE TRACKS OF THE NEW GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILROAD OVER THE PEMBINA RIVER

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within three years another route, one more important, searching, and determinative in its effect upon railroad rates than any other, will be opened — a route all water by way of the Panama Canal. The cutting of this canal will in effect bring the straits of Magellan 3,500 miles to the northward, and with modern steamships it is estimated that San Francisco will by water be removed from New York but fourteen days.

So, according to Mr. Lane, there is to be reopened the long quiescent question between the sea and the land transportation machine in transcontinental traffic. It is a long time since anything like that really happened. It was in 1885, to be exact, that the ocean route died a quiet, unnatural death. That was the year when the Sunset-Gulf route — the ships from New York connecting with the Southern Pacific at the Gulf — demonstrated its power to drive the clipper ships of America from the highways of the sea, to sterilize the Pacific Mail, and thereby to make the Panama Railroad more a curiosity than a railroad. That marked the end of the traffic epoch in the long transcontinental trade, and the beginning of another — the epoch of unchallenged railroad dominancy over the highways of commerce.

In the six years from 1885 to 1891, this Sunset-Gulf route carried nearly ninety tons out of every hundred tons of freight that moved from the Atlantic Seaboard to California. That constitutes pretty nearly a monopoly. It was earned by hard fighting. Along in the later stages of this battle to clear the sea of ships that would compete with the railroad-owned lines, the Sunset-Gulf route established a new record in New York-California trade. It was a carload of bamboo chairs. It moved from New York to San Francisco for $9.40! Let that instance be remembered as typical of the reason why the railroads have not been bothered much by sea-borne traffic from that day to this.

One minor factor has entered into the traffic equation in very recent years, in the shape of the American-Hawaiian steamship line, operating a rail-and-water route from New York to the East coast of Mexico, thence by rail across that republic, and by water again to the Pacific Coast ports. Twelve years ago, this route began to operate through the Straits of Magellan; and six years ago it adopted this new hybrid route. It has lived, apparently, at peace with the railroads. Its rates are adapted to get the kind of tonnage it can handle to the best effect. It picks no quarrels with the railroads, and they pick none with it. At the present moment, it is probably carrying pretty close to 8 per cent. of the total transcontinental tonnage. If the total number of tons of freight across the continent is to-day approximately 3,500,000 tons — an unofficial figure — the American-Hawaiian line probably carries 280,000 tons. One finds it hard to call it a competitor of the railroad group.

"It lives," says Mr. Lane, "upon sufferance."

So, in the business between East and West, the empire of the railroads has been firmly established. The Cape Horn route is merely a tradition. The Panama Railroad and Pacific Mail are legends of twenty years ago. The Tehuantepec route works peacefully at settled rates in a strictly money-making venture that has no bearing on the question of traffic supremacy. Only the Suez, an ancient and too powerful rival, enters the Eastern field and sweeps it clean so far as the Oriental trade is concerned.

The great trade routes across the continent are man-made lines of steel. East of the Missouri, dozens of railroad lines, gathering traffic from all the busy industrial cities, pour this traffic through the gateways of the West into the assembling yards of seven so-called transcontinentals. These are the great trade routes from East to West, for the East, in a traffic sense, extends far into the West, even to Denver, where the rate blanket ends.

Beginning at the South, the first, and probably the most powerful, of these traffic giants is the Southern Pacific, the Sunset route. New Orleans is its Eastern terminus by rail; but its real Eastern terminus is on the docks of Manhattan, where its controlled freight steamers bid traffic out of every city and village and field from the Atlantic almost to Chicago.

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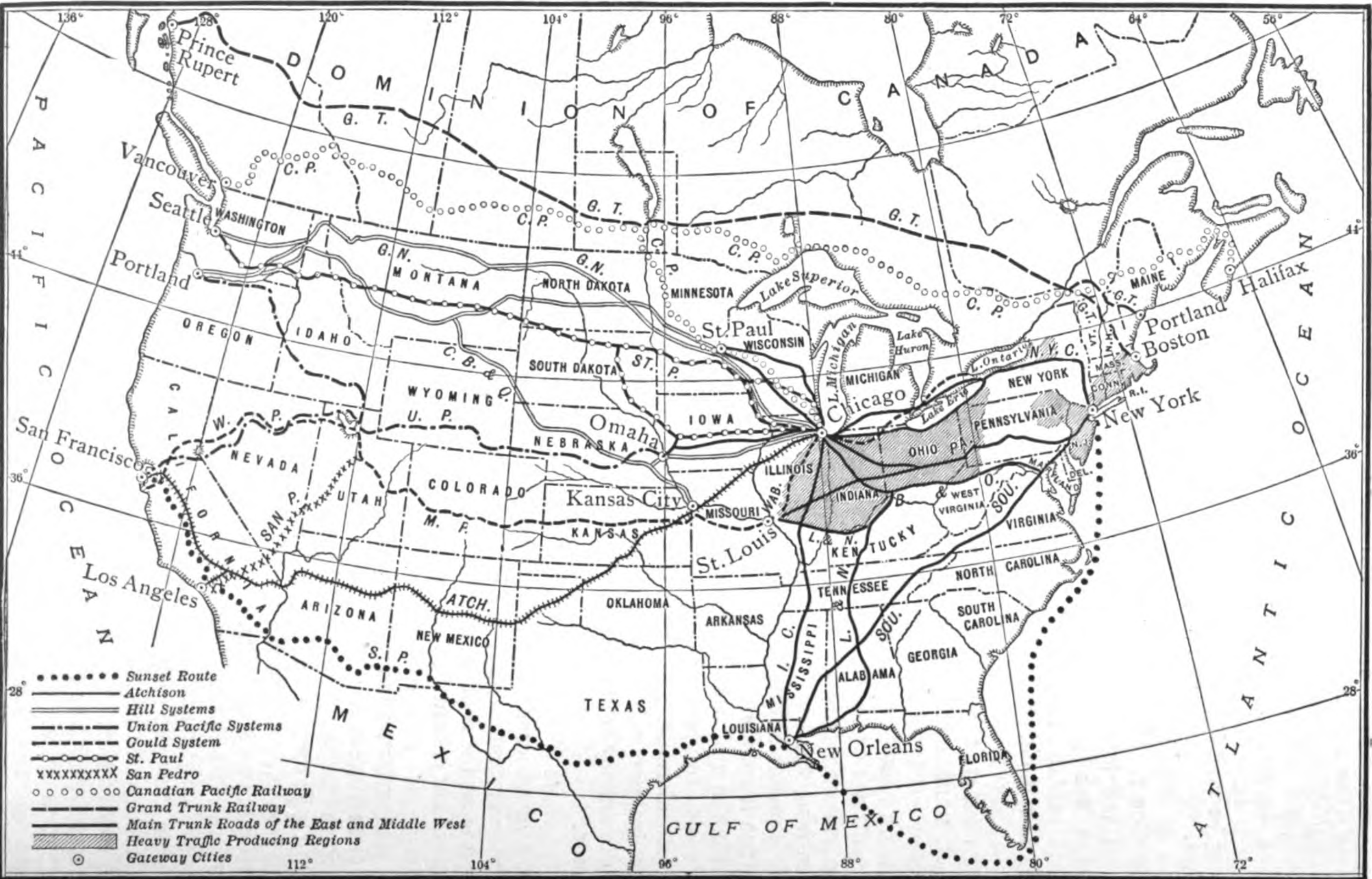

THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS THAT MUST MEET THE COMPETITION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

AND WHOSE FUNCTIONS MAY BE NARROWED TO TRANSPORTING FREIGHT FROM THE GREAT INLAND TRAFFIC PRODUCING REGIONS TO THE SEABOARD AT NEW YORK, NEW ORLEANS, AND THE PACIFIC PORTS

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This was the king of the transcontinentals until the day when C. P. Huntington died, twelve years ago, and Harriman gathered in the control of the Southern Pacific to place it in the treasury of the Union Pacific.

THE GREAT FREIGHT ROUTES

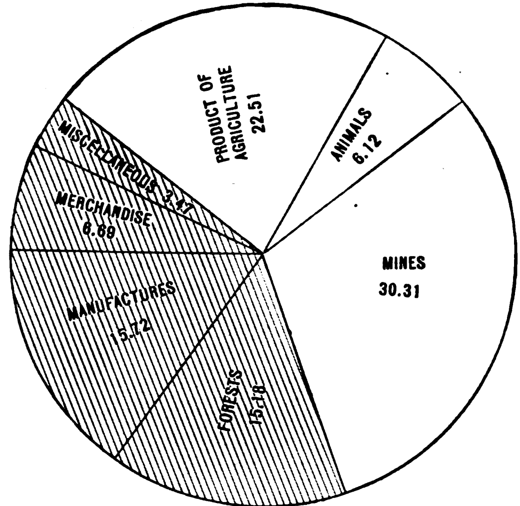
Into Southern California and San Francisco, the next natural route is the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, running from Chicago out across Missouri to Kansas City, down through the plains of New Mexico and Arizona, and thence by the fertile valleys of California to the great ports of the South Pacific coast. It is a wonderful road, the Santa Fé, with strong connections East and West, a powerful element in all traffic matters, and itself a great originator of freight.

A new line into California is by the Salt Lake Route, a string across from Salt Lake to San Pedro, the new port of Los Angeles. It was designed to be a new empire builder; but from all accounts it does about as it is told. It depends on connections East of the Great Salt Lake. Still another is the Western Pacific, an unknown element, resting on the Gould system at Ogden. Some say it may be a traffic giant, but to-day it limps and stumbles. It is hardly a great figure in the situation as it stands.

Then one comes to the Northern routes, and Harriman's great Union Pacific. Here, at Omaha and Kansas City, a dozen splendid railroads throw their freight across the river — the Northwestern, the Illinois Central, the Burlington, the Rock Island, the Great Western, the St. Paul — and it is gathered to the rails of the Union Pacific for the long haul westward through Ogden and thence across the Sierras over the Central Pacific to San Francisco.

This is the keystone of the transcontinental arch. This line was planned to be the main highway of transcontinental trade. It has few branches of its own. It is main line from end to end. Harriman found it a wreck, and raised it up to be the King of the Transcontinentals. It did the task he set it. In a ten-year campaign it became practically dictator of the Western across-country trade.

The growth of the Harriman Empire, however, stirred up new rivalries. In 1901 Mr. Hill bought, for the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, control of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Before that time, the Hill roads, which had their terminals in St. Paul, had depended upon freight traffic relationships for their connections in Chicago and the East. Knowing that the Harriman ambition would result in weakening the position of his roads, Mr. Hill made this purchase to get his own line into Chicago, and to-day the Burlington bids in Chicago and all the river points for transcontinental traffic to the northern gateways at Seattle and Portland. This Hill system, with a double



WHAT TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS CARRY

SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF EACH CHIEF PRODUCT TO THE TOTAL TONNAGE CARRIED IN AN AVERAGE YEAR BY THE SANTA FE, THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC, AND THE UNION PACIFIC

transcontinental line and with its network of Burlington line throughout the rich traffic section between the Missouri River and the Great Lakes, is the next great element in the transcontinental situation.

THE NORTHERN TRANSCONTINENTALS

A couple of years ago a new transcontinental, the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound, pushed its way through from the Missouri into Seattle and Tacoma. It is, in fact, a duplication of the route made by the Burlington and the Northern Pacific. There are probably no two traffic

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competitors in the United States that are more closely similar than these two systems.

Still farther north, across the Canadian line, lies the Canadian Pacific. It reaches the Twin Cities through owning control of the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie and it reaches Chicago through a comparatively recent purchase of the Wisconsin Central, control of which in turn is owned by the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie. This route, which on the map looks like a roundabout route, is, as a matter of fact, almost as efficient a transcontinental line to Chicago and the East as any of the other railroad lines, and it is perhaps stronger than most of them in that it controls its own line of steamships to the Orient and has few entangling alliances with other railroads.

Still farther north, a new line is creeping toward the West. It is a Government helped Canadian line, the Grand Trunk Pacific. The parent company, the Grand Trunk, has for a generation or more been the main local railroad of Ontario and of all the manufacturing section of Canada. Now that it is going to the coast, it will certainly become a new element in the transcontinental situation, although its primary object is understood to be the opening of new territory, lying farther north of the Canadian Pacific.

I would not care to say that the opening of the Panama Canal will seriously interfere with transcontinental business on these railroads. In fact, the entire transcontinental tonnage is well under 4,000,000 tons a year and probably does not comprise more than 2 or 3 per cent. of all the tonnage moving on these western lines. Therefore, even though a complete diversion of all transcontinental tonnage would not be a very serious menace to the railroads, it is inconceivable that more than a relatively small amount of this freight could be diverted to the Panama route unless the rates made by that route were overwhelmingly in favor of it.

HOW PANAMA WILL AFFECT RATES

The real change will not, in all probability, be shown in the form of decline of transcontinental tonnage. The important matter is the question of rates. Theoretically, through rates are based on local rates; but in practice, local rates are very often based upon through rates, particularly in the territory lying immediately back of a seaboard. For instance, if a route from New York or New Orleans makes a transcontinental rate from the whole eastern territory to San Francisco which is very far below the railroad rates to these points, it will affect not only the through tonnage moving to San Francisco, San Pedro, and the other coast cities, but will also affect the movement of freight, not on transcontinental rates but on the higher rates prevailing to inland cities back of San Francisco and San Pedro. In other words, the whole transcontinental rate situation will probably swing upon the rates that can be made by independent steamship lines running through the Panama Canal.

Therefore, it is not inconceivable that, when the Panama Canal is an operating traffic route, there will be a great deal of readjustment in this whole matter of Western trade routes. To-day there is no doubt that the main highways of traffic across the continent are the steamship lines from New York to the Gulf ports, plus the Sunset line to California, and the trunk lines of the East to Chicago and St. Louis, plus the Middle-Western roads to Omaha, plus the Union Pacific, plus the Central Pacific. This latter route is the main all-rail highway of commerce across the continent. It is quicker than the southern route. Therefore, it handles a very large amount of business that demands speed. It will also be much quicker than the Panama route and this advantage will undoubtedly enable it to maintain its command of high grade tonnage even if its rates are higher than the rates made through Panama.

Let us suppose that the Panama steamships will make blanket rates from any points east of Detroit to any port on the Pacific Ocean very much lower than the rates made from the same points by the now existing transcontinentals. Either these new lower rates would have to be met by the railroads and a new schedule of railroad rates would go into effect

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immediately, not only to the Pacific Coast ports but also throughout the whole country, which would be very much lower than the present rates, or the long-haul freight of the country, westbound, would be lost to the transcontinentals. In case the railroads meet the lower rates that will undoubtedly be made by independent steamship lines, there would probably come a period of declining railroad earnings on the Western railroads and a painful readjustment to new conditions; for even if the opening of the canal stimulates growth on the Western coast to a marvelous extent, the result of the growth would necessarily be so slow in showing itself that, in all probability there would be a gap of several years in which the transcontinental railroads would suffer.

WHERE OHIO VALLEY FREIGHTS MAY GO

If, on the contrary, the diversion of the heavy transcontinental tonnage to the Panama Canal were allowed to go on unchecked, the transcontinental business of the country would be swung into new channels. Let us take Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Buffalo as representing the four corners of a great freight-producing section. It is a section in which there is produced a very large percentage of the fastest growing American lines of export, and all classes of freight that will naturally move into the developing country of the West. It is perhaps the centre of the machinery manufacturing and steel manufacturing industry of the United States. What would be the effect upon the movement of the tonnage out of this area to the Pacific Coast and to the Orient and to all the markets of the West, if very low transcontinental rates were made out of the ports of the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf through the Panama Canal to the markets of the West, and if these rates were not met by the railroads?

The freight moving out of this region to the Atlantic ports and the Gulf ports would travel over existing lines of railroad. The main trunk lines — the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, and Erie — would carry the freight five hundred miles or more eastward to place it on the docks where the steamships load. If the heavy movement were toward the Gulf, such lines as the Illinois Central and the Louisville & Nashville would feel the impulse of new traffic most acutely. Practically it would be a duplication of the present Tehuantepec route, except that in all probability the volume of business would be very much larger and it would be a very much more powerful competitor of the railroad lines. If a few powerful traffic groups went into this business and established strong agencies at all important traffic-producing points, they would probably build up, in time, a practical monopoly of transcontinental business as well as of all business consigned to the Orient and to ports of the West coast of South America

So far as the manufacturing centres of the East are concerned, the only freight that would move by rail to the Pacific Ocean, if the Panama Canal route were carried on on a regular twelve-day service at rates one third lower than the present lowest rates, would be freight that could almost afford to pay express rates in order to get quick delivery and to move without being reloaded. Perhaps the main advantage of the railroads is that the big shipper of perishable products can load cars in his own plant and consign them, without breaking bulk or rehandling, into the hands of merchants, manufacturers, and dealers at Pacific Coast points. This advantage could not be taken away by the steamship routes unless some new mechanical method of handling manufacturers' products in bulk was invented and came into general practice. It is perfectly obvious, however, that this is so simple a mechanical process that it might well become a reality in transcontinental traffic when a quick water route is in open competition with the railroads.

QUICK FREIGHTS BY RAIL ONLY

Most railroad men claim that the high grade freight traffic will never leave the railroads across the continent. Fruits, dressed meats, and other perishable commodities, in the handling of which speed is the main element, would possibly continue to move on the rails under any

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circumstances. It is, however, in the lower grades of traffic that one must look for the real future of the Panama route. For instance, it is a well-known fact that on the Pacific Coast there is practically no coal which compares with the anthracite and better bituminous coal of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. It is equally well known that the future supply of lumber for Eastern markets must be drawn from the Far West. Here are two low grade freight items, one produced in abundance in the East and lacking in the West, and another standing in abundance in the West and growing scarce in the East. Both are so heavy in proportion to their value that they can barely stand a transcontinental journey by rail, except in rare instances; so that the markets which would naturally be tributary are supplied as best they can be supplied from other sources.

In a general way, one studying the traffic situation at the present time and figuring upon the future can hardly help concluding that any loss there may be to existing routes will probably fall most heavily upon the transcontinental lines running West from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and possibly upon the coast lines of steamers now trading successfully from New York to the ports of the Gulf. On the other hand, one must reach the conclusion that the greatest stimulus to existing routes would probably be felt by lines running North and South from the ports of the Gulf into the producing markets of the Middle West and by the railroads carrying finished products from these producing centres into Atlantic ports. As between these two, the present writer confesses to have no opinion as to whether the greatest stimulus will be felt by the lines running into New York or the lines running into New Orleans. In all probability, in volume of traffic gained the first five years after the opening of the Canal, the Atlantic seaports will gain very much more heavily than the Southern ports; but in proportion to present tonnage and business moving on the lines at the present time, the gain by the Southern ports will probably be very much heavier.

A PICTURE OF THE CANAL

A LABYRINTH OF WONDERS WROUGHT THROUGH THE GENIUS AND WILL OF A BENEFICENT AUTOCRAT

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

"WHEN the waters of the two oceans are blended in the soil of Panama!" exclaimed Secretary Knox, in the speech inaugurating his notable mission to the Central American republics — and proceeded to develop with much eloquence the commercial and political transformations that are bound to follow the opening of the canal. "At no distant time," ran the answering phrase of the Panama cabinet minister who spoke on the occasion, "the deep blue waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific will be united for all eternity!"

The cold, unimaginative fact is that the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific will not meet nor be blended in the Panama Canal. Rhetoric aside, there is no approaching marriage of the seas, and the first surprising physical fact which dawns on the visitor to the colossal labors in which the gods of steel and concrete are engaged on the Isthmus is that fact.

The Panama Canal is a water bridge over the Isthmus — not a channel through it. A ship steams into Limon Bay, on the Atlantic side, and comes to a stop in a lock, the first of three locks, by which she is lifted to the level of a fresh-water lake eighty-five feet above the sea. She leaves

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the water of the Atlantic behind her and she sails through the lake. Then three locks more lower her to the level of the Pacific and to the salt water.

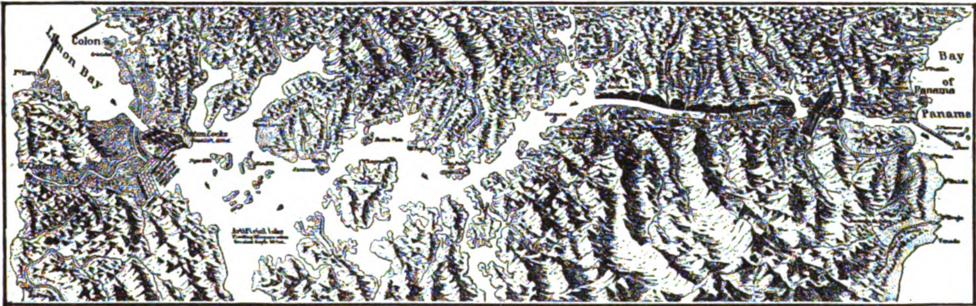
That is what really happens at Panama, and it is just as well to get that clearly in mind at the outset, if one is to have any proper conception as to how the Isthmus is to be crossed. One must still, for a few months, probably until the end of this year 1912, write, "is to be," but the greater part of the titanic task is done, and even now decreasing numbers of workers and fewer steam-shovels tell that the conquerors of the Isthmus are preparing soon to rest from their labors, the biggest job ever done by man accomplished.

It is a job so big, the scenes along its route are so confusing and must in earlier stages have been so much more confusing, that it is no wonder the American people have been given no clear, easily-understood account of it. They who have had the sustained interest to read a fair portion of what has been poured out in the press about the Gatun Dam and the Culebra slides and the Pedro Miguel and Miraflores locks, the Chagres River and the Spillway, the West Diversion, and all the rest of it, may understand; but it is much to be feared that the majority of us have got no good general notion of it at all.

To-day, however, a traveler whom official favor sends through the canal, up and down and across, on the bottom, along the edges, through the great cut, down into the locks and beneath them, on an inspection car, can come out unconfused by the innumerable and mammoth details of an onslaught on 200-square miles of earth, stretching through a broken and mountainous country. The great outline is perfectly clear now.

The lake is the centre, the key, the kernel of the work; an artificial lake created by building an enormous dam, the Gatun Dam, across the course of a river — the Chagres — that comes down from the mountains. The dam (if you want figures) is a mile and a half long and half a mile wide and it will flood 164 square miles of country, over which great ships will steam for thirty-three miles — in fresh water. Or rather they will steam thus for twenty-four miles and then enter a channel cut into the hills — a channel nine miles long, made by digging up, blowing apart, and carrying away 85,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock. There is another dam at the Pacific end of the cut, to maintain the level. The lake, extended through the Culebra Cut (Culebra means snake, but the cut is fairly straight) and two series of double locks — at Gatun on the Atlantic side, at Pedro Miguel and Miraflores on the Pacific side — such are the factors of the Panama Canal. Its marvels are the Gatun Dam, the Culebra Cut, and the locks — each of the six of them with two chambers 1,000 feet long and 110 feet wide.

You may think you can manufacture a mental picture of these locks, but you cannot — not till you have gone down their perpendicular sides a thousand feet and got aboard a dummy train that journeys three fourths of a mile along the bottom; not till you have looked up and seen the cathedral arches springing in



RELIEF MAP OF THE PANAMA CANAL

GIVING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE LOCKS AND DAMS, AND SHOWING THAT THE LARGER PART OF THE "CANAL" IS AN ARTIFICIAL LAKE CREATED BY DAMMING THE OUTLETS OF THE CHAGRES RIVER

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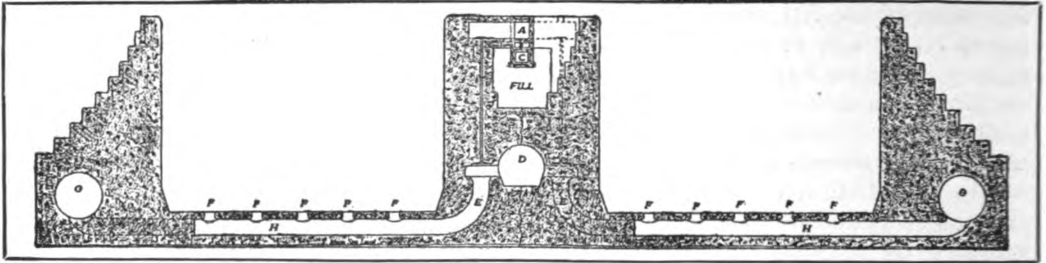


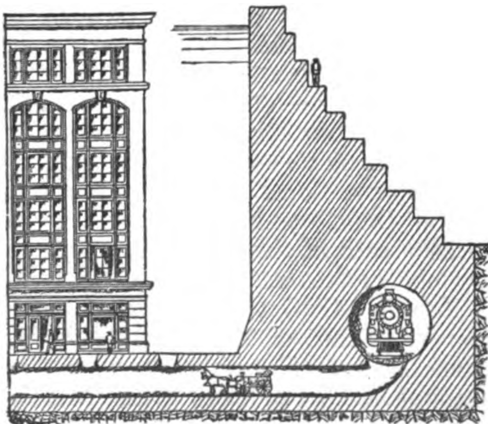
CROSS SECTION OF A DOUBLE LOCK CHAMBER

THE MIDDLE WALL IS 60 FEET THICK AND THE SIDE WALLS ARE 45 FEET THICK AT THE BASE. THE LOCKS ARE FILLED AND EMPTIED BY MEANS OF THE CULVERTS G, G, AND D, WHICH CONNECT THROUGH THE MAINS E AND H WITH THE CHAMBERS BY MEANS OF MANHOLES F F IN THE FLOORS

glory from side to side, and gazed at the steel gates seven feet thick, and marked the cistern-holes in the bottom of the channel, up and down through which will move the strong streams that will lift and let down the ships of the nations into their cradles with the tenderness of a mother with an infant. For underneath extend culverts the size of railroad tunnels; it is through these and through mighty valves that the locks are filled and emptied. Move about awhile among these works like a pygmy lost in a labyrinth of the gods and it will dawn on you what sort of thing men have been about here on this neck of Darien.

A LABYRINTH OF MIGHTY WORKS

It is a place of wonders. A shovel that sticks itself into the side of a cliff and scoops up three tons of rock and deposits it in a car is a sight to regard with awe,



THE COMPARATIVE SIZE OF A SIDE WALL

SHOWING ITS HEIGHT, WHICH IS EQUAL TO THAT OF A SIX STORY OFFICE BUILDING, AND THE RELATIVE SIZE OF THE CULVERTS

and to see three hundred such vast and almost intelligent implements at work at once is rather awe-inspiring. To see the ground strewn with networks of pipes conducting compressed air to a thousand drills, to hear blasts unceasingly, to watch hydraulic attacks on the mountain-sides, to regard gigantic stone-crushers and cement-mixers, and to see during a ride of fifty miles nothing else but these labors, makes one wonder how imagination ever dared to project an undertaking so vast.

It is worth pausing to see a long train come to a stop on a bank above a tropical jungle, and then to watch a plow, drawn by a powerful cable, run along the cars, dumping off their loads on the shamed heads of the royal palms below. It gives one a curious sensation to see a train pull up the track on which it has been running, and move it bodily to the right or left. More than in anything else, the derision in which conquering man of the Isthmus holds nature, comes out in the light-houses which he has erected here and there among the astonished palms — range-finders for the ships that are soon to sail over this dry land.

How nature fought against this conquest may be gathered from the piles of machinery on every hand abandoned by the French; from the ruins of their houses and their deserted excavations; and, most of all, from the graveyards whose thousands of head-slabs populate every hillside. To-day the Isthmus is fit to be a health-resort. That is a chapter by itself. These colonels and admirals found an enemy worthy of their utmost heroism, but they have subjugated him utterly. One of them was explaining to me how all

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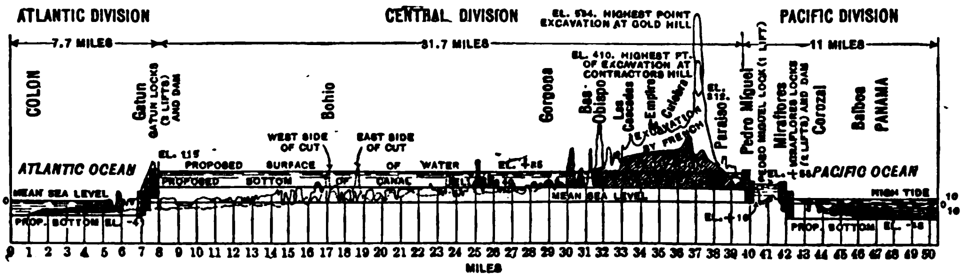
the work of operating the canal and working the locks was to be done by the waste waters of the Chagres. "We ought to have utilized that power earlier," he soliloquized. "If we had it to do over, we would make the canal dig itself."

The canal is done. The problems of its construction are solved. The problems of its operation await settlement; they ought to have been settled long before this. Although it is not intended to mark the formal opening before January 1, 1914, as a matter of fact vessels will be passing through many months before that date. No legislation exists arranging for the operation of the canal; the present Commission is empowered only to build it. The large force necessary to operate the finished work ought soon to be in training. It ought now to be organizing. Somebody ought at this moment to be authorized to enlist this force. There are now 35,000 men at work in the Canal Zone, and it is highly desirable that the operating force should be gathered from among these, from men who have become used to life on the Isthmus and who are willing to live here permanently. It has been very hard to get men to stay here; only by providing for them safety, comforts, and recreation such as men are nowhere else provided with has the Government been able to secure anything like a stable force. Unless steps are very soon taken to retain them, they will within a few months be scattered among the four quarters of the earth.

It goes without saying that the question of tolls ought to be decided immediately, so that steamship companies and shippers throughout the world may make their plans and arrangements for the new routes of trade. Steamships cannot be built in a day, nor trade arrangements involving in one degree or another the commerce of two hemispheres be altered off-hand. If the canal is not to wait for years before it begins to earn tolls, the rates must be decided on at once.

Colonel Goethals, the Kitchener of the Isthmus, the iron man to whom more than to any other is due the credit for opening the path to the Indies of which Columbus dreamed and which he searched so hard for here, lingering for weeks off Portobello — Colonel Goethals has his plan. Now that the labor of construction is drawing to an end, he has thought long and hard of the means to make the canal a success. It will not be enough to have built it and thrown it open; it must be worked on inviting principles.



PROFILE OF THE CANAL

INDICATING THE SCALE OF MILES OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS, THE HEIGHT AND POSITION OF THE SIX LOCKS, AND THE RELATIVE AMOUNTS OF EXCAVATION DONE BY THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICANS

Colonel Goethals would write off the cost of digging the canal — something like $360,000,000 — as a necessary charge against our national defense. He would ask patrons to pay only the cost of operation and upkeep; this, he believes, would be met by a charge of $1.25 a ton. He would establish a dry dock and a coaling station, and he would enlarge the existing commissary stores and open them to all. At the Isthmus, ships could be certain of obtaining repairs, coal, and stores at the lowest prices.

Whether according to this plan or some other, it behooves the Government that has opened the water-way across the Isthmus to take immediately the steps necessary to make it practicable and popular.

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HOW PANAMA WILL ALTER TRADE

THE SHIFT OF ROUTES OF OCEAN TRAFFIC — ITS STIMULUS TO THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA — THE UNITED STATES THE GREATEST BENEFICIARY

BY

EDWARD NEVILLE VOSE

(EDITOR OF "DUN'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW")

ON THE morning of Wednesday December 27, 1911, a little group of Federal officials and representatives of the steamship company gathered on the deck of the Red Star liner *Kroonland* to witness a ceremony that may become historic. As eight bells sounded, the red, orange, and black ensign of Belgium was hauled slowly down from the flagstaff and presently the watchers saw the stars and stripes rise majestically in its stead. The officers and crew of the ship stood at attention, and the band played the "Star Spangled Banner," and then the Captain read a short prayer. This change in the registry of the *Kroonland* was made in anticipation of the change in ocean traffic routes that will result from the completion of the Panama Canal.

On Wednesday, January 3, 1912, the same ceremony took place on the *Finland*. If, inspired by this example, Congress should repeal the navigation laws that have stifled our mercantile marine for half a century, December 27, 1911, will be remembered as the end of the long period of decline that has so nearly driven the American flag from the seas, and as the first step toward the recovery of our proud preëminence in this field during the first seventy-five years of our national existence.

Foreign observers of American progress at Panama are no longer asking one another, "Can they do it?" In place of this has arisen another question, equally important, "What will they do with it?" What is to be the policy of the Federal Government with respect to the fundamental matter of tolls? What are to be the charges for towage through the locks? What will be the charge, if any, for passengers? What facilities will be offered for coaling, for repairing, for taking on food supplies and water? Will a free port be provided where goods may be transferred from one line to another, or warehoused, without payment of customs duties or any undue hampering by customs regulations?

Three plans as to the rate of tolls have been proposed: (1) That the rate be such as to yield the largest possible income on the nation's investment; (2) that the President be authorized virtually to make a present to the world at large of the $400,000,000 of American money invested in the canal, by making its use entirely free; and (3) that the rate of tolls be sufficiently high to yield a moderate income on the capital invested, yet so low as to encourage the largest possible use of the waterway. The third plan now seems likely to be the one adopted by Congress during its present session, with the additional provision that no tolls whatever be paid by American shipping engaged in the coastwise trade — railroad-owned tonnage excepted — and the possible exemption of American shipping engaged in the foreign trade. If Congress decides thus to make the canal virtually free to vessels of American registry, several foreign governments may do the same for their shipowners either by subsidies or by refunding the tolls paid. In no event is the toll to exceed $1.25 per net registered ton, while it may be as much less as is consistent with providing for the actual maintenance and operation of the canal.

Assuming, then, that the tolls will be moderate for all who are not exempt from paying any, what will be the probable effect of the canal upon existing ocean routes of commerce? What new routes will it

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create? What buying and selling markets will it bring closer together? What countries will it most benefit? What will be its probable effect upon our own export trade?

The considerations that will decide shipowners whether to send their vessels by way of Panama or not will vary according to the type of ship, the traffic she is seeking, and the ports at which her voyage begins and ends. The distance saved by the canal will be an important consideration, but it will not be the only one, and in many cases it will be very far from being the decisive one. Four types of vessels may use the Panama Canal: sailing ships, barges, "tramp" steamships, and liners. What does the canal offer to these four classes of possible customers?

From time immemorial the most picturesque of all ocean carriers has been the ship propelled by sails, but the march of steam is fast driving this type of vessel from the seas, as the accompanying table of steam and sail tonnage recorded in Lloyd's shows.

THE DECLINE OF THE SAILING SHIP

	[*Steam*]		[*Sail*]	
YEAR	NUMBER OF VESSELS	NET TONS	NUMBER OF VESSELS	NET TONS
1890.	11,108	8,295,514	21,190	9,166,279
1895.	13,256	10,573,642	17,112	8,219,661
1900.	15,898	13,856,513	12,524	6,674,370
1905.	19,153	18,583,769	10,603	6,037,501
1910.	22,008	23,046,122	8,050	4,624,070
1911.	22,473	23,931,751	7,614	4,365,582

The Panama Canal will undoubtedly hasten rather than retard this rapid decline in sailing tonnage. Lieutenant Maury, the great authority of the middle of the last century on ocean winds and currents, wrote in 1866:

> If nature, by one of her convulsions, should rend the continent of America in twain and make a channel across the Isthmus of Panama or Darien as deep, as wide, and as free as the Straits of Dover, it would never become a commercial thoroughfare for sailing vessels, saving the outward bound and those that could reach it with leading winds.

The reason for this opinion, the correctness of which is generally conceded, is that the west coast of Panama lies in a zone of calms. Cases are on record of whaling ships becalmed in this locality that have been delayed so long as to miss the whaling season completely; and every mariner and ship owner dreads the uncertainty regarding the duration of a sailing voyage across these too tranquil waters. The master of a sailing ship reckons his voyage in days, whereas the steamship captain reckons it in miles, but the necessity of making a wide detour out into the Pacific to catch a favoring breeze makes the disadvantage of sail as compared with steam greater in this region than in almost any other except the Suez route. To go from Panama to San Francisco the sailer would travel nearly 2,000 miles farther than the steamer, taking 37 days on an average, as against less than 15 days for a 9-knot steam freighter and 11 days for a 12-knot steamship. Moreover, the Caribbean side of the canal is a region of light and baffling winds at some seasons, and of violent hurricanes at others; and thousands of coral reefs and many hundred miles of unlighted coasts render navigation in this locality exceptionally difficult and hazardous for sailers that are constantly liable to be blown off from the few well known and comparatively well lighted passages. As the United States owns 1,696 sailing vessels registered in Lloyd's, of an aggregate tonnage of 1,195,898 tons, or nearly a fourth of the number and more than a fourth of the sailing tonnage there recorded, some sailing vessels will undoubtedly use the canal. But, in view of the steady decline of this type of ship as an ocean cargo carrier, and of the peculiar disadvantages that it will encounter in the Panama route, it is probable that the number will never be large, and that it will show a tendency to decline

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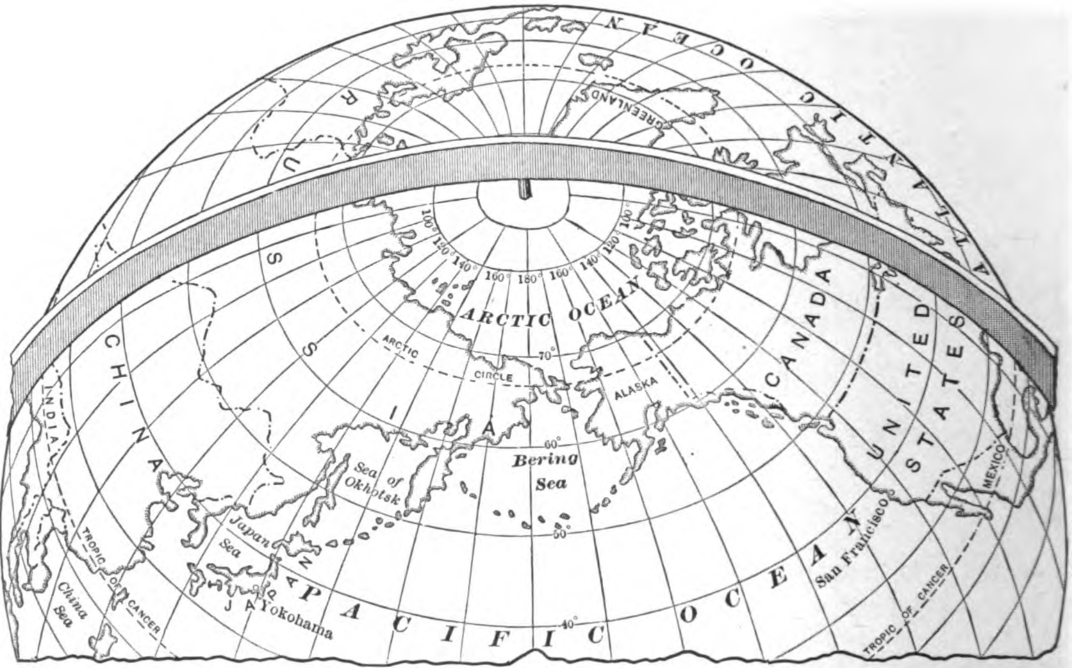
scarce and the price of coal high the longer route may still have a slight advantage. The second element is the lack of facilities for repairs, revictualing, water supply, securing additional crew, and keeping in touch with the steamer's owner or manager at home. If the plans of Colonel Goethals for making a gigantic freight distributing centre on the isthmus for meeting all these requirements are given effect by Congress, the Panama route may even attract tramp steamers from other routes that are actually shorter. If not, the lack of these facilities will offset to some extent any saving in distance.

Line traffic carriers are of three types: the freighter, differing from the chartered tramp only in that its voyages are over a regular route, or that it has perhaps been designed primarily for a single type of cargo; the combination passenger and freight carrier; and lastly, the costly and luxurious type of express steamship built for passenger traffic only. Except for excursion traffic during the first years after the canal is opened and during the San Francisco Exposition, the passenger type is not likely to use the canal, as anybody who wishes speed will naturally go overland by rail. The extent to which line steamship traffic for the other two types of carriers will be diverted to the canal will depend largely upon the peculiar conditions that exist along the routes which such steamers are now following.

Two of these routes will be affected by the opening of the canal only to a relatively small extent. These are the routes connecting Europe and the United States, respectively, with the East coast of South America. The canal will give a shorter mail route to the River Plate ports, by way of Valparaiso and the Trans-Andean Railway, and a quicker route for commercial travelers from the United States, but freight will continue as heretofore.

The great North Atlantic route between the United States and Europe will, however, be very considerably affected by the canal — and in a way that a great many people do not anticipate. According to the Mercator's projection map shown on



THE TRUE RELATION OF PANAMA TO THE ORIENT

NOTE THAT, ON A GLOBE, A COMPARATIVELY STRAIGHT LINE FROM PANAMA TO YOKOHAMA PASSES CLOSE TO ALL THE PACIFIC PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, THUS INDICATING THAT THESE PORTS WILL ATTAIN A NEW RANK IN WORLD TRADE

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page 421, the shortest route from the English Channel to New York would appear to be a straight line drawn between those two points. Similarly, the shortest route from the Channel to Colon would seem to be a straight line between those two points. These two straight lines appear to diverge radically in direction. Actually, if traced on a globe, they will be found to be very nearly identical and to follow what mariners call the "great circle route" which runs parallel to the Atlantic coast line of the United States clear to the Gulf of Mexico. Vessels bound from northern Europe to Colon will follow this "great circle route" and thereby pass so close to New York that it would only be 314 miles farther from Liverpool to Colon by way of that city than by the shortest possible route.

THE "GREAT CIRCLE ROUTE" FROM LIVERPOOL TO PANAMA

THIS ROUTE IS ONLY 314 MILES (ONE DAY'S STEAMING) SHORTER THAN THE ROUTE FROM LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK TO PANAMA, THUS INDICATING THAT NEW YORK WILL BECOME A PORT OF CALL OF ALL VESSELS IN THE TRADE FROM NORTHERN EUROPE TO THE FAR EAST

This estimate, which is made by Prof. Emory R. Johnson in a report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, refers to the difference between the length of the direct voyage and that of the two voyages — from the Channel to New York and New York to Colon — combined. A glance at the map of the globe showing the North Atlantic Ocean will make this clear. Instead of following the great circle route past Bermuda, where no harbor accommodations for large vessels at present exist and no traffic whatever could be obtained, a steamship, by diverging gradually to the northward, would arrive at New York, the greatest traffic producing port in the world.

This fact has a very important and interesting bearing on the future traffic of the canal. It will enable vessels running

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between Europe and points on the Pacific by way of the canal to coal at Norfolk, or discharge and take on cargo at New York or any other Atlantic port, at the cost of only a moderate day's steaming. As the freight traffic between American and European ports is normally much heavier eastward than it is westward, there will be a great temptation to vessels that lack full cargoes and that are returning from Pacific ports by way of the canal to call at some American port where eastbound freight is known to be heavy. And, as cargoes from Europe to Pacific ports will probably not, at first, be equal to the capacity of the carriers, it is likely that these vessels will also call at New York on the outward passage to secure additional freight. This will greatly benefit American manufacturers by increasing the number of sailings available for them to ship to these markets, and it will tend to make New York the great trans-shipping port for much of the Pacific coast trade by way of the canal, just as it is to-day the great trans-shipping port for the bulk of the West Indian trade. There will also be a vast amount of trans-shipment of merchandise that will be brought as far as New York in European bottoms to vessels of American register to be transported to our Pacific coast. Announcements have already been made regarding several lines of steamships that have been projected to run from European ports to the canal and beyond, so that Panama traffic over this extension of the North Atlantic route will no doubt begin as soon as the canal is opened.

Of the routes directly affected by the opening of the Panama Canal, by far the most important is that by way of the Suez Canal from Europe and the United States to the Orient and Australasia. Running as it does directly through the heart of the greatest land mass in the world this route serves 1,300,000,000 of the earth's population and bears a commerce that has existed since the time of the Phoenicians.

The accompanying table, showing the distances for full powered steamships by great circle sailing from New York and Liverpool to ports in the Far East and Australasia via Suez, the Cape of Good Hope, and Panama, will indicate what portions of the traffic are most likely to be diverted and what portions will undoubtedly, or most probably, continue to go as at present.

DISTANCES FROM NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL TO THE FAR EASTERN PORTS

	[*From New York*]			[*From Liverpool*]	
	VIA SUEZ	VIA GOOD HOPE	VIA PANAMA	VIA SUEZ	VIA PANAMA
Bombay	8,186*	11,393	14,982	6,266*	17,610
Colombo	8,629*	11,133	14,112	6,736*	16,740
Calcutta	9,829*	12,254	14,165	7,973*	16,794
Singapore	10,177*	12,409	12,522	8,329*	15,151
Hongkong	11,628	13,687	11,190*	9,783*	13,819
Manila	11,547	13,521	11,543*	9,699*	13,743
Shanghai	12,384	14,457	10,645*	10,539*	13,274
Yokohama	13,079	15,099	9,677*	11,234*	12,306
Melbourne	13,009	12,838	9,945*	11,095*	12,574
Sydney	13,471	13,306	9,691*	11,563*	12,220
Wellington	14,387	14,034	8,522*	12,489	11,158*

(Shortest distance in each case is indicated by *)

This table shows clearly the extent to which Panama is an American rather than a European proposition as regards the Orient, distances from New York being shortened for all ports beyond Singapore, and very greatly reduced for ports in Australia and New Zealand, whereas the only port in all this region for which the route from Liverpool by way of Panama will be shorter than by way of Suez is Wellington, N. Z. The advantage in respect to distance which is against New York and in favor of Europe for every port in the table by the Suez route will be

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in favor of New York for all ports in Japan and Australasia. There will be practically no advantage either way in the case of Shanghai, China. Manila is almost precisely on the line of equidistance from New York by either Suez or Panama and will therefore be the last stop of most of the steamers coming out by way of Panama. This will not make Manila the "gateway" to the Orient by this route — as some writers seem to assume. It will be the last port in the line. By way of Suez it is merely a port of call for such steamers as find it worth while to stop there on their way from Singapore to Hongkong. A glance at the map will make this clear.

To sum up, the effect of the opening of the Panama Canal on the Suez route will undoubtedly be to divert all New York traffic to Australasia and Japan from the Suez route, and, as most of the ships to Japan go on at present to North and South China ports and Manila, this region also will probably be added to the sources for Panama tonnage. As these are chartered vessels and as return cargoes will normally be light they may go as far westward as Singapore for additional freight. Those vessels that go beyond this point, however, will probably return by way of Suez, whereas those that go to Java for sugar will be apt to return as they do now, by the Sunda Strait and Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape of Good Hope route, which 400 years ago destroyed the commercial supremacy of Venice, has in recent years waged a steadily losing battle with Suez for the trade of the Orient, although it has held a share of the trade with Australasia. Panama, with its saving of nearly 5,000 miles for American steamers, will undoubtedly divert practically all our Australian traffic from the Good Hope route; and, if toll rates at Panama are low and coaling facilities first class, much European traffic will probably prefer the Panama route to the Good Hope route, where coaling stations are few and far apart and prices generally rather high. For convenience in comparison, distances by the Good Hope route have been inserted in the preceding table between those

MAKING THE "KROONLAND" AN AMERICAN

RAISING THE UNITED STATES FLAG ON A BELGIAN VESSEL IN NEW YORK HARBOR, TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PREFERENCE LIKELY TO BE SHOWN AMERICAN SHIPS IN THE TOLLS CHARGED FOR THE USE OF THE PANAMA CANAL

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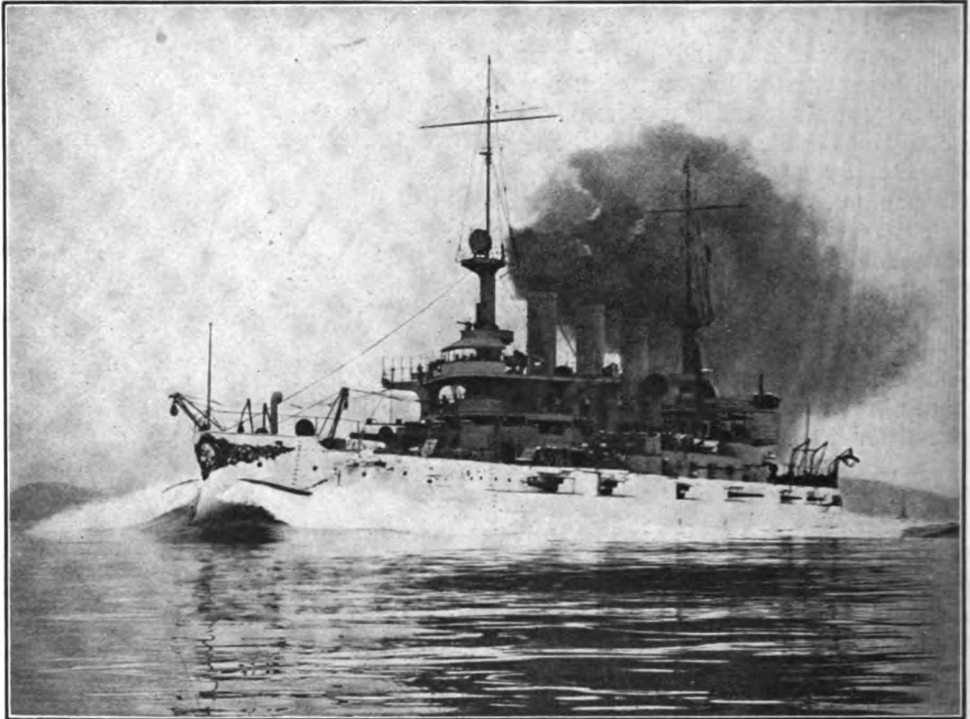
by Suez and by Panama. In no instance are distances by this route the shortest of the three, but the ports in India and Ceylon are nearer by way of Good Hope than by way of Panama, so that the traffic of that region is not likely under any circumstances to take the new waterway.

The Panama Canal can at most make a bid for only a portion of the existing traffic of the routes thus far discussed. continent of South America, either via Cape Horn — which many sailing vessels take — or via the Straits of Magellan. The subjoined table presents at a glance the situation with respect to this route, by showing how much shorter the distances are by way of Panama than by way of the Straits of Magellan for ships bound from New York and Liverpool to points along the West Coast of South America.



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THE CANAL AS A WARTIME DEFENSE

DOUBLING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NAVY BY SAVING 10,000 MILES OF THE VOYAGE FROM THE ATLANTIC COAST TO THE PACIFIC

There remains one route from which the canal will, in all probability, divert practically all of the inter-continental traffic now going over it. This is the route from the United States and Europe around the

Obviously, the difference in favor of Panama is here so tremendous that any tolls could be profitably paid rather than steam from twice to three times as far. Some writers have stated that, as the

DISTANCES FROM NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL TO WEST COAST SOUTH AMERICAN PORTS

	[*From New York*]		[*From Liverpool*]	
TO	VIA MAGELLAN	VIA PANAMA	VIA MAGELLAN	VIA PANAMA
Guayaquil	10,423	2,864	10,722	5,603
Callao	9,702	3,359	10,072	6,098
Iquique	9,221	4,021	9,591	6,760
Valparaiso	8,461	4,630	8,831	7,369
Coronel	8,230	4,838	8,600	7,577

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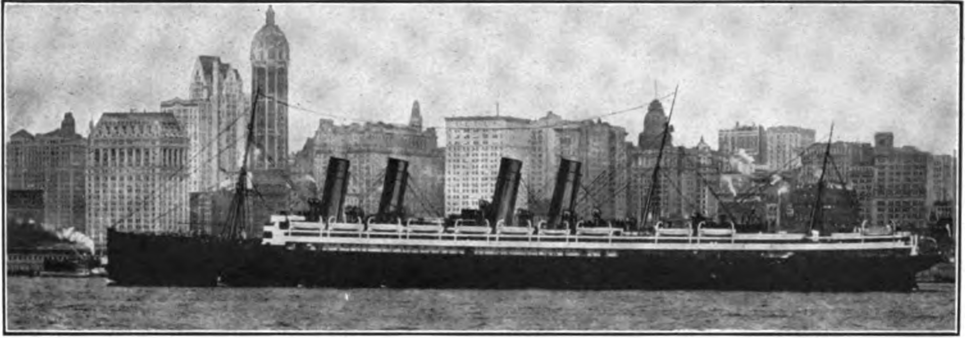


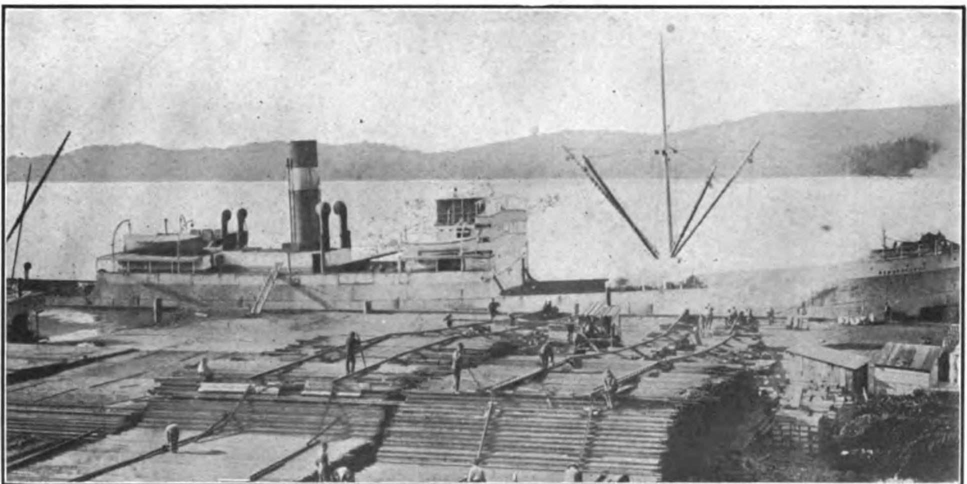
THE ARISTOCRAT OF THE SEAS

THE "KRONPRINCESSIN CECILIE" OF THE NORTH GERMAN LLOYD, A TYPE OF THE EXPRESS STEAMERS THAT ARE BUILT ESPECIALLY FOR SWIFT AND LUXURIOUS PASSENGER TRAFFIC AND THAT WILL NOT BE GREATLY AFFECTED BY THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

difference between the Panama route and the Magellan route to Coronel is only 1,000 miles, many vessels will go by the older route to Southern Chile, and as far northward as Valparaiso. This is quite improbable for the reason that these two ports do not offer sufficient traffic for a 9,000-mile trip with no other stops, whereas the voyage down the coast from Panama has the advantage of a possible call at New York both ways, together with calls at many smaller ports.

This, then, may fairly be regarded as one route that will become the exclusive property of Panama — a route starting in Europe and following the "great circle" to or near New York, thence along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and southward to Colon, and from Panama southward to Coronel. The present volume of traffic by Magellan Straits, around Cape Horn, and across the Panama Railroad combined is no criterion as to what the traffic may become with a new route so much shorter, quicker, and cheaper as this will be. The people of Chile expect a five-fold increase in their trade with the United States alone in the next decade.

A second new route will also follow the great circle — but this time in the Pacific. Apparently the shortest route from Panama across the Pacific to Yokohama would follow a straight line across the Pacific on the Mercator map. The



THE "HOBO" OF THE SEAS

A "TRAMP" STEAMER, AN EXAMPLE OF THESE HUMBLE BUT UBIQUITOUS AND SERVICEABLE CARRIERS OF THE WORLD'S MERCHANDISE, TO WHICH THE OPENING OF THE CANAL WILL MEAN AN ANNUAL SAVING OF MILLIONS OF MILES OF TRAVEL

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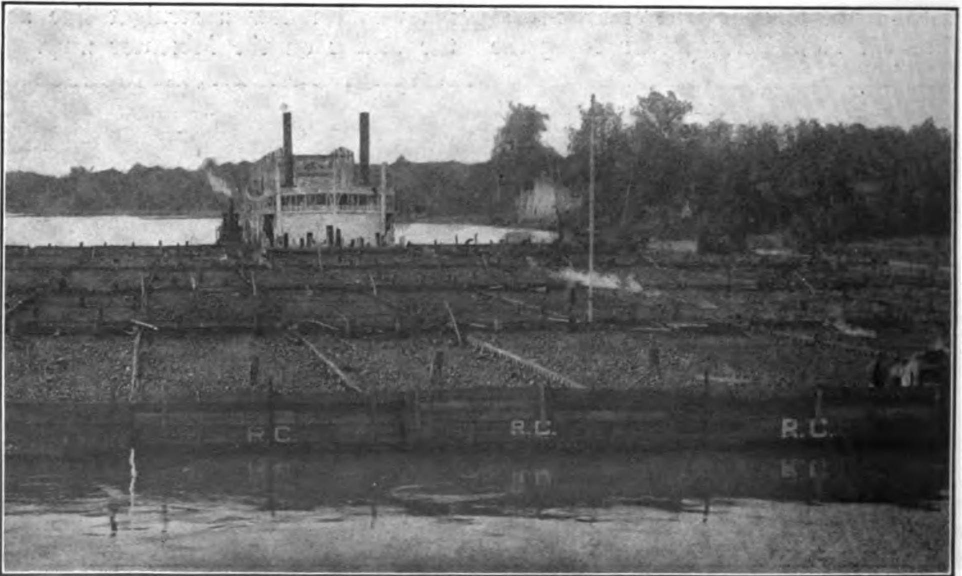
A WHALE THAT IS A BEAST OF BURDEN

A WHALEBACK BARGE OF THE GREAT LAKES, WHICH CARRIES WHEAT OR OIL, AND THE USEFULNESS OF WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE DOUBLED BY ITS ADAPTATION TO TRAFFIC THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

globe, however, shows the surprising fact that the west coast of the United States and the east coast of Asia, instead of facing each other across thousands of miles of water, are actually on a line with each other. The "great circle route" from Panama to Yokohama passes so close to San Francisco that a deviation of 114 miles would enable a steamer to call there. Honolulu is 300 miles distant from the shortest route, and it is therefore probable that most steamers will call at San Francisco, or some other port on the Pacific mainland, on the western trip, where additional cargo for the Orient is more likely than in the Hawaiian Islands. On the return trip there will always be cargo for Europe among the Pacific coast ports of the United States, so one or more of these will probably be ports of call on the return voyage of steamers running between Europe and the Orient via Panama.

For Australian ports two routes from Panama are probable, one directly to New Zealand without stop, and thence to Sydney; the other by Tahiti or some



A SOURCE OF AMERICAN PROFIT FROM THE CANAL

CHEAPLY FREIGHTED COAL, BROUGHT BY BARGES FROM PITTSBURGH TO NEW ORLEANS AND TRANSSHIPPED TO PANAMA FOR SALE TO THE STEAMERS THAT USE THE CANAL

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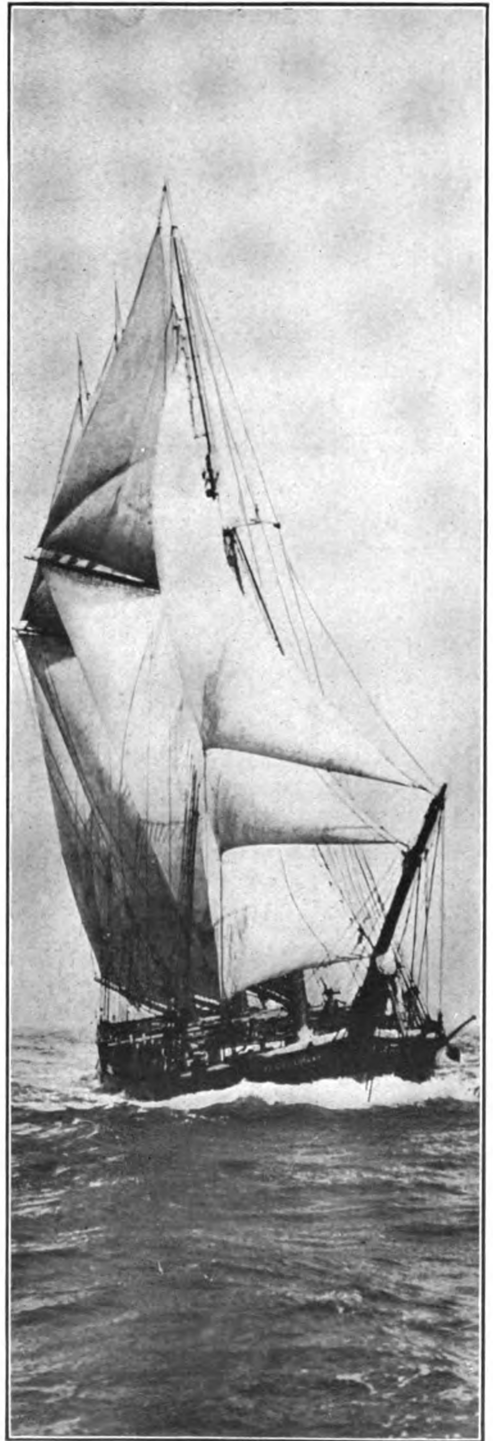
other island group in the southern Pacific. These Australian routes, as well as the Yokohama and Oriental great circle route across, or rather around, the North Pacific, will be essentially freight routes, with very little passenger traffic; but the route down the West Coast of South America has passenger traffic possibilities that will call for combination steamers of good size and speed. A freight route that is already in existence, bringing Hawaiian sugar to the east coast of the United States by way of the Tehuantepec Railroad, will contribute about 600,000 tons of traffic annually to the Panama Canal totals, beginning the day the canal is opened, and having a prospect of rapid growth to 1,500,000 tons in the near future. This route is served by a fleet of modern cargo steamers, with five new vessels now building. On most maps showing ocean steamship lines, the Hawaiian Islands and several other insular groups are depicted as centres of a score or so of different lines radiating to all points of the compass. These lines, however, while useful as indicating steaming distances or directions, seldom represent actual routes over which vessels regularly ply. Honolulu is a port of call for several steamship lines between Pacific ports and the Orient and Australia, but not for vessels running in all the directions indicated on such maps.

This readjustment of the ocean traffic routes of the commercial world will affect, directly or indirectly, more than half the countries on the globe. Next to the United States, the republics situated along the western coast of South America will be most benefited. At present these republics are profoundly handicapped as regards both their commerce and their industries, because the only routes available for them are the long and dangerous route by the Straits of Magellan, or the shorter but costly route over the Isthmus of Panama with its double handling of freight. Owing to the length of the voyage much of this traffic has always been by sail, and that has given Europe an advantage, as the sailing voyage from the English Channel is ten days less than from New York. The completion of the canal will substitute a swift steam service



THE VANISHING SAILER

OF THE OLD ROMANTIC TYPE, NOW GIVING WAY TO THE SWIFTER AND MORE CAPACIOUS STEAMSHIPS; TO WHICH THE CANAL WILL BE OF LITTLE BENEFIT BECAUSE IT LIES IN A BELT OF CALMS

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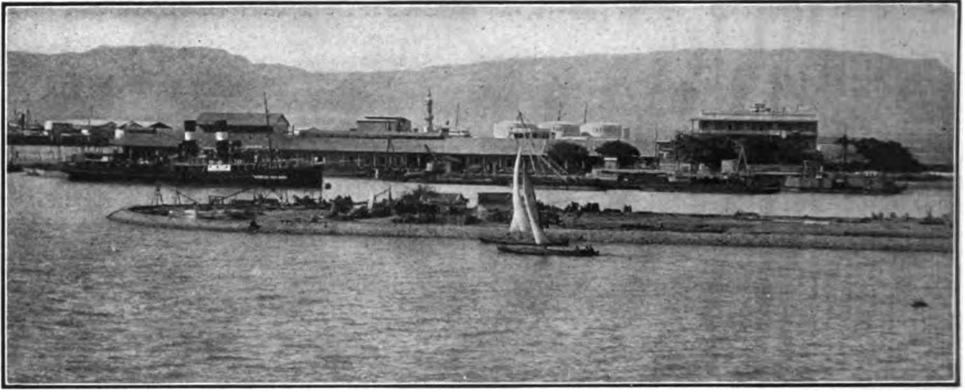

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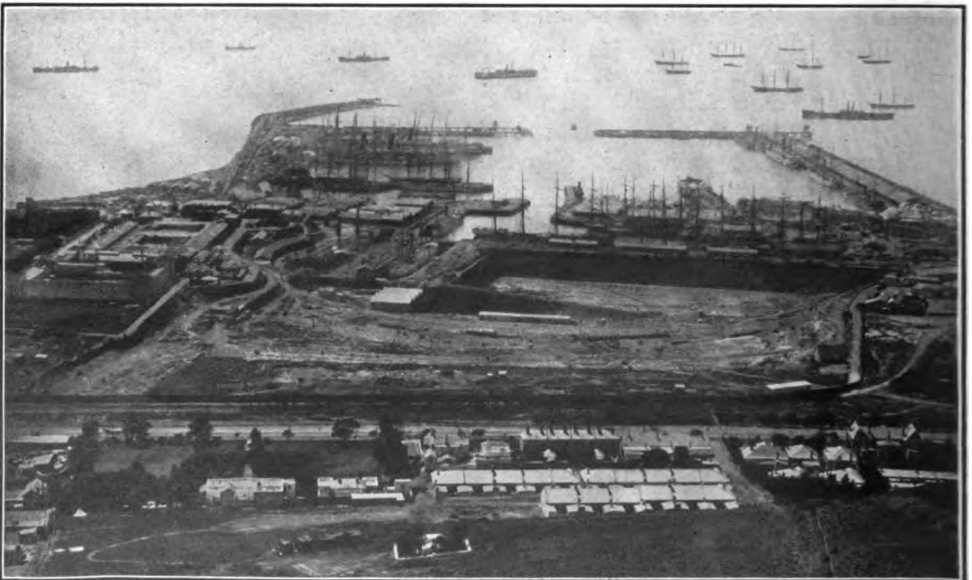
SUEZ, THE FIRST GREAT CANAL

WHICH ALMOST DESTROYED THE TRAVEL BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AS THE PANAMA CANAL WILL NEARLY END THE TRAVEL BY CAPE HORN. PANAMA WILL DEPRIVE SUEZ OF MUCH ORIENTAL TRAFFIC

over a route one third as long — a change that in itself will vastly increase the volume of the traffic. There will without doubt be a large influx of American and European capital into these West Coast countries as soon as the canal is finished; and the new enterprises thus inaugurated will in turn lead to still greater traffic. Panama will give the United States a 3,000-mile advantage over Europe in place of the 10-day disadvantage just mentioned. For return cargoes Peru will contribute sugar, Ecuador cacao, and Chile nitrate of soda from its northern ports of Iquique and Antofagasta to the amount of more than two million tons annually. As the saving by the canal or the voyage from Iquique is 5,200 miles, far more of this product will come to the United States than formerly, and it will come by the canal. For Liverpool the saving is 2,831 miles and for Hamburg 2,852 — probably enough to send vessels for these points by the canal, although this would depend on the rate of tolls and the size and operating cost of each steamer.



A GREAT TRADE CENTRE THAT THE CANAL WILL AFFECT

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA. ON THE GOOD HOPE ROUTE, WHICH WILL LOSE SOME OF ITS TRAFFIC TO THE NEW ROUTE BY WAY OF PANAMA

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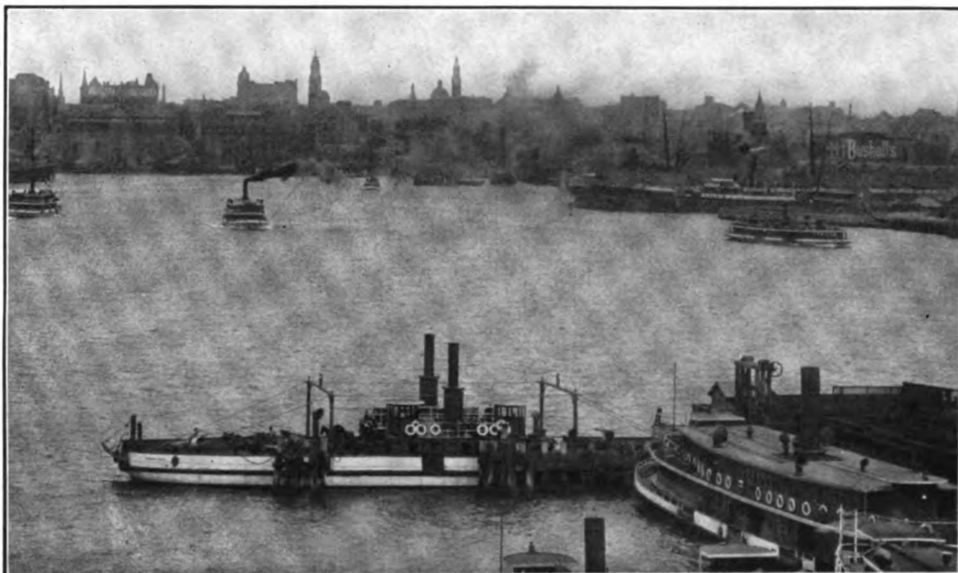
Of the West Coast South American countries, Chile will probably benefit to a greater extent than any other, being largely in the temperate zone, and already possessing a stable and efficient government, a very considerable railroad system, an energetic and industrious population, and many industries of great economic promise. Peru, where the greatest need at present is capital to develop its agricultural and mineral resources — most of its best lands requiring irrigation — expects to see its industries and commerce double within the next decade. Ecuador, already the chief source of one of the world's great agricultural staples, cacao, offers a wide field for capital and industrial development, as does also Bolivia. Colombia, though already possessing an Atlantic seaboard, will be immensely benefited by the opening to world commerce of its now almost unknown ports on the Pacific. The Central American republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala are in the same position, with the added fact that the bulk of the population of each of them lives on the Pacific slope. Heretofore the commerce of Europe and America has been trickling into these countries by the Atlantic back door. It can now enter at the front foor, avoiding the costly haul over the continental divide now necessary in two of them. Salvador, like the South American republics above mentioned, has no outlet on the Atlantic and will probably see its foreign trade vastly increased as traffic routes to it by the canal are developed. Mexico will perhaps gain less relatively than any of these countries, but as its West Coast states are commercially larger and more important than those of some of its southern neighbors its absolute gain will be even greater.



THE HARBOR AT SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

EVEN THE PORTS OF THE ANTIPODES EXPECT TO FEEL A STIMULATING IMPULSE TO THEIR TRADE FROM THE OPENING OF THE CANAL

In the Orient, Japan will undoubtedly be the chief gainer by the canal, Baron Kenko Kimotsuki estimating recently that $150,000,000 would hardly represent the country's eventual revenue from supplying coal to the new coaling ports, and water at Japanese ports, and repairing and outfitting the enlarged mercantile navies that would put in at Yokohama and other leading ports of the Island Empire. Japanese economists expect a vast increase of traffic between Japan and the East coast of the United States and Europe as a result of the canal. Shipping men and merchants are already making active preparations to meet the new conditions

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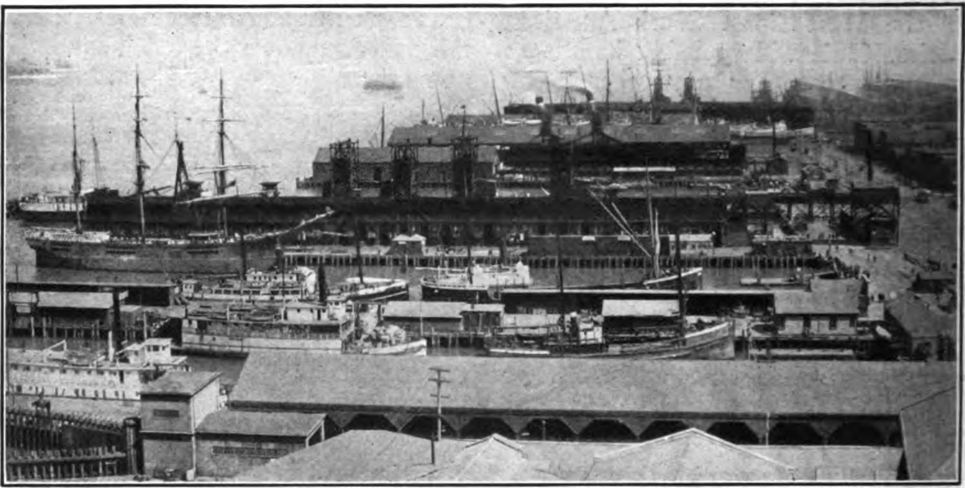

AN AMERICAN PORT THAT EXPECTS GREAT THINGS OF PANAMA

SAN FRANCISCO WHICH, WITH OTHER WESTERN PORTS, THE CANAL WILL PUT WITHIN A DAY'S SAILING OF THE "GREAT CIRCLE" ROUTE OF VESSELS BOUND FROM EUROPE AND NEW YORK TO CHINA AND JAPAN

that will then exist. Conditions for the rest of the Far East, as the table of distances shows, will not be so profoundly modified as to occasion any particular preparation, although a new alternative route, with the prospect of a very considerable increase in shipping, will promote commercial and industrial activity to some extent. In Australia and New Zealand the greatly reduced distance to the United States East coast will bring about a considerable increase in trade with this country, with substantial benefit to Australasian buyers in many closely competitive lines.

It will be, however, the United States that after all will reap the largest benefits from the new waterway. Pacific Coast grain and lumber will secure a vastly shorter route to Europe; Southern cotton to the Orient; Eastern coal to Panama, Central and Southern America for both bunkering and industrial use; Southern lumber to these countries and the Orient; iron and steel products and general manufactures to the entire circle of markets

WHERE THE CANAL WILL MULTIPLY BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CALLAO, PERU, ONE OF THE PORTS ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA THAT THE NEW ROUTE WILL BRING THOUSANDS OF MILES NEARER TO NEW YORK AND EUROPE

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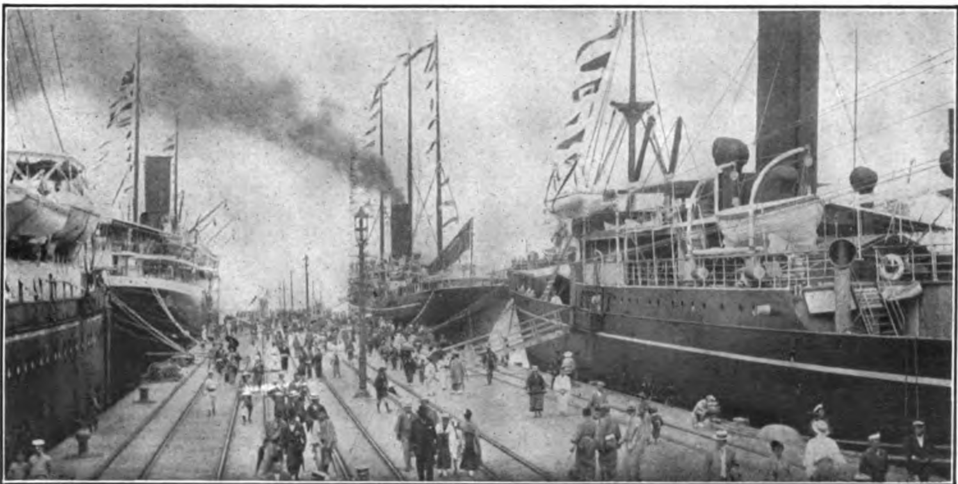
"THE GATEWAY OF THE ORIENT"

HONGKONG, WHICH THE CANAL WILL BRING SO MUCH NEARER TO EUROPE BY THE ROUTE BY NEW YORK AND PANAMA THAT NEW YORK WILL PROBABLY BECOME THE WORLD CENTRE OF FAR EASTERN TRADE

surrounding the Pacific. Along each of the new ocean routes above described and at their diverging termini are a score of seaports that the canal will bring nearer to our shipping points. Behind each of these ports are scores of cities to which our manufacturers will thus have improved transportation facilities and resultant broader demands. All the elements in the new situation that the canal will produce mean larger opportunity, but the time remaining during which to prepare the foundations upon which increased business relations must ultimately rest is very short. No trade, even in the zones that the canal will bring the closest to us, "belongs" to American manufacturers. Banking facilities, safe and strong trade connections, wise adjustments of products to local trade requirements and preferences, arrangement of all the multitudinous details of an export campaign designed not merely to win but to hold the trade of the buyer overseas — all these things must be looked after during the next twelve months!



A DEPOT OF THE NEW PACIFIC TRADE

THE PIER AT YOKOHAMA, WHERE PREPARATIONS ARE UNDER WAY TO REAP THE MILLIONS THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THE OPENING OF THE CANAL TO ADD TO ITS PEOPLE'S COMMERCE

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PICTURESQUE NEW YORK

SECOND ARTICLE

AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED IN CHARCOAL SKETCHES AND TEXT

BY

F. HOPKINSON SMITH

NO. 5 WEST 28TH STREET

YOU might think you were in Venice within reach of your gondola.

Here on these stone flags are lichen-stained pozzos; cracked marble seats; crouching lions; carved mantels; soup-bowl-shaped fountains supported by tailless dolphins — to say nothing of Venuses, Apollos, Madonnas, and Mercuries.

Up the wall of the adjoining house an ambitious wisteria worms its way through a wooden trellis — just as the grape vines do in Italy — its leaves clustered around scarred bas-reliefs, coats of arms, plaster shields, brackets, and busts. All about are rusty iron fire-dogs; iron chests knobbed with big-headed rivets; pots, pans, shovels, tongs, and the motley salvage of an oft-picked scrap-heap.

Half way into the yard stands a low, squat building where my lady once kept her carriage. This has a wide-open mouth of a door, and above it two little twinkling eyes of windows peeping over low flower boxes. When the squatty little building opens its mouth in a laugh — and it does at the approach of a customer — you can see clear down its throat and as far up as its roof timbers. Inside, under the rafters, against the mouldy walls, hiding the dusty windows, are old furniture, stuffs, brass, china in and out of cupboards, miniatures in and out of frames, prints, engravings, autographs — one conglomerate mass of heterogeneous matter — some good, some bad, and some abominable — but all charmingly arranged and all a delight to the eye, so harmonious is the coloring and so restful and inviting the atmosphere in which they are housed. Outside are plates, hanging lamps, signs, tongs, bellows, rugs — nailed up, tied up, plastered up, hung on spikes — all ways and any way so they'll stick tight and can be seen.

Again I say I might be within reach of my gondola. In fact I know just such another place but a stone's throw from the Grand Canal and at the rear of Lady Layard's palazzo. The difference is that within the City of the Doges the antiques, especially the marbles, are carved in a shop at the end of the Campo and soaked in the Canal over night sometimes for weeks to give them that peculiar XV Century tone so beloved by our connoisseurs. Here at No. 5, no such doubt of their authenticity can arise. The Custom House certificate not only proves it, but renders further discussion impossible.

I hear to my great delight that this No. 5 is tied up in some way, and that the predatory Sky-scraper is held in abeyance. It may be that there is some flaw in the title; or a defective will; or that some old skinflint is getting even with a grandson yet unborn. I sincerely hope all this, or any part of it, is true. I sincerely hope, too, that the troubles may continue indefinitely, and that for all time this, or some other, open air bric-a-brac genius will here find a resting place for his collection. One twist of your heel from the crowded sidewalk and you are inside its protecting fence, and not only inside, but away from the rush and rumble, the snort and chug, the cry of the pedler and newsboy; out of sight too, of the monstrosities of modern architecture climbing up each other's backs on their way to the stars.

Perhaps the State or City might vote an appropriation to buy it and keep it as it is. Don't laugh! Listen:

In my beloved Venice there has stood

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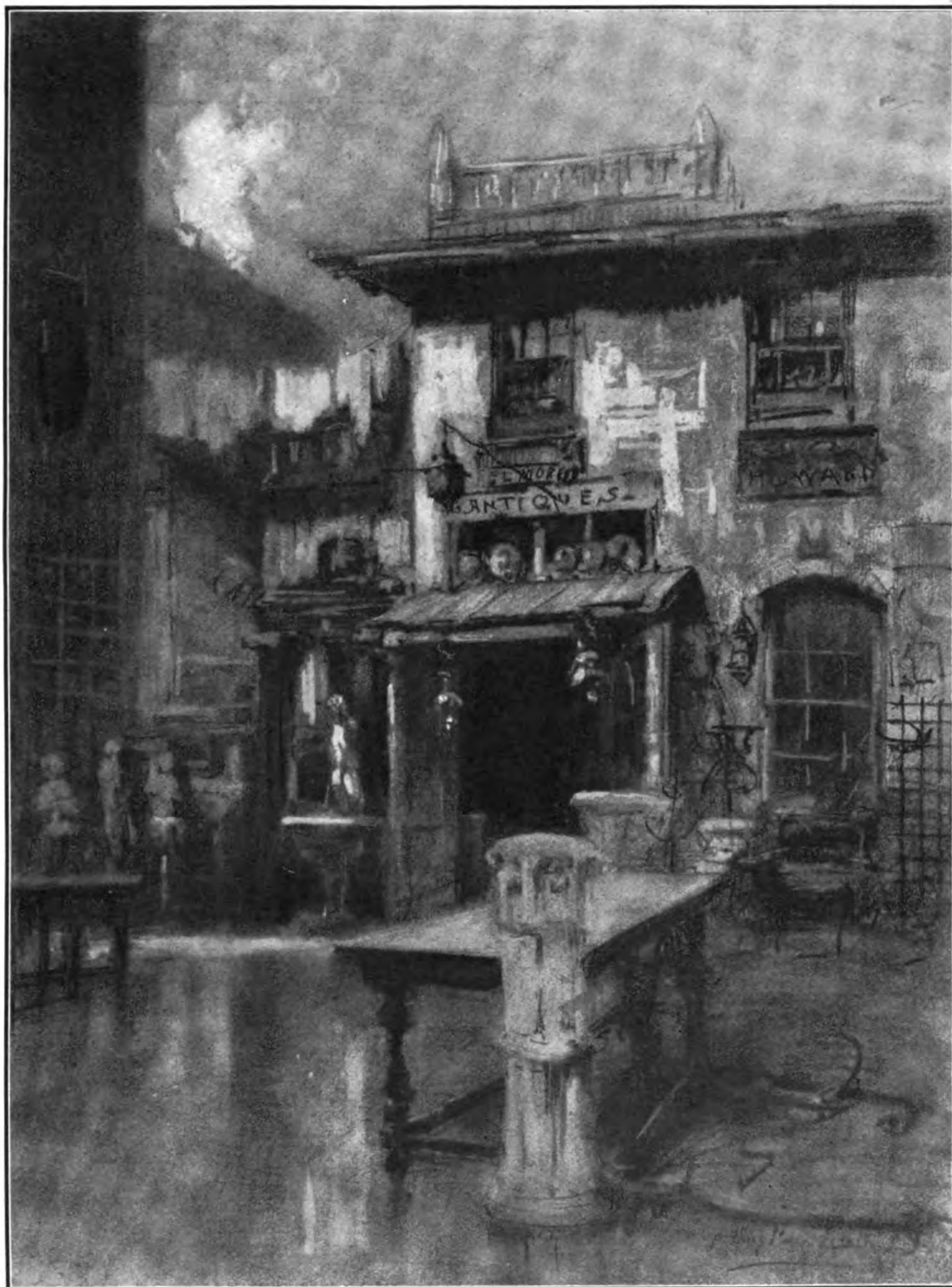

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NO. 5 WEST TWENTY-EIGHTH STREET

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

for two centuries on the edge of San Trovaso, an old squero where during that time thousands of gondolas, barcos, and lesser craft have been either made new, repaired, or patched, inside and out. Back from the water is a rickety building crooned over by a tender old vine, cooling its parched sunburnt skin with soft shadows. Behind this is a white-washed wall and against it always one or more adorable sooty black boats — often big barcos — and over all the haze from the burning

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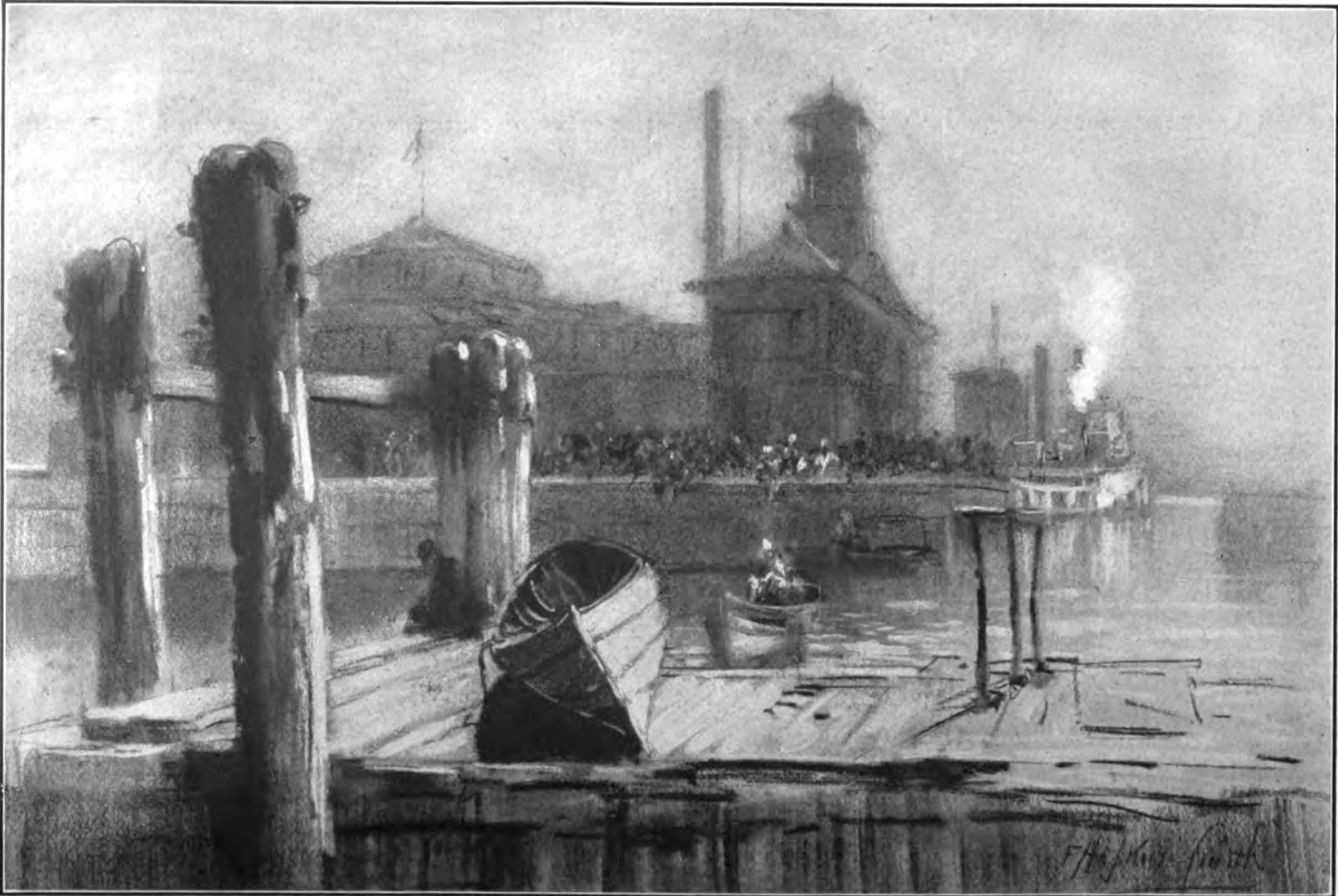
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CASTLE GARDEN

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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THE LITTLE CHURCH AROUND THE CORNER

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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kettles drifting down the lazy canal. For all these years it has been the Mecca of the lover of the picturesque the world over — painters who gloat over its every line, curve, tone, and shadow as they do over the gold and bronze of San Marco.

When its last owner died a few years ago, the big flour mill up the Giudecca pounced upon the site for a ten-story barrel factory. Then, a howl of protest went up that made each member of the Syndic clap his fingers to his ears to save his hearing. The next day eighty thousand lira were handed over to the heirs.

It is still a squero; my own gondola was repaired there last summer. Not a single thing has been moved — not even a pitch kettle.

CASTLE GARDEN

A MOST disreputable person is this bungalow of a fort that sits on the edge of Battery Park, as if ruminating on the dismal failure of its life. In its youth no one of its class was more exclusive, set apart as it was from its fellows at the end of a bridge. It must have sentries too, and a portcullis — big guns, and a powder magazine — these to defend the Cause to which it had pledged its most sacred honor.

When these appointments were discovered to be purely ornamental — the guns never being fired except in honor of the Owner — the people became contemptuous, destroyed the bridge and filled in the intervening space. Then the mortars and siege pieces were dragged out and sent either to the melting pot or to guard cast-iron dogs and lead dolphins in suburban parks.

Though his friends stormed and raved, swearing dreadful oaths — he had to submit to still another outrage — that of having his name changed from Clinton — a most honorable patronymic — to Garden — one of new birth and, at the time, of unknown origin.

Then followed the crowning disgrace — the inner circle of the fighting space was floored over; lights were strung; seats for an orchestra arranged; and he was given over for a dance hall.

When taunted for his perfidy he threw back in the teeth of his persecutors the excuse that many patriots had, under stress of fate, exchanged the sword for the slipper — quoting any number of French refugees with which the City swarmed and who, at the moment, were cutting pigeon wings for a living.

When the alterations were complete, his old bumptiousness returned. He would entertain none but the most distinguished. Thus it was that Lafayette received a joyous welcome; that Kossuth was able to set three thousand people crazy; that opera stars could shine for consecutive nights, and that one political party in celebrating its victory opened three pipes of wine and forty barrels of beer.

The one triumphant moment of his life, however, came in 1850 — one which came near reinstating him in public opinion, and would have done so, had he not been too proud to acknowledge his obligations to Barnum, that Prince of Showmen. Never were so many people packed beneath his circular roof; mobs besieging the doors; men and women pasted flat against the walls — a wide, clear stage with flickering footlights awaiting her entrance.

A curtain parted and she floated out — slowly — gently — as a shaft of sunshine moves, illuminating everything about it. Then a mighty shout went up; roofs and walls crashed together in the tumult of welcome.

There are a few old fellows still above ground who remember the scene and who will tell you how her voice soared through the hushed air. How like a bird in flight it rose, quivered and rose again until every breath was held and tears from hundreds of eyes blurred the vision of her beauty. Fat Barnum pounded his white-gloved hands until he was on the verge of a collapse, and the house roared and stamped for more, and the place became a bedlam — and so it continued until the curtain fell.

For years afterward only swarms of emigrants — eight millions of them — made a pigeon-roost of these openings — alighting for a day only to spread their wings for a second flight. Of their joys

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CLINTON COURT

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THE STOCK EXCHANGE

CHARCOAL SKETCH BY F. HOPKINSON SMITH

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and sorrows no record remains — except the summing up of the size of the flocks and the directions in which they winged their way.

Should you, however, care to revive one of its old time memories, sit down under this same circular roof some afternoon when the shadows are lengthening, and while you watch the multi-colored fish glide and flash in the old embrasures, let your imagination play over that wonderful night when Jenny Lind sang out of "a heart full of goodness," and if you listen long enough you may, perchance, again catch echoing through the overhead rafters, the cadences of the old familiar song that stirred the breathless mob to tears —

"—— there's no place like home."

THE LITTLE CHURCH AROUND THE CORNER

THIS patch of green and flowers, snuggled close in the arms of the Great City, should be holy ground to every lover of the Arts.

The views of our Clergy are broader than they were in the old days when dear George Holland was laid away to rest. Those of us who knew him, and who love his sons, still remember the sting of that direct slap in the face when his body was refused Christian burial, and our indignation and subsequent disgust when all the facts became known. Let our dear Joseph Jefferson tell the story in his own words:

When George Holland died I at once started in quest of the minister, taking one of Mr. Holland's sons with me. On arriving at the house I explained to the reverend gentleman the nature of my visit, and arrangements were made for the time and place at which the funeral was to be held. Something, I can scarcely say what, gave me the impression that I had best mention that Mr. Holland was an actor. I did so in a few words, and concluded by presuming that probably this would make no difference. I saw, however, by the restrained manner of the minister and an unmistakeable change in the expression of his face, that it would make, at least to him, a great deal of difference. After some hesitation he said that he would be compelled, if Mr. Holland had been an actor, to decline holding the service at the church.

While his refusal to perform the funeral rites for my old friend would have shocked, under ordinary circumstances, the fact that it was made in the presence of the dead man's son was more painful than I can describe. I turned to look at the youth, and saw that his eyes were filled with tears. He stood as one dazed with a blow just realized; as if he felt the terrible injustice of a reproach upon the kind and loving father who had often kissed him in his sleep, and had taken him on his knee when the boy was old enough to know the meaning of the words, and told him to grow up to be an honest lad. I was hurt for my young friend, and indignant with the man — too much so to reply, and I rose to leave the room with a mortification that I cannot remember to have felt before or since. I paused at the door and said:

"Well, sir, in this dilemma is there no other church to which you can direct me, from which my friend can be buried?"

He replied that — "There was a little church around the corner" where I might get it done — to which I answered:

"Then if this be so, God bless the Little Church Around the Corner," and so I left the house.

And so I say — as we all do — "God bless the Little Church Around the Corner," not only for that one Christian act but for its well merited rebuke to the hypocrite and the Pharisee the world over.

CLINTON COURT

THERE may be worm-eaten, fly-specked records hidden in some old brass-handled bureau drawer telling the story of this forgotten nook or there may be, on the walls of our Historical Societies, properly framed and labeled data and maps showing why it was that this most modest, respectable court was first elbowed, and then chuckled neck and heels into a corner to make room for once aristocratic Eighth Street — but so far I have not seen them.

Patchen Place and Milligan Place, and half a dozen others still nurse their indignities and will tell you how they hid behind their fences expecting that the upheaval would soon be over and their rights restored, only to find themselves hopelessly side-tracked and financially ruined.

But, after all, what difference does it make? The old-time flavor is still left

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and so are the queer steps that tell of the myriads of passing feet, and so too are the queerer roofs that sheltered them — linking the past with the present and, almost, without a break; the history, so to speak, of a hundred years without a single volume missing.

It was raining when I first saw this victim through the wooden gate shutting it off from the surge of the pavements, and began to take in its picturesque dilapidation. An old black mammy, a shawl hooded over her head and clothes-pinned tight under her chin by one skinny finger, was peering out the first doorway on my left, as I entered from under the spread legs of the modern house fronting the street curb.

"You live here, Auntie?" I called out. All old black mammies are "Auntie" to me. I learned that when I was a boy.

"Yas, sir — been yere more'n ten years."

"Where were you raised?" That's another of my opening questions when I begin to make friends with an old darky. I get the state then, in which they were born and a minute later the name of the old "Marster" who owned them or their fathers. She evidently understood — had, no doubt, been asked that same question before, for she bridled up with:

"I ain't none of yo' No'th Americans — I'm from Brazil. Ain't nobody roun' yere like me an' dere's nothin' but colored people upstairs and down in every one ob dese houses," and in went her head and the door closed with a bang.

I was glad. I had come to make a study of black and white, and the materials were within reach. I passed her stone step, walked to the other end of the court and took in its salient features.

On either side of a short, narrow courtyard sat a row of low, two-story, dingy, soot-begrimed houses staring each other out of countenance — a pastime in which they have indulged since the days of their youth. Those on the right are served with high wooden stoops and handrails; those on the left have only squatty stone steps, the door-sills level with the brick pavement, which explains at a glance one cause of their social differences. Climbing up each front, as if determined to be rid of the intolerable situation, fire-escapes mount hand over hand, stopping now and then at some window to catch their breath. Here and there one more friendly than the others plays cats-cradle with its neighbor across the bricks — the strings laden with the week's wash.

At the farthest end — the one opposite the street entrance — rises a high wall, spitting steam through a pipe on its top edge. This shuts out most of the light and all the sunshine, intensifying the gloom.

Not a flower on any window sill; not a green thing growing; no trees, no shrubs, no weeds. No bit of yellow, or red, or blue stopping a hole in a broken sash, or draping a pane. Even the old pump which has worked away for half a century is painted black, and so is the single city gas lamp; and so are the cats that slink in and out — (born that way — not painted).

Has then the Negro, when left to himself — and he is absolute in Clinton Court — no sense of beauty, no love for flowers, no hunger for color? Rent the smallest room of the dingiest attic in either row to a Latin and the first tomato can emptied would be filled with a geranium. Why should not the Negro do the same thing? He loves music, the double-shuffle, and the rattle of the dice. All require imagination.

I am going again to Clinton Court when the summer is at its full and watch the windows, and if there is still no sign of life you scientists who make a study of such things might better get busy. It is a problem worth the studying.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

ONE pastime of the American public is the manly sport of throwing mud. A shovelful of scandalous mud — a clean white target and many a reputable and disreputable citizen is having the time of his life.

We bespatter our philanthropists, our statesmen, merchants, lawyers, and divines.

We vilify our art, our architecture — (I take a hand in that sometimes myself) — our literature, or anything else about which some one has spoken a good word.

One of the time honored institutions

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of our land — one which has never ceased to be the centre of abuse — is the New York Stock Exchange. Here conspiracies are organized for robbing the poor and grinding the rich; so despicable and damnable that Society is appalled. Here plots are hatched which will eventually destroy the Nation, and here the Gold Barons defraud the innocent and the unwary, by stock issues based solely on hot air and diluted water. Here Senators are made, Congressmen debauched, and judges instructed — even plans consummated for the seduction and capture of the Supreme Court.

All this is true — absolutely true — you have only to read the daily papers to be convinced of it.

There is one thing, however, which you will not find in the daily papers. It is not sufficiently interesting to the average reader who needs his hourly thrill.

And this one thing is the unimpeachable, clear, limpid honesty of its members.

When you buy a house, even if both parties sign, the agreement is worthless unless you put up one American dollar and get the other fellow's receipt for it in writing. If you buy a horse or a cow, or anything else of value, the same precaution is necessary. So too, if you sign a will. Your own word is not good enough. You must get two others to sign with you before the Surrogate is satisfied.

None of this in the Stock Exchange. A wink, or two fingers held, up is enough. Often in the thick of the fight when the floor of the Exchange is a howling mob, when frenzied brokers shout themselves hoarse and stocks are going up and down by leaps and bounds, and ruin or fortune is measured by minutes, the lifting of a man's hand over the heads of the crowd is all that binds the bargain.

What may have happened in the half hour's interim before the buyer and seller can compare and confirm, makes no difference in the bargain. It may be ruin — possibly is — to one or the other; but there is no crawling — no equivocation — no saying you didn't understand — or "I was waving to the man behind you." Just the plain, straight, unvarnished truth — "Yes, that's right — send it in."

If it be ruin, the loser empties out on the table everything he has in his pockets; everything he has in his bank; all his houses, lots, and securities — often his wife's jewels, and pays thirty, forty, or seventy per cent. — as the case may be.

What he has saved from the wreck are his integrity and his good name. In this salvage lies the respect with which his fellows hold him.

Every hand is now held out. He has stood the test — he has made good. Let him have swerved by hair's breadth and his career in the Street would have been ended.

OUR DANGER IN CENTRAL AMERICA

WHERE THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS THREATENED BY THE INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS THAT WE HAVE PERMITTED TO GROW UP IN THE LATIN "REPUBLICS"

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

WHAT are the people of the United States going to do about Central America and the Caribbean? Are we ever going even to realize that we have a great problem and a great danger lying at our doors? Are we going to awaken to the gravity of the biggest external question we may ever have to meet, before some sudden crisis startles us into hurried action? Are we going to let the intolerable conditions prevailing in the countries to the south of us continue,

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going to let American continental politics drift along, until we find ourselves, as we certainly shall, in trouble with the long-patient Powers of other continents?

South of the United States, on the mainland of North America, lie seven independent states. In one of them, Mexico, a dictator maintained something like settled government for thirty years before the breaking out of revolution last year; another, Panama, has just entered on precarious national life; the remaining five have been for generations theatres of almost continual wars, internal and external, insurrections and revolutions. In the midst of the Caribbean three more independent "republics" support tumultuous existences. On the South American shore of that sea two more sovereign states, accustomed to revolution and often threatened by foreign cupidity, complete a troubled scene, the contemplation of which ought to fill every thoughtful citizen of the United States with deep concern.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE IMPERILLED

And it is a scene which must be contemplated. Not only because disorder is more widespread and the scene more hopeless than ever before, but also because the opening of the Panama Canal next year is going to bring those twelve countries into new relations with the United States and with the world. The opening of the canal will give the Powers of other continents, Europe and Asia — the prospect has already given them — a new and vital interest in these lands. A foot-hold near the canal has suddenly become an object glittering in the eyes of every ambitious government. The Monroe Doctrine, which has been allowed to go practically unchallenged since its enunciation a century ago, is now for the first time seriously endangered — for now for the first time there has come into being a sufficient reason to challenge it.

The only ground upon which the principles of Monroe could be challenged would be the misbehavior of one of the countries which have so long been permitted to shelter themselves behind it. Now, we are doing two very bad and very dangerous things for these countries. We are neglecting them ourselves, and we are forbidding anybody else to attend to them. That is, we are encouraging them to misbehave. Our standing notice to the world that no other Power will be permitted to interfere in any American country has acted as an encouragement to irresponsibility in Latin America. Secure behind our guarantee against punishment from abroad and our unwillingness to administer punishment ourselves, suffering from our refusal to let Europe help them or to help them ourselves, most of the countries clustering around the Caribbean have sunk into deeper and deeper mires of misrule, unmatched for profligacy and violence anywhere on earth. Revolution follows revolution; one band of brigands succeeds another; atrocities revenge atrocities; the plundered people grow more and more abject in poverty and slavishness; vast natural resources lie neglected, while populations decrease, civilization recedes, and the jungle advances; national debts mount to incredible sums; and scores of warring chieftains and rival irresponsible "governments" do their best to bring their benevolent protector into conflict with the Great Powers of other continents.

The thing has come to an intolerable pass. As these words are written, revolutionists are in the field in four republics of the region, Mexico, Honduras, Santo Domingo, and Cuba; in three more, where as yet rebellion has not come into the open, the prisons are full of plotters who have failed with pistols, daggers, and dynamite bombs. Others are preparing for "elections" which are certain to be signals for uprisings. Three are struggling in hopeless bankruptcy; another, newly wrecked by audacious looters, is being forced to confess bankruptcy. And the eye of Europe is turning with more thoughtful interest upon the scene.

I have lately returned from a visit to ten Central American and Caribbean capitals, as an unofficial member of the party headed by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Knox, on Special Mission to the Governments there. This article is an absolutely non-official and

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private affair; no statement, sentiment, nor view contained in it is to be ascribed to Mr. Knox or to be taken in any way as even a reflection of any official statement, sentiment, or view. Its conclusions are very far from agreeing with those entertained by the head of the Mission. They are merely conclusions of a private person — who, however, in addition to witnessing and participating in the remarkable series of official honors offered the distinguished Secretary and conversing with all the Presidents and leading statesmen of the Central American and Caribbean countries, made it a special point to meet and talk freely with all classes of the people generally, including opponents of existing governments, newspaper writers, foreign residents, and commercial travelers — conclusions, that is, of a traveler who enjoyed unequalled opportunities to learn both the official account *and the facts* regarding conditions in this little-known region.

The view thus necessarily gained of the Caribbean panorama was so unusual in its scope and opportunity that it seems a public duty to describe its chief features with nothing less than absolute sincerity.

TWO FORTUNATE REPUBLICS

Of the five older Central American Republics, Costa Rica and El Salvador alone approach anything that a North American would recognize as orderly civilization. Costa Rica is a white man's country. Its President, Ricardo Jiminez, is an intelligent official. The nation's credit is sound; life and property are secure. It would be idle to pretend that "popular elections" mean what they do in the United States, but Costa Rica's Presidents have lately been named at elections, and open armed battles among rival groups of aspirants for office have not occurred for some years. The army has been practically disbanded, and education is compulsory. But Costa Rica is a tiny country, so tiny as to be practically negligible in Central American affairs. The Central American Court of Justice holds its sessions here. This tribunal is one of the most admirable institutions of international arbitration yet conceived by man; it is not too much to say that it constitutes an almost ideal model, according to which a Court of Arbitral Justice might be established among the nations. Only a solitary qualification can be made in speaking the praise of this instrument of arbitration among the Central American Republics: viz., it never arbitrates anything; the Central American Republics won't use it. It is beautiful, but it doesn't work. Two of its judges sat side by side at the banquet given Secretary Knox by President Jiminez; they didn't speak to each other.

The Republic of El Salvador, likewise a tiny country, is almost another Costa Rica. Its present President, Dr. Manuel Enrique Araujo, was the first man to reach his office from civil life; he was a physician of standing and a man of wealth when he succeeded Gen. Fernando Figueroa, and his administration has been comparatively free from the sordid scandals that marked previous presidencies, though his supporters admit that it is impossible to carry on government in this region except on feudal principles of allowing retainers to reward themselves on the spoils. Doctor Araujo has a rival in General Alfaro, who hovers about the border, awaiting an opportune moment and the connivance of Guatemala to descend on the capital. Every Salvadoran hates and fears Guatemala.

At San Salvador, a week before our arrival, the French Minister was insulted by a hooting mob who spat and threw cigarette stumps at him as he descended from his carriage, his offense being his protest against the repudiation of a scandalous debt made by General Figueroa's Government to a firm of French Jews, Dreyfus, Schwab & Co. Such incidents as these may lead to grave consequences the moment any European Power takes it into its head to inquire exactly what the Monroe Doctrine means.

IN DARKEST AMERICA

The case of Nicaragua is painful in the extreme. In another article I have told, in the mildest terms the known facts would permit, the story of what befell Mr. Knox's Mission here in darkest Central

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America. We did not see any dynamite, and certainly no bombs exploded under us. We did see elaborate preparations against attack, and shared for three days in the unconcealed apprehension of the military chieftains who surrounded and escorted us. We did receive, on one hand, appeals from political prisoners thrown into jail on our account and, on the other hand, threats of violence. The Diaz Government did arrest half a hundred prisoners with the definite charge of conspiring against the life of Secretary Knox, confronting them with a dozen bombs dug up from under the track along which our train was to pass. It is not likely that any one outside of Nicaragua will ever know whether this charge is well-founded or is a pretext on which to put anti-Mena leaders out of the way.

General Mena is the military tyrant of Nicaragua. At present he is only Minister of War and commander of the army, but he has had the Congress elect him President for the term beginning the first day of next year. This is in defiance of a treaty entered into by the various rival revolutionary chieftains who rioted in a general mêlée when the infamous Zelaya was driven out at last (carrying $15,000,000 in gold) after fifteen years of savage rule. Zelaya's fall was brought about by the United States, and when it was evident that we had only given Nicaragua anarchy in exchange for tyranny, we interfered again to the extent of forcing a compact according to which a free general election was to choose a President, General Diaz meanwhile temporarily occupying the seat.

There will never be any general election. If Mena is the man he looks, he will take the title whenever he thinks it is the best time to fight the inevitable war. Unless Emiliano Chamorro can secretly persuade the "national" army to desert to him. Or some Liberal leader from Leon, with the aid of banished Zelayists from Costa Rica, can rally a victorious force.

Nicaragua is in for years of practical anarchy. The national debt is an impossible amount. The national money is worth six cents on the dollar. Americans are now administering the custom-houses and trying to straighten up finances, under a tentative arrangement which it was hoped the United States Senate would make permanent. Mr. Knox had arranged a loan which would have brought the country out of its difficulties and given us a legal foot-hold from which immense influence could have been wielded. But the Senate will not move; we will do nothing to help Nicaragua to peace, though we would probably fight all Europe rather than let a foreign Power help her. There is nothing to expect here but a succession of sanguinary dictatorships, with consequent further impoverishment of the land and oppression of the people — if oppression and poverty can further go (thousands of people are literally starving)—and continual danger of bringing down from Europe that intervention which we of North America fatuously refuse to make ourselves.

Honduras is in a condition equally desperate. Its President, Bonilla, is sick — he was in a sanatorium when we visited his country — and beset by enemies. The chief of them, Davila, is in El Salvador awaiting his chance; another, Villadores, a week before our visit, crossed the border and took a town or two. When Bonilla dies — if they wait a few months for him to die — at least seven Honduran patriots believe themselves entitled to succeed him. They will decide it by bullets. Inhabited by half a million pauper Indians and half-breeds, who long ago gave up paying interest on a 125-million dollar debt, the country is in ruin, with population and production decreasing, and not a glimmer of hope in its sky.

LATIN-AMERICA'S NAPOLEON

Guatemala is the giant among the Republics of the Central Continent. It has long been the ambition of her rulers to swallow up the others — the five nations were one previous to 1838. A junta, ambitious to re-unite them, maintains an active campaign from Guatemala City. El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua were united under Policarpo Bonilla 1895-1898, but Guatemala has not yet had the strength to assert her purpose. Manuel Estrada Cabrera seated himself in the presidency of Guatemala in 1898,

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the year that General Regaldo of Salvador broke up Policarpo Bonilla's Union. Estrada Cabrera has been for fourteen years building up the most absolute dictatorship ever accomplished on this continent (except by Diaz in Mexico), with the ultimate purpose ever in his mind of making one empire of Central America.

I have broken bread and drunk wine and talked philosophy with Estrada Cabrera, and I would rather speak of his devotion to education (which is fervent, if his eloquence convinces you) and his taste in art (which is severely classical) than of the methods by which he wields absolute sway over his two million subjects — three quarters of them Indian or half-caste like himself. Twice they have come near murdering him: once a bomb blew up the street just ahead of his carriage; once a body of his own cadets opened fire on him in the Palace. Awful is Guatemalan vengeance. Estrada Cabrera had not left his palace except by an underground passage to a neighboring house for many months before Mr. Knox visited his capital. Then he was seen in several places, closely guarded; among other places, at the American Legation, where he attended a dinner. But when the hour of departure came, the President's state carriage with its jingling horses and its cavalry escort rolled away — empty — and two minutes later the President came out quickly, jumped into a dilapidated hack, and went home by a side street.

Guatemala is a pure despotism under which a population of two millions is exploited to the last extreme by an insatiable tyrant and his merciless band of retainers. Not a merchant but pays his tribute; not a planter but exists on bribed sufferance; not an Indian in the jungle but must stand ready to pay with his life for his calabash and his shawl. The national currency has been debased till it is worth only something like five cents on the dollar; a colossal debt will never be paid; the beggared country is compelled to support a big army for the ambitious designs of a discontented despot who fancies himself, as he boasted to me, another Napoleon, destined to continental empire. Estrada Cabrera is a capable man and a terrible man; he will never unite Central America, but he is likely to trouble and embroil it as long as his enemies permit him to live.

ON THE SPANISH MAIN

With the South American republics of Venezuela and Colombia this swift review need not especially concern itself. Danger threatens less imminently from that quarter. Venezuela, since Castro was driven off, has regained a considerable prosperity and, what is more valuable, self-respect. No one can tour the countries around the Caribbean without being impressed with the contrast to the others presented by this land of wonderful resources and of gifted, enterprising and order-loving people who need only a period of political tranquillity to put their country on a plane of which they might well be proud. In natural possibilities, Venezuela is another Argentina. Settled government has become the eager desire of the Venezuelans. It is not yet assuredly secured. An election looms ahead and is looked forward to with some apprehension. Another resort to the old-fashioned method of revolution might mean another Castro and ultimatums like that of President Cleveland, and all the rest of it. The Monroe Doctrine is an asset for Latin-America, but a terrific liability for us.

Of Colombia, I cannot speak from personal knowledge. The Knox Mission did not go to Colombia; we were not wanted there. When one remembers the rape of Panama, that is not to be wondered at. The manner of that transaction did the United States irreparable harm throughout all Latin-America and made us one sullen enemy where we should have had a valuable friend. To put the matter on no higher ground of common morals, what a blunder of statesmanship it was to make an unnecessary enemy of a nation with ports close to both ends of our great canal!

As for the more or less fictitious "Republic of Panama," our relations with it are such that we will control its actions whenever we desire to do so. It is to be a troublesome foster-child, apparently.

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They are soon to have an election; several have been killed in riots; and the Panama Government has turned the management of the election over to us. Panama is a theatre for the rivalries of petty politicians utterly incapable of conducting a government. All may be well, however, if they will let us tell them a little about how to conduct it.

THE EXPERIMENT IN SANTO DOMINGO

Leaving the mainland for the larger Caribbean islands, which are in reality an extension of the Central American Continent, we find in the midst of the American Mediterranean three more sovereign states — The Dominican Republic, Hayti, and Cuba. We are apt to forget the magnitude of the Antilles, so let us reflect that Hayti is nearly as big as Belgium; Santo Domingo is half as big again; Cuba three times as big.

The wonderful island of Hispaniola (as the Spanish call it, and we ought to) by nature probably the richest and certainly the most beautiful region of equal size in the world, ought to be the home of the happiest people in the world. It has poured millions of treasure into the laps of Spain and France and been in other centuries the habitation of wealth, luxury, and culture. It has now a population of two and a half million degenerate Negroes and colored folk whose chief business in life is war.

The Government at the eastern end of the island, that of Santo Domingo, filled the cup of foreign patience to the full ten years ago. Intervention by European Powers was imminent, when an arrangement was made by the United States under which the foreign debt of the country was consolidated and taken over by New York bankers. They lent the bankrupt Government $14,000,000 with which to square itself with the world, and $6,000,000 with which to carry out public improvements — and incidentally provide the patriots who authorized the transaction with a little honest graft. Interest at 5 per cent. and $200,000 a year to go into a sinking fund — in all $1,200,000 a year — was to be taken out of the customs receipts, which were to be collected by American officials under the protection of the United States.

The arrangement has now been running seven years, and has proved a complete success. The customs were expected to amount to two millions a year. As a matter of fact they have now reached a much higher figure, three and a half millions a year — an eloquent testimonial to the sense of security that the new arrangement has brought. The tariff rates have been lowered, the export duty being cut in half, yet the tolls have increased 75 per cent. in five years. The national debt, which was a hopeless and growing burden before our interference, is now being reduced, not by 1 per cent. a year as was expected, but by 2 per cent., and the Government has far more money than it has had for years, and is carrying forward public improvements.

Even more significant, for five years the land was quiet.

This is the happy side of the picture. Unfortunately, some admissions must be made. The new public works have been neither wisely nor honestly conducted. Chief of them is a road which stretches from Santo Domingo city into the country in the direction of San Cristobal. Fifteen miles of it have been completed, and it affords a pleasant boulevard on which legations and a few foreign residents have built homes, but it fills no great requirement in a land of infinite needs, and it cost perhaps three times what it could have been honestly built for.

But the chief disappointment is that, after five years of tranquillity, trouble has lately broken out again. It was the hope and belief of the State Department that, the custom-house once guaranteed against assault by revolutionists, revolutions would cease; it would be impossible to finance a revolution by seizing a custom-house. Our treaty with San Domingo gives us no control of the internal taxes, which are about one quarter of the total revenue. Recent events in the Dominican Republic provoke the query whether the revolutionary instinct and habit of the Latin-American is not so strong that nothing short of full intervention and an absolute protectorate can stamp it out.

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President Ramon Caceres, who with his own hand had assassinated one of his predecessors, was shot to death a few months ago, as he was riding along the new road, not far from the American Legation — to which he dragged himself before he expired, riddled with bullets. One of his crimes, in the eyes of his enemies, was his refusal to dismiss his unpopular Minister of Finance, Fredrico Velasquez. That the latter was a scoundrel is clear enough, if from no other fact, from the peculiar circumstances under which Dr. Jacob H. Hollander (whom the United States had paid to go to Santo Domingo to consolidate and reduce the debt) was given a big sum also from the Dominican Government.

Well, some thirty anti-Caceres men charged with his murder were seized by the soldiery and summarily shot without trial, and the head of the army, Gen. Alfredo Victoria, finding the capital terrorized, proclaimed his uncle, Eladio Victoria, as President. Velasquez protested — and fled. He went to St. Thomas, but when I enquired for him at Charlotte Amalie a few weeks later, he had disappeared from that island.

We found President Victoria a reticent, scared-looking man of light color, with none of the characteristics of the Dominican leader. His nephew, the General, fulfils that character admirably: an erect, broad-shouldered young mulatto in a dapper uniform, who kept very close to his uncle. Neither of them venture much out of their guarded houses — though for the first time in months the President did go to a ball — given in honor of the Secretary. A week before the Secretary's visit, there was a mutiny in the castle, in quelling which Alfredo Victoria shot sixteen soldiers. When we were there, an insurrection was in progress on the northwestern frontier; Horatio Vasquez being the aspirant from that region, while Velasquez was hatching trouble among the islands. The Victorias smiled at inquiries as to the progress of the Vasquez campaign, and it is likely that this particular revolt will fail; yet half of the force that had been sent against Vasquez had gone over to him and he was that very day winning an engagement. Vasquez's weakness lay in the circumstance that his brother Francisco was a hostage in the castle of Santo Domingo, where he must have heard the music of the bands playing at the ball given us. In a cell near him lay Carlos Morales, an ex-President with a still-faithful following. Jiminez, another formidable leader, in exile under Caceres, had found favor in Victoria's eyes and was on the way home.

Now, this was the actual state of affairs on the day of Secretary Knox's visit to the capital of the country whose customhouses had passed under our control and whose tranquillity was fondly hoped to be assured. The fact was that a military government was again in power; one revolt was in progress and another in preparation; the prisons were full, dozens had fled the city, and any shop-keeper you spoke to would tell you that the people were afraid to come to town for the ordinary necessities of life. And a gun-boat — the old *Nashville*, which has figured in so many Caribbean turmoils — was back again, tied up to a cocoanut tree in the river, with marines ready to land.

It would nevertheless, in my judgment, be most unfair to characterize the semi-protectorate under the Dominican loan treaty as a failure. Five years of peace was an unprecedented thing for Santo Domingo. And doubtless, under the arrangement, the successful leader in the conflict now under way will be able to maintain himself another five years or so. The loan plan distinctly discourages revolution. It does not eradicate it. It is a palliative, not a remedy, for the Central American plague.

EDEN AND THE ETHIOPIAN

At the other end of the island lies the Black Republic, Hayti. After 108 years of existence under emperors, kings, and presidents (not one in ten of whom died a natural death) during which its soil has been drenched with blood, we found Hayti happy for the moment under the benign presidency of Cincinnatus Le Conte. Ten years ago, when I crossed Hayti, Le Conte was "Minister of Public Works" under President Sam (but I found no public

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works). When that plundering brute fell before the name of Antenor Firmin and the arms of Nord Alexis, Le Conte fled. Nord Alexis was a ferocious old savage worthy the succession of Dessalines, Christophe, and Soulouque. When that old Negro's hour came, General Simon, among the throng that hounded him, managed to seize the Presidency, and held it a year or two, while he in turn shot and poisoned and robbed. Again down came Firmin (the most intelligent Haytian of our time, and the most ill-starred) and again the lieutenant who led his armies betrayed him. This time he died—they say of a broken heart, no doubt rightly—and Le Conte took possession of the wooden "palace" in the Champ de Mars at Port-au-Prince and has reigned, without formidable opposition, for some months.

Le Conte's is styled a "reform administration." It really gave some signs of being such; the capital was distinctly cleaner than it used to be, though still the most wretched town of its size in the world. But we had scarcely steamed away down the lovely Gulf of Gonaive, when the benevolent Le Conte's Government shot Gen. Jules Coicou, who had been Nord Alexis's chief executioner when that brute was too busy to do justice with his own hand. Alexis used to sit and shoot at his subjects on the street, by way of amusement, but Coicou was better at ordering fusillades at groups of people. On March 15, 1908, he went out with a squad and shot to death in less than an hour twenty-seven persons, including three of his own brothers, to whom Alexis had taken a dislike. Coicou, the strongest military commandant that Port-au-Prince had had for years, was, as long as he lived, a standing menace to Le Conte, but doubtless that consideration never occurred to the "reform" President in sanctioning his tardy execution.

There was an incipient revolt at Jacmel, the chief town on the southern coast, the other day, and there is some trouble on hand with the French Government over the status of Syrian merchants who rob the people of anything the "Government" has overlooked. Hayti has behaved pretty well toward the Powers since the German gun-boat *Panther* blew the Haytian warship, the *Crête-à-Pierrot*, out of the water a few years ago, for some impertinence.

Internally, the country is an offense in the nostrils of humanity — though even more is it a reproach to the civilized neighbor which has suffered it to sink into utter degeneracy. Nearly two millions of half-naked Negroes, dully existing in their huts in the trackless tropical forests, whom no story of the rest of the world, no dim echo of civilization, ever reaches, re-enact here the life of Central Africa and the Australian bush. There is nowhere a road upon which a wheel can turn; money is unknown; the art of tillage is long forgotten; the kindly fruits of the earth are ungathered except for the bare food of the day; precious minerals are left undug, valuable woods suffered to fall and rot.

And this is the island where, one hundred years ago, magnificent plantations checkered the soil, splendid palaces rose on the hill-sides, and great aqueducts, noble roads, and monumental bridges stretched through a rejoicing and opulent land. The jungle has conquered it all.

Nominally Roman Catholics, at least in the cities, Voudouism is the religion of the people—a horrible necromancy grafted on a perverted caricature of Christianity.

Perhaps I can give no more vivid sense of the black blight that seems to fall like a magician's curse on everything Haytian than by mentioning the bewitched mental state in which, on another visit to Hayti, I found the one man in the island whom I was told I should find pious and sane. He was a Bishop, and seemed to be a worthy Bishop until, in the confidence of growing friendship, he began to initiate me into esoteric secrets. He began by telling me that the Apostles were not dead; St. John was a particular friend of his; unbeknownst to the world in general, the original founders of Christianity, with the aid of other Biblical characters, regularly corresponded with each other and occasionally met, under the presidency of the Queen of Sheba; he then solemnly revealed himself to me as Philip the Evangelist, who ascended to the chariot of the eunuch of

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Ethiopia and converted him. Philip the Evangelist proposed to give me a letter of introduction to the Queen of Sheba!

Another illustration: When I came over the pass from Jacmel, my guide pointed out the spot where President Hippolyte fell dead from poison. The next day, Hippolyte's secretary, who had been with him on the fatal ride, told me how he had opened the President's coat and found sewed inside it, over his heart, a Host imprinted with the *Agnus Dei*, surrounded with Voudou charms — a cock's head, bits of dried human liver, a red rag, and the like. It need hardly be asked what must be the condition of a people whose chief rulers and leaders are men like these.

THE CUBAN DÉBÂCLE

As for Cuba — before this article gets into print it is likely that Americans will have learned some painful and little suspected truths about the Pearl of the Antilles and its government. We expelled the Spanish and gave the island to the Cubans. We interfered a second time to save the Cubans from themselves, gave them a fresh start, and withdrew again. Their second attempt at self-government is drawing to an end more disastrously than did their first.

It is not merely that a Negro revolt has broken out, and murder and pillage are sweeping through the provinces. The most serious thing is that the nation is bankrupt and in the hands of bandits who have looted the treasury and mortgaged its future for thirty years, and that there is lacking in the Island the indignation and the virtue to wrest its control from the looters.

It is no common tale of mal-administration and thievery — the story of José Miguel Gomez's presidency; it is a narrative of knavery so bold and loot so complete as to be well-nigh unbelievable. There is no time to tell it at the end of an article already too long. It must suffice to say that many millions of dollars raised for public works have been stolen; invaluable franchises been corruptly bartered away; outrageous contracts been entered into, binding impossible burdens upon the people for a full generation. The Government scarcely pretends to keep any accounts. Hordes of political hangers-on are paid regular stipends without even the pretence of holding any office or doing any work; creditors are pressing from every direction, and the Government's checks are continually dishonored; French, British, and German war claims are being treated with insolent levity, and international complications are being invited. Public health is again neglected; it would require only a few years for pestilence to regain its old foothold. Agriculture, frightened by the political chaos, is going backward in many provinces. There is real danger of Eastern Cuba becoming another Hayti — indeed of its becoming politically part of the Black Republic. On a clear day you can see from Cape Maysi the Haytian mountains back of Môle St. Nicholas, and hundreds of blacks have crossed the Windward Passage to join Ivonnet's army.

It was not for this that the United States set Cuba free from Spanish misrule. If humanity called us to that task, on what ground can we excuse ourselves from the equally necessary labor of saving Cuba from Cuban lords of misrule?

If a great nation does right ever to listen to the call of "humanity" what are we doing when we close our ears to the cry that goes up from the wretchedness of Hayti, the misery of Nicaragua and Honduras, the suffering of Guatemala? Are we doing right or wrong when, refusing ourselves to help, we, by the proclamation of a doctrinaire theory fabricated by President Monroe a century ago to meet quite another and now a long-past danger, forbid anybody else helping? For it would be possible to do a great deal for these countries by a little wise assistance. Germany would be glad enough to undertake it, and she would do well both for any dilapidated country she undertook and for herself. If we persist in this dog-in-the-manger posture, the time is coming when *the Monroe Doctrine is certain to be questioned.*

Well, something like this is the picture. What are the people of the United States going to do about Central America and the Caribbean?

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IS SOCIALISM UPON US?

FOURTH ARTICLE OF

THE WORLDWIDE SWEEP OF SOCIALISM

THE SWIFT GROWTH OF A PARTY OF ZEALOTS INTO A NATIONAL POLITICAL POWER — HOW THEY ARE AIDED BY THE ECONOMIC UNREST AND HOW THEY THREATEN TO ENGULF THE LABOR UNIONS

BY

SAMUEL P. ORTH

I UNDERTOOK the investigation of European Socialism to discover what light it would shed upon our own problem. Because we stand at the threshold of a new political epoch. This must be apparent to the most casual observer. European conditions are crowding in upon us. The natural cleavage of our people into two political parties, one conservative and one radical, has never been wholly accomplished. Our country has developed enormous wealth producing powers, and the stupendous fortunes of a small group of American financiers will, no doubt, remain one of the economic phenomena of all history. This has occurred under a régime of unlimited competition. Wealth has brought with it its attendant woes. Poverty, industrial congestion, non-employment, labor unions, employers' associations, consumers' leagues, economic chaos, turmoil, strife everywhere, all the time. Our human ant hills in perpetual commotion. Everyone threatening or being threatened, the price of living going higher, the price of life going lower.

This turmoil has entered politics. The old parties have clung, with pathetic courage, to the ancient platitudes of political equality. But year by year, inch by inch, the economic nature of the problem has forced itself upon them. *To-day we are face to face with the bread and butter problem in politics.* Ours is no longer a democracy fighting for political freedom. It is a nation of Democrats wondering what to do with the question of economic freedom. Here the line of cleavage between conservative and radical will become sharp and clear; no zigzag; no party parleying; here you are either blue or white. Or, more literally, red or white.

Because the red of Socialism is streaking the political horizon. The subtle economic philosophy of Marx, Engel, Fourier, Owen, and all the rest long ago found willing hearts and heads among us. And the destructive anarchist, and the impatient syndicalist, is here. When this change comes — and the new alignment cannot be far distant — what will be the power of Socialism? How Socialistic will our Radical party be — how Radical our Conservative party? Will Socialism permeate them both, as it has permeated the parties of England?

The red tint in the clouds has spread farther into the promise of to-morrow than most of my readers dream. It is the herald of the dawn of a day that bids fair to witness the fiercest battle ever fought on an economic battlefield. "You are going to have a revolution in America," John Burns said to me. "I may be too old to see it. But you will see it, sir, mark my word." I laughed at him and told him he forgot we were Anglo-Saxon by habit. But the Labor Cabinet member, himself a Fabian and the leader in a mighty political revolution, persisted in his prophecy, although he would vouchsafe no details.

These words were in my mind when I returned to New York, a few weeks ago. Within a few days of my arrival, the ubiquitous reporter had discovered me and I submitted to the usual ordeal, in the

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lobby of the hotel. When the reporter had left, a spruce looking gentleman in the next chair, who evidently had overheard my interview, asked me: "Are you a Socialist?" "Do I look like one?" I replied. "Can you tell them by their looks?" he asked. "If you can, you are a wonder. I am a Socialist, and have been for ten years, and I am proud of it. There are a whole lot like me and before long you will hear from us." I asked him if he was born in the United States. "Yes, sir," he answered, "and so was my father." "Why are you a Socialist?" I asked. "Because it's the only way out of our miserable mess, and because the old parties are flimflamming us all the time."

Here was a business man, giving me a lesson in the spread of Socialism among us.

The week following, I visited a thriving manufacturing city in the Middle West. On the most conspicuous corner of its main thoroughfare stood a man selling Socialist papers — dailies in several languages, and many weeklies.

"Do you sell many of these?" I inquired.

"Yes, I make a living this way. I sell more and more every year."

ITS GROWING RESPECTABILITY

Still a few weeks later, a debate was held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, on the subject: "Resolved, that Socialism is the only solution of the trust problem." The affirmative was maintained by a lawyer who has written several books on Socialism and who represents the American Socialists in the International. The negative was sustained by one of the leading corporation lawyers of the New York bar, who has himself guided great industrial mergers, one of which, I am told, is quoted in the markets at $100,000,000. The large hall was packed; I failed to get a seat and was compelled to stand throughout the discussion.

Who would have surmised ten years ago that such an audience could be drawn to hear such a debate? And whose imagination would have dared venture so far as to suggest that a well known corporation lawyer would allow himself to discuss such a question, before such an audience, with a Socialist? A few years ago, in the same city, Mr. Bryan, returning from a world pilgrimage, said to a vast throng that had gathered to do him honor, that he believed in the government ownership of railroads. The nation heard the words with astonishment, the conservative papers called him a "Socialist," and his audacity was a ten days' wonder. To-day, not only public ownership of railroads, but of factories is debated by leading lawyers, who are the most reactionary of all professional men.

The audience was even more significant than the debate. It was composed almost entirely of young people. Around the balcony hung the pennants of thirty or forty colleges and universities. The debate was given under the auspices of an inter-collegiate Socialist society, that has in five years spread itself from Harvard and Columbia to Leland Stanford and Oregon.

"Are you all Socialists?" I asked a group of these young men in the lobby.

"Not quite all, but we are learning to be."

These are the collegians who to-morrow will be the lawyers, physicians, preachers, and business men of America. I found, on inquiry, that sons and grandsons and daughters of distinguished professors, statesmen, and business men are members of this inter-collegiate group; and that some of these distinguished fathers and grandfathers often attend the meetings. It is no wonder that the prosperous corporation counsel opened his part of the debate by saying: "The day has forever gone by in the United States when the reform forces in public life can ignore the Socialist."

These incidents are straws that show the current. Socialism is here; it is here to stay.

THE ASCENT FROM INSIGNIFICANCE

In 1890 the Socialist party was a very insignificant, discredited, and despised remnant. In the public mind, the word was a synonym for social outcast, for anarchism and nihilism, for a universal levelling. Few men openly espoused it; men of eminence avoided it like a pest; it was prayed against in the pulpit, denounced in the papers, and derided on the stump. Nobody studied it, everybody feared it.

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In 1905 Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, typical son of New England, said: "So far as tendency goes, we are all Socialists in daily life, without knowing that fact. That the movement of human history is toward the public ownership of monopolies is unquestionable. If that be Socialism, make the most of it."

What has happened in these fifteen years, to make this treason reasonable?

The doctrine of "let well enough alone" had been carried to its climax.

I think this sums up the whole situation. Competition, aided by steam and electricity, had over-reached itself. Individualism had overpowered the individual.

Corporations had long since taken the place of the partnership and the individual business unit, and the war of corporations had led to their fusion into "trusts." Production was organized to a perfection. And transportation was centralized, until a few hands guided all the trains.

This era of consolidation has opened people's eyes; especially the eyes of the consumer. He can definitely see the instrument of monopoly. It is a tangible thing, no guesswork about it.

It is interesting to speculate what the historian in 2000 A. D. will say of the years 1890–1910. In all the history of mankind no such years can be found. We were in their midst and failed to catch their significance. But, in perspective, how they will loom up among the years as the climax of the age of Big Deals, wherein states and populations were pawns in the game of financial Brobdingnags!

During these years people began to grow heterodox about the old political economy and the old political philosophy. The "let alone" economics of the Manchester School, when let alone, produced the all-embracing "Trust." And the old political philosophy, about all men being free and equal, is burlesqued in the colossal figures of the monopolies.

Two circumstances hastened this change of sentiment and conviction, the one governmental or legal, the other economic.

A REVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SENTIMENT

The strikes and boycotts, beginning about 1871, led to a great deal of confusion, and the employers turned to the courts, who developed enormously the application of the writ of injunction. Boycotts, picketing, and other weapons of labor, were called conspiracies and enjoined. Disobedience meant imprisonment. The series of great strikes beginning with the Homestead strike in 1892, and including the Cœur d'Alene and Buffalo strikes, and the historic Pullman strike of 1894, saw ample use made of this legal weapon. Eugene Debs was imprisoned for contempt. Labor leaders, whether Socialist or non-Socialist, denounced the procedure and demanded that injunctions be taken out of equity jurisdiction and be tried by jury. Dissatisfaction with courts spread rapidly, until it has become the mode to criticise the judges and their decisions. A revolution of sentiment has been effected by injunction proceedings and by many decisions that logically are irreproachable but popularly are out of joint with the hour. To-day, statesmen and scholars are talking about the recall of judges and the recall of decisions. Ten years ago these sentiments would have been proof of incipient insanity.

The result of this fault-finding with the courts is a higher criticism of the gospels of our constitutionalism. The old Fourth of July, spread-eagle spirit is vanishing. Rousseau, Godwin, and other "sources" of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are being studied. The theory of the separation of powers, the trinity of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, and other constitutional orthodoxies are being super-scrutinized. Shelves of books are being written on "Our New Democracy," meaning a sort of Socialistic democracy: and "Our Industrial Commonwealth," meaning a state with paramount economic functions.

There are a thousand indications that thousands of American citizens are no longer regarding the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the Declaration of Independence, with the respect, and the semi-religious awe that invested these venerable institutions for more than a hundred years.

While the obstinacy and orthodoxy of the courts was providing the culture in which the germs of criticism multiplied

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a new economic situation hastened events. The cost of living quite suddenly rose to dizzy heights. This occurred about the time the first great "trusts" were formed; and soon after the courts had entered the régime of "government by injunction." There are no doubt a great many subtle causes for the rise in the price of food stuffs. But the common mind does not stop to analyze subtle causes. Nothing touches a voter's convictions so harshly and so potently as a rise in taxes and a rise in the price of bread. Both are attributed to political causes and both are heartily resented. Amidst the maze of discussion about the cost of beef and potatoes, loomed up the fact that there were "trusts," strikes, warfare, an economic rigor that was subjecting the multitudes to stationary wages while prices soared.

So it has come about, by a conjunction of events, that there has simultaneously arisen a widespread discontent with "the old established institutions of the Republic," a universal revolt against centralized business, and a deep-rooted suspicion that, somehow, our whole economic system may be wrong.

What a fertile field for Socialism! No need of oppressive election laws and the increasing burden of standing armies, or the accoutrements of Royalty, to engender the discontent upon which this Cæsar feeds. The unctuous theories of a social regeneration wrought by the all-powerful hand of the State, slip by the sentries of reason so easily that, unawares, the doctrines gain rapid sway. The eager mind of the underfed and the underpaid, steps from height to height of sentence and syllogism — without exploring the intervening valleys.

I listened on the fringe of a crowd around a "soap box" Socialist. "Things are not right. You all know that. Prices are awful. Wages are low. You are not well off. I can see that in your faces. Your constitution can't straighten things out, else it would have done so long ago. Your courts can't straighten them out. They are powerless against their masters. Your unions can't do it, they are run by selfish men. You yourselves can do it, if you go at it right. Socialism is the only way and with it you can get what is yours by right."

A workingman in overalls, near me, muttered," It's worth trying, anyway.

"EUROPEAN SOCIALISM IS HERE"

In 1900 there were a few thousand Socialist votes cast for President. In 1904 there were 435,000, an increase of 400 per cent. The Chicago *Chronicle* said: "The Social-Democracy of Continental Europe, preaching discontent and class hatred, assailing law, property and personal rights, and insinuating confiscation of plunder, is here."

The San Francisco *Argonaut*, calling attention to the vote, said, "Socialism must be fought in all its phases, in its every manifestation."

These are fair samples of the editorial comment on those half-million votes. They were "eye openers." But in 1908 the vote was not appreciably increased.

It remained for subsequent municipal elections to show the country how widespread political Socialism had grown. In 1910 came the startling announcement that Milwaukee had elected a Socialist mayor by a plurality of more than 7,000. The New York *Call*, the Socialist daily, said that this was "the serious entrance of the Socialist party as a factor in American politics." The same year Victor Berger of Milwaukee was elected the first Socialist Congressman. The municipal and state elections last fall resulted in a long list of Socialist victories. On January 1, 1912, 377 villages, towns, and cities in 36 states had some Socialist officers. This list includes 38 communities in Ohio, 39 in Pennsylvania, 8 in Indiana, 4 in New Jersey. The Socialist vote last fall is estimated at 1,500,000. In Chicago 10 per cent. of the entire vote was Socialist. In Missouri the Socialists nearly carried part of the state ticket; in Pittsburg the gain was 100 per cent.; in New York City it was 25 per cent.

Such diverse towns as Butte, Mont.; Flint, Mich.; Schenectady, N. Y.; New Castle, Pa.; and Crookstown, Minn., are in the red column. Eight Ohio cities elected Socialist mayors. Among them were Mount Vernon, Salem, Fostoria,

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thriving towns of the genuine American type, where the foreign vote is not the supreme element in elections.

The increase of the Socialist vote is shown in the following table:

THE CLIMBING SOCIALIST VOTE

1892	21,164	1908	420,464
1896	36,274	1910	607,674
1900	87,814	1911	1,500,000
1904	402,283		

In some of these cities the Socialists have captured the entire city machinery, as in Schenectady and Milwaukee. The case of Milwaukee is illuminating. The Socialist candidate for mayor was defeated this spring, but he polled 3,000 more votes than he did two years ago. His defeat was accomplished by the fusion of the old parties against the Socialists; that is, by the line-up of conservatives against radicals, a division of political antagonisms that will, no doubt, be common in all our cities in a few years.

The Socialist vote in Milwaukee is as follows:

1898	2,444	1906	16,837
1900	2,472	1908	20,887
1902	8,375	1910	27,622
1904	15,333	1912	30,200

The increase in the Socialist vote, then, has been enormous in the last four years; for example, in Kentucky it has been 108 per cent.; in Maryland, 62 per cent.; in Massachusetts, 24 per cent.; in Mississippi, 109 per cent.; in Nebraska, 157 per cent.; in Michigan, 51 per cent.

The significant part of this vote is not so much its increase as its universality. All sections of the country are affected by the virus: New England and the Far West, the oldest commonwealths and the newest, Massachusetts and Arizona; the North and the South, Mississippi and Michigan. Moreover, it has conquered in cities filled with the "foreign vote" and in staid towns controlled by retired farmers and small shop keepers.

A THOUSAND SOCIALIST OFFICERS

And the range of offices filled is no less universal — judges, mayors, councilmen, even township officers elected by farmers. An approximate census of Socialists in office on April 12th of this year gave a total of 1,039, including 56 mayors, 205 aldermen and councilmen, and 148 school officials.

The party organization is modeled after the German Social-Democracy. It differs from other American parties in that you cannot become a member merely on your own initiative. It is a political club rather than a party, as we use the word. You can become a Democrat by voting the Democratic ticket and enrolling in the party primaries. You can vote the Socialist ticket for years and not be a member of the Socialist party. To become a member you sign an application which reads:

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all other parties formed by the propertied class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist party and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party.

THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

You sign your name to this remarkable statement and answer sundry questions as to your citizenship, residence, membership in trades unions, what Socialist literature you read, etc. This application must be endorsed by a member of the party; and it is then scrutinized by a committee. You stand a very good chance of being rejected if you have been a ward heeler in one of the old parties. The Socialists declare that their business is converting the world, not playing politics. When you have been finally entered on the rolls, you are assessed 25 cents a month, and the dues are promptly collected. They form virtually the only revenue of the party. No corporation has yet been accused of giving them a campaign contribution.

The number of members in this self-supporting party is as follows:

1903	15,975	1908	41,751
1904	20,763	1909	41,479
1905	23,327	1910	48,011
1906	26,784	1911	84,716
1907	29,270	1912 (May)	142,000

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In such an organization, numbers are not a gauge of strength. This is a collection of zealots, not of voters. The application for membership is a declaration of willingness to enlist in the most terrible of wars, the class war; in the most universal of campaigns, the world's economic regeneration.

The party is run on strictly democratic principles. The leading questions of policy are decided by referendum, and the candidates for office are selected with great care. The leaders are careful to avoid alliances with other parties. The party is not yet powerful enough to have to face the issue that has disrupted Socialists in all other lands — how far they shall act with other parties in "reform" measures.

The affairs are managed by a central committee with headquarters in Chicago. Each local branch of the party enjoys almost complete autonomy. There is an extensive party press, including a number of daily papers in several languages; many weeklies in many languages; and a constant stream of pamphlets. For the Socialists are the most fecund of pamphleteers.

Their national convention was held in Indianapolis, May 17th, and nominated Mr. Eugene V. Debs for President and former mayor Emil Seidel, of Milwaukee, for Vice-President.

THE "CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS"

There are two other Socialist organizations that should be mentioned to round out the picture of American Socialism. The first is the organization of "Christian Socialists." Their spirit is shown by the declaration of 1908, signed by 161 clergymen representing 24 denominations in 36 states. It says that the object of the movement is "to show that Socialism is the economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy; and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood on earth." The growing membership includes prominent bishops, professors of theology, preachers, and laymen; and the group publishes a paper in Chicago, *The Christian Socialist.* The other organization is the "Intercollegiate Socialist Society," to which I have already alluded. It is organized "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." Forty colleges have chapters, and there are five alumni chapters, most of them organized during the last two years. They maintain headquarters in New York City, where a trained organizer is constantly at work and where they issue bulletins and outlines of study and arrange lecture courses.

So you see, Socialism is no longer an unkempt waif lost in the back alleys of the foreign quarters of our cities.

THE "I. W. W."

There is another organization that needs to be mentioned, although it is not an integral part of the Socialist propaganda, and even has had a quarrel or two with the Socialist party. It is, however, so intimately associated with the stress and change that the Socialists preach, and has recently, through the Lawrence strike, been so prominently before the country, that it must not be overlooked. In the "Industrial Workers of the World" we have French syndicalism Americanized. I am told there are only 15,000 members of this organization. But their activity far exceeds the measure of their numbers. One man can throw a bomb that will scatter ten thousand. It embraces the revolutionary labor unionists, who began this warfare in the destructive mining strikes in Colorado and Idaho. About seven years ago they issued their famous "Preamble," the American Communist Manifesto, which recites:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party. . . . Conditions can be changed, and the interests of the working class upheld, only by an organization formed in such a way that all members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work, whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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There have been continual wrangles and feuds among these militant unionists, and now there are two branches, separated by the question of how far political activity should supplement "direct action." The direct actionists believe in staying out of politics. They would rather strike than vote. They are not averse to "sabotage." They will ruin a machine by not oiling it, or will consign goods to the wrong address. That is, they will ruin property by negligence without violence. Or, with equal gusto, they will destroy by force. The other faction believes in political agitation, as well as in violence, and it had representatives in the Indianapolis convention.

So there are among us all the varying shades of the Socialist propaganda that are found in Europe, from the "brotherhood" confessing Christian Socialist, to the violent, property destroying, law defying syndicalist.

Whatever their name and their zeal, their spirit and their object is the same, both here and abroad; they all look forward to the Social-revolution.

A PARTY OF IDEALISTIC ZEALOTS

The spirit of these soldiers of change is that of the zealot, not of the politician or statesman. Mr. Charles E. Russell, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York last year, says: "To these men and women, Socialism does not mean a political party organized to win elections and to secure offices; *Socialism is to them a religion*." And Mr. Gaylord Wilshire said, some years ago: "I think most Socialists would agree that until the belief in Socialism gets hold of the heart and emotions of the people, more as a religion than as an understanding of economic events, there is not going to be a social revolution."

And what would they do if they got into power? Representative Berger's first resolutions in Congress were: to abolish the Senate and to substitute a national referendum; to abolish the appointed federal judiciary and to substitute judges elected for four years; and to abolish the present method of amending the constitution and to substitute a majority vote in place of two thirds. The Radical wings in the old parties have virtually adopted this much "Socialism."

Further, the party programme demands the collective ownership of all the means of transportation, of all natural resources, and of all great industries; it demands industrial insurance, inheritance and income taxes, the curbing of the power of the courts, the initiative and the referendum.

In brief, they propose a Social Revolution, through the democratizing of all social activities; industry shall be publicly owned and democratically managed.

A MOVEMENT ENGULFING UNIONISM

There are certain characteristics of this movement which demand special notice.

In the first place, it is a workingman's movement. That means, it has a class basis. The class war is upon us. These apostles of economic warfare call each other "comrades," but their comradeship stops suddenly when the lines of the party are reached. There is no Socialist party in Europe more inoculated with this class feeling than the American Socialist party.

The majority of the officers it elects are, naturally, laboring men. In Schenectady, for instance, the mayor is a clergyman, but the president of the common council is an armature winder, the city treasurer a tool maker, the city comptroller a foundry worker, the superintendent of the poor a gardener. The Socialist mayor of Milwaukee was a pattern maker, the city treasurer a florist, the city attorney worked his way through college as a cook. In the city council sat three painters, four mechanics, three cigar makers, and two carpenters.

The cleavage is on class lines. For, no matter how many society belles, youthful millionaires, clergymen, and college professors confess the creed, the fundamental function of Socialism is "class war."

In the second place, this movement is absorbing the labor unions. The struggle between the unions and the Socialists as it occurred in England is being repeated here. For years the English unions avoided political action. But they were finally forced into the arena by unfavorable court decisions that threatened the

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existence of the unions. The rapidity with which the unions will become Socialistic depends upon the attitude of the old parties. Heretofore, both the old parties vied with each other in bidding for the labor vote. Sooner or later the laborer will grow tired of the coaxing and will demand results. He will strike out for himself. We can then look for a coöperation or understanding between political Socialism and unionism as it exists in Germany and England.

At various periods of our history there have been third party movements that have appealed to the labor vote, such as the Greenback party in the 70's and the Populists in the 90's. But the old parties soon absorbed them. This absorption has always been done by the aid of a large class of voters who are a remarkable blend of both radical and conservative tastes — the American farmers. The farmer is economically out of joint with Socialism because he wants his property; he is out of sympathy with industrial conservatism because he thinks that the railroad has overcharged him and the "trust" has underpaid him. He is inclined to favor the recall, referendum, and the nationalization of railroads and natural resources.

Moreover, he holds the balance of power in his hands. If the Socialists can win him they can win the Government. If Socialism fails tc entice the farmer, it will remain a minority party. Its present platform is certainly not drawn to lure the farmer vote. The rural patriot has never spent much sympathy for a class war on purely labor union lines. Socialists will, however, become supple as they gain in strength. That has been the universal experience. Nothing unbends thc calcareous back of orthodoxy so much as responsibility. Even the dogmatic German has developed a Socialism with flexible joints. When the majority of Congressmen are Bergers, they won't be so eager to abolish constitutions and courts.

But they will probably always be eager to make the "great capitalists" quake; for this Socialism is primarily economic, and is keen about "distributing justice."

Meanwhile, a new line of cleavage is being made, un-American, unwelcome, unpatriotic, a class line, which tends to classify men, not by what they are, but by what they own.

"I believe that a close examination of the American labor movement will lead to the conclusion that its tendency is more and more toward Socialism and the class war," wrote Werner Sombart, the German economist, after he had visited us and made a careful study of our industrialism.

Keir Hardie expressed the English Socialist views of American conditions when he told me that *the battle between Conservatives and Radicals would be fought out on property lines.* "And labor will form the bulk of the great Radical party, and sweep on to victory."

Herr Bebel, undoubtedly the most astute politician in Germany and the most interesting man in the Reichstag, said this to me: "You Americans are making it easy for us Socialists. You are permitting capital to play with you and to coalesce into vast trusts. It will be such an easy thing for your people, when they get tired of being the playthings of capital, just to take over the trusts; and that will be all there will be to it."

Jaurès, the most profound of Socialist orators, put his finger on the exact spot, "How long will it be," he asked me, "before you have a proletariat as we have?"

We are becoming Europeanized. Proletariat and bourgeois, lower class and middle class, capitalist class and working class, are the unwelcome words in our new political vocabulary. We are fostering a European "remedy" — Socialism — class cleavage.

But this Socialism may become Americanized. I am told that 72 per cent. of the members of the Socialist party are American citizens. We may be able to present to the world an American Socialism, which may prove less harmful than its enemies hope.

At any rate, I fail to see how, in a democracy, the people can shirk the responsibility for allowing things as they are to be as they are.

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THE COUNTRY SCHOOL OF TO-MORROW

IN WHICH YOUNG AND OLD WILL BE TAUGHT IN PRACTICABLE WAYS HOW TO MAKE RURAL LIFE HEALTHFUL, INTELLIGENT, FRUITFUL, RECREATIVE, BEAUTIFUL, AND JOYOUS

BY

FREDERICK T. GATES

(CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD)

THROWN on a screen at a recent conference on rural life was a series of photographs of country school houses in various states, taken by superintendents of rural schools. A few were neatly constructed and about them were pleasant grounds. The larger number were small, one-roomed structures set on pegs, weather-blackened, window-smashed, often with wrecked entrance steps and lockless door; for chimney, a length of stove-pipe thrust through side or back; for furniture, a perpendicular combination of bench and desk, well fitted to be an engine of torture. Improvement of the grounds had rarely been conceived. On the contrary, the original picturesqueness of wild nature had been defaced and belittered. From November onward, for three to seven months, somewhat less than one half of the school population of the district may be found there, usually taught by a young girl, often a last year's older pupil of this or a neighboring school. Enter, and you shall see her painfully teaching her class to read sentences of English, quite likely as one would pronounce the successive words in the perpendicular columns of a spelling book. Such in the main, we were told, are very many of the rural district schools of the South, and similar are many in the Northern States.

Continuing the series of pictures, the inspectors and physicians of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission came forward. They had caught the schools in session, and photographed teacher and pupils, grouped in front of the school house. In some instances all, teacher and pupils alike, were suffering from hookworm disease. Their emaciated, misshapen, or bloated bodies, their sad, pale, listless, hopeless faces, marked with habitual suffering, faces which no art could charm into a smile that would not be ghastly, told the story of disease and neglect. There are well nigh or quite two million of these children in the South, between six and sixteen years of age, weighed down, arrested, and stunted physically and mentally by this disease, many thousands each year finding relief from it in death. This number must be multiplied by the indirect toll of increased fatality in other diseases, traceable solely to this complication. Sixty thousand people, most of them children, have already been treated in North Carolina alone, and the work has been conducted systematically in a few counties only. Here is a word picture, drawn by one of the State Superintendents of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, of the crowds, often numbering several hundreds, which throng his improvised dispensaries:

> The people come from far and near, from all stations in life. They come on trains, by boat, in wagons, carts, and buggies. Many come on foot from ten to twenty miles. Some, too weak to make the journey and falling by the wayside, are picked up by passing vehicles and brought in. Some, unable to stand or sit, are brought in on stretchers. The results following the treatment are indeed marvelous. A gain in weight of a pound a day is common. To see the crowds, to witness their transformation from invalidism, wasted ambition, and poverty to health, happiness, activity, and prosperity,

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brings to one's mind the miracles of the New Testament, and the healing of the multitudes.

The inspectors, not confining their work to hookworm disease, have given all the children in many schools a general physical examination. They report 40 to 60 per cent. of the children defective and more or less disabled from other preventable and curable ailments.

MISERIES OF RURAL LIFE

The Farm Demonstrators of the General Education Board, of which there are several hundreds in the South, complete the series of pictures of rural life in the more neglected sections — of worn out soil, inefficient cultivation, scanty crop, abandoned field overgrown with bushes, deeply washed and gullied hillside, rotten orchard, sprawling fence, tumble-down houses, with unkempt and littered surroundings. The picture is emphasized by contrast. Growing side by side were shown in the same picture on one hand the thin, scant, meagre crop of the one-mule farmer, and the rich, luxuriant, bountiful harvest of the farm demonstrator, in the same field.

Such are the pictures too often found among our everywhere neglected rural folk —among people of our own land, of our own blood, of Anglo-Saxon lineage and intelligence. To me they tell a story unmatched in pathos, resistless in appeal. No one can look on scenes like these and turn lightly away. One is bound to pause and to muse while the fire burns. For this condition of things exists to-day and now, in spite of the fact that, for decade after decade, these people have enjoyed the advantages of a common school system, of county and state superintendents of public instruction, of normal schools, of high schools in all the centres, of Christian colleges founded by denominational zeal, of state universities supported by taxation, the whole supplemented by agricultural and mechanical colleges founded by the United States Government. Also, from the viewpoint of rigidly orthodox Puritan Christianity, these communities have been made Christian statistically in larger percentage than any other equal portion of mankind.

Here, then, is a vast, various, costly educational system of a Christian people, unrelated directly or in any effective way even indirectly to the earthly life and needs of those for whom it exists and by whose sacrifices it is, in the main, supported — a putting asunder of what God hath joined together, *disastrous alike to both*. Here are shepherds and there are sheep, suffering from hunger, devoured and torn by wolves, and neither knows the other. Can shepherds and sheep be brought together in mutual love and service?

A VISION OF THE REMEDY

Is there aught of remedy for this neglect of rural life? Let us, at least, yield ourselves to the gratifications of a beautiful dream that there is. In our dream, we have limitless resources, and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hand. The present educational conventions fade from our minds; and, unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk. We shall not try to make these people or any of their children into philosophers or men of learning or of science. We are not to raise up from among them authors, orators, poets, or men of letters. We shall not search for embryo great artists, painters, musicians. Nor will we cherish even the humbler ambition to raise up from among them lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, statesmen, of whom we now have ample supply. We are to follow the admonitions of the good apostle, who said, "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low degree." And generally, with respect to these high things, all that we shall try to do is just to create presently about these country homes an atmosphere and conditions such that, if by chance a child of genius should spring up from the soil, that genius will surely bud and not be blighted. Putting, therefore, all high things quite behind us, we turn with a sense of freedom and delight to the simple, lowly, needful things that promise well for rural life. For the task that we set before ourselves is a very simple as well as a very beautiful one: to train these people as we find them for a perfectly ideal life just where they are — yes, ideal, for we shall allow our-

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selves to be extravagant since we are only dreaming; call it idyllic, if you like — an idyllic life under the skies and within the horizon, however narrow, where they first open their eyes. We are to try to make that life, just where it is, healthful, intelligent, efficient, to fill it with thought and purpose, and with a gracious social culture not without its joys.

EVERY INDUSTRY IN A CURRICULUM

Let us take, for illustration, as the rural school unit, a territory or township perhaps six miles square, thirty-six square miles, containing some twenty-five thousand acres and at present one hundred and fifty families or more. We shall need a group of school buildings, and these we will place as near the centre as possible and for the more distant pupils arrange daily conveyance in groups. We shall need very ample grounds, many acres. We will return to this, for just now we prefer to conceive our school grounds in the ultimate purpose of our work as embracing the entire township, since our school in its aim includes everybody, old as well as young; it is to be in session all the year round, and everyone shall have something yet to learn always before him. Every industry in the district finds place in our curriculum. Every kitchen, barn, dairy, shop, is a laboratory for our school. The growing crops, the orchards, the vineyards, the gardens, the forests, the streams, the domestic animals, nay, even the tools of every farm, are part of our scientific equipment. The horizon forms the walls of our museum of natural history and the sky its roof, and all the life within is material and specimen for our study.

HEALTH THE FIRST LESSON

Our first plans shall be for health, as the basis of all well being and well doing. We shall ferret out the local causes of ill health in the family and in the community, also in plant and animal life. We shall call to our aid, of course, the experts, from the chemical and agricultural colleges and universities, our schools of forestry and of veterinary medicine. They shall examine and report. They shall lecture and demonstrate before us and be in constant correspondence with us. We shall submit to them our too difficult problems and they shall solve them for us.

Closely associated with health is the daily supply of food. "I was an hungered, and ye gave Me meat." It should be sufficiently varied, regularly provided, suitably and appetizingly cooked. Every girl and every boy shall be taught what to eat, how to eat, and how to cook. At least three times a day throughout his life, every one of us must eat, and the question of healthful and nutritious diet is perhaps the most important single question in life. Nor lives the man to whom this very thing is not by Providence designed to be no inconsiderable part of his daily satisfactions. The dear old lady came much nearer the heart of things than many a divinity professor when, being about to pass to her reward and her pastor asking her which of the divine mercies she felt, at such a time, to have been most precious, she replied, "Well, I have always enjoyed my victuals."

Then comes the question of shelter. "I was a stranger and ye took Me in." We shall teach all that it is necessary to know about the sanitation of a home, from cellar to garret, the need of spotless cleanliness within it, of neatness, taste, and beauty about it. We shall show the value of ventilation, light, warmth and the best methods of securing them. We shall study the question of drainage, sewage, the disposal of waste, the water supply, infection, its source and prevention. We shall plan model kitchens and model sanitary arrangements, model rural homes. We shall render the home and all its surroundings tasteful, comfortable, and healthful.

The matter of clothing shall not be neglected. "Naked, and ye clothed Me." We shall study cloth, its methods of manufacture, tests of its quality. Every person shall be able to distinguish between the spurious and the genuine and to calculate economy in clothing to a nicety. Every girl shall be taught to cut, fit, and make with her own hands the ordinary clothing of the family. The matter of sanitary clothing is not unimportant. We call to mind that, for a century past, one *Titanic*, at

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the least, full of children, with some adults, has gone down every month in the South, for lack of knowledge of a few simple facts about the hygiene of rural homes and their surroundings, and for lack of proper clothing for the feet of the children. Our work on hygiene shall be very thorough, penetrative, and persistent, North as well as South. We shall have periodic examinations of all the members of our school by qualified experts. We shall teach the hygiene of the various members of the body, the hygiene of the eye, the teeth, the digestive system, the hygiene of sex, of marriage, of infancy, of age. "I was sick, and ye visited Me."

LESSONS IN FARMING

So much for health, for food, for clothing, and for shelter. But rich delights still remain to us. We have only as yet laid the foundations. We are now prepared to teach these children to conquer and to harness nature within their horizon to their service and to the service of the world. The farm demonstrators of the General Education Board in the South are securing on demonstration farms in each state about double the average yield of cotton per acre. Their knowledge of seed selection and cotton culture, if universally applied, would double the cotton crop and bring to the cotton raiser at the very least $240,000,000 added profits annually. One remarks in passing that this possible increase of $240,000,000 net profit on cotton alone in one year is perhaps four times the entire money value of all the property which all the institutions of higher learning in the cotton belt have amassed in two generations, so complete is their isolation from the life and interests of the people.

The corn clubs of the General Education Board are demonstrating throughout the South that from two to five times the present annual yield per acre may be won from the soil. The same is possible of potatoes. The canning clubs of the same Board are showing profits of from $100 to $250 per acre for the girls of the family. It is very certain that scientific farming, conducted as a business, will multiply the annual net profits of the Southern farmer by at least four. It was a Southern state — North Carolina — that won at the Paris Exposition the first prize for the best apples in the world. In our dream, every horizon, from Virginia to Texas and from Maine to California, shall be studied wth regard to its possibilities, both in abundance and variety of products; and similar climates and soils the world over, including the Orient, shall be explored and ransacked for adapted fruits, vegetables, grasses, cereals of value.

We are perhaps ready now to go back to our central school, with its very ample grounds. Ample they will need to be, for the school itself is to be, within the limits of child life, a microcosm of the life of the whole community. Not, indeed, of the life of the community as it is, for the adult population for a time will lag far behind the children. Our school shall be a picture in little of the community as it is to be, in what we called its ideal, its idyllic life. The children themselves shall form a community, with allotments and employments, a common social and perhaps a common manufacturing and commercial life of their own, on these ample grounds. They shall perform for themselves, under the guidance of skilled instructors, those agricultural operations as arts which the best science of agriculture shall prescribe. They shall all be demonstrators of the highest achievable results in field, garden, kitchen, sewing room, orchard, vineyard, pasture, dairy, lawn, and meadow, not forgetful of the flowers and of the beauty of the landscape.

TEACHING WHAT CHILDREN WANT TO KNOW

As for the school house, we cannot now even plan the building, or rather, group of buildings. Quite likely we would not recognize the future group if the plan were put before us to-day, so different will it be from the traditional school house. For of one thing we may be sure: Our schools will no longer resemble, in their methods and their discipline, institutions of penal servitude. They will not be, as now, places of forced confinement, accompanied by physical and mental torture, during six hours of the day. Straitjackets, now called educational, will no longer thwart and stifle the physical and mental ac-

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tivities of the child. We shall, on the contrary, take the child from the hand of God, the crown and glory of His creative work, by Him pronounced good, and by Jesus blessed. We shall seize the restless activities of his body and mind and, instead of repressing them, we shall stimulate those activities, as the natural forces of growth in action. We shall seek to learn the instincts of the child and reverently to follow and obey them as guides in his development; for those instincts are the Voice of God within him, teaching us the direction of his unfolding. We will harness the natural activities of the child to his natural aspirations, and guide and help him in their realization. The child naturally wishes to do the things that adults do, and therefore the operations of adult life form the imitative plays of the child. The child lives in a dreamland, full of glowing hopes of the future, and seeks anticipatively to live to-day the life of his manhood.

So we will organize our children into a little community and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the home, in the shop, on the farm. We shall train the child for the life before him by methods which reach the perfection of their adaptation only when the child shall not be able to distinguish between the pleasures of his school work and the pleasures of his play.

NO MORE BRANDING WITH THREE R'S

But how about the three R's? The moment we cease to pursue the three R's as abstract ends, disassociated with anything which the child has experienced, and bring them forward only when and as the child needs to use them in his business, he will pick them up as readily as ball and bat. We are under no extreme necessity of penning children in a room and chaining them to a bench and there branding the three R's upon them. The difficulties of school life, disciplinary and otherwise, are of the teacher's making. They belong to a false method that has become traditional. How do we teach children to use carpenter's tools, for illustration? By studying pictures of these tools in books or by putting the tools themselves into the hands of the children, with material to work upon, and things to make? Precisely so with the three R's. They are nothing in the world but tools. Give them to the children as tools that they now need in something definitely put before them, and they will learn to use them easily and naturally.

THE SCHOOL A COÖPERATIVE DEMOCRACY

But the life is more than meat, as the body is more than raiment. It is in the souls of the children that our purpose rests. Nature studies shall acquaint every child with all that he can take in of that portion of nature which lies about him, in the waters below him, in the clouds and skies above him. The children shall learn the names of all the trees, their leaves, the peculiarities of their branching, their methods of growth, their value and use; the names also of all the wild birds, their songs and their habits. Curiosity shall be aroused about the mysteries in the waters, in the fields, and in the forests. Insect life not less than plant life shall disclose wondrous secrets to their eager eyes, so that the minds of the children shall be filled with interesting themes of thought, and their glance, wherever it falls, shall beam with intelligence and inquiry. So the children shall be kept from torpor and vacancy of mind. The breath of life shall be breathed into their clay, and they shall at last become living souls.

Ruskin has somewhere said that education does not consist in teaching people to know what they do not know, but in teaching them to behave as they do not behave mentally, morally, physically, socially. In our little microcosm of life, the children shall form an ideal society. Their life shall be developed and perfected individually through a close-knit social life. The child shall not be riveted to his separate spot; he shall not be forbidden to speak or to whisper; he shall not be warned not to afford help to any unfortunate near by; the instinct to render first aid to the injured, so to speak, shall not be repressed. Far from that, the first social principle of our school shall be to encourage the children to aid each other

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as freely as possible. Indeed, much of the teaching will be done under supervision by means of mutual assistance of the pupils. Doubtless the pupil groups will have their own pupil captains, as they have their baseball captains. This free social life of the children during all the hours of the school, conducted mainly out of doors, will form an ideal laboratory of manners and of character, affording opportunity for the sweetest social culture, courtesy, helpfulness, gentleness, deference, truth, reverence, honor, chivalry. These virtues shall form the breath and atmosphere of our child community.

THE ART OF RECREATION

A new science or a new art, just now in process, perhaps not yet come to self-consciousness, shall be fully developed for our schools — the art of recreation for young and old, for all pursuits, for all seasons, for both sexes, indoors, out of doors. Some sweet, healthful, happy, adapted recreation shall enter into the programme, not occasionally, but every day, for young and old alike. Ultimately, there will be professors of popular recreation. They shall be sent to us from the colleges, to teach us all the ways of relief from strain and tedium, precisely adapted. And all together we shall have our weekly half holiday for community recreations.

Beauty, too, we shall cultivate no less than recreation. It is delightful to know that the sense of beauty in sight and sound is instinctive in mankind, ineradicable, fundamental as hunger. Deeper than intelligence it lies in our physical being, and runs down from mankind through many orders to the very insects. The sense of beauty in our rural children, as yet almost uncultivated and undeveloped, is a promising field of joy and blessedness. Accordingly, there shall be music, vocal and instrumental. We shall have an orchestra, if possible a band, a chorus — and dancing shall be taught in utmost grace of movement, beginning with the littlest children, singly and in groups. The laws of beauty are indeed little known as yet, but scenes of beauty shall everywhere be pointed out and analyzed and dwelt upon to the full, and the art of drawing them shall be offered to all, as a means of close observation, of analysis, and of more perfect recognition and enjoyment of beauty.

So we have brought our little community at last to art and refinement. Such a people will demand literature and a library of their own. And when they begin to select and to read good books for themselves, our particular task will be done. We may leave them then, I think, to their natural local leaders. We have taught them how to live the life of the farm, of the fireside, of the rural community, to make it healthful, intelligent, efficient, productive, social, and no longer isolated. We have wakened sluggishness to interest and inquiry. We have given the mind, in the intelligent conduct of the daily vocation, in the study and enjoyment of nature, material for some of the joys of the intellectual life. We have trained the eye for beauty, the ear for harmony, the soul for gentleness and courtesy, and made possible to these least of Christ's brethren the life of love and joy and admiration. We have made country life more desirable than city life and raised up in the country the natural aristocracy of the nation.

Such is our dream. Must it be altogether a dream? Surely, it ought to be and, therefore, will be, realized, if not in its processes — and I have described processes at all mainly for pictorial effect — certainly in its results. If it be an achievement beyond our present civilization, then our more enlightened and capable children will certainly accomplish it. Come, in the end, it must and will.

But the cost? The cost in money will be limited; the gain in money will be limitless. The farm demonstrations of scientific agriculture in the South are showing average gains of $10 to $30 per acre on soil cultivated by demonstration methods. The farmers themselves, therefore, could well afford in the end to pay the expense. The railroads alone could do it, out of their increased traffic created thereby. A selected group of manufacturers, another group of exporters and importers, another group of wholesale merchants, another of retail merchants, could each afford to pay the whole expense, as a commercial investment for profit. And so the state,

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by general taxation of land, industry, trade, and commerce (for all would be alike benefited) could well afford to foot the bill; or the group of states forming the nation could individually pay.

UTILIZING THE COLLEGE-BRED YOUTH

We shall have to look to our colleges and universities to furnish teachers. We have elaborate and effective apparatus, worked with fervid zeal, for the world-wide extension of our civilization. Also, for the extension downward of the blessings of civilization through the masses of our own people, we have powerful, costly, and effective apparatus, educational and religious, all being run with much acclaim. But the machine, as we have seen, seems to be running on the reverse gears. Instead of carrying the fruits of civilization downward to the homes of the people, the system as now run is accurately adjusted to take out of the homes of the people a few of the choicer youths, to civilize these and to carry them to the top, there to group and cohere as social cream. Thus, the common school is adapted to select pupils for the high school. The high school is adjusted to select and send up annually to the college a quota of students prepared in the fourteen units required for college entrance by the Carnegie pension system. The college, in turn, finds its ends in the sheepskin and the cap and gown.

The ancient scribes of Jerusalem likewise, not a religious order like the Pharisees, were a learned order. They were graduates of one or the other of the two ancient seats of learning at Jerusalem, founded in the days of Nehemiah. Their long robes were, in fact, the academic gown—then, as now, the badge of learning. Beware of the scribes, who desire to walk in academic gowns and receive salutations in the marketplaces and the chief places in the synagogue and the first places at social functions. Their learning, their doctors' degrees, their academic gowns, find their end in livelihood, in personal distinction, in social advancement, and not in the enrichment and uplift of the common life. Such was Christ's criticism of the formal learning of his day. The usefulness of the college too often ends quite precisely when and where it ought to begin. The shepherds are trained, but the sheep go shepherdless. When the spirit of education shall be changed, as it will be, then the direction in which the machine works will be reversed, and the colleges will studiously employ themselves in carrying civilization with all its blessings downward to the people on the soil. If schools of rural life spring up in numbers, the colleges will not be slow to adopt them and to nourish them with all that is best and most helpful from their ample store. Our leading educators are eager to escape from outworn traditions, in which they are enmeshed. The college campus will extend to the boundary line of the state, so as to include all its industries, its farms and its households. Some changes there will be, perhaps, in the curriculum, some additions, quite likely in the direction of applied science, some transfers of emphasis, no lowering, but rather full high advancing of standards of scholarship, culture, discipline, research, because all will be dedicated to high and rewarding ends.

In the state of Wisconsin, now perhaps the best governed of all our states, the University writes the laws that go on the statute books, University professors guide and control the main departments of state administration and inquiry; there is no limit to the financial resources which a grateful people are placing at the disposal of learning, thus consecrated to the service of the commonwealth. Our more ancient seats of learning pride themselves justly on their antiquity, on their dignity, on the reverence in which they are held, on the great names that have been and are associated with them. But it is yet theirs to reign over empires now undreamed; to inherit a kingdom that has awaited them from the foundation of the world; to write the laws of obedient states; to know the love of a reverent, grateful, and generous people; to

> "Scatter plenty o'er a smiling land
> And read their history in a nation's eyes."

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

"I BELIEVE IN MY TOWN"

A QUIET man came to St. Paul one day and pointed out to a few choice souls in the promotion organization that they were not doing all that could be done to make St. Paul a greater city. They frankly admitted his charge, but made this defense: St. Paul, they said, was a peculiar place; the people all loved it, but they did not pull together; the chamber of commerce had difficulty in holding its small membership and in collecting its meagre fees of $3 a year; civic pride was not organized and could not be organized. "We have tried it and we know," they added.

The quiet man's reply was: "I can increase your membership by seven hundred new members, enthusiastic for better things, every one under contract to pay not less than $25 a year in dues for three years."

"Never," the committee replied. "It simply can't be done."

They finally let him try, but they all warned him that he was wasting his time.

First the quiet man arranged a dinner for two hundred. Archbishop Ireland attended and made a happy talk on the quiet man's slogan, "I believe in St. Paul," and Mr. J. J. Hill spoke for an hour and twenty minutes. Other addresses followed and, at a felicitous moment, when enthusiasm was high, the quiet man suggested that those men who would volunteer to prove their faith in St. Paul by giving two hours a day for five days of the following week could signify that resolution by standing up. More than a hundred men answered that call to duty.

The next day they discovered that they had been making news the night before — the papers were full of matter about the great campaign for St. Paul that they were to undertake. At luncheon that day they received instructions for their campaign. The following Tuesday morning every man reported at ten o'clock. He quickly found himself assigned to a squad of workers; each squad was attended by a secretary who carried a card index of the field to be worked by that squad; every waste step was eliminated and all duplications avoided. By noon the fourteen squads were ready for luncheon, and while they ate they listened to the reports of the captains — so many memberships secured by Squad 1, and their names went up on a big blackboard with the number of "captures" to their credit chalked after them, and so on. By the end of the luncheon every squad had caught the spirit of rivalry; by the luncheon on the third day more than eleven hundred new members had been secured; the newspapers were crowded with reports of the contest; and when the squads reported finally at noon on Saturday they had more than fourteen hundred new names on the chamber's rolls (they call it the Association of Commerce) or more than twice the number they said they could not get.

But they had gotten something far more important: for suddenly it dawned upon them that they had been born into that very civic solidarity the absence of which they had bemoaned. They had not only created the machinery that had been lacking for civic advancement: they had also endowed it with a soul and an ideal.

That is the method that has united and inspired St. Paul and Cincinnati and Wichita and Alton and New Brunswick and a dozen other towns. The quiet man was Mr. Lewis D. Sampson of Chicago, but the method that he applied can be utilized by the people of any city in the land. And its results last, for part of the plan is to lay out work for everybody to do — industrial plant location work for one committee, civic improvement work for another, and so on. To make such a method succeed requires only that the town possess one man of forward vision and of faith to believe in his own community.

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FORWARD TO THE LAND

THE new scientific agriculturists are the inspiration of the landward movement that has captured the imagination of the American people. They have vitalized the researches of the scientists by proving their theories in practice. They had to be pretty good men to do that job — men of character enough to cut loose from tradition and to take the jeers of doubters as well as the buffets of business. That kind of fibre, fortunately, was bred in most of them by early hardships; and their wits were sharpened by the vicissitudes of a ruder day in our rural life. In the article by Mr. Grubb, which follows, these vicissitudes are recounted and they throw an encouraging light upon the progress that we as a people have made in the arts of country living. They illustrate, moreover, the improvement that has come about in the average man's opportunity to make a living from the land and to make of the farmer's life a satisfactory career. Mr. Grubb has had an extraordinarily varied and successful experience; and he has done several big things in agriculture, notably, to perfect the breeding and practical cultivation of a staple variety of potatoes and to introduce and adapt to American conditions the advanced farm practice of Europe.

FARMING THE BEST OF ALL TRADES

BY

EUGENE H. GRUBB

(AUTHOR OF "THE POTATO")

I WAS born at Little's Corners, in the tanning district of the hemlock swamps of Crawford County, Pa., sixty-two years ago. From the time I was five years old until I was eleven, I had three months of winter schooling — eighteen months in all my life. At eleven, I went to work for Ambro Whipple, a great horse breeder of those days, whose farm was near my father's home. Tending five cows, four hundred Merino ewes, and two stallions nearly killed me in six months. My next work was during the following two summers on the Hosmer farm, where I got my first lesson in soil culture from Mrs. William Hosmer who had a natural understanding of the right way to feed and exercise the soil. I did not stay there long. A little later the prospect of higher wages lured me, from the $8 and $10 a month on the farm, away to Oil City, where the oil wells were. I rode tow horses on the Allegheny River for two years, 1864-5. In 1866, I went to Minnesota. For three years I did anything that came to hand; driving stage, carrying hod, tending store, working for farmers. This was a queer sort of land to me — open prairie, fifty miles from timber, growing little else than wheat. Soon after I went there the settlers had a short crop; and third-grade flour, black and sticky, sold for $24 a barrel. Most of the people lived on suckers and pickerel that year. In 1870 I rented a farm of 100 acres, for two thirds of the crop, and hauled wheat twenty miles for a chance to sell it at 40 cents a bushel. I made $600 net that year, when I was twenty years old.

In the spring of 1871, I drove a team and hauled supplies for settlers from Mankato to Sioux City. Then I was mate on the old steamer *Hudson* that ran on the Minnesota River from St. Paul to New Ulm. New Elm was a German settlement of 1,500 inhabitants and 15 breweries. Later that summer I was fireman and mate on the *Annie Johnston*, that towed

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wheat barges from St. Paul to St. Louis. I made $45 a month. I gave that up in the fall.

The next year I went to Hamilton, Ill., to work for $50 a year learning plowmaking and general blacksmithing. I stayed at that for two years, when I ran away to Chicago with a farmer's daughter and got married. I did not have enough money to buy membership in the horseshoer's union, so I went to old Dan Kimbark and bought a carriage-making and blacksmithing outfit for $260 on 120 days' time at 6 per cent., and set up in business for myself in Chicago, where I made a good living for four years. For two years, 1878-9, I managed a Chicago shooting club in the Indiana marshes, farming the 280-acre farm they owned on the Kankakee River.

In 1880 I went to Aspen, Col., during the silver excitement. I did not have much success, so soon went on up the mountains. I walked into Aspen mining camp with my blankets on my back, and my wife rode in on the next stage with the last little money that we had. For two years she did not see a woman. We lived on Aspen Mountain in a miner's cabin at 11,000 feet elevation, while I went back to my trade, shoeing bronchos, burros, and freighters' horses.

KICKING OVER THE TRACES

For four years I made a good deal of money, because I got all the work I could handle in ten or twelve hours a day, sometimes even working twenty-four hours straight, and prices were high. But I wasted all that I should have saved by "grubstaking" prospectors to hunt for a mine to make us all rich. One Monday morning at breakfast I said:

"Here I have been throwing away forty or fifty dollars a week on prospectors, after working like a slave all week to earn it. Now, I'm done. I'll never spend another cent on mining, and I'll never open the door of the blacksmith shop again."

My brother and wife joked me and asked me how I was going to make a living and called me "the speculator." I had $5 in the world and I owed $1,400. I went down the street and met some friends and when I got away from them I had 85 cents left. When I got home that night my brother asked me how the speculator was getting along.

"Well," I said, "I've got on a new suit of clothes, you'll notice. And I've got a round-trip ticket to Chicago" — I laid it out on the table; and then I laid out my money and added — "and $500 in cash."

"Who did you rob?" he yelled.

"And a job as horse buyer for H. B. Gillespie, and I take the four o'clock stage for Chicago to-morrow morning to buy two carloads of Illinois mares."

Those cars of mares could have been sold in Denver for twice what I paid for them, for they were beautiful stock. When Mr. Gillespie came back from Honolulu a few weeks later he was mightily pleased. He ran over my expense account and noticed that I had not used a sleeping car on the trip and that I had stopped at the cheapest hotels. Finally he asked his farm superintendent how he had settled with me and heard that nothing had yet been done except to refund my expenses.

"Well," he exclaimed, "make out Mr. Grubb a check for $2,000."

That money gave me my start in my life's work. For, though I had done many other things and though I was nearly forty years old when I began farming as a serious occupation, I have made my greatest happiness and some success out of it.

I preëmpted eighty acres of Government land in Garfield County, Col., at the base of a high mountain peak, Mt. Sopris, on Crystal River. Mt. Sopris Farm now comprises 2,000 acres. During the first year, 1886, I dug three and a half miles of irrigation canal with my own hands, using a pick and shovel. That canal, much enlarged from the three and one half feet width of those days, now brings 50 cubic feet of water per second to the farm.

I started out to be a breeder exclusively, and I have ended by specializing upon growing potatoes on a large scale. In 1904, I exhibited a carload of Shorthorn range-bred and range-grown cattle that took the sweepstakes prize over all ages and all breeds at the St. Louis World's Fair; and later in that year, at the International Live Stock Show in Chicago, these

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same cattle won the world's championship for two-year-olds.

LEARNING FROM EUROPE

In 1900 I made my first trip to Europe. I traveled slowly through France, Germany, Belgium, and the British Isles, studying cattle and farm practice by the way throughout the journey. I was astonished to find that the European farmers live a life of dignified independence and of comparative luxury and ease. And I was still more astonished to find — and this is the most important fact, to my mind, that could be brought to the attention of the American people — that *American farm practice is fifty years behind European farm practice.* Even Government agricultural experiment stations are beginning their work of "discovery" where the farmers of Europe left off fifty years ago. The most glaring waste of modern effort that I know of is the blundering struggle of American agriculturists to learn a half century's progress in farming by costly experience, when they could save themselves the trouble and the money by a little proper investigation of farm practice abroad. Think of our wornout soils and our uncertain crops, and compare them with Lord Rosebery's feat of growing 55 long tons (2,000 bushels) or more than 121,000 pounds of potatoes to the acre, on land that has been cultivated for a thousand years. And there are no crop failures on his land, either; nor crop failures on other English or German growers' lands. Or think of William Dennis & Sons, who began forty years ago on six acres and who have grown rich by growing potatoes on 3,000 acres of rented land, the valuation of which is $500 an acre.

Two things strike to the root of the European farmers' success:

1. Care of the soil.
2. Selection of seed.

European farmers think of nothing so much as they do of feeding the soil. Only two methods of restoring fertility to the soil are known to man, and these methods they practice ceaselessly. One is to grow on it and plow into it the leguminous plants: clover, alfalfa, rye, vetch. The other is to feed it fertilizers: a combination of the expensive minerals known to farmers as "commercials" (nitrate of soda or other nitrogenous salts); and, best of all things, barnyard muck. Therefore, you will see William Dennis & Sons maintaining 600 head of cattle on a 3,000-acre farm, not primarily to produce beef or butter or milk, but to manufacture fertilizer so that they can grow the potatoes that have made them rich. They plant grass or vetch in the fields the day that a crop of early potatoes is lifted, so that another year of fertilizing may begin at once, and that the soil may be kept free of fungous and other injurious growths, and that it may be kept open and friable.

On my own Mt. Sopris farm I run 500 head of cattle, rotating my crops on a six-year rotation: two years in potatoes, four years in alfalfa and clover. Thus, of 500 acres of tillable soil (the rest of the farm is pasture uplands) I have every year 100 acres in intensive potato cultivation. I have never sold a stalk of hay from my farm, and would think it a crime to do so; for every wisp of hay that leaves it would mean the robbing of the soil of that much fertility. The proper method is: feed your land muck to make it fertile enough to raise more hay to feed to cattle to manufacture more muck to feed to the soil to grow dollars in the form of potatoes to buy more cattle for which to grow more hay to make more muck to feed the soil again. Always, as you value your farm, remember the generous but always hungry soil.

RESULTS AT HOME

You may ask, what have I achieved by my theory? Last year, for example, I (and three neighbors who use the same methods and exchange experiences) had a full crop when every other farmer in our valley, on exactly the same kind of land and under the same conditions of climate, had a greatly lessened yield. I have twenty-six years' experience on the same lands, and the last twelve years I have applied these methods. During these twelve years I have had a steady increase in average yields. I have increased my yield of potatoes from 100 bushels to 400 bushels an acre; my yield of oats from 40 bushels to 100 bushels an acre; and wheat from 25

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bushels to 50 bushels. And I have eliminated crop failure from my experience. When the soil is in perfect physical condition you will always have large yields.

Another indispensable element in soil culture is tile drainage; so that air and water may be drawn freely downward through the soil from the surface of the earth. Strange as it may seem, drought is least disastrous where the soil most readily permits water to sink through it. Tiling at a cost of $40 an acre is a profitable permanent investment on land that is worth $100 an acre for intensive cultivation — indeed, on any land.

Proper cultivation includes also a wise use of the plow and harrow. Many a field is ruined by being plowed either when it contains an excess of moisture (which packs the soil into a compact, impenetrable mass), or when it is too dry (which breaks the soil up into large clods instead of opening it freely to penetration by roots). And many a farmer is tilling only half his soil by plowing only a shallow furrow, when a ten-inch furrow with a four-horse team would add a whole new farm to his resources just six inches below the farm that he has formerly utilized.

Seed selection: the American potato grower takes odd lots of potatoes — culls and unmarketable sorts of last year's crop — and cuts them into four or six pieces and plants those pieces, and then wonders why Nature does not miraculously increase them a hundred fold in beautiful and uniform hills. The German, English, and French grower, on the other hand, jealously maintains a special strain of seed potatoes of the finest medium sizes with the fewest and best-placed eyes and the smoothest skin and the firmest and best-flavored flesh, grown only for seed purposes in northern latitudes. He uses only whole potatoes for seed, because that method gives the struggling young plant a rich reservoir of nourishment on which to draw while its tender little roots are adapting themselves to the soil about them and establishing the sources from which to suck their sustenance from the earth. These whole seed are sprouted in boxes indoors, and cared for under almost hothouse conditions until the first warm days make it safe to transfer them to the fields. Thus twenty to thirty days of precious growing time are saved and the crop placed that much sooner on the market. Northern grown seed are used because the potato is a native of cold climates and thrives best in northern latitudes or high altitudes. And the English method of planting the hills twelve inches apart or rows twenty-seven inches apart (instead of the usual American method of hills twelve inches apart and rows thirty-eight inches apart) gives two to three times as many hills to an acre as the American plan. These methods give the foreign growers a stand of plants 99 per cent. perfect, against probably about 65 per cent. in the United States; and they increase the yield by 75 to 100 bushels (two to three long tons) an acre.

For 1909, the average yields per acre of the greatest potato yielding countries were: United Kingdom, 221.1 bushels, Germany, 208.9, France, 160.3, Russia, 111.5 and the United States, 94.4 bushels. The acreage of the United States in that year was 3,525,000 acres, and the total yield, 376,537,000 bushels; and yet 8,383,966 bushels, valued at $3,677,034, were imported from more than nine foreign countries. If the better methods of Europe were employed in the United States, even estimating an average yield equal only to that of Russia, the least advanced of the civilized nations, our increased production would be 24,027,500 bushels — more than enough to duplicate our exportations of that year and to leave two and one half times the amount imported.

These — and like facts — are the things that American farmers ought to know. European methods can be adapted to American conditions. I have made a reasonable fortune doing it, and have found happiness beyond the happiness of any other kind of life I have ever seen. To encourage the spread of this better farming is my ambition. And if others have my experience, they will find in the tilling of the soil a life of abounding healthfulness and unfailing interest, a field for energy and intelligence, full of satisfaction, of dignity, of independence, and of peace.

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THE N. K. FAIRBANK COMPANY
CHICAGO

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LEARNING FROM EURO

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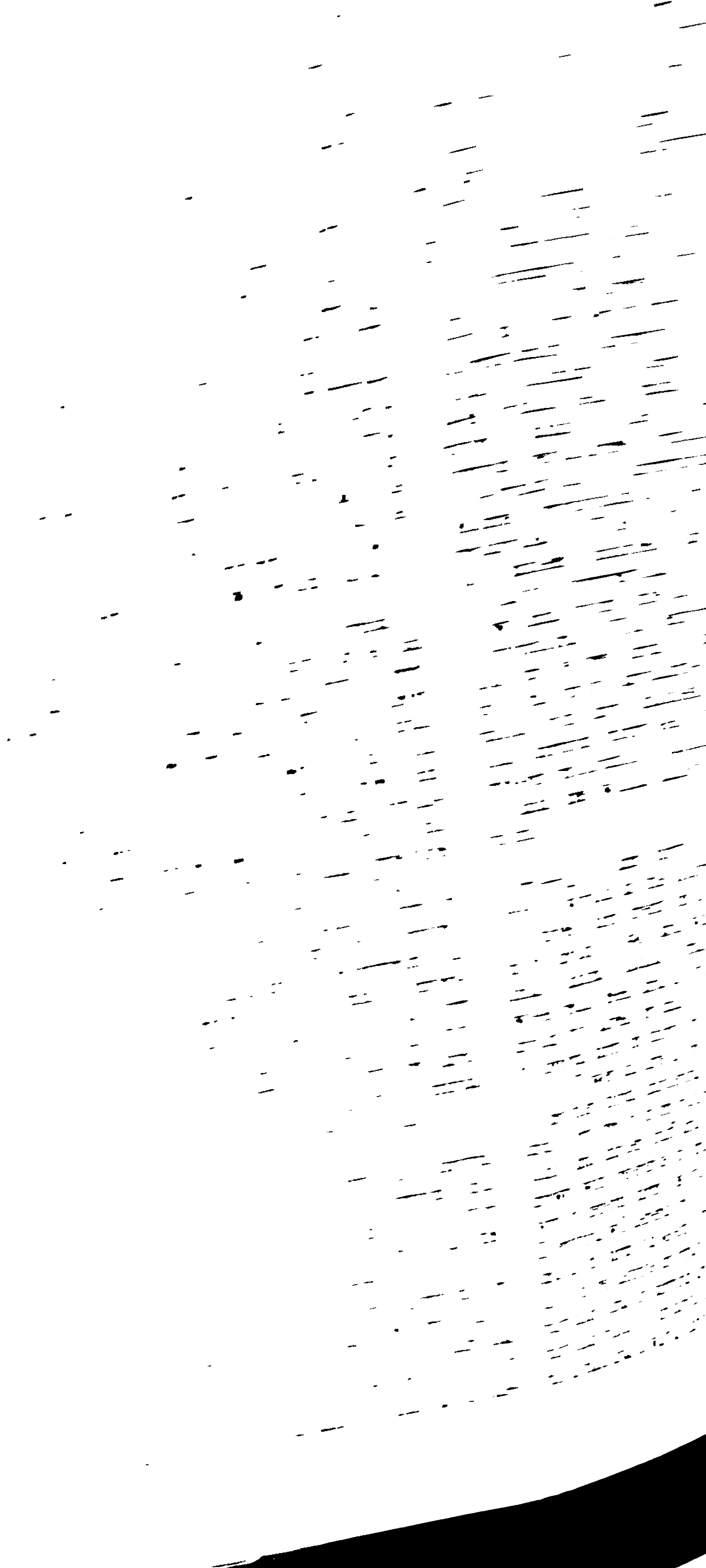

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FARM LANDS

33.—*Q.* I am a salesman with a family and earn $1,000 a year. I am offered a forty acre farm near Brockton, Mass., and would like to accept it. But can a man who does not know farming get as much from a farm of that size as I am getting?

A. Without experience, you could not expect to clear $1,000 a year from the average forty acres; but, if the farm be a fairly good one, you ought by hard work and good management to get for your family the equivalent of $1,000 a year or more, in the form of health, good food, the constant companionship of your wife and children and in far more personal independence. You must go into some form of small farming in that part of Massachusetts; begin modestly, and find out by experiment what the land is good for. What do people nearby grow with best results? The practical farmers in the neighborhood must be your best sources of information. Ask also the State Board of Agriculture in Boston and the Agricultural College at Amherst. Go slowly. You don't seem yet to know enough about it.

34.—*Q.* (1) What section of Virginia is best adapted to the raising of draft horses and export cattle? (2) Will alfalfa grow there? (3) What yield of corn can be expected there?

A. (1) The western half of the state, especially the Great Valley west of the Blue Ridge range, the foothills on both slopes, and the more fertile sections of the rough Appalachian country farther west. (2) Most of this is "bluegrass country" with residual limestone soils admirably suited to alfalfa. This will undoubtedly prove a highly valuable crop in Virginia, although it is yet but little grown. Send to the Agricultural Department at Richmond for a report of one man's experience in Virginia with alfalfa. (3) Good corn land throughout the state yields about fifty bushels and is worth from $25 to $75 per acre. But there is more of this in Central Virginia than in the sections above mentioned.

35.—*Q.* Would you recommend central Alberta as a place for general farming and stock raising? Is the Canadian soil better than that of the United States? How do the climates and prices of land compare?.

A. Stock raising and general farming, or better still, grain raising, can be profitably carried on in Alberta. The soils of Canada are new and unabused, not inherently better than our own. The climate of course, is distinctly severe and the growing season short. Land is cheaper than in most of our states. For the man who likes the life, the isolation, and the type of farming, the opportunities are good. But there are others equally good in half a dozen parts of the United States, a thousand miles nearer markets and civilization.

36.—*Q.* I am considering the purchase of 200 acres of unimproved land in Hamilton County, Kan. I know nothing of farming and would buy only as an investment. What are the prospects for such property?

A. Hamilton County land will increase in value only where it can be irrigated either by stored up river water or by pumping from an underground supply. On such land vegetables, alfalfa, sugar beets, small grains, melons, sweet potatoes, and orchard products can be grown. But the area is limited and the farming requires much skill and hard work. Non-irrigated farming there may some day become profitable; as yet it is distinctly precarious. The average annual rainfall is only sixteen inches, part of this often coming in heavy torrential showers. The humidity is low, and, with the hot summer winds, hastens evaporation. The extremes of both heat and cold are severe and even in favorable seasons only the most drought-resistant crops can be raised with any success. Although, for practical farming purposes, some of the land is at present moderately valuable, it is not the sort of land one would eagerly seek as an investment.

37.—*Q.* I am forty years old and have always worked at the electrical business except for three years spent on a Montana farm. I have about $1,500 and want to get "on the land" again. Could I make a living raising sweet peas, bees, and a little garden truck on about five acres, or had I better start a sort of general farm on thirty or forty acres first?

A. Flower culture is one thing, bee-culture is another thing, gardening is another thing; and every one of them requires special knowledge; and garden stuff and flowers must be grown with reference to markets. And "a sort of general farm" is still another thing. Everything will depend on (1) what you know and (2) the farm you select. The first thing to do is to get definite information about some particular kind of farming and about some particular place. Your capital is too small to buy a place and to wait a year for results.

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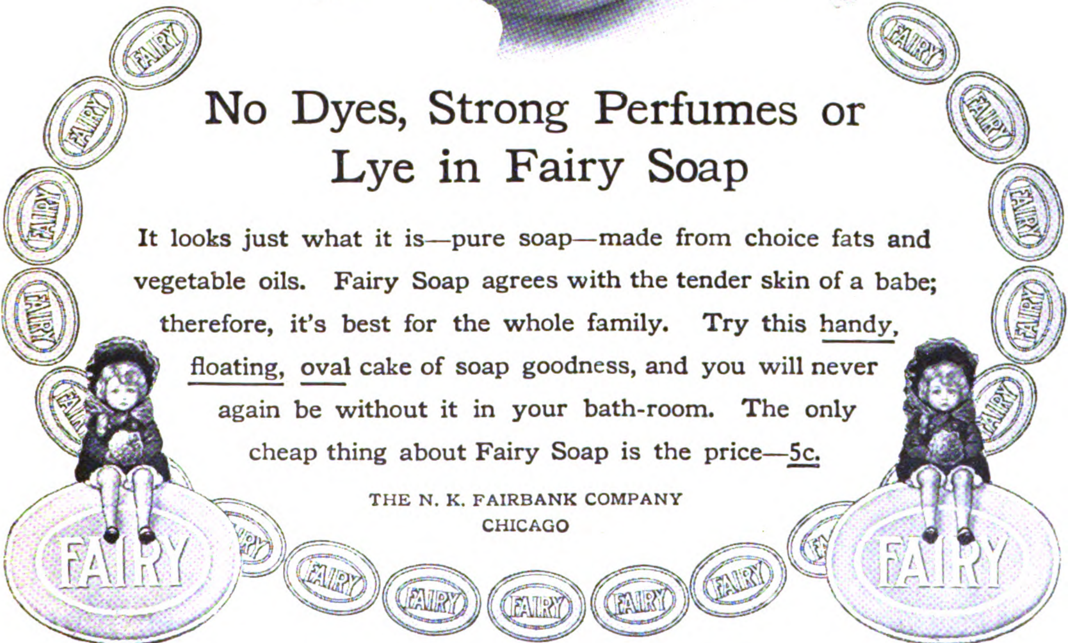
"HAVE YOU A LITTLE 'FAIRY' IN YOUR HOME?"



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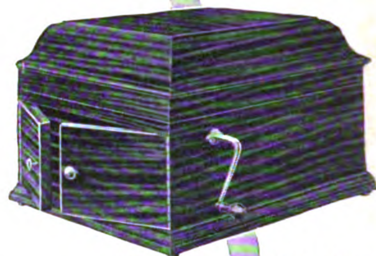

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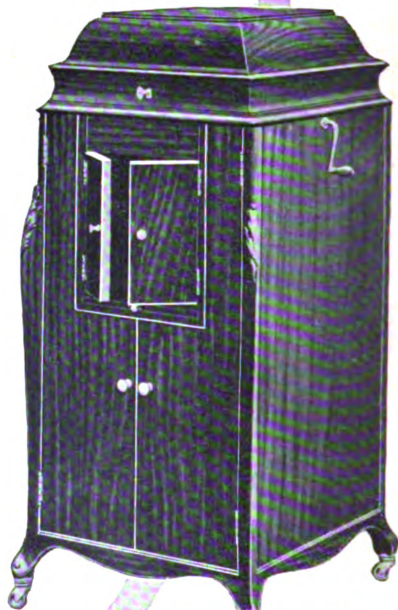

Victor-Victrola XVI, $200
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The World's Work

WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR

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MR. B. F. YOAKUM

RAILROAD PRESIDENT AND EMPIRE BUILDER OF THE SOUTHWEST, WHO HAS DEVOTED A LARGE SHARE OF HIS THOUGHT TO THE PROBLEM OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND WHO HAS FORMULATED PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLVING IT [See page 519]

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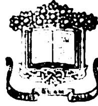
SEPTEMBER, 1912

VOLUME XXIV



NUMBER 5

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

WE ARE hearing less than usual about the bad effects of a Presidential campaign on business — a fact that shows both good commercial judgment and good political sense. For there is no reason for fear, to say nothing of panic.

Naturally, impending changes in the tariff always cause alarm. But in the event of the election of Governor Wilson and of a Democratic House and even of a Democratic Senate, the changes that would be made under the direction of as careful and conservative men as Governor Wilson and Mr. Underwood would be gradual and probably schedule by schedule and not in any sudden, wholesale way. Almost as much reduction would come if the Progressives should win control of Congress — an event hardly to be expected.

Except by changes in the tariff, one party will cause no more industrial disturbance by its victory than another. As for actions against the trusts, it is tit for tat between them. Nobody knows just what to expect in any event; and it is probable that, having been through a period of prosecutions and disintegrations, the Government, under any Administration, will rest a while or find some other means of proving its earnestness.

As regards labor and transportation and the problems that they suggest, again one party is as harmless or as harmful as another: there is little to choose between them, and little to fear from any. As for currency legislation — we are a long way from that in any event. Nor is Congress or any Administration likely to find a quick cure for the high cost of living. Business changes of any considerable sort are, therefore, not to be feared.

The only disturbance worth considering is the sheer distraction of the campaign as a public diversion during its closing months, and that does not promise to be as great as it was in the more exciting contests against Mr. Bryan in the free-silver days.

And good crops have been harvested, trade in its most important branches is normal, business and financial activity, if not buoyant, is not stagnant. It is fair sailing without a strong breeze but with no danger of a calm. And once at least we seem in a fair way to prove that commercial fear and panic are not necessary incidents of a Presidential election.

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DR. CHARLES W. STILES

OF THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH AND MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE, ZOÖLOGIST, DISCOVERER OF THE HOOKWORM IN THE UNITED STATES, WHO SPENT YEARS AMONG ITS POOR VICTIMS IN THE SOUTH AND STUDIED ITS EFFECTS AND WHO IS NOW SCIENTIFIC SECRETARY OF THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION FOR THE ERADICATION OF HOOKWOKM DISEASE

[See page 504]

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MR. WICKLIFFE ROSE

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY OF THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION FOR THE ERADICATION OF HOOKWORM DISEASE, WHO ORGANIZED THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTH WHICH HAS RESULTED IN THE CURE OF MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A MILLION VICTIMS AND IS BRINGING A NEW ERA OF SANITATION AND HEALTH [See page 504]

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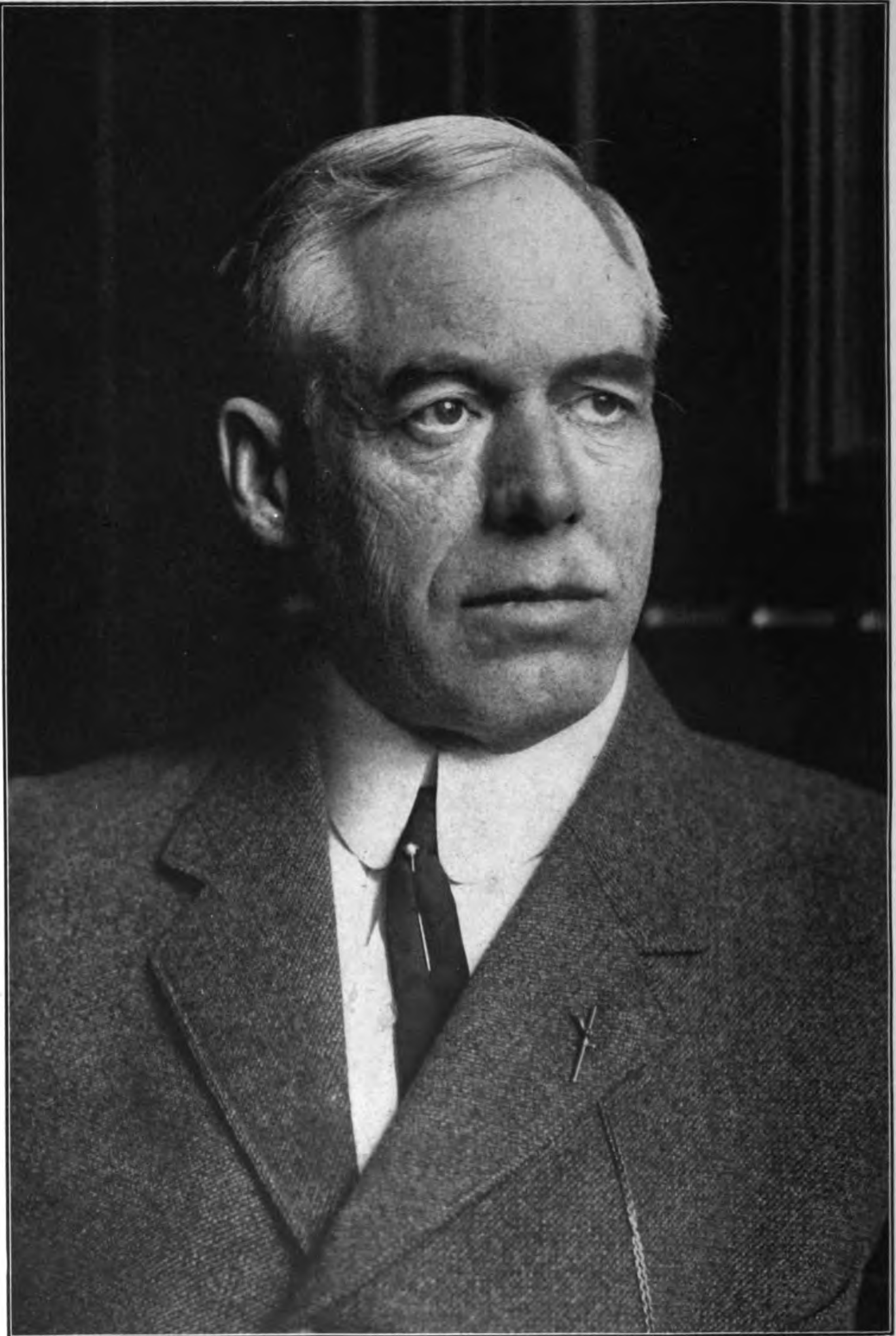

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PROF. JEREMIAH W. JENKS

FORMERLY OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY, NOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CITY OF NEW YORK, AND DISTINGUISHED AS AN EXPERT IN PRACTICAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, WHO WAS RECENTLY OFFERED THE POST OF FINANCIAL ADVISER TO THE NEW CHINESE GOVERNMENT

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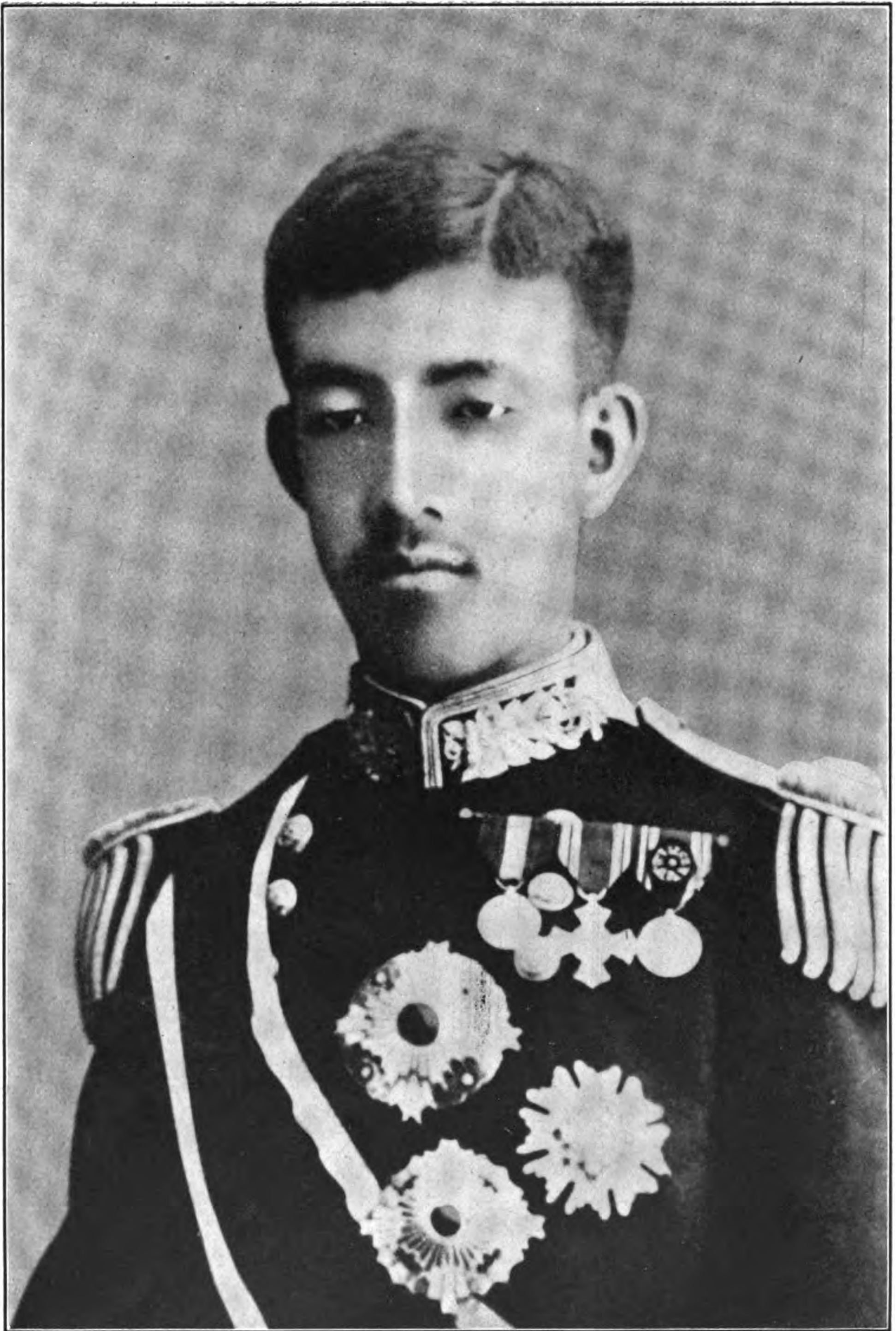

YOSHIHITO, THE NEW EMPEROR OF JAPAN

WHOSE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE UPON THE DEATH OF THE LATE EMPEROR MUTSU-HITO WILL CONTINUE AN EPOCH OF CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AND THEIR RULERS AND OF EXTENSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IN GOVERNMENT

[See "The March of Events"]

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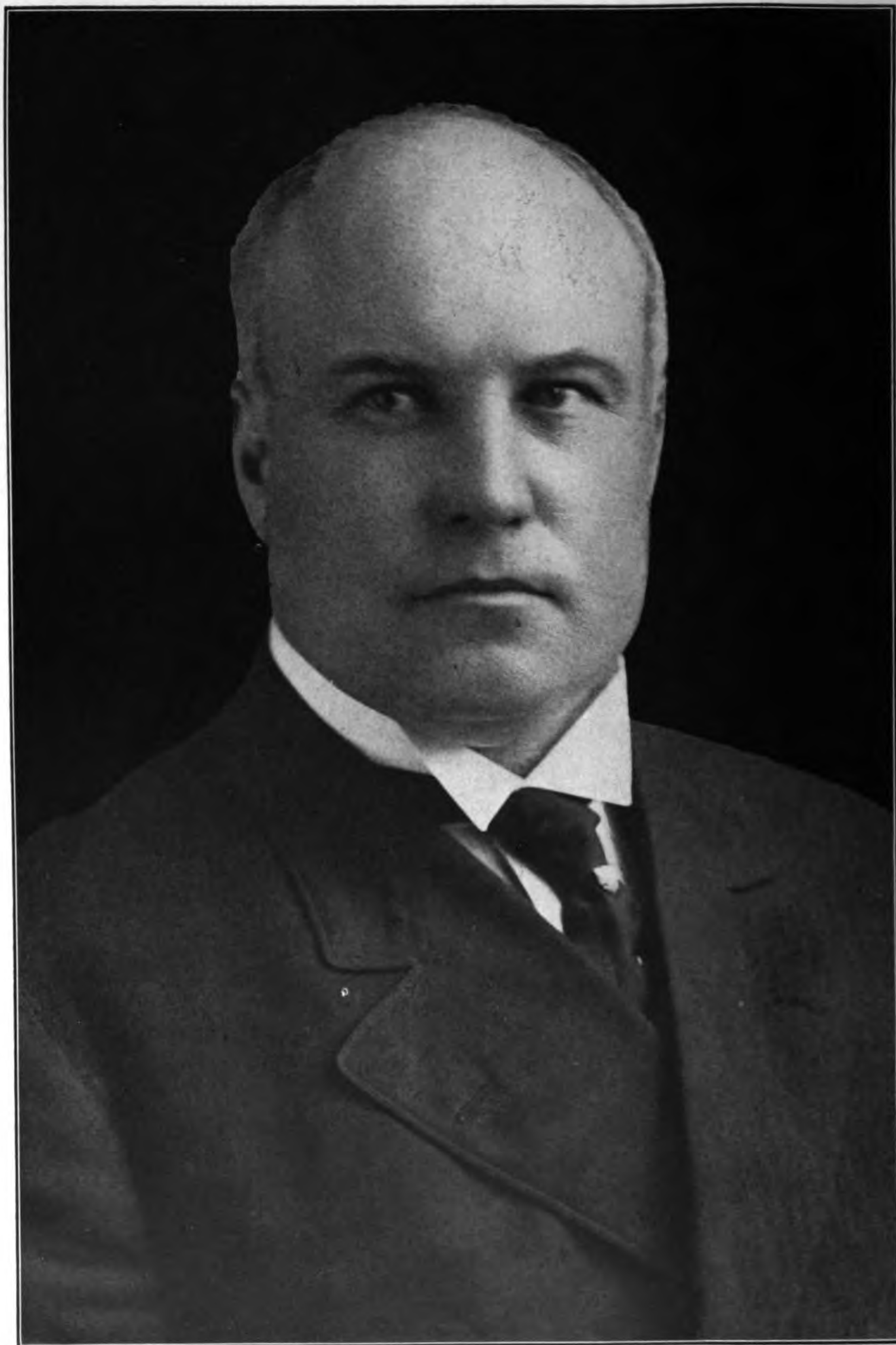

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HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE

WHO CONDUCTED THE THREE-YEARS' INQUIRY OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION INTO THE OPERATION OF THE EXPRESS COMPANIES AND WHO WROTE THE COMPREHENSIVE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AND ITS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT AFTER OCTOBER REDUCTIONS IN CHARGES AND RADICAL CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT WOULD BE ORDERED

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PROF. HERSCHEL C. PARKER

OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PHYSICIST AND MOUNTAIN CLIMBER, WHO WAS FIRST TO ASCEND SIX OF THE MOST DIFFICULT PEAKS OF THE CANADIAN ALPS, AND WHO RECENTLY, UPON HIS THIRD UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT IN RECENT YEARS TO SCALE MT. MCKINLEY, IN ALASKA, ATTAINED A POINT WITHIN FIVE HUNDRED FEET OF THE SUMMIT

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REPRESENTATIVE CYRUS CLINE

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WHICH CONDEMNS THE WASTE IN THE $72,745,300 THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SPENT UPON PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS

[See "The March of Events"]

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MR. CHARLES S. WHITMAN

DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK, WHO BY HIS FEARLESS EFFORTS, AGAINST THE APATHY OF THE CITY ADMINISTRATION, TO EXPOSE A MERCENARY ALLIANCE BETWEEN GAMBLERS AND HIGH POLICE OFFICERS, HAS DISCLOSED ASTOUNDING CONDITIONS OF PROTECTED CRIME

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MR. W. K. TATE

ONE OF THE MOST EFFICIENT LEADERS OF THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT TO MAKE THE COUNTRY SCHOOL A LIVING FORCE AMONG THE PEOPLE

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MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER

OF AUSTIN, TEX., AUTHOR AND PUBLIC SPEAKER, AND NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

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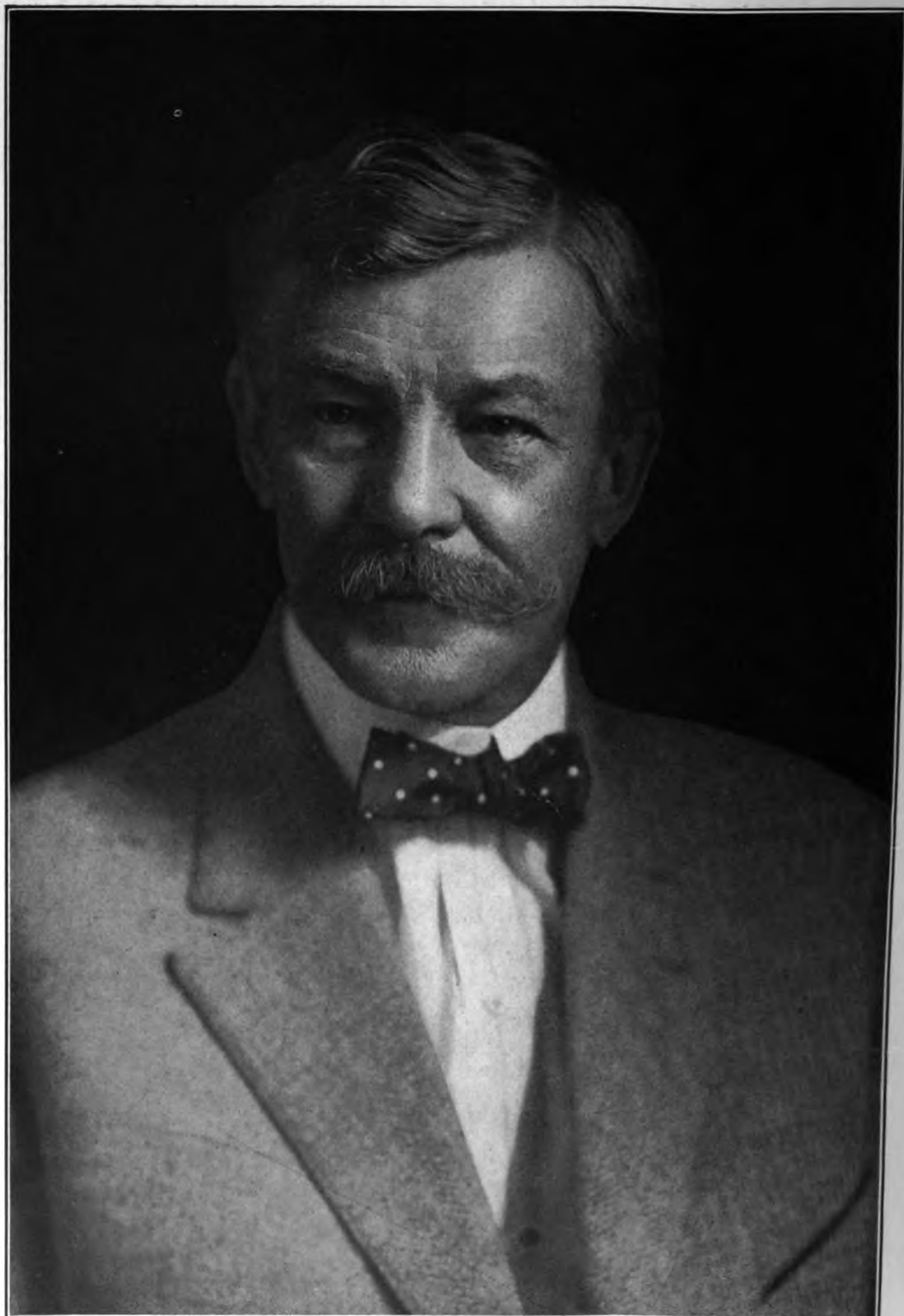

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MR. E. T. FAIRCHILD

SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION OF KANSAS, WHO WAS RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO

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HON. GEORGE VON LENGERKE MEYER

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, WHO, BY THE INTRODUCTION OF "SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT," HAS GREATLY INCREASED THE FIGHTING EFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN WARSHIPS

[See page 564]

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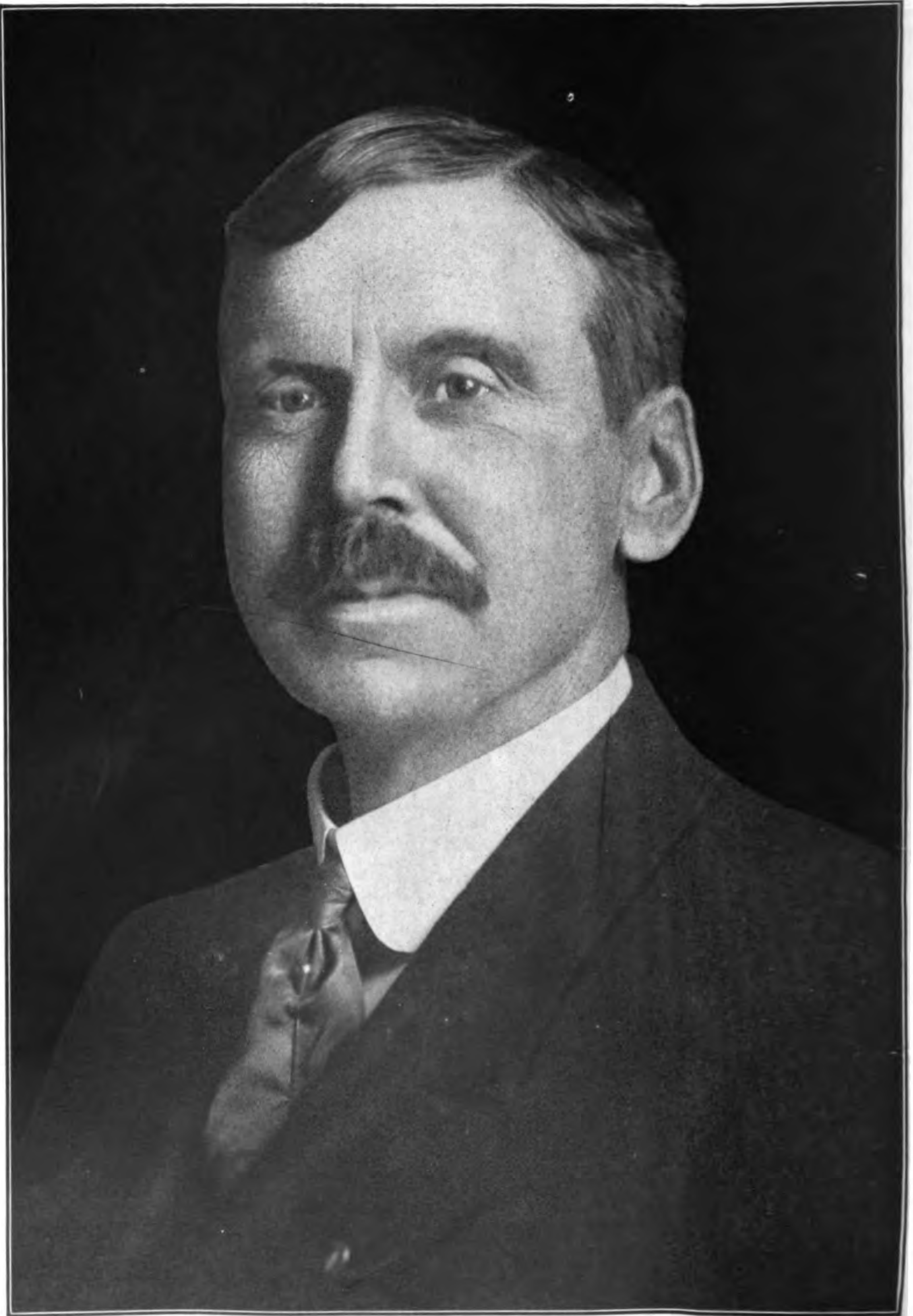

MR. E. M. TOUSLEY

OF MINNEAPOLIS, SECRETARY OF THE RIGHT RELATIONSHIP LEAGUE, WHO, *WITH HIS* ASSOCIATES, HAS ORGANIZED THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES IN THE NORTHWEST INTO COÖPERATIVE BUYING AND SELLING SOCIETIES WHEREBY THEY SAVE FROM 8 TO 10 PER CENT. OF THE ORDINARY COST OF LIVING

[See page 534]

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THE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMME

THE group of public policies that we call Progressive have from various sources and many personalities now gathered such strong volume as to be dominant in determining political success.

The revolt in Wisconsin led by Mr. La Follette, almost from his boyhood, was directed chiefly against the influence of corporations in politics. Thus the regulation of corporations became a Progressive policy. In Iowa the Republican protest against excessive protection led by Mr. Dolliver became another Progressive policy, for it brought Republican reinforcement to the Democratic doctrine of lower duties. In Oregon, the use of the referendum made that a Progressive policy. The agitation in many parts of the country for better conditions for workers in industrial establishments added this to the list, and Conservation took its place among them through Mr. Pinchot's influence during Mr. Roosevelt's administration. All the while Mr. Bryan and lesser men of similar temperaments, after the free-silver bewilderment passed, kept up a steady fire for popular rights of many sorts against the encroachments of special privilege in government. The Chautauqua platforms were used by the reformers and agitators for many years with greater effect than the floor of the Senate or of the House or than national political conventions. Thus this body of policies gradually grew in clearness and definiteness and were very thoroughly planted in the public mind.

The leaders in Congress, especially the Republican leaders, did not realize the growth of this public sentiment. When Mr. La Follette entered the Senate as a fighting Progressive, he was scorned, laughed at, insulted; but presently he came to hold the balance of power in several spirited contests, and the old friends of special privilege one after another retired or were removed from public life. The day of the Progressives was come.

If we were logical in our politics, Senator La Follette or Senator Dolliver or some such man would have been the Republican nominee for the Presidency four years ago when Mr. Roosevelt jauntily gave the nomination to his good friend Mr. Taft. And, by the same logic, a real Progressive ought to have been nominated this year at Chicago. For, with all his fine qualities, Mr. Taft has not the Progressive ichor in his veins. He has been able to assimilate Progressivism only as it could be administered in formal statutory doses.

He is not by temperament a Progressive (and Progressivism consists to a very great degree of temperament). By temperament Mr. Roosevelt is original and daring but he did not fall in fully with the Progressive movement during his period of power. He ventured on its leadership too late and with — complications. Mr. La Follette and Mr. Cummins, in the resultant conflicts and confusions, failed to show strong qualities of leadership on a large field of action.

But by this time the main difference had become not the old difference between Republicans and Democrats, but the difference between Progressives and non-Progressives. If the Republicans had nominated a Progressive leader and the Democrats a reactionary, the party outlook to-day would be reversed. For the Democrats by good fighting and by good fortune took the Progressive current at its flood. What, then, is the practical Progressive programme before them?

II

Such a programme demands first the separation of business interests from the government. The government belongs to us all as citizens, to none of us as business men. It must be concerned with the welfare of all alike. It must not be used by any class for its own advantage. This is the very essence of the revolt against things as they have been.

This means the proper regulation of corporations. This means the conservative reduction of the tariff. For by the misuse of corporate and financial power and by unfair tariff schedules business has used government too much for its own advantage. This is Progressivism as worked out by Mr. La Follette in Wis-

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consin, as preached by Mr. Dolliver and Mr. Cummins in Iowa, as carried out by the reformers of Oregon and their followers, and as proclaimed in many Democratic platforms.

A just and gradual reduction of the tariff to loose the hold of special privilege on the Government without producing panic or even fear of panic — this may be a difficult task in action but it is very clear in theory. And this is the first item in a workable Progressive programme.

The proper and successful dealing with corporations that restrain trade or that have an undue influence on government requires a good deal more experience than we have yet had. Constructive statesmanship never had a more intricate task than the task of developing a just and effective plan out of the incomplete and partly successful experiments that we have thus far tried. This is the second item in a workable Progressive programme.

The third item is a corollory of these: Your beneficiary whether of unjust duties or of other special privilege gets and keeps his hold on government through a boss. The referendum and the recall, as local methods, are especially aimed at boss-rule. So, too, are primary elections wherever there is an effective primary law.

The Government must not lend itself to anybody's enrichment nor to anybody's advantage over anybody else. That's the very essence of Progressivism. Predatory corporations, unfair duties, bosses — these are the chief agencies that have been used to secure unsocial and undemocratic uses of government. To loose their grasp — that is the main Progressive task and opportunity.

But no party can do many things at once. The concentration of effort on the tariff, with a clear principle in view but with conservative and careful action — this is the first and main thing to do. In doing this, many of the old bosses will be unhorsed: their occupation will be gone.

III

As the Progressive movement has gone on it has gathered other important but less fundamental causes and issues. There is a group of tasks that may be called tasks of "social justice," such as the regulation of working conditions and social betterment in the industrial world. The Federal Government has its responsibilities in these directions: it has done much and it can do more. But the greater part of this work after all falls on local governments.

In this group of duties and opportunities, however, comes the necessity of unifying and strengthening the health service of the General Government. No duty is clearer, as is proved by the extraordinary opposition to it.

The publication and the purification of the pension roll so as to make it a roll of honor — not even the Progressives have yet had the courage to demand this. But it is idle to talk about the free government of the people and about efficient and clean use of public money till this scandal is attacked and its mendicant organization is broken up. A little Congressional or Presidential courage would cause it to fall to pieces. Yet this Congress passed a bill, the Democratic Speaker ostentatiously voting for it and the Republican President unquestioningly approving it, which made an indefensible addition of twenty-five millions or more a year to the present pension budget.

IV

But Progressivism after all is a spirit rather than a creed. It means the restoration of the Government to the people, the wresting of it from interested classes or groups who use it for their own benefit. It shows itself in city and state politics quite as vigorously as in national politics. In fact, its local field is the larger. It means an awakening of the people to their own duties and privileges and rights. It is a new earnestness, a part of the general demand for efficiency and fair play. It has so spread and deepened that the old party loyalty counts for less than at any time in men's memories; and it is strong enough to throw victory to any national leader of any party whose character and temperament and achievement are genuinely Progressive. It is for this reason that Governor Wilson's election seems as certain as any future political event can be; but a non-Progressive Democrat would

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have inspired no more enthusiasm than a non-Progressive Republican — a fact that the Democratic party may do well modestly to remember when its day of triumph comes.

THE LESSON OF LORIMER

THE exclusion of Mr. Lorimer of Illinois from the Senate was an instructive and wholesome triumph of public opinion demanding clean politics over a body of lawyers weighing technical evidence of personal guilt. The distinction is important. There was no proof that Lorimer himself bribed any member of the Illinois legislature to vote for him. If he were tried in a criminal court for bribery the evidence that was laid before the Senate would not lead to his conviction. Those Senators, therefore, who regarded the Senate as a court and Lorimer as a defendant in a criminal trial, had technical justification in voting against his exclusion. But to take this view is to put the Senatorial standard of honor and fitness on a very low level. It is the same as to say that any political conduct that falls short of putting a man in prison is satisfactory for membership in the Senate.

The higher view is that a man's election which came out of an unspeakable mass of corruption, an election that no honorable man would have accepted, was too low and dirty to entitle its beneficiary to a seat in a body that has self-respect. This ought to have been the verdict in the first place; and the refusal of the Senate to clear itself of this taint aroused a righteous indignation. In this sense it is true that Lorimer was the victim of the press and of a public clamor. Public opinion put the dignity and the character that become the Senate on a higher level than the lawyers of that body who first "tried" Lorimer and acquitted him. It was the Senate that was on trial. The first vote, in March 1911, "vindicated" him by 46 to 40. The second vote, in July, 1912, excluded him by 55 to 28.

It is a better and cleaner Senate and it has a clearer view of the common moral judgment of the people than when Lorimer held his seat by lack of lawyers' proof of personal guilt. And there may be legislatures in the future that will be a little more — careful, to say the least for them. The people do find means, sometimes at least, to express their moral judgments with effect; and our infinitely and often criminally good-natured democracy shows terrible emphasis in demanding common honesty and common decency when it becomes aroused. The incident was wholesome and it will not soon be forgotten.

THE GRAB BAG TRUST

DURING the last ten years the United States has spent $72,745,300 for public buildings, and the Government is constructing them now at the rate of ten a month. Architecturally they are creditable, and some of them effect economies, because the Government can secure cheaper or better accommodations by building than by renting.

In most cases, however, the public business could be done more cheaply and as well in rented offices; and these buildings are not built primarily to facilitate Government business. They are built to please the voters in the districts and towns in which they are placed. They are a part of the "pork" which Congressmen give and which the local political managers have come to demand as the price of reelection.

Almost every member of the House introduced this year at least one bill providing for the erection of a public building in his district. The Committee on Public Buildings welded these demands into a single "omnibus" bill in which it tried to be fair to each claimant without recommending a sum so big as to arouse public protest. In this way a skilful committee parcelled out a $22,000,000 appropriation to give 282 out of the 391 Representatives "something to take back home." In some towns the Government accommodations are so extravagant that they cost $2 a year to maintain for every inhabitant, though of course the United States Treasury and not the inhabitants foot the bills.

The Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings in the recent session handed in an exhaustive report which said

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that in the "mania for the construction of public buildings" many towns have been given buildings "where private persons would have been glad to have equipped them under the direction of the Government — for a rental of one half the price paid for janitor service."

The Committee points to many extravagances and wasteful practices but it does not get at the root of the matter. It does not offer a remedy for "pork barrel" appropriations. As long as a Congressman's constituents demand that he raid the United States Treasury for their benefit as the price of reëlection and he is in a position to do it, so long will the majority of Congressmen work for their districts' special interest and not for the United States as a whole. As long as this continues, the Public Buildings Bill, the River and Harbors Bill, the Pension Acts, and to some extent the army and navy appropriations will be made in corrupting and pauperizing waste.

Under Mr. Roosevelt "pork barrel" appropriations reached their zenith. Mr. Taft has spoken against them — and signed the bills that made them into law. A tremendous opportunity for true economy and the elimination of a deep-seated corruption is open to the new leaders in Congress and to a new president.

A CONGRESSMAN AND PENSIONS

TIMES do change. Mr. James H. Whitecotton is a candidate for Congress in the Second District of Missouri. He pledges himself, if elected, to oppose extravagant appropriations and undeserved pensions. He issues, as a campaign document, a sheet displaying the titles of all the bills introduced in Congress by the Member whom he hopes to supersede — Mr. W. W. Rucker. It seems that Mr. Rucker has introduced 519 bills, of which 410 were private pensions bills, eighteen to "correct" military records, 11 to remove charges of desertion. In big type in the midst of the sheet on which Mr. Rucker's record is displayed, Mr. Whitecotton asks: "Voters, Do you want a pension agent in Congress? Or do you want a Congressman who will work for good roads, economy lower tariff, equal rights to all and special privilege to none?"

Times change. A few years ago a campaign document showing how many private pension bills a Member had introduced would have been issued by the Member, not by his opponent. The inquiry, "Voters, do you want a pension agent in Congress?" would have been answered by an instant "We do." Those who believe that the moral standard of politics is rising will watch with interest to learn whether the second Missouri District to-day wants the old kind of Congressman or the new and better kind.

THE MYSTERIOUS EMPEROR

ALL that has been published about the late Emperor of Japan has left unsolved what must long remain the mystery of his personality. The time has not yet come when Japanese in a position to tell the real story of their late sovereign's life and reign can free their tongues to do so.

Yet enough may be deduced from common knowledge to make it certain that the late Emperor was, personally and apart from his share in the amazing history of his country, one of the most remarkable men of modern times. When he was born, in 1852, in a country walled away from the rest of the world, and in a palace walled away from the rest of the country, the Japanese were living in a state of civilization which the West had left behind centuries before. Their soldiers fought with bows and arrows and wore padded armor. They were ignorant of all the inventions of modern times, innocent of all that civilization had learned in two thousand years. The landing of Perry from his strange ships must have reached the ears of the little prince, if it reached them at all, as a tale of unbelievable magic. When at fifteen he was called, from the palace "beyond the nine folds of purple cloud," to the throne, now reërected as a veritable seat of authority, he was unable to walk—so effeminate had been the education of the imperial family, held as sacred objects of veneration but forbidden to rule.

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Yet we find this boy of fifteen on his ascension taking voluntarily in the presence of his people a solemn oath to "discard purposeless and useless customs," to institute a parliament, and to "seek for wisdom and instruction in all quarters of the world." We see him diligently carrying out these promises, with amazing results in the creation of the Japan of to-day. We see him steadfastly pursuing for nearly half a century a policy which is an absolute break with everything suggested by his inheritance, birth, and education.

If it be said that not Mutsuhito himself but his advisers are to be credited with all that has been done in Japan, the answer is that the Emperor was astonishingly wise in selecting his advisers. No ruler has ever been so consistently advised through a reign of forty-five years. Rulers so absolute as this successor of a hundred emperors are likely to get the advice they want. It is impossible for a moment to regard Mutsuhito as a puppet in the hands of his ministers — impossible to deny him, at the least, the extraordinary genius of finding wise advisers and acting on wise advice — which is a great deal to expect of a king, a very great deal to expect when the advice is to overthrow an ancient civilization in which he was born, uproot all the traditions of a dynasty that was old when the Roman Empire arose, and do all this because of the alleged merits of ideas prevailing in parts of the earth which he had never seen! History shows few movements more astonishing than the swift transformation that Nippon underwent in the era of Meiji, under the reign of Mutsuhito.

They say he was kingly in his stature and his manner, standing six feet or thereabouts, with a royal air, modified by agreeable graciousness. He walked but little, but loved the back of a horse. He travelled much through his realms, but never left them. He set a notable example of energy; early every morning he was in his cabinet clad in a Western uniform, and he worked hard and long, personally interesting himself in the affairs of all departments of his Government. His pleasures were simple: hawking was his chief diversion, and the writing of poetry his chief avocation.

The world deserves to be told the real story of this most interesting personage. To the people of the land over whose emergence into modern civilization he presided, Mutsuhito will ever be the idealized hero — the Moses, the Romulus, more than the Washington, of his nation. It will be difficult to get a proper perspective on his character, but a competent biographer in search of a subject for his craftsmanship could attempt no more fascinating study.

WESTERN CHANGES, TOO

WE ARE in the habit of considering the change that has taken place in Japan during the last thirty or forty years as unparalleled in history. It was a change from swords and pikes to machine guns, from junks to dreadnaughts, from personal to constitutional government, from mediævalism to modern civilization. All these changes found visible and picturesque expression. Yet the change in character, habit, and thought has doubtless been far less than we guess.

Probably the change during the same period in the thought of all advanced Western peoples has been as great — the change since Darwin. The other day a large representative body of orthodox Bible students, coming from many small towns, formally resolved in a meeting at Washington that the hell of our fathers' faith was become a hurtful superstition. That denotes a greater change in American popular thought than had before taken place since the Pilgrims and the Cavaliers landed.

Correspondingly the new attitude toward health, toward nature, toward the universe — the new conception of man's relations and duty to man — measure probably the most remarkable change that ever took place in the minds of a great mass of people in any half-century. It is doubtful whether the Japan of to-day is fundamentally further removed from the Japan of half a century ago than the United States of to-day is from the United States of half a century ago.

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ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND WAR

THE madness that broke out four years ago in Great Britain and Germany, the mad fear and expectation of war, shows no sign of abating. A Liberal Government of decided socialistic tendencies, possessing among its ministers men otherwise not only sane but long-headed and wide-sympathied, has voted another great increase in the naval programme. The speeches in which the budget was announced by the Government and agreed to by the Opposition frankly and by name mentioned Germany as the foe against whom the fearful preparations were directed.

"Germany plans for 41 battleships, 20 great armored cruisers, 40 smaller cruisers, four fifths of the navy to be kept in commission and instantly ready for battle," the First Lord of the Admiralty told Parliament. Great Britain is to have, therefore, more than Germany; not enough more to satisfy the Conservatives, or indeed to satisfy anybody, the fact being that England is no longer able to keep an unchallenged place ahead in the race for naval supremacy. Only a few years ago it was the ground principle of British policy that England must have more battleships than any other two Powers combined. That idea has been abandoned; the best prospect now is that when Germany has 29 battleships Great Britain will have 33. "The strain which Great Britain will have to bear will be long," said Mr. Churchill. "The country will groan under these expenditures," said Mr. Balfour. "And," objected Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, "they will be utterly inadequate. You will add year by year just enough ships to tempt Germany to follow suit until war comes."

Has the rest of the world nothing to say as to whether two members of the family of nations shall thus tempt and taunt each other to a conflict which will upset the globe, cutting off supplies from countries dependent upon them, interfering with trade, altering prices, and bringing ruin to thousands of foreigners? Nothing to say as to whether they shall go on pouring out treasure for instruments and implements of war, the very existence of which is the reason of the jealousy that drives them on to conflict?

In a large view of civilization in the view which a few years more is certain to be an accepted commonplace, England and Germany have no more right to stop the current of world's traffic, inconvenience and injure other people dependent on their good behavior, than two bad boys have to start a fight in the middle of the street to the annoyance of everybody. Humanity has been brought into so close relations, while war has grown so terrible, that war cannot much longer be tolerated. The time is coming when no Power will be permitted — even if it should be so foolish as to wish — to devote its brain and wealth to the criminal enterprise of building engines of destruction designed to bring about deliberately catastrophes which, when they happen naturally, fill all minds with horror. It surely will not be long before the world agrees that explosions, shipwrecks, wounds, mutilation, bloody deaths, conflagration, destruction of crops, demolition of buildings, killing of animals, ruin of business, hunger, and breaking up of families, caused by diabolical machines created in time of peace by cold impersonal science and paid for by the sweat of groaning labor — are not things that the moral sense of mankind can endure.

ABOUT THE MORALS OF SOME PERIODICALS

IT WAS a mood of the summer to discuss the virtues and the shortcomings of our periodical literature which is much on the mind of the reformers, as it ought to be. The press has conspicuous virtues, of course, as when it helped toward if it did not force Lorimer's exclusion from the Senate; and it does most worthy services. But it has faults and misfortunes too. For examples:

A daily paper of unusual properness and dignity of manner and even of traditional Puritanical qualities a little while ago asked one of the editors of this magazine to write an article about Governor Wilson "pointing out his many inconsistencies and changes of opinion." The answer was

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sent that it would be a pleasure to write a truthful article about Governor Wilson, setting down the facts of his career, without praise or blame; but that it was not an agreeable or useful task to look through any man's writings and public utterances merely to tabulate contradictions and changes of opinion. To find a man without contradictions and changes of opinion — where on earth would you go? and of what human use would he be when you had found him? This instructive answer then came back from the editor of the newspaper:

Personally I agree with you. I think exactly as you do. But strategically we must oppose Wilson.

Now what do "personally" and "strategically" mean? And who is the real editor of that important newspaper, Mr. Personally or Mr. Strategically? Is a paper so edited and conducted bad or good? Either or both on occasion. It is (and here's the common fault) an easy compromise between conviction and convenience; it has a vested interest in mediocrity — too proper to be damned and too weak to have character. It is unmoral rather than immoral; its twilight of virtue and of compromise makes it weakly conventional.

II

Again: A little while ago Mr. George French, who has opportunities to know or to find out facts about magazines, wrote a piece in *The Twentieth Century Magazine*, a little known journal of many changes and experiments in its conduct — a piece about "The Damnation of the Magazines"; and he put this sentence in it:

It is generally believed that Mr. Rockefeller was instrumental in financing the publishing house of Doubleday, Page & Company.

Now, *The Twentieth Century Magazine* was edited on that particular month by Mr. Charles Zueblin, a professional preacher about righteousness in the press and elsewhere. Mr. Zueblin and Mr. French, either or both, may have read the following statement of facts in THE WORLD'S WORK for January, 1909:

Which is to say that the business done under the name of Doubleday, Page & Company is owned absolutely by the five men whose names are published, as required by the law of New York, on the contents page of this magazine; that nobody else, directly, or remotely, or contingently, either by favors or loans, or obligations, expressed or implied, or by any relations whatsoever of any kind, financial, personal, social or what not, or in any other way whatsoever, owns a dollar's worth in it, or has any claim on it or any bill or obligation against it, other than for current expenses; that the conduct of this business, to which they were trained from their earliest apprenticeship, requires and receives all their time and thought and enthusiasm. If any item of positive information bearing on this inquiry has now been omitted, it has been omitted from forgetfulness and not by design.

Again in January, 1909, THE WORLD'S WORK said:

In later years another financial myth arose when Mr. Rockefeller contributed his Recollections to THE WORLD'S WORK. It may be cruel to kill even myths; but let it here be said, the only money that ever passed between Mr. Rockefeller and the owners of THE WORLD'S WORK, collectively or singly, has passed from the publishers to him, as his literary earnings. He may never discover these accretions to his wealth, but he can't escape them.

If Mr. French and Mr. Zueblin had not read these straightforward declarations, they could have easily made inquiry. There is no secret about the "financing" of the owners of THE WORLD'S WORK; and anybody who wishes may know all there is to know for the asking. Once more: The whole story makes only a single sentence. Doubleday, Page & Company were "financed" out of their own earnings with the usual commercial credit that successful enterprises obtain at banks and among their friends; its responsible owners have built up the business by their own labor and management; they own it without mortgage and without debt; they have no other occupation or business or interest, nor any entangling alliances; nor have they ever had; and they have never been under financial obligations to anybody except in the usual course of business and never for a dime to Mr. Rockefeller or to any other man of great fortune.

Mr. French and Mr. Zueblin could have found all this out without dalliance with — error. And, since they think the financial affairs of this publishing house a matter of

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concern to their public, they are invited at once to come here and to get any additional facts that they may wish to have in order to publish a correction of their several erroneous statements.

The moral of which will be—"continued in our next."

EDUCATION AND BEGGING

A COLLEGE PRESIDENT the other day, who had a difference with his board of trustees, announced his purpose to retire; and in a friendly tone he explained that the difference was irreconcilable because he wished to develop the intellectual life of the college and they wished him to be a solicitor of money. If you had the confidence of all the college presidents in the land, you would discover that most of them face the same difficulty.

A college, to do good work, must have a good deal more money than its students pay. This difference must come by gifts or endowments or from public funds. Theoretically the state colleges have the right [illegible] education is the business of the state and the state must pay for it. But even under this theory the presidents of many state institutions have to wrestle with [illegible]

[illegible]

too: The college presidents of to-day are undoubtedly more efficient business men and practical administrators than their immediate predecessors; but are they men who have a stronger and more stimulating influence on youth and in their communities? And are the youth that now come out of our colleges more cultivated men than their predecessors of a generation ago? And do the faculties contain men of larger power as well as of more specific learning than the faculties of a generation ago?

Sometime the states will take over even more fully the whole business of education. It will be paid for by public funds. Business managers (the University of Wisconsin already has a business manager) will do the financial duties, the necessity of incessant private begging will be removed and more men of the highest order of ability will become teachers. For the present, the colleges are gaining in financial strength and in equipment and in the number of subjects taught: and it is a fair question to ask whether these gains are made at some loss of some intellectual and moral power.

THE QUANDARY AS TO ELECT[illegible]

THE WORLD'S WORK has repeatedly spoken of the [illegible] the danger of the system by which we elect Presidents. [illegible]

[illegible]

directed them to do so? On the other hand — runs the argument on the other side — are Electors free to consult their own judgment or preferences as to whom they will vote for, or are they bound to vote for the convention nominee? What is to become of national party organizations, if states are to repudiate the acts of a national convention, steal the party name, and vote for another than the party nominee? You may put the dilemma in a score of ways and every time you go over it it becomes more perplexing.

What emerges from it all is the grave danger that the voters in several great states may this autumn be deprived of their right to cast a clear vote for the man of their choice for the Presidency. Citizens of Pennsylvania, for instance, are entitled to know whom their votes are going to count for, when they put the cross against a set of Electors under the heading "Republican." There is a possibility that they will not know. There is a stronger likelihood that the Republicans of Pennsylvania will be puzzled by seeing two sets of "Republican" Electors on the ballot; or that they will have to vote for Mr. Roosevelt, or perhaps for Mr. Taft, under some designation other than "Republican" — to their confusion.

In South Dakota, at the Democratic primaries, there was a ticket headed "Wilson-Bryan Democracy"; another "Wilson-Bryan-Clark Democracy"; and a third headed "Champ Clark for President." What probability was there that a man would get his vote counted as he wanted it? As a matter of fact, the first was the Wilson ticket, and the second was the Clark ticket (though it had Mr. Wilson's name on it), and the third, "Champ Clark for President," was a ticket which Mr. Clark warned his followers not to vote. That was a good illustration of the danger of indirect voting. Similar confusions, some unavoidable, some deliberate, may be expected in the election this fall.

We are not here dealing with the merits of the issue between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. We are now only expressing concern that the confusion of the situation will probably result, in more states than one, in a confused and puzzling ballot which will disfranchise many Republican voters. The wisest of men are often easily puzzled in the polling booth.

II

The Electoral College method of electing Presidents is clumsy and it is dangerous. Governor Wilson will probably have such large majorities this autumn that the Taft-Roosevelt feud will not prevent a fair and clear election, but in a more evenly divided contest it could easily do so. The situation adds another to the already known dangers of the electoral system: heretofore it has been taken for granted that the people would know of a certainty whom the Electors were going to vote for; it is now evident that that certainty cannot be relied upon.

The electoral system has put into the Presidency ten candidates out of twenty-one who had less than a majority of the votes of the people; it has allowed two men to take the presidential chair in spite of the fact that rivals had been elected by the people. The worst failures of the system in the past have been the cases of John Quincy Adams, seated in 1825 by the House of Representatives over Jackson, the people's choice; and that of Hayes, seated by the Electoral Commission in 1877 over Tilden. But greater perils have been barely escaped. In 1872, the Democratic nominee, Mr. Greeley, died between the November election and the meeting of the Electors in January. Suppose it had been the Republican nominee, General Grant? Whom would the College have elected? Some of the Greeley Electors actually voted for the dead man, regarding their instructions as sacred. Embedded in the records of the House of Representatives may be found a dry resolution declaring that

> The votes reported by the tellers as having been cast by the Electors of the State of Georgia for Horace Greeley, of New York, cannot lawfully be counted because said Horace Greeley for whom they appear to have been cast . . . was not a "person" within the meaning of the Constitution.

The Senate, however, refused to take note of the historic fact that Greeley was dead, and demanded the counting of the votes.

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ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND WAR

THE madness that broke out four years ago in Great Britain and Germany, the mad fear and expectation of war, shows no sign of abating. A Liberal Government of decided socialistic tendencies, possessing among its ministers men otherwise not only sane but long-headed and wide-sympathied, has voted another great increase in the naval programme. The speeches in which the budget was announced by the Government and agreed to by the Opposition frankly and by name mentioned Germany as the foe against whom the fearful preparations were directed.

"Germany plans for 41 battleships, 20 great armored cruisers, 40 smaller cruisers, four fifths of the navy to be kept in commission and instantly ready for battle," the First Lord of the Admiralty told Parliament. Great Britain is to have, therefore, more than Germany; not enough more to satisfy the Conservatives, or indeed to satisfy anybody, the fact being that England is no longer able to keep an unchallenged place ahead in the race for naval supremacy. Only a few years ago it was the ground principle of British policy that England must have more battleships than any other two Powers combined. That idea has been abandoned; the best prospect now is that when Germany has 29 battleships Great Britain will have 33. "The strain which Great Britain will have to bear will be long," said Mr. Churchill. "The country will groan under these expenditures," said Mr. Balfour. "And," objected Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, "they will be utterly inadequate. You will add year by year just enough ships to tempt Germany to follow suit until war comes."

Has the rest of the world nothing to say as to whether two members of the family of nations shall thus tempt and taunt each other to a conflict which will upset the globe, cutting off supplies from countries dependent upon them, interfering with trade, altering prices, and bringing ruin to thousands of foreigners? Nothing to say as to whether they shall go on pouring out treasure for instruments and implements of war, the very existence of which is the reason of the jealousy that drives them on to conflict?

In a large view of civilization in the view which a few years more is certain to be an accepted commonplace, England and Germany have no more right to stop the current of world's traffic, inconvenience and injure other people dependent on their good behavior, than two bad boys have to start a fight in the middle of the street to the annoyance of everybody. Humanity has been brought into so close relations, while war has grown so terrible, that war cannot much longer be tolerated. The time is coming when no Power will be permitted — even if it should be so foolish as to wish — to devote its brain and wealth to the criminal enterprise of building engines of destruction designed to bring about deliberately catastrophes which, when they happen naturally, fill all minds with horror. It surely will not be long before the world agrees that explosions, shipwrecks, wounds, mutilation, bloody deaths, conflagration, destruction of crops, demolition of buildings, killing of animals, ruin of business, hunger, and breaking up of families, caused by diabolical machines created in time of peace by cold impersonal science and paid for by the sweat of groaning labor — are not things that the moral sense of mankind can endure.

ABOUT THE MORALS OF SOME PERIODICALS

IT WAS a mood of the summer to discuss the virtues and the shortcomings of our periodical literature which is much on the mind of the reformers, as it ought to be. The press has conspicuous virtues, of course, as when it helped toward if it did not force Lorimer's exclusion from the Senate; and it does most worthy services. But it has faults and misfortunes too. For examples:

A daily paper of unusual properness and dignity of manner and even of traditional Puritanical qualities a little while ago asked one of the editors of this magazine to write an article about Governor Wilson "pointing out his many inconsistencies and changes of opinion." The answer was

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GRICULTURE — A ROFESSION

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concern to their public, they are invited at once to come here and to get any additional facts that they may wish to have in order to publish a correction of their several erroneous statements.

The moral of which will be — "continued in our next."

EDUCATION AND BEGGING

A COLLEGE PRESIDENT the other day, who had a difference with his board of trustees, announced his purpose to retire; and in a friendly tone he explained that the difference was irreconcilable because he wished to develop the intellectual life of the college and they wished him to be a solicitor of money. If you had the confidence of all the college presidents in the land, you would discover that most of them face the same difficulty

A college, to do good work, must have a good deal more money than its students pay. This difference must come by gifts or endowments or from public funds. Theoretically the state colleges have the right economic basis: education is the business of the state and the state must pay for it. But even under this theory the presidents of many state institutions have to wrestle with legislatures till they are too tired to do their other and more proper duties. And the private colleges nearly all have to keep up perpetual financial campaigns, and their presidents have to do the begging. Those presidents whose prime fitness and ambition is to develop and to direct the intellectual life of their colleges are greatly diverted from their proper work. There are colleges, therefore, and probably there are many such, whose proper work declines as their financial strength grows — at least for the time being.

Of course soliciting money is one method of educating the people: a man who gives to a college is the more likely to appreciate its service to society. But too much solicitation also puts a college in the position of a beggar and therefore a nuisance, and this does not commend it to public favor.

These are pertinent questions to ask, too: The college presidents of to-day are undoubtedly more efficient business men and practical administrators than their immediate predecessors; but are they men who have a stronger and more stimulating influence on youth and in their communities? And are the youth that now come out of our colleges more cultivated men than their predecessors of a generation ago? And do the faculties contain men of larger power as well as of more specific learning than the faculties of a generation ago?

Sometime the states will take over even more fully the whole business of education. It will be paid for by public funds. Business managers (the University of Wisconsin already has a business manager) will do the financial duties, the necessity of incessant private begging will be removed, and more men of the highest order of ability will become teachers. For the present, the colleges are gaining in financial strength and in equipment and in the number of subjects taught; and it is a fair question to ask whether these gains are made at some loss of some intellectual and moral power.

THE QUANDARY AS TO ELECTORS

THE WORLD'S WORK has repeatedly spoken of the awkwardness and the danger of the system by which we elect Presidents. This is emphasized anew by the position in which Republican candidates for Presidential Elector in a number of the states now find themselves: are they bound to vote for Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt? Though Mr. Taft is the regular nominee of the National Republican Convention, the honesty of his nomination is challenged by Mr. Roosevelt, who claims that, if these men are elected, their votes in the Electoral College should be cast for him, especially since the state primaries to which they owe their nomination showed a strong preference for him over Mr. Taft. Their argument is — shall Electors selected as Roosevelt men, in primaries at which the Republicans of their state declared for Roosevelt, vote for another man, whom neither they themselves nor their constituents want, because a fraudulently controlled convention

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directed them to do so? On the other hand — runs the argument on the other side — are Electors free to consult their own judgment or preferences as to whom they will vote for, or are they bound to vote for the convention nominee? What is to become of national party organizations, if states are to repudiate the acts of a national convention, steal the party name, and vote for another than the party nominee? You may put the dilemma in a score of ways and every time you go over it it becomes more perplexing.

What emerges from it all is the grave danger that the voters in several great states may this autumn be deprived of their right to cast a clear vote for the man of their choice for the Presidency. Citizens of Pennsylvania, for instance, are entitled to know whom their votes are going to count for, when they put the cross against a set of Electors under the heading "Republican." There is a possibility that they will not know. There is a stronger likelihood that the Republicans of Pennsylvania will be puzzled by seeing two sets of "Republican" Electors on the ballot; or that they will have to vote for Mr. Roosevelt, or perhaps for Mr. Taft, under some designation other than "Republican" — to their confusion.

In South Dakota, at the Democratic primaries, there was a ticket headed "Wilson-Bryan Democracy"; another "Wilson-Bryan-Clark Democracy"; and a third headed "Champ Clark for President." What probability was there that a man would get his vote counted as he wanted it? As a matter of fact, the first was the Wilson ticket, and the second was the Clark ticket (though it had Mr. Wilson's name on it), and the third, "Champ Clark for President," was a ticket which Mr. Clark warned his followers not to vote. That was a good illustration of the danger of indirect voting. Similar confusions, some unavoidable, some deliberate, may be expected in the election this fall.

We are not here dealing with the merits of the issue between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt. We are now only expressing concern that the confusion of the situation will probably result, in more states than one, in a confused and puzzling ballot which will disfranchise many Republican voters. The wisest of men are often easily puzzled in the polling booth.

II

The Electoral College method of electing Presidents is clumsy and it is dangerous. Governor Wilson will probably have such large majorities this autumn that the Taft-Roosevelt feud will not prevent a fair and clear election, but in a more evenly divided contest it could easily do so. The situation adds another to the already known dangers of the electoral system: heretofore it has been taken for granted that the people would know of a certainty whom the Electors were going to vote for; it is now evident that that certainty cannot be relied upon.

The electoral system has put into the Presidency ten candidates out of twenty-one who had less than a majority of the votes of the people; it has allowed two men to take the presidential chair in spite of the fact that rivals had been elected by the people. The worst failures of the system in the past have been the cases of John Quincy Adams, seated in 1825 by the House of Representatives over Jackson, the people's choice; and that of Hayes, seated by the Electoral Commission in 1877 over Tilden. But greater perils have been barely escaped. In 1872, the Democratic nominee, Mr. Greeley, died between the November election and the meeting of the Electors in January. Suppose it had been the Republican nominee, General Grant? Whom would the College have elected? Some of the Greeley Electors actually voted for the dead man, regarding their instructions as sacred. Embedded in the records of the House of Representatives may be found a dry resolution declaring that

> The votes reported by the tellers as having been cast by the Electors of the State of Georgia for Horace Greeley, of New York, cannot lawfully be counted because said Horace Greeley for whom they appear to have been cast . . . was not a "person" within the meaning of the Constitution.

The Senate, however, refused to take note of the historic fact that Greeley was dead, and demanded the counting of the votes.

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Would it have taken that position if the candidate deceased had been Grant?

In 1857 a snow storm prevented the Electors of the state of Wisconsin meeting at the state capital and casting their votes. It happened that the vote of Wisconsin was immaterial; Buchanan was elected, with the state voting or not voting. But under a Constitution which requires the Electors of forty-eight different states to assemble in their respective capitals on a given day and cast their votes, it might easily happen that fire, storm, earthquake, or other catastrophe, would prevent the assembling of the Electors of a state whose votes were necessary to carry into effect the decision of the people. In 1873 only half of the Texas Electors reached the capital.

In 1869, and again in 1881, the Georgia Electors met and cast their votes on the wrong day. Their votes could not be, and were not, counted. In neither case was the disfranchisement of Georgia material; the Democrats were in a minority anyhow. But a like mistake by any one of the forty-eight states in a close election to-day might entirely change the result. In 1817 the vote of Indiana, in 1821 the vote of Missouri, in 1837 the vote of Wisconsin was not counted on account of technicalities connected with the appointed date for the Electors' meetings. In all these cases the result would have been the same had the disfranchised states been counted. But that happy circumstance will not always occur; some time the result will hang upon the question as to whether the vote of a state shall be or shall not be counted.

Who, by the way, decides in a question of that kind? Nobody knows. Who "counts" the Electoral vote, anyway? — for remember the President is not elected until, on the second Tuesday in February in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Electoral vote "shall be counted." By whom? Nobody knows. Nobody has ever known. It has been a quarrel of a century, and no settlement has ever been reached.

The elaborate law of 1887 settles none of the fundamental difficulties of the system, except as it extends — probably wrongfully and unconstitutionally — the power of Congress to disfranchise the voters of whole states by throwing out their Electoral votes. In 1873, the vote of Arkansas was thrown out on objection by the Senate that the certificate did not bear the seal of the state — the fact being that Arkansas had no state seal.

In several instances, Electors have died between November and January. It might easily happen that a catastrophe might destroy at one time enough of them to change the result and defeat the people's choice.

It might easily happen that a President-elect might die, not, as in Greeley's case, before, but after the meetings of the Electors and before the Electoral vote had been counted; or after the vote had been counted and before his term had begun. In neither case is there any provision whatever for the succession.

One might say that such accidents are unlikely. They are not at all unlikely; on the contrary they are quite certain to happen in any extended length of time such as we hope the American Republic may endure. Besides, it is the business of law to provide, as far as possible, against all accidents. The Electoral College system lies open to a hundred varieties of accidents. It is not only cumbersome, awkward, inconvenient, and expensive — it is bad. It has not perfectly accomplished its object more than half the time. Twice it has utterly failed, once coming near plunging the nation into civil disorder. Should it fail this year, no one knows how we should get our next President; the fact that the present House of Representatives would probably be unable to elect (first explained by this magazine six months ago) has attracted the attention of the country, but has brought forth no reassuring theory as to what would happen. Any system which allows three months to elapse between the naming of the people's choice and the counting of Electoral votes is fraught with peril; and when it further keeps the President-elect out of his seat a month more, it invites accidents and puts a fearful opportunity into the hands of the insane or the evil-minded. But to these dangers

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the method now in vogue adds all manner of untoward opportunities for chance to do its confusing work.

The Electoral College method has been pottered over and patched up in vain. It is time to do away with it, and give the people proper, simple machinery by which to elect their President by direct vote.

And the newly elected President should be inaugurated within a few weeks of his election. It is time the Government of the United States was tuned up from a stage-coach time-table to an express-train and telegraph schedule.

UNITED FOR HEALTH

IT was one of the curious side-lights of the National Conventions this summer that both of them were attended by lobbyists working against platform declarations in favor of protection for the public health. It is a gratification that they were not successful in frightening the Resolutions Committee either at Chicago or at Baltimore; both platforms contain health planks. Probably they will be read amid less applause and boasted of with less unction than many other high-sounding professions of the platforms, yet no single plank in either declaration of principles is of greater importance. This, for instance, is a model statement of the grounds of a great movement which holds tremendous good:

> We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics, and human health. Thus united, and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests, but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency.

The United States is not in the lead in efforts to conserve human life and promote human efficiency. We have been careless of ourselves, as we have been of our country's natural resources. We have suffered the bogies of "interference with personal freedom" and "the doctor's trust," shrewdly worked by patent medicine makers and food adulteraters and a fanatical sect or two, to hold us back from united action for safeguarding the health of our people as other nations are doing. The United States was the only one among civilized nations that was unrepresented at the International Conference of Hygiene at Dresden last summer. We cannot afford to be in the rear of the enlightened movement for conserving the life and strength of our people — the very ground of all national prosperity.

DOCTOR OF AGRICULTURE — A NEW PROFESSION

THE old professions are crowded. Only the fittest among the preachers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, or engineers succeed. But a new profession is developing — and so rapidly that the demand already far exceeds the supply — the profession of farm expert. The time is coming when Doctors of Agriculture will hang out their shingles in centres of agricultural activity, just as lawyers and doctors and dentists do now.

Hitherto the best trained men from our agricultural colleges have gone back to join the ranks of teachers, but now the demand is insistent at Washington and in many states for the best men the colleges can turn out. The bureaus of the government need men for farm management work in the field, men who understand both the theory and the practice of agriculture, to go directly to the farmer and carry to him the teachings of modern agricultural science. North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and other states are clamoring for men for their state agricultural extension work and for the work of the farmers' institutes.

And now the business man has taken a hand. Last fall the Better Farming Association of North Dakota was formed by Minneapolis business men and North Dakota bankers to increase the productiveness of one of our greatest agricultural states. Their hardest task has been to find men to carry on the field demonstration and missionary work, and they have succeeded only by drawing away the best

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workers from Illinois and Minnesota, leaving gaps in the ranks. The salaries range from $1,500 to $5,000 a year for these men, and still they have not half enough to cover the state.

Last fall in South Bend, Ind., was formed the Scientific Agricultural League of St. Joseph County, a hundred farmers who seek coöperatively for more knowledge and better methods. Their desire is to secure a resident salaried expert at South Bend to advise the members of the league, and at last reports they had not found the right man. This league represents a still newer form of this development, and as other leagues are formed in other communities, experts will be needed, just as a mine needs a mining engineer, or a flour mill a chemist. Where are these men to come from?

But there is still another step to be taken. The farm expert, once the employee of the state, and more recently the employee of an association or corporation, will, in many places, become an independent entity, in the same way that a physician opens an office and establishes a private practice after he has passed through his training as a hospital employee. It is simply the logical development.

The time is coming when every rural community of sufficient size will have one or more agricultural experts — men professionally trained to serve in an advisory way all the farmers of the community for a fee. These men will understand the chemistry of the soil and of plant growth; their laboratories will be busy with soil analysis and the study of local plant diseases; they will be entomologists and bacteriologists, and their value will be obvious to the enlightened farmers of a new age.

And then the farmers, no longer content to depend on the free clinic of the state experiment station, will seek the advice and prescription of the local Doctor of Agriculture. The dignity and the rewards of this profession are bound to increase, for it is founded upon the basis of our greatest industry.

Recently President Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois wrote:

"It is very interesting that just now there is such a persistent, strenuous, and widespread demand for men of good agricultural training that it is quite impossible for our agricultural colleges to fill the requests. I am trying to get our young men to study agriculture and prepare themselves for it by a liberal education to begin with, which would make it possible for them to meet such requests as yours if they came to them in their work."

THE AMAZING AUTOMOBILE

IN 1903, only 10,000 automobiles were manufactured in the United States and not one of them could be trusted to go thirty miles from a garage and get back without assistance. Last year 210,000 automobiles were manufactured in the United States and most of them were as dependable as any other kind of machine. They were valued at 250 million dollars. And 26,000 motor trucks are now in use — more than twice the number of motor cars of all kinds in 1903.

The farm value of the corn crop of 1910 is not quite as much as the 1½ billion dollars sale value of the cars manufactured in the last ten years. Automobiles have created an industry. That is their local importance in Detroit, Mich., Wilkes Barre, Pa., and a dozen other places where automobiles are made.

But they have done much more than that. They have opened the countryside to thousands of people to see and for others to live in. They have demanded and gotten good roads — in some degree.

In the future they will make possible a much wider use of rural and suburban parcel delivery, as they are even now doing; and some well informed observers have been so bold as to predict that before many years horses — and the resultant filth and flies — will be eliminated from our city streets.

The automobile has been much abused as an extravagance. Like the telephone, the automobile is an extravagance when it saves the time of a man whose time is not worth saving. Like lawns or golf links, automobiles are an extravagance when they are maintained by those who

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can not afford them. They are one of the many ways of mastering the forces of nature which make man in this age more efficient and powerful than ever before — and therefore with more responsibility to use the power aright. Toward such ends the vast majority of automobile owners and the various automobile associations are in accord.

A FEW ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE public mind is concerning itself, as perhaps it never did before, with fundamental and constructive things. It is weary of the sensational. It is tired of mere criticism. It is disgusted with abuse, whether in politics or in other personal scrambles. It is done with "muck-raking."

It is a good year and a good mood, therefore, for the WORLD'S WORK, which tries to present constructive programmes. For instance: There have been wide discussion and complaint about the high cost of living. But who has analyzed its larger causes and pointed to practical remedies?

This large and interesting task is undertaken — and done — by Mr. B. F. Yoakum, whose constructive experience as the great developer of the Southwest has given him a firm grasp on the large forces that shape us.

In the first of four articles he points a way to relief from the unnecessary tax of 205 millions a year that the farmers pay because of a poor credit system. This vast waste can and must be saved. There is a practical way to do it. In the second article he will show the hampering effects of our inadequate railroad facilities in an equally striking fashion. In the third he will explain how we spend 100 million dollars a year more than is necessary because we haul our produce over bad roads instead of good ones. The fourth article will be based upon these amazing figures: The American consumer pays 13,500 millions for American food products. Of this the farmer gets 45 per cent. or 6,000 millions; the railroads get 675 millions or 5 per cent; the middlemen get 6,825 millions or 50 per cent. Based upon these figures Mr. Yoakum makes a constructive plan for the elimination of a part of this middleman burden.

Another forthcoming series is an explanation of the way in which Mr. John D. Rockefeller's millions are spent to benefit humanity — spent on far-reaching fundamental plans, not for relief but for constructive betterment.

(1) An account of the work of the Commission for the Eradication of the Hookworm (in this number), which has already opened the way for the remaking of all tropical and semi-tropical peoples and the development of their lands. It is an amazing chapter in human history — the far-reaching results of this most impoverishing of diseases. (2) The story of the wonderful work of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp in almost doubling the crops of the vast army of Southern farmers. This work, carried on jointly by the General Education Board and the United States Government, is now to be extended by the Government probably to all the rest of the United States. (3) The General Education Board, with its $33,000,000 endowment, has begun also a fundamental and new movement to make the country school a real agency to enrich life in the country; which will be explained in detail. Beside the Hookworm Commission and the General Education Board, Mr. Rockefeller endowed the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research which in seven years has become the foremost institution of its kind in the world.

"The Coöperator's Big Dollar" in this number is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Frank Parker Stockbridge under the general title, "The Dominant Farmer," which will tell the stories of such men as John Clay, the greatest cattle handler in the world, ex-Governor Hoard of Wisconsin, who turned that state into a dairy country, Colonel Powers of North Dakota, the engineer-farmer, and many others — *the* captains of *the* industry — the fundamental industry of this country. This series tells of the Northwest where the landowners are dominant, where they are working out a new order of coöperation, where they are the directors of banks, and where they conduct their business upon

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more scientific lines than the average city industry.

In October will begin Mr. William Bayard Hale's series of four articles, "Adventures on the Frontiers of Science."

(1) In the Universe of the Stars; (2) Explorations in the Realm of Substance — the Search for the Basis of Matter; (3) Explorations in the Empire of Vital Energy — the Adventures of Biologists Searching for the Origin of Life; (4) Explorations in the Kingdom of Conscience The old religious sanctions of good conduct having largely lost their authority, a new basis of ethics is appearing.

In October also will begin Mrs. Mabel Potter Daggett's series on "Women" with the first article "The Larger Housekeeping." When every home produced its own food and clothing the housekeeper could oversee their cleanliness. Now the food and milk and clothing comes from — where? The women of Boston were shocked when they found out, shocked into activity, and the story of the wonders that they have worked and are working to make cleanliness and healthfulness as possible now as when each housewife saw to the making of everything, is cheerful and interesting reading.

After October Mr. Samuel P. Orth's "At the Front in The Labor War" will appear. These articles, describing the whole Labor situation, will be written with the same vivacity that enlivened his "The World-Wide Sweep of Socialism" and be drawn from the same kind of information — personal observation and interviews with the leaders on each side.

The WORLD'S WORK will continue the series, "What I Am Trying To Do," which in the past has had articles from Mr. Oscar Underwood, Surgeon-General Rupert Blue, Governor Stubbs of Kansas, President Taft, David Belasco, and others. In this number the article is by Secretary Meyer of the Navy, and in the next it will be by Miss Julia Lathrop of the Children's Bureau.

Besides these things the WORLD'S WORK will maintain the same standard of political information which in the past produced the only complete and authentic biography of Woodrow Wilson, frank and honest explanations of Champ Clark and Governor Harmon, and such timely and intimate comparisons of the three presidential candidates as appear in this number. Early numbers will contain: "What a Constructive Progressive Plan in Politics Means" — a series of editorial explanations of the movement of public opinion toward more direct and more responsible government.

THE FOOL AND HIS MONEY

THE statistics of increasing insanity are somehow not as alarming as it might seem they ought to be; we take courage when we remember that in former days insane people were restrained at home and not reported to the authorities, as they are nowadays when everyone recognizes that the best place for a deficient is in a hospital.

But where shall we find comfort against statistics of folly, of imbecility, of deluded idiocy, such as are furnished by the Post Office Department's report on mail swindling?

Operating through the United States mails alone, get-rich-quick plunderers last year took one hundred and twenty millions of dollars out of the pockets of credulous simpletons. The report does not set forth how many dunces contributed to this fund of folly, but there must have been many hundred thousands. It is sad to reflect that, in a land commonly regarded as enlightened, with newspapers and magazines abounding, such an astonishing proportion of the population should be so weak mentally as to suffer themselves to be beguiled by sensational descriptions of the wonders of bogus mines, fake remedies, worthless lands, and fraudulent enterprises. The most hopeless feature of the matter is that the victims seem incurable. No sooner has one "investment" failed than they rush with even greater confidence to another. Last year's record shows that the imbeciles gave the swindlers fifty millions more than the year before.

The accepted axiom that one is born every minute seems inadequate quite to account for the number of fools at large in the country.

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THE COST OF CREDULITY

REAR-ADMIRAL Robley D. Evans, a national hero, died early in the summer. In his hands at the time of his death he held a letter from a man named J. Q. A. Walker, a gentleman unknown to fame. In this letter Mr. Walker abused Admiral Evans for acting in behalf of the stockholders of the California Consolidated Oil Co., and thereby seriously interfering with the plans and schemes of Mr. Walker and some of his associates. Mr. Walker was one of the directors who had had charge of the campaign in which the stock of the company was distributed to the public.

Probably there has never been a more flagrant case of the abuse of a great and glorious name for mean and contemptible purposes than this case of the California Consolidated Oil Co. The California Consolidated was little better than a wildcat oil company which held options on some producing properties in California. The promoters saw that they were going to have a hard time to sell the stock to the public. They hit upon a very simple and ingenious scheme. They went to Admiral Evans, a man untrained in business, and persuaded him that the company had a glorious future and that it was practically a sure money-maker for its stockholders. He put some of his own very small capital into it and accepted the presidency. That gave them the use of his name.

Then began one of the most spectacular advertising campaigns to sell the oil company stock. It was carried on in the East by an underwriting concern called the Lincoln Stock & Bond Co. The principal thing that they advertised was the name and reputation of Admiral Robley D. Evans. His face appeared in all the pamphlets and circulars and even on posters displayed on the street cars. The advertising itself was a typical "get-rich-quick" offer of stock that was stated to be worth a dollar a share for 60 cents.

Into this wild-cat project they lured half a million dollars of the public's money, almost all from people who could not afford to risk a dollar. When the stockholders got together recently in New York most of them appeared to be even less substantial than the usual class of victims of such enterprises. Almost without exception they said that their interest in the scheme was wholly on the strength of the name and reputation of Admiral Evans.

When the crash came, Admiral Evans did all that he could for the stockholders. Other people had various schemes of their own, which involved the fleecing of these small holders. Evans fought with all his strength against these plans and it was because of this fight that he received the letter referred to earlier in this article. Some of his friends say that the grief and strain of this losing battle on behalf of the people who had trusted in his name and reputation killed him. Certainly it has appeared in the record that not only did he not make a dollar out of this enterprise, either in profits or in salaries, but that he himself was, relatively speaking, one of the heaviest losers in the venture.

These are simple facts of record. No man who reads this story can help but be amazed at the success of these crooked promoters in luring a man of Admiral Evans's stamp into a swindling operation of this sort; yet, unhappily, a dozen other instances equally flagrant can be cited from the records of the recent past. In some of them the chickens have not yet come home to roost and it is too early to put all the facts on record. In others the story has already been told. One of the most notorious cases was that whereby perhaps the best known minister of the gospel in New York was induced to become a trustee of a wildcat flotation.

From the standpoint of the public, such episodes as these carry a plain enough warning. Almost every stockholder who was at the meeting in New York at which the truth about the California Consolidated was brought out, expressed himself

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as perfectly confident that Admiral Evans was not to blame, yet it was his name that led them to lose their money. It is well for the investor not to put too much trust in names but to investigate every investment proposition on its own merit.

On the other hand, it is increasingly necessary that men who have the confidence of the public should keep themselves clear of all such enterprises as find it necessary to finance themselves by appealing to the small investor of money. A public man can not afford to sell his name for a mess of pottage.

THE HOOKWORM AND CIVILIZATION

THE WORK OF THE ROCKEFELLER SANITARY COMMISSION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES MAKING MEN OF ANÆMICS AND ADDING INCALCULABLE WEALTH AS WELL AS HEALTH TO OUR NATIONAL ASSETS — THE WAY TOWARD THE RECLAMATION OF ALL TROPICAL PEOPLES AND THE UTILIZATION OF THEIR LANDS — THE PRODIGIOUS PART THAT THIS PARASITE HAS PLAYED IN THE HISTORY OF ALL WARM COUNTRIES

BY

WALTER H. PAGE

THE discovery, by Dr. Charles W. Stiles, of hookworm disease in the United States is the most helpful event in the history of our Southern states. For its eradication will contribute more than any other event to the well-being and to the mental and moral life of at least 2,000,000 persons and, therefore, to all the rest of the population. Nor is this all; for this disease belts the world; and as a result of the work to eradicate it in the South a systematic attack on it is likely to be made in other countries. This will mean an increase of efficiency in a larger part of the human race than was ever before brought about by any one direct organized effort.

This debilitating disease has played an incalculable part in the history of all warm countries. The present condition of China, of India, and of Central America, and, of parts of South America, and of the West Indies is in great measure accounted for by its ravages, in some of these countries for many centuries.

The eradication of the disease is so far-reaching a piece of work that it is almost absurd to try to sketch it in a magazine article, or to try to give any measure of its significance.

The story divides itself into two parts — the work in the Southern states and in Porto Rico; and the way that this work seems likely to open for the reclamation of other tropical peoples.

The hookworm is an intestinal parasite, — a worm about one third of an inch long when it is grown. When of microscopic size, it enters the body most often through the skin, generally through the skin of the feet because the feet come in contact with it in polluted soil. The female worms in the body give forth an incredible number of eggs, which hatch when deposited on the soil, and while yet invisible to the eye enter the feet. Thence they make a long journey through the body till they reach the small intestines to which they cling and give forth a poison, which produces the disease, and lay more eggs and thus repeat the endless round of their parasitical life. As many as 4,500 worms have been expelled from a single person; they have been known to live in a person for ten years; and they are so prolific that a large part of the inhabited soil of the earth between 36 degrees north latitude and 30 degrees south is polluted with them. The pollution occurs, of course, because of the insanitary disposition of human excrement.

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Its cure, except in extreme cases, is made by a dose or doses of thymol, following and followed by epsom salts. The thymol expels the worms. The prevention of the disease will be brought about by the universal use of sanitary privies. Its effect is to make its victims anemic — in plain English, worthless, more or less. In many cases it is, of course, fatal, and it prepares the victim for any other disease that he may be exposed to, notably typhoid fever.

The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease came into being in this way: When President Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life went on its journey of investigation, Dr. Stiles, at his own request, was detailed by the Surgeon-General of the United States to accompany it. At the public hearings of the Commission in the Southern States he was asked to explain hookworm disease. At that time a few physicians (very few of those who live in the country) had heard of it; and the public knew nothing about it. Dr. Stiles's frank statement attracted earnest attention. It often even provoked criticism and denial. At Raleigh, N. C., an incredulous physician in the audience asked him if the disease existed there. "I see several pronounced cases in the room now," he replied. A local newspaper declared that the Commission was slandering the community; the Governor gave out an interview in praise of the health of the fair land that he ruled over and denouncing its slanderers. Sketches of the lives of aged men of the neighborhood were published, to prove the healthfulness of the community, and much other such nonsense and ignorance was put forth. That was less than four years ago. Now the organization for eradicating the disease in North Carolina is one of the most vigorous and efficient in all the South. The economic gain that has already been made in the state by this work — to take no other measure of it — is simply incalculable; and the very newspapers and politicians who showed such belligerent ignorance are helping the work forward with might and main.

There is, by the way, no finer spirit of unselfish service to be found, in our time or for all I know in any time, than the spirit shown by the men who make up this great army of hookworm eradication — physicians, women, county officers, school-teachers. False modesty and all differences of rank and fortune are forgotten. So is medical ethics. When a traveling dispensary comes to a neighborhood, the people come great distances to be examined, men, women, and children, rich and poor, white and black. The hookworm has no social code and he uses no "Who's Who." After the people have been treated they bring their friends to the dispensary. The population seeks information about sanitary privies. Gratitude and a wish to help others override false modesty and social conventions.

PUBLIC
DEMONSTRATION
BY
Moving Pictures
OF
HOOK WORM
DISEASE
AT THE COURT HOUSE
Thursday Night, June 15
LADIES ESPECIALLY INVITED
DR. J. FROSER ORR
WILL BE WITH
DR. W. W. PERDUE
HE IS A VERY INSTRUCTIVE
TALKER AND WILL
ENTERTAIN YOU THOROUGHLY

MAKING THE HOOKWORM INTERESTING

LECTURES TO SCHOOL CHILDREN, MOVING PICTURE SHOWS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF PAMPHLETS, AND HOUSE TO HOUSE PROPAGANDA ARE THE CAMPAIGN WEAPONS OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION

To return to the story of the Sanitary Commission. The publicity thus given to the disease, to its easy cure, and to its

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possible eradication, brought it to the attention of Mr. F. T. Gates and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The next step was the organization of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission with Dr. Stiles, Dr. William H. Welch of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, and Dr. Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute as the

COMING!

To Roxobel, Kelford and Powellsville.

BERTIE CO. HOOKWORM DISPENSARIES.

HOOKWORM GREATLY MAGNIFIED

The County Commissioners have so arranged with the North Carolina Board of Health that the towns of Roxobel, Kelford and Powellsville will secure the services of The State and County Free Hookworm Dispensaries.

Dr. Covington, a state specialist on these diseases, and Mr. Conner, an expert microscopist, will be in attendance at these dispensaries on the days and dates printed below.

Everybody should visit these dispensaries on the dates given below, be examined and see if they have any of these diseases. If you have, medicine will be given that will change you from a tired, indolent, despondent kind of a man to one who goes about his work with a vim and a rush, always finding pleasure in everything. Ask any of the thousands who have already been treated in this county. They know. All this without any cost to you whatever. All is paid for by the state and county. Come, bring your wife and children with you, let them see the different varieties of worms that often infect people. See the hookworm eggs under the microscope and hear talks on this disease.

Remember the dates as this will be your last opportunity to be examined and treated free of all cost.

In visiting the dispensaries do not neglect to bring with you a very small box on which you have written your name and age containing a small specimen of your bowel movement as only in this way can an examination be made. In making this examination, if present, any of the worms are found, whether it be the tape worm, round worm, or any of the other various varieties.

A POSTER USED BY THE COMMISSION

AN INVITATION, A WARNING, AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF THREE TOWNS IN NORTH CAROLINA

medical members, and there are ten lay members. Mr. Wickliffe Rose, at that time Secretary of the Peabody Fund for the advancement of education in the South, was chosen as administrative secretary and Dr. Stiles as scientific secretary. Mr. John D. Rockefeller volunteered to finance the Commission up to the sum of $1,000,000, if so much should be needed; and Mr. Rose set to work by a well-matured plan to organize a campaign of demonstration and education.

The money of the Commission is used for sanitary surveys, demonstration, and organization. The eager and self-sacrificing men and women of the South have taken up the work; and local governments and public bodies appropriate money in an increasing volume for carrying it on. The work has, of course, yet only begun. But the plan and methods of it are so effective, and good results of so many different sorts have already come that this vast sanitary campaign is worth careful study for many reasons and from many points of view.

First, through state and other local boards of health wherever possible, a sanitary survey of the several Southern states was made and the degree of infection published. Almost every part of the South is infected; and there are communities in which three fourths of the people have the disease. Then every state was divided into sanitary districts. In every district a local physician has charge of the work, all under the direction of a state director, who is in most cases a member of the State Board of Health.

A typical way in which the field work is done is described in this schedule, used in Alabama:

> By a personal letter from the Central Office a date is fixed on which a representative of the State Board of Health will meet with a County Medical Society if there be one, at its regular meeting, to discuss the details of the campaign in that county.
>
> A resolution is asked for, signed by each member of the Society, promising their co-operation, individually and collectively.
>
> A petition is drawn up, to the County Commissioners, asking for a small sum of money to defray expenses.
>
> An itinerary of the county is then mapped out and the field physician proceeds on his tour, meeting first the physicians. All schools en route are visited and lectured to. Public lectures with a stereopticon are given at all important places in the county. The newspapers are supplied with information.
>
> Three to five places are selected for the dispensary, and the dates are published. Circulars

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and letters carrying this information are sent throughout the county.

Each dispensary is visited by the field physician and his staff once a week on the advertised day for a period of three to six or eight weeks.

The physicians give free treatment to all who need it after the microscopists have made examinations; then they go on to the next place, and the next week repeat the circuit. A great mass of literature on the subject is thus distributed.

This explanation of very simple machinery is a dull recital of routine; but the matter dealt with at these country gatherings is the matter of despair and hope, of human worthlessness and efficiency — of life and death in fact.

This field-work shows the efficiency of an admirable business organization and the fervor of a religious propaganda.

A RECORD OF FOUR WEEKS OF DISPENSARY WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

WEEK ENDING	SAMPSON COUNTY Dr. Strosnider	ROBESON COUNTY Dr. B. W. Page	COLUMBUS COUNTY Dr. C. L. Pridgren	HALIFAX COUNTY Dr. P. W. Covington	TOTAL NUMBER TREATED, BY WEEKS
July 15	53	44	518	Dispensary not open (2 days)	615
July 22	316	185	647	194	1,342
July 29	926	478	653	438	2,495
Aug. 5	387	645	1,239	537	2,808
Totals	1,682	1,352	3,057	1,169	7,260

Read this account of the work of a field-doctor in southern Alabama, from the itinerary of the Administrative Secretary:

On May 18th, we visited the dispensary at Florala where Dr. Perdue treated on that day 186 people.

Dr. Perdue is a young man—a fine physical specimen with plenty of red blood, a keen eye, an open, genial face and a big heart; he makes friends because he can't help it and goes at his work as if this one thing he were born to do. He had organized and conducted the dispensaries in Covington County; and in 18 dispensary days treated 2,504 people.

For the dispensary at this point he had secured a room about 20 by 20 ft.; had provided a few chairs and three tables — one for his microscope, one for his literature, printed forms, and writing materials, and a third for an exhibit of parasites which the treated patients brought in in bottles. With this simple equipment and a supply of thymol which he had prepared in dose form and sealed in envelopes properly labeled, he was ready for business.

The people began to arrive early, and from about nine o'clock in the morning to about four in the afternoon there was a throng at the dispensary — men, women, and children from town and country. Seven of these had come from De Funuak Spring, Fla., twenty miles over country roads. They lingered; gathered in groups around the table of exhibits; listened to the stories of improvement as told by those who had been treated; and returned to their homes to repeat to their neighbors what they had seen and heard.

To each person found infected Dr. Perdue handed a sealed envelope containing the thymol prepared in dose form, and a card, on the upper half of which were printed the directions for taking the medicine and on the lower half directions for preventing reinfection; treatment to be taken at home. Working in this way in Covington and Butler counties for 26 dispensary days, Dr. Perdue has treated 3,528 persons.

This is from a report of an itinerary in North Carolina:

At Harrell's Store in Sampson County, we found Dr. Strosnider running his dispensary at the schoolhouse. As we neared the place, we met a line of buggies and wagons with whole families coming away; on reaching the schoolhouse I counted thirty-three buggies standing in the grove; in and around the schoolhouse were a hundred or more people of both sexes and of all ages waiting for attention; on the inside we found Dr. Strosnider, his microscopist, and a temporary assistant working to the limit of their capacity; Dr. Strosnider did not stop for luncheon. He treated at his dispensary on that day 136 cases. He is running five dispensaries in Sampson County, visiting each of them one day each week. I have just received his record of cases treated for the week:

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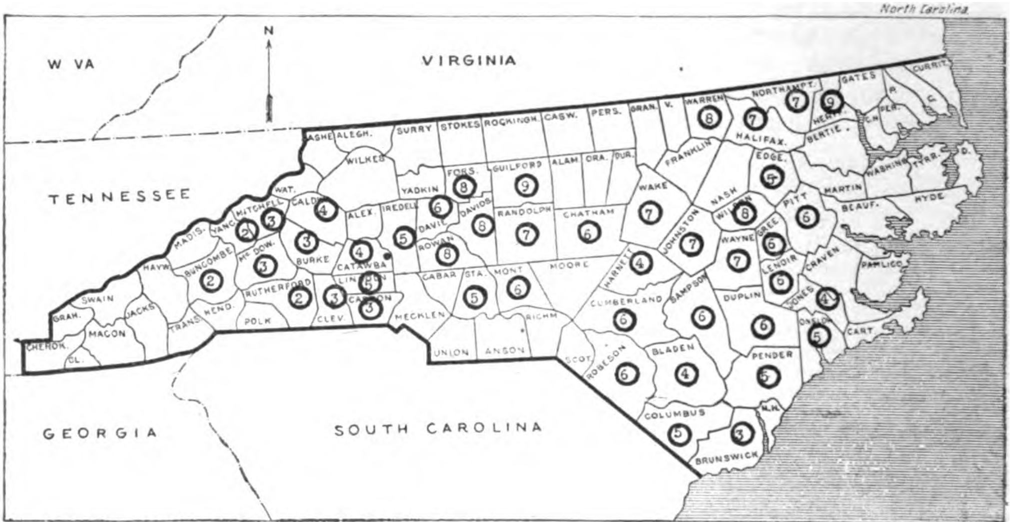
Holly Grove . . .	Tuesday	116
Harrell's Store . . .	Wednesday	136
Ingold	Thursday	116
Roseboro.	Friday	227
Clinton	Saturday	332
Total for five days . . .		927

We observed the methods of work; talked with many of the people, made photographs of the dispensary and a few interesting groups of cases; went on that evening to Wilmington, where we visited Dr. Stiles and saw his work in the laboratory. I must mention one case here that illustrates a situation the magnitude and appalling significance of which have been impressing themselves on me for the past twelve months. Dr. Stiles had just had in the hospital a case of amoebic dysentery which a local physician had been treating for another ailment. The microscope easily revealed the real cause of the trouble; specific treatment cured the man and sent him back to his work within a few days. I am meeting with hundreds of cases of just such incompetent medical practice; the people suffer their ills and bear the additional burden of long continued doctors' bills for services that bring no relief. In teaching physicians to use the microscope our work is giving them definite control over a group of diseases the diagnosis of which heretofore has been to them a sealed volume. I foresee the organization of an extension service which will keep the practising physician abreast with the progress of medical science.

Thursday evening we ran down to Chadbourn and took the early train Friday morning for Fair Bluff in Columbia County to see the experiment of the tent hospital and dispensary combined. When the conductor took our tickets for Fair Bluff he said: "You are going to the right place to-day; they are holding a hookworm convention up there; the state is making a demonstration; it has been running all week; all these people are going there and the whole damn crowd look as if they've got it." A large crowd did get off at Fair Bluff. We reached the tent at eight o'clock in the morning and found 43 persons there waiting for attention.

On the day of our visit 217 cases were treated; at another point Dr. Pridgen made a record of 412 cases treated in one day. In one of these tents we found the most severe case of hookworm disease that I have seen. The boy is sixteen years old and weighs fifty pounds; he has been too ill to work for eight years; has been in bed for two years; his mother brought him in two and a half miles in a buggy in her lap; she told me she thought she would never get him there alive. He was pale as a corpse, thin beyond belief, and so weak that the doctor would not risk more than a child's dose. This dose brought results; those who had been with him for two days assured me that improvement was marked. He was drinking milk and had sent his brother out for eggs with the command not to stay long. The doctor says he is going to get well. [He has



A SANITATION MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA

ON A BASIS OF 100 FOR PERFECTION, THE FIGURES ENCLOSED IN CIRCLES SHOW THE PERCENTAGES OF SANITARY PRECAUTION AGAINST HOOKWORM IN THE VARIOUS COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA. A MAP ISSUED BY THE ROCKEFELLER SANITARY COMMISSION

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completely recovered.] I thought of this boy again that evening and with new hope when I met on the train a young man who told me that he had been an extreme anemic, had taken eight treatments, had gained forty-five pounds in six months, and stood there before me the ruddy picture of health, looking as if he has never had a day of illness in his life.

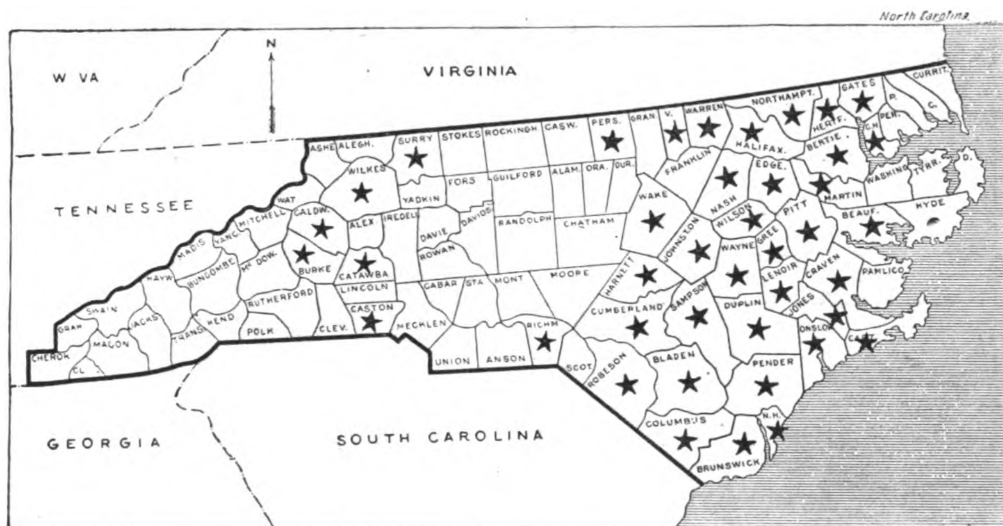
The value of the dispensary as an educational agency and the rapidity with which this demonstration method gets its hold upon the people is shown by the tabular statement on a preceding page of results for the first four weeks of the dispensary work in North Carolina:

The stories told by many of the people of their own experiences are full of gratitude and of an eagerness to help others — expressed sometimes in a vocabulary taken from the Bible and from patent medicine commendations.

Every man who knows the people of the Southern states sees in the results of this work a new epoch in their history and, because of its sanitary suggestiveness, a new epoch in our national history. The Southern white people are of almost pure English stock. It has been hard to explain their backwardness, for they are descended from capable ancestors and inhabit a rich land.

Now, for the first time, the main cause of their long backwardness is explained and it is a removable cause. It is not malaria, it is not the warmth of the climate, it is not the after-effects of slavery, it is not a large "poor-white" element of the population — but it is the same disease that has for centuries made a large part of all tropical and semi-tropical peoples anemic, the same cause that has had much to do with making life and civilization what they are in India, in China, in the Philippine Islands, in Central America. The hookworm has probably played a larger part in our Southern history than slavery or wars or any political dogma or economic creed. It has, in fact, had a strong influence (nobody can say how strong) in shaping political dogmas and economic creeds. If there had been no hookworm victims in our Southern states it is certain that our national history would in some way, perhaps in many ways, have been very different.

There are now in those states more than two million men and women who are maimed, stunted, kept back, are inefficient, and children to whom red-blooded life is denied — all these wretched and a burden, not by any necessity of heredity



NORTH CAROLINA'S ROLL OF HONOR

THE SANITARY COMMISSION APPEALED TO LOCAL PRIDE BY PUBLISHING THESE MAPS ON WHICH THE COUNTIES MARKED WITH STARS ARE THOSE WHICH PROVIDED MONEY FOR THE ESTABLISHING OF FREE DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS FOR THE TREATMENT OF HOOKWORM DISEASE

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or by any wilful defect of character, but because they are sick. And now the way to their complete reclamation is made clear.

If, therefore, there be anything more important now going on in the world than this earnest campaign for its eradication, will you not find it hard to name it?

And the effect of this health campaign on the sick is not the whole story. It brings into play the best qualities of the well. It makes men and women charitable in their judgments and helpful in their impulses and actions. The neighbors whom they had blamed or despised have been — only sick. It brings a new community-spirit. It is the duty of the whole community to cure the sick and to prevent this disease. Well, if this disease, why not others? It brings a new conception of sanitation — sanitation which must involve the conduct not only of the individual but of the whole neighborhood. It brings a new idea of education, too. The school is becoming a centre of health-knowledge. It brings a new duty — at least a specific duty — to the church: the hookworm stands in the way to salvation; and, if the hookworm, why not other results of bad sanitation? And a new form of political activity, of course, comes to many a rural community when it spends its first health-money for compelling the use of sanitary privies.

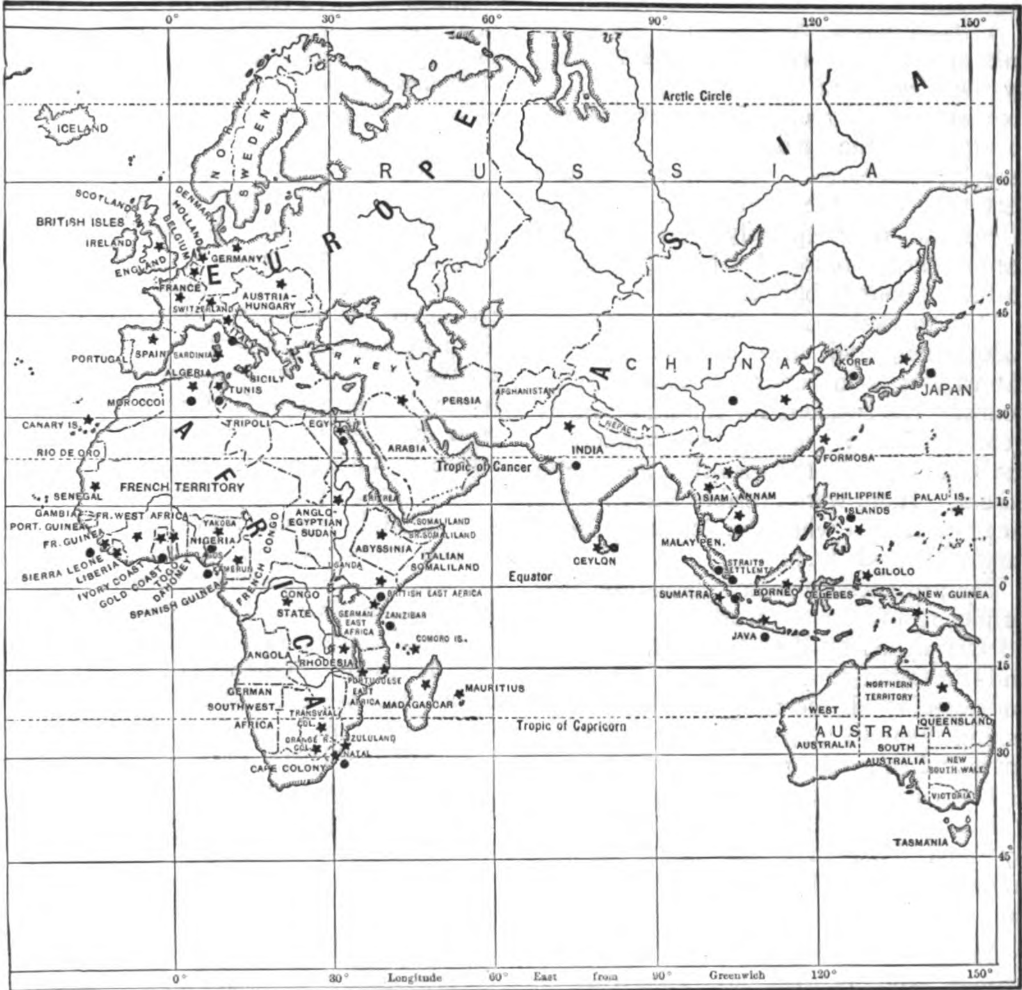
THE HOOKWORM BELT

BETWEEN 36° NORTH LATITUDE AND 30° SOUTH LATITUDE

There is no part of the population nor

institution nor organization that fails to help in less or greater degree — the local newspaper, the women's clubs, all kinds of social and business organizations. In many communities there is at first the inertia and even the incredulity of ignorance. But these soon yield to a well-nigh universal coöperation and enthusiasm.

DEAR SIR: My son and I established a free dispensary service (furnishing our time and money) during the second week in last July for the benefit of hookworm victims. Since then we have given free treatment to at least 350 persons ranging in age from two to sixty-five years. For the benefit of the workers we give each Sunday morning. By so doing we do not take them away from their labor.



WHICH ENCIRCLES THE EARTH

IN WHICH NEARLY THREE QUARTERS OF THE PEOPLE ARE INFECTED

When a whole people unite in an unselfish effort for common helpfulness, good results come of more kinds than anybody could foresee; and a whole people united in an unselfish effort — that is as inspiring a spectacle as men or gods ever see.

The following letter was written by a physician at Kinston, N. C., to Dr. Ferrell, the state director of the work:

One Sunday we had forty-one at our Sunday School and every one of them had hookworms.

I never invested a little money in anything that has ever given me half the pleasure I gave gotten out of our hookworm crusade. There has been a remarkable increase in the intelligence of these people, rosy cheeks and bright eyes have taken the place of pallor and leaden eyes.

It just does me good all over to look at these

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boys and girls and see how happy and bright they look. Many of them are going to be fine citizens some day.

Yours truly,

H. O. Hyatt, M. D.

No doubt it is as true as it ever was that "men are mighty full of human nature," and this kind of work gives it gracious opportunities to show itself.

A letter from the Scientific Secretary tells of a public health movement begun by the Negroes of Wilmington, N. C. A company of Negroes called on the Mayor to urge that the road to the Negro cemetery be improved. The Mayor replied that they used the road to the cemetery altogether too frequently, and he asked the local health officer, Dr. Nesbit, to speak to them about public health.

They formed a Good Roads and Health Association, and held health rallies at the various Negro churches Sunday afternoons. The speakers for the first Sunday were the Mayor, one of the members of the Council, and the Health Officer, and others. There were possibly 800 to 1,000 Negroes present when the Scientific Secretary addressed them.

The preachers in many places use their pulpits to further the work. I have seen a letter signed by the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian preachers in one town addressed to all the clergy in the county, asking them to give notice of dispensary dates and to urge the people to be healed; and this action is typical of many.

The volume of the work is indicated by such facts as these, taken from a summary made by the Administrative Secretary:

During the year in nine states 140,378 persons were treated. This means that for every $1.27 expended a human being has been benefited in health and helped to a higher and better scale of living.

The preliminary survey has demonstrated the presence of the infection in 719 of the 884 counties in ten states; and for this survey there were examined microscopically 37,267 rural children from 6 to 18 years of age; and 43,448 rural homes were inspected.

Altogether, 5,225 physicians were visited; 206 lectures delivered to 4,900 physicians. During the year 4,126 physicians have reported treating for hookworm disease 53,167 persons.

These organizations have reached by personal visit 9,450 teachers; by letter, 17,294; by lectures at institutes, 15,448; by bulletins and leaflets, 43,393. They have personally visited 673 newspapers and have given to the press 5,762 letters and 1,843 articles. They have delivered 3,620 public lectures to 451,877 people, and have distributed to the people 908,436 bulletins on sanitation.

In nine states 85 counties have appropriated from county funds for the local expenses of county dispensaries for the free treatment of hookworm disease $10,799, and at these dispensaries 74,005 persons have been treated.

As for the effect of the disease on the intellectual and moral qualities of a people, consider this picture of a dark Virginian neighborhood.

The people had for generations been set apart by marked peculiarities from the people surrounding them. They made a dark spot on the map. A nickname of reproach was given to them. They were even regarded by some of their neighboring communities as a distinct race. They lived in abject poverty; they were of very low mental power; they had lost the normal moral perception of the surrounding communities; and they lived in promiscuous immorality that is almost incredible. It was a country slum of the worst type. Of the forty children in a miserable school, thirty-eight had the disease. The two who were well came from outside this region. There were forty-five children who had never attended school. The following glimpses of life there are condensed from the report of an official visitor:

We stopped at the house of A. Mrs. A. was hoeing in the garden. At the doctor's request she told the family history. She had been an anemic from infancy; had never till this year known a well day; had borne six children; one had died of "dropsy" (really of hookworm disease); her husband did half work, the oldest boy less; their home had always been this one-room hut.

The doctor had treated them a year ago and now all who were old enough were at work; a new house was nearly built; they were building a sanitary privy; the children would go to school in the fall; the family is now on its feet; and the mother's first thought is of a better life for her children.

Nearby is another home; six children had

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OLD HOME OF HOOKWORM VICTIMS

THE CABIN IN WHICH AN INFECTED FAMILY OF SIX PERSONS LIVED, NO MEMBER OF WHICH, FOR FOUR GENERATIONS, HAD BEEN TO SCHOOL OR DONE A FULL DAY'S WORK

been born and two had died; the struggle had been hopeless; they had spent most of their small earnings on doctors and patent medicines. They, too, had been cured, free of cost. As the old mother came to the end of her story and tried to express her gratitude to the doctor she faltered; she spoke of what had been done also for others; and raising her hand she said, "It is the greatest thing that ever come."

And so the story might run on indefinitely. The doctor in charge of the hookworm work in this district (whose treatment is free) can tell you of cases like these all day long and show you the people. This whole population has for generations borne the burden of a heavy infection. The community has been islanded and isolated, with cumulative results — physical, intellectual, economic, and moral; from generation to generation there has been a lowering of vitality, physical and mental. One result has been a deadening of the moral sense and a loss of self-respect. But the clearing of the moral atmosphere has already set in. The results are not only gratifying; they are stirring. I predict that within five years the whole face of this country will be changed and one will see here a new people and a new earth.

In the Porto Rican reports the following dialogue is given to show the mental effects of the disease on a typical victim. It took place between a patient and a physician:

What is your name?
Umph?
I say, what is your name?
What is my name?
Yes, what is your name?
Juana.
Juana what?
Juana Maldonada.
What is the matter with you?
What is the matter with me?
Yes; what is the matter with you?
I get tired.
Where do you live?
Who — I?
Yes; you, where do you live?
Over there (pointing toward the mountains).
In what barrio?
In what barrio?
Yes, in what barrio?
El Aoneaute.

This man was not a stupid man in health; for when he was cured he answered such questions promptly and intelligently. "This," says the report, "is the mental state of the man whom many an unjust foreigner labels lazy, lacking in initiative, stupid, degenerate, etc."

Infected children in a school at Varnado, La., who ranked fifth and sixth in their classes were cured and then ranked second and third. In a girls' school in Mississippi the grade of 56 girls who were infected showed an average of 77 out of a possible 100; the grade of 56 girls, who were not infected, chosen at random was 89. Of these 56 infected girls, 17 failed; of the non-infected 56, only two failed.

A hint of the part that intestinal parasites play in tropical countries is given by this record of the Bilibid prison, in the Philippine Islands. The death-rate under lay management was 238 per 1,000; under the Bureau of Health after the American

THEIR NEW HOME

SIX MONTHS AFTER TREATMENT THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT BY THE SAME FAMILY WHO NOW WORK HOPEFULLY AND SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO SCHOOL

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occupation it fell to 70 per 1,000; and there it halted till the prisoners were examined and treated for intestinal parasites (52 per cent. of them had hookworm), and then the death-rate fell to 13 per 1,000.

It is practically certain, by the way, that many of the deaths in Andersonville prison during the Civil War were caused by hookworm disease. The conditions under which the prisoners lived were ideal for its worst forms and effects.

A few efforts have been made to calculate the economic loss caused by the disease. Dr. Gunn, an inspector for the California State Board of Health, tells of a mine where 300 laborers were employed, of whom half were infected. The loss of efficiency was calculated by the owners at $20,000 a year. In Porto Rico "the disease has reduced the average efficiency of the labor on the coffee plantations to 50 per cent. of normal efficiency, in some cases to 35 per cent." In other words it requires two hookworm victims and sometimes three to do the work that one well man would do.

A physician in Ecuador, a Dr. Parker, has reported that on a large cocoa plantation that he visited not more than 33 per cent. of normal efficiency was possible in the work of the 300 laborers. On one estate in British Guiana the manager reported that the productive value of the men was increased 100 per cent. by treatment for hookworm disease. In the light of these facts, Mr. Rose asks in one of the reports of the Commission, "What must be the economic significance of this disease for India with its 300 millions of people and from 60 to 80 per cent. of them infected?" One can only guess at the economic gain in our Southern states by the eradication of this disease. In almost every rural community a small or large proportion of the people are too sick to be of any economic value or of more than one third or one half the normal value; and they retard to a degree the gait and habit of all the rest.

ON THE ROAD TO HEALTH

DRIVING NINETEEN MILES TO VISIT THE TENT-DISPENSARY AT FAIR BLUFF, N. C., SET UP BY DR. PRIDGEN, WHO TREATED 412 CASES IN ONE DAY

But the curing of present victims, important as that is, is, after all, only the first step in the work and introductory

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to the larger task of educating the whole people into such sanitary habits as will eradicate the disease and prevent its recurrence. The time must come when public opinion will compel the enactment and the enforcement of laws that will make the disease impossible. For it is a task that nothing but vigorous local government enforced by vigorous public opinion can do.

In a word, this organization and agitation and education must result in the sanitation of all rural life south of the Potomac and the Ohio rivers; and that will make a chapter in the education of a people such as cannot yet be found in human history. The main machinery must be an efficient county health officer, who must have a vigorous sanitary police force.

This same sanitary training will be as effective against typhoid and malaria and many other diseases as if it were directed especially against them.

And it requires no great discernment to see the revolutionary effect that all this health-work is having and will in an increasing degree continue to have on what we call Education. Under its in-

A PROPAGANDIST OF HEALTH

WILLIAM CLAY, A RURAL MAIL CARRIER, WHO, ON HIS LONG ROUTES, SPREAD THE HOPE OF HEALING TO THE BY-PLACES IN HIS COUNTY

AN INFECTED FAMILY

A TYPICAL GROUP OF HOOKWORM PEOPLE

fluence the schools are fast changing their aims and methods — both the matter and the manner of their teaching. The health-bulletins and such like literature that have already been put out by the school authorities show the wholly changed point of view of the task of the school-mistress. I have before me a report of a most amusing but very earnest public debate between two teams of girls in a Mississippi high school on the question, "Which is the more dangerous, the hookworm or the fly?" Here is a "quiz" that was given to the pupils of the high school at Dunnsville, Va:

1. To what is the hookworm disease due? Describe the worm.
2. What are the symptoms?
3. How is the disease spread?
4. Give the life history of the hookworm from the time the egg is laid until the worm is back in the intestine.
5. Can the disease be cured? Which is better, cure or prevention?
6. How can it be prevented?
7. Suppose you had charge of a hookworm patient, describe your treatment and precautions.

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8. What can school-children do to eradicate the disease in Essex County?

With this as a part of public school work for boys and girls, one might be tempted to call the disease a blessing; for what else could have brought the old "education" on such a long journey toward common sense? Of course it will not stop with this particular subject. It will deal more and more with the kinds of subjects that have to do with healthful living here and now. How whimsical Fate is, that we should be mightily helped to the right kind of country schools in the United States by an intestinal parasite that poisoned the Pharaohs!

Before this campaign was begun in the Southern states, the Government in Porto Rico attacked the same problem there. Our medical and sanitary work in that island is as humane and creditable a chapter in beneficent government as you will find in history. The population is recovering its economic efficiency and its normal mental and moral qualities. The reports of Dr. Bailey K. Ashford and Dr. Pedro G. Igaravidez are important and interesting for their historical as well as for their medical value.

The Commission under Mr. Rose's secretaryship has made an inquiry about the prevalence of this disease in other lands. Practically every country between 36 degrees north latitude and 30 degrees south is infected, and infection is found in the mines of countries north of the 36 degrees parallel, such as Wales, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. The countries that have surface infection, including the United States, contain a population of about 940 millions. The estimated population of the globe is 1,600 millions. A good deal more than half, therefore, live in the area of hookworm infection.

ONE OF THE TRAVELING HOSPITAL DISPENSARIES

OF WHICH THE PHYSICIANS AND THE MICROSCOPISTS, AFTER ADVERTISING THE DATES OF THEIR VISITS, MAKE WEEKLY CIRCUITS TO GIVE FREE TREATMENTS

This parasite has been preying on man perhaps for thousands of years. A papyrus written 3,460 years ago contains a description of a disease in Egypt which many physicians declare is the hookworm disease: it describes it too accurately to be anything else. In recent times it was

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observed in Egypt first in 1833, but the first recorded treatment was made in 1887.

The degree of infection differs. In Porto Rico it was estimated at the time of the American occupation at fully 90 per cent. of the population. They were almost wholly an anemic people, physically and economically well-nigh worthless. In Colombia 90 per cent. of the people who live below an altitude of 3,000 feet have the disease; 50 per cent. of all in British Guiana; 90 per cent. in Dutch Guiana; in Egypt, 50 per cent. of the laboring population; in Ceylon, 90 per cent.; in the whole of India with its population of 300 millions, from 60 to 80 per cent.—or more than 200,000,000. The disease appeared in the St. Gothard tunnel during its construction and was carried into the mines of Austria, Germany, and Belgium. Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany have eradicated it or have it well under control and France has it well in hand. But in these countries it exists only in mines.

Whether or not malaria was one of the chief causes of the downfall of Greece and Rome, it is very certain that hookworm disease has played a part in Asiatic history. The anemic condition of millions of people, century after century, has profoundly affected their economic life, their intellectual qualities, their social habits and ideals, and their religion: of that there can be no doubt. The relation between the hookworm and the doctrine of Nirvana is too probable to be regarded as fanciful. In these facts, there is material for the rewriting of the history of most tropical and semi-tropical nations. More important than the effect on the past is the certainty of a possible regeneration of these vast populations in the future.

A PRELIMINARY TO THE WORK OF HEALING

MICROSCOPISTS (AT THE SMALL TABLE AT THE RIGHT) EXAMINING SPECIMENS FOR THE COUNTRY FOLK. IN SUCH GATHERINGS, NEARLY 100 PER CENT. OF THE PEOPLE ARE INFECTED WITH HOOKWORM DISEASE.

An American who closely observed the people in the Orinoco region of Venezuela has written to the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission this opinion:

Venezuela is a country of marvelous and limitless natural resources. If the hookworm can be abolished and these listless, lifeless, almost worthless people, who are in this condition because of disease, can be transformed as a young man was whom I saw restored there

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by an English physician, into vigorous, red-blooded, mentally alive people, their economic efficiency can be increased a thousandfold and the country can be started on a career of development which will make it a factor in the progress of the world.

Poorly nourished brains are the natural breeding places for wild ideas. I believe that the eradication of the hookworm will do more than any other one thing to banish the chronic state of revolution from the countries of Latin America and allow these countries to attain the prosperity to which they are entitled by reason of their natural resources.

THE HOOKWORM EXHIBIT AT THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE FAIR, 1911

ONE OF THE MANY EFFECTIVE METHODS OF DEMONSTRATION USED BY THE ROCKEFELLER SANITARY COMMISSION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HOOKWORM DISEASE

The work of this Sanitary Commission, therefore, together with the work done in Porto Rico, is waking up all efficient governments to the seriousness of this disease.

The British Government, for example, is working at it in Ceylon and is considering what may be done for its eradication in India. It is understood, too, that when Congress shall grant a Federal charter for the incorporation of a fund of 100 million dollars to be given by Mr. Rockefeller for the betterment of human life, a part of the income may at once be used to organize a campaign against this disease in some other country similar to this organization in the Southern states. It would be hard to say how money could be better used than thus to clean up the world for a more efficient and wholesome life. The conquest of yellow fever, of malaria, of typhoid, and now of hookworm disease (for we have the knowledge to accomplish all this) will mean the re-making of tropical and semi-tropical peoples and the bringing of their lands into the use of civilization as fast as their products are needed. This will be one of the longest steps taken in advancing the well-being of the human race.

Thus we are beginning to understand the debt we owe to such scientific investigators as Reed (who, with others, proved that a mosquito is the carrier of yellow fever) and Ross (who, with others, proved that another mosquito is the carrier of malaria) and Ashford, whose work in Porto Rico opened the way to Stiles's discovery of the hookworm in our Southern states. By these discoveries incalculable lives will be saved and the wealth of the world will be increased beyond computation.

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THE COTTON FARMER IS PARTICULARLY THE VICTIM OF A VICIOUS CREDIT SYSTEM IN WHICH THE FINANCIALLY POORLY EQUIPPED COUNTRY STORES OFFER A LIMITED CREDIT AT A RUINOUS RATE

THE HIGH COST OF FARMING

FIRST ARTICLE IN A SERIES

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

AN UNDUE INTEREST TAX OF 210 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR ON THE AMERICAN FARMER—WHY THE LITTLE FARMER OF GERMANY AND FRANCE GETS MONEY AT LESS THAN 5 PER CENT. WHILE THE AMERICAN FARMER PAYS 8½ PER CENT.—WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

BY

B. F. YOAKUM

(CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ST. LOUIS AND SAN FRANCISCO RAILROAD)

ALL economists agree that to-day, in this country as well as in every other country where civilization has become complex, the greatest problem before the administration and the greatest task before the individual is to stop the long-continued rise in the cost of living. Food and clothing, the fundamentals of life, cost more and more each year. Men who a few years ago were relatively prosperous on limited incomes find themselves to-day unable to maintain even the decencies, let alone the luxuries, of modern life.

The purchasing power of the American dollar has shrunk too fast and too far. Taking the purchasing power of an American silver dollar in 1897 as 100 cents, the same dollar to-day, applied to the purchase of the necessities of life, would buy only about 69 cents' worth. Our dollar has dwindled in its usefulness. Wages and income of the farm, have advanced to some extent; but they have not kept pace with the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar.

It is this simple fact that underlies nearly all the disturbing phenomena of an era full of disturbances. It is this that makes labor restless and restive, and drives it into the hands of theorists and false leaders. A strike of laborers in the coal mines of Pennsylvania is settled by granting the demands of the men. The owners of the mines, in turn, demand a higher price for the coal to meet the rise in wages. This new rise in the price of coal is added to the burdens of the ultimate consumer, and is, perhaps, the last straw which breaks the camel's back. It becomes an excuse for demands for higher wages in half a hundred manufacturing cities of the Eastern Seaboard region. So it spreads in a series of concentric circles, each item in the rising cost becoming the centre of a new circle of discontent and clamor for still other expansion in the expense of doing business.

Going on from the strictly laboring class,

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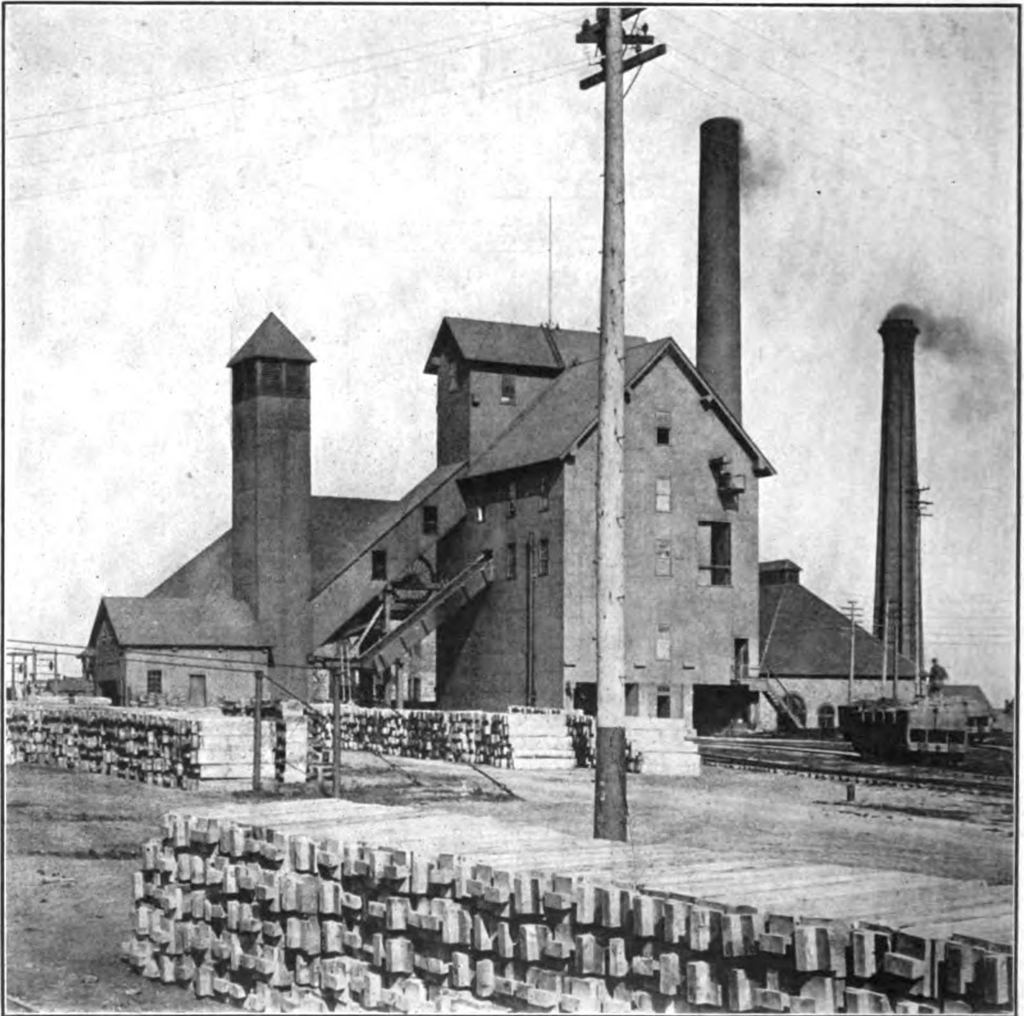
it is this continuous advance in the cost of living that is building up in the world at large a spirit of revolt against established usages. I do not believe all established usages are good, nor do I believe that many of our methods are the best for civilization. I would go forward, even though against established tradition. Yet I cannot believe that the rapid and headlong march of Socialism throughout the world is wholly an orderly advance. If there is one item more than any other than contributes to the building up of the Socialist proletariat and to the swelling of that army of revolt that hangs upon the outskirts of every army of reform, it is the exorbitant cost of the necessities of life.



GOOD SECURITY FOR A BANK LOAN

THESE COPPER INGOTS ARE ACCEPTABLE PLEDGES FOR BORROWED MONEY BECAUSE THEY ARE THE PRODUCT OF AN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY

Economists have traced our troubles to the expanding flood of gold, to the increasing velocity of money in circulation, to the changes wrought by quicker commercial intercourse and to many other minor items. These underlying causes are not matters that require cure, or that are capable of cure. They are world-wide influences, rather than purely American influences. If these causes alone

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NOT GOOD AT THE BANK

BALED ALFALFA HAY, THOUGH OF CORRESPONDING VALUE AND OF WIDER MARKETABILITY THAN THE COPPER INGOTS, IS NOT A UNIVERSAL SECURITY. IT IS THE PRODUCT OF AN UNORGANIZED INDUSTRY

were to be considered, we should not face the problem of adjusting the value of a dollar that has shrunk to 70 cents, but rather the problem of a dollar that has shrunk to about 80 cents as has been the case in many other countries.

Here is the American problem. While our American dollar has been dwindling from 100 cents to less than 70 cents in its purchasing value, the Englishman's dollar has shrunk only from 100 cents to 78, and the German dollar has shrunk still less. Our task, therefore, is to deal with the excessive contraction of *our* dollar rather than with the world-wide loss of purchasing power.

All men who give this subject earnest thought must come to the inevitable conclusion that there are in the political, national and economic make-up of this country many errors and omissions that are directly contributory to the excessive cost of living in America, and which, once they become known to all men, can and will be remedied. It is with these matters that I intend to deal. Even in this field of constructive suggestion, I shall confine myself to such matters as have come directly within my observation and experience as a business man associated with a railroad system lying, for the most part, within the confines of the agricultural

A TYPICALLY HANDICAPPED AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE

IF THIS SMALL STEAM PLANT WERE SAWING WOOD INSTEAD OF THRESHING BEANS IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER FOR ITS OWNER TO GET WORKING CAPITAL THAN IT IS

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section of the United States. Here we have encountered, at every turn, certain clearly defined tendencies and facts which have a very direct bearing upon this problem of the cost of living and which should be, and must be, corrected if we are to escape an adjustment both long-protracted and painful.

CHEAP AND READY MONEY FOR THE GERMAN FARMER

THE OWNER OF THIS LITTLE GERMAN GARDEN, WHICH IS PROBABLY LESS THAN AN ACRE IN SIZE, CAN BORROW MONEY WHENEVER HE NEEDS IT AT LESS THAN 5 PER CENT.

Of all the causes of the high cost of living that have come directly under my observation and that have forced themselves into my problems as a railroad man, these are the paramount causes:

First, the excessive burden of interest charges laid upon the agricultural producers of the country because of inadequate money-lending facilities in this country.

Second, the excessive cost of selling and delivering the products of the soil from the farm to the consumer's table.

Third, the excessive and extravagant cost of carrying the products of the soil from the farm to the railroad, due to the fact that our public highways are far behind the highways of every other agricultural country.

Fourth, the urgent need for more and better railroads.

I intend to take up these items in detail,

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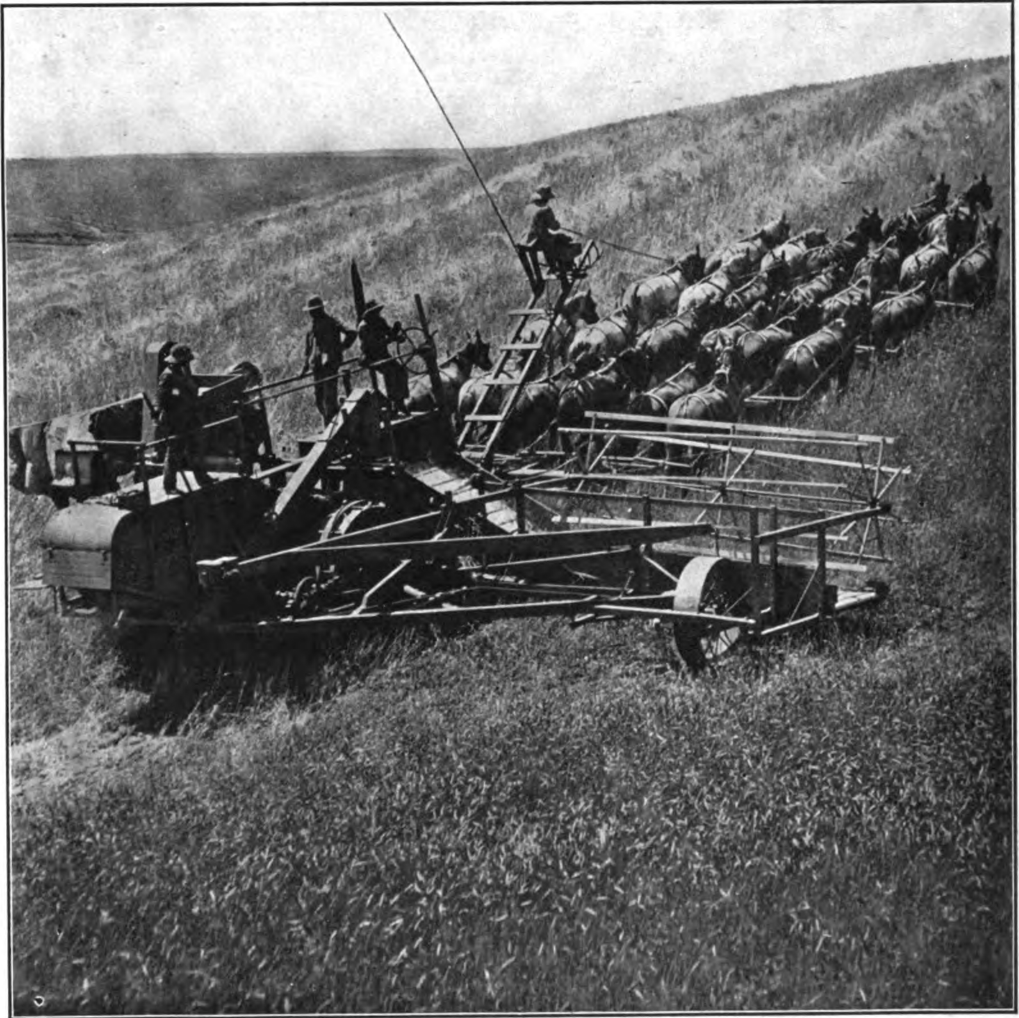
and to show, as well as one may with such data as we have, the cost of these deficiencies, the steps that have been taken in other lands to eliminate them, and the steps that we, in turn, must take to that same end.

In other words, I would outline what can be done in a constructive way to cut off these excessive taxes upon the consumers of the country for, after all, every excessive burden laid upon the producer is ultimately paid by the buyer of the producer's products.

Cheaper money for the farmer is the first of our agricultural problems. When I make that statement I am not thinking of the bonanza farmer, or of the owner of a few thousand acres of highly developed and carefully cultivated land. He borrows on a business basis. Often the large planter borrows to meet his current needs from a couple of nearby banks in which he owns large interests. His business has nothing to do with the agricultural prosperity, or the reverse, of the average American farmer. His problems are as different from the troubles of the average farmer as are the troubles of the United



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UNCERTAIN MONEY AT HIGH RATES FOR THE AMERICAN FARMER

THE OWNER OF THIS WESTERN RANCH CANNOT GET MONEY WITH THE CERTAINTY THAT THE LITTLE GERMAN CAN, AND WHEN HE DOES HE MAY HAVE TO PAY 8 PER CENT. OR MORE FOR IT

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THE FARMER vs. THE MILL OWNER AS A BORROWER

THE GROWER CAN USUALLY GET A LOAN AT A HIGH RATE UPON WOOL READY FOR SHIPMENT, BUT THE MILL THAT BUYS IT CAN MUCH MORE CERTAINLY GET A LOAN UPON THE SAME WOOL AT A MUCH LOWER RATE

States Steel Corporation from the trials of the local foundry in a cross-roads town.

After all, when you come to talk of agricultural borrowing, you have to come down to talk in terms of the "one-bale farm." The farm of 80 to 160 acres, tilled and worked to its limit, is the real agricultural unit. The foundations of a permanent agriculture in any country are laid only when the land is made to support as many families, owning their own land, as the land can properly support. Therefore, the fundamental question in farm money is the question whether the individual farmer, owning and operating his own land, is supplied with ample

THE VALUABLE PRODUCT OF A FINANCIALLY UNRECOGNIZED INDUSTRY

POTATOES READY FOR MARKET—A STAPLE COMMODITY, SALABLE ALL OVER THE WORLD, BUT DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, LIKE ALL OTHER AMERICAN PRODUCE, BY OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM

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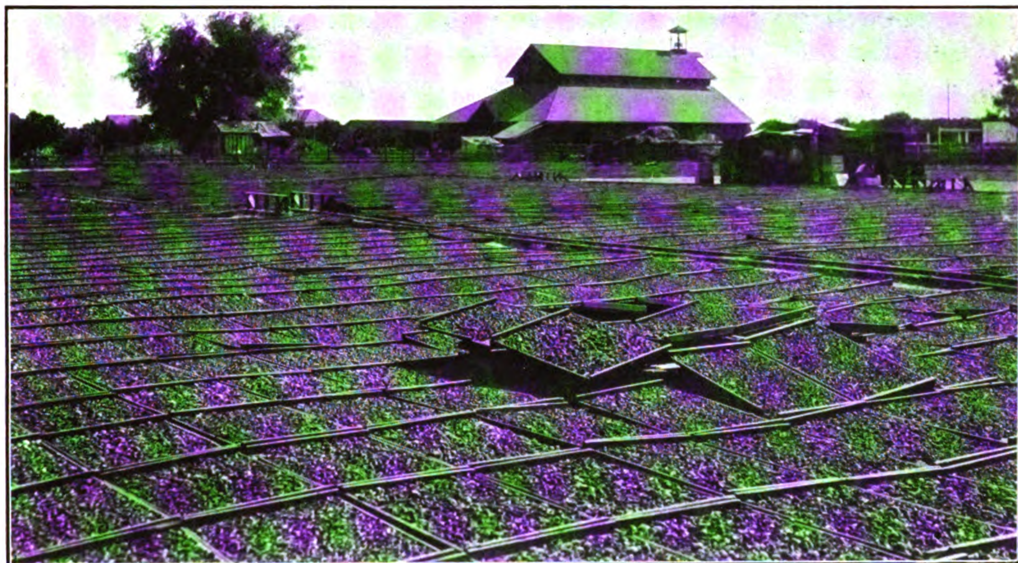
capital at reasonable rates or whether he is stinted in capital and gouged in his interest account.

Let us get down to figures taken from the best data available. They have been made by drawing upon the government census reports covering property operated by its owners, and by collecting opinions from the well informed. By my estimate, prepared in this way, the American farmer is indebted to-day in these amounts:



RICHLY PROFITABLE BUT HARD TO FINANCE

ACRES OF APRICOTS, DRIED FOR THE TRADE, MAKE A VALUABLE PROPERTY BUT ALSO A HARD BUSINESS TO CARRY ON

THE AMERICAN FARMER'S DEBTS

Farm mortgages on land operated by owners — United States Census figures .	$1,726,000,000
Mortgages on tenant farms, at same rate per acre as above, estimates	1,320,000,000
Average amount of current loans to farmers, on account of crops, chattels, etc. .	3,000,000,000
	$6,046,000,000

This estimate shows that the farmer's debt is about half on account of fixed capital — mostly mortgage loans — and half on account of current loans. The total number of farms in the country is about 6,000,000. Therefore, the average farm has a mortgage debt of $500 and a current debt of about the same amount outstanding against it.

The rate of interest paid on this tremendous volume of borrowed capital is, according to the best estimates I can find, between 8 and 9 per cent. per annum. The actual rate of interest itself is only a part of the burden of borrowing. To it must be added the constant drain of renewals for mortgages on farms, of loans, fees for recording mortgages, and other loans to farmers, most of which are made on short term, and commission fees and compulsory insurance on renewals. From all I have been able to gather from the best available sources, I estimate that an average rate paid by our farmers is $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, which is a conservative estimate of the full cost paid on farm money used in the financing and capitalization of the farms of the United States.

The annual interest bill, therefore, paid by the farmers, is about 510 million dollars. The total value of the wheat crop of the United States as of December 1, 1911, farm value, was 543 million dollars. Practically, the interest account of the farmers ate up the total wheat crop of the entire country.

If this average rate of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. be

fair and just and reasonable, I have no quarrel with it. At any rate, all admit that, even if it be neither just nor reasonable, the blame for it should not be laid upon the banking fraternity, as they are only following old established customs. If it is wrong, it should have been remedied years ago by the farmers themselves through those they send to Congress and elect President of the United States. If it is wrong it is the farmers themselves who must take steps to remedy it.

Let us see by comparison with other borrowing rates in this country if a remarkable discrepancy may be observed. In normal times, it is only a decrepit or unsound sort of factory that has to pay such a rate as that for money. Manufacturers usually borrow, for capital account, on long term bonds and mortgage, and if the times are right the average fairly successful manufacturing company can get its needed capital at a gross rate around 6 per cent. Even at the present time, when the interest rates on fixed forms of capital are high, hundreds of relatively small and unimportant industrial plants borrow money at a gross rate not over 6½ per cent. The companies manufacturing for farmers' consumption raise what money they need at not much more than 5 per cent. per annum.

The manufacturer borrows against his piles of textile goods, of copper ingots, of steel bars, of lumber stored at the saw mills, and almost any sort of manufactured products, at a rate not much more than half the rate charged against the farmer, with his best of collateral in the shape of wheat, corn, cotton, and other products.

A GOOD FARM BUT POOR SECURITY

A SMALL FARM—A TYPE. THE FUNDAMENTAL WEALTH PRODUCER OF THE COUNTRY IS GIVEN POORER SERVICE BY OUR BANKS THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER MAN IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

No thinking man, looking the facts fairly in the face, believes that the rate to the farmers is a just and reasonable interest rate. He pays far too much, both for the money he gets on mortgage and for the money he borrows to make

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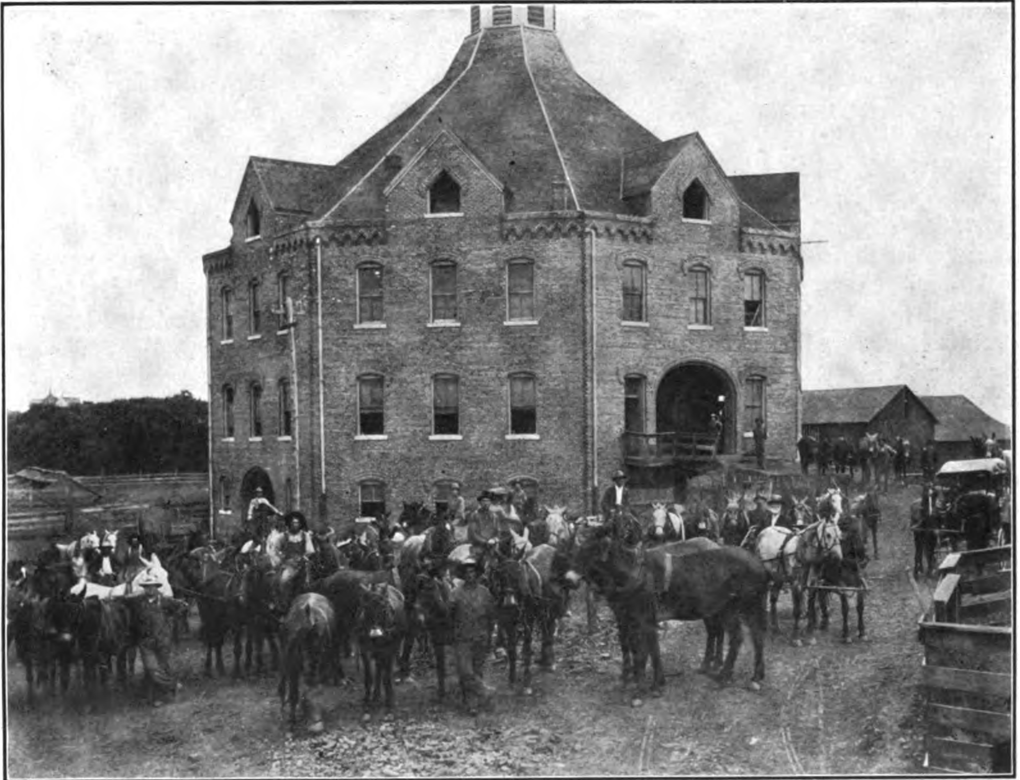
his crop. He has the finest security for current loans there is in the world, namely, products that go into immediate consumption and that sell, in all the markets of the world, every hour of the day; yet he pays a rate double the rate paid by manufacturers of industrial products that have to be marketed with great skill, often on a treacherous and delicate market. No one contends that a thousand dollars' worth of women's dress goods is as good collateral, from a standpoint of marketability, solidity of value, or freedom from depreciation, as an equal value in wheat, or corn, or cotton. The only reason is that the borrower in the one case is a merchant or a manufacturer — a member of an organized trade — while the borrower in the other case is a farmer, a man who works by himself and buys and sells and borrows on his own hook, under an unorganized custom.

To obtain a definite basis upon which to judge the fairness of a rate of interest, however, is not to compare it with the rates charged in other lines of industry and commerce on loans secured by different products, but to compare it with the rate charged upon the same class of security in other lands where such security is pledged. For instance, while it is interesting to note that the little manufacturer can borrow on his plant at 6 per cent., while the farmer borrows on his farm at 8½ per cent., it is more enlightening to study the rates charged in other countries on farm mortgages, and to draw conclusions by comparison. We take it for granted that in productive power, in character, and in ability, the American farmers, as a class, are equal to the farmers of any other land. Broadly speaking, therefore, there is no good economic reason why, having equal assets and equal



AN ORGANIZED FARM BUSINESS AND GOOD SECURITY

THE BONANZA FARMERS WHO OPERATE ON THE SCALE OF LARGE CORPORATIONS CAN GET MONEY READILY ON THEIR PROPERTY

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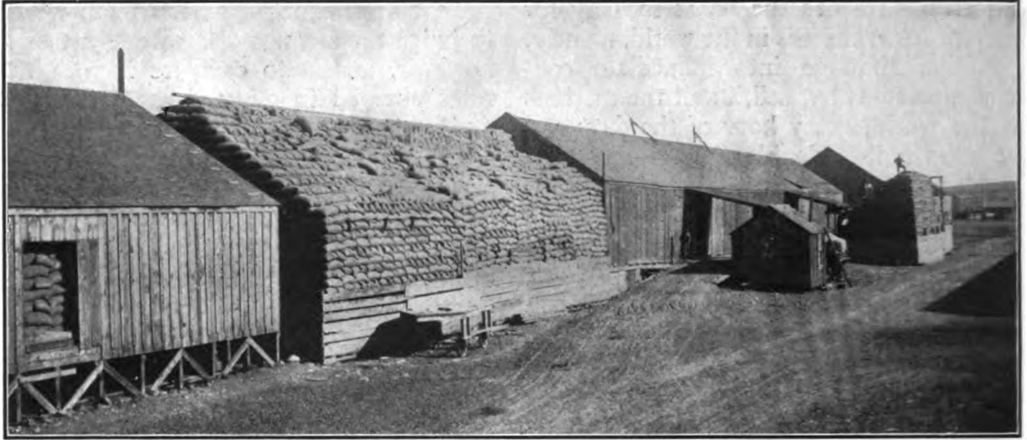


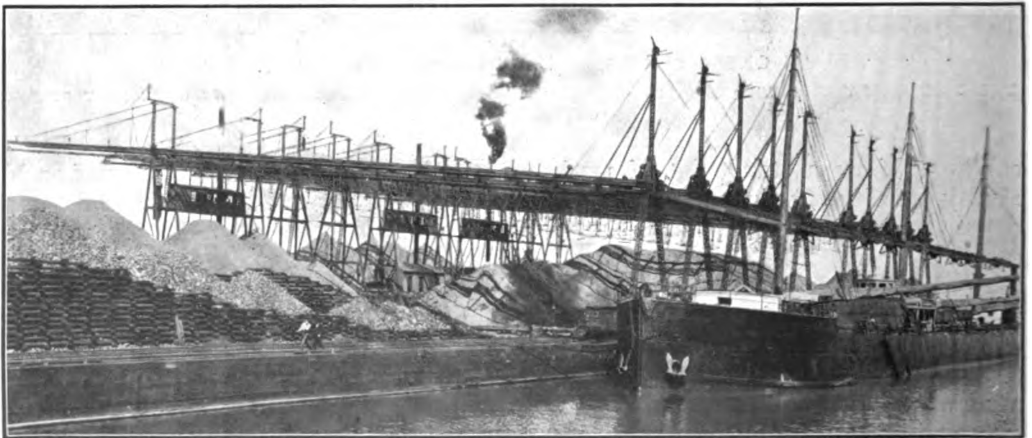
WHEAT READY FOR SHIPMENT, MISTRUSTED BY BANKERS

character, they should not borrow on mortgage and growing crops at as good a rate of interest as the farmers of any other country in the world.

Having this premise in mind, let us go on to discover what the farmers of other countries, as advanced in civilization as the United States, pay for their money borrowed on mortgage and for their temporary demands.

Germany is, in a sense, an agricultural nation. For many generations its fields have been tilled by farmers operating mostly small farms and cultivating them extensively. A generation ago, the German farmer was a very poor man, perhaps next, as a class, in the scale of poverty, to the men who live in the city slums. Nowadays, on the contrary, the small German farmer is a prosperous citizen, with money in the bank, and with ample credit to carry on all the activities of which he is capable. He is not, however, so large and important an individual as the average American farmer.

Looking first into the rate that he pays on money borrowed on mortgage, we find that he borrows from an association of land credit, organized under its class name, Landschaften, or Ritterschaften. Under these systems the farmers, in a certain territory, form into coöperative societies, syndicating their farm lands under negotiable bonds which are offered jointly as security for the credit they need. The individual then borrows from this coöperative society. It is just as though all the small farms in a Texas county, no



ORE READY FOR SHIPMENT, GOOD FOR A LOAN

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one of which is more than 160 acres, were pooled into one great society which borrowed on a single bond against all this property, and then lent to any individual farmers forming this pool as they needed money on mortgage. This system has been in general use in Germany for more than 140 years and cannot be regarded as an experiment.

These German farmers obtain the money that they need on mortgage at a rate never exceeding 5 per cent. gross and averaging around 4.40 per cent. This includes all charges and cost and is the gross rate that corresponds with our gross rate in this country of about 8½ per cent.

In Paris, there is a great institution called the Credit Foncier, which really makes the rate on farm mortgage loans in France. This company was established in 1852, and from that time to the present has carried on its work without interruption from panic, war, or any other cause. At the time of the foundation of the society, the nation was at war and the system of titles in the country was so weak as to seem to make it impossible to carry on, with any degree of success, a large central lending society. The society started with Government support, but has not since needed Government help, and up to the present time, the loans to the people have totaled more than 2 billion dollars.

The amount lent by this society is generally one half of the appraised valuation. The interest rate varies but is always less than 5 per cent. At the present time it is 4.30 per cent. In other words, the French farmers are getting money at one half the rate of interest the American farmer pays. The loans, moreover, are made from ten to seventy-five years, and are retired in very small instalments year by year. If a farmer prefers, however, he may borrow on short time loans running from one to nine years without paying off any of the principal year by year. If a farmer wishes to build on his land, he can obtain through the Credit Foncier a mortgage credit based on the value of the land and the building to be put up. This is temporary accommodation, and when the building is completed, its cost can be added to the loan.

Here are two old, tried, and successful systems for the lending of money to farmers on mortgage which have resulted, over a period of many years, in the lending of billions of dollars of money to farmers with practically no losses to either lenders or borrowers, and the average rates of interest not more than half the average rate of interest paid by American farmers.

It would be possible to adduce a dozen other, more or less, similar systems; but these two stand out so prominently in any study of mortgage lending institutions that it is enough to cite their records and their accomplishments and consider them as illustrations of maximum efficiency and minimum cost in providing mortgage money to a farming nation. It will be observed that the money in the German system is raised by making a bond on the joint assets of all the farmers in a certain community. In the French system, the money is raised from the people by issuing the bonds or debentures of the Credit Foncier itself in convenient units for private investment, with the result that the investors of France supply an abundant flood of permanent capital to the producers of the nation, namely, the farmers. These two systems, while different in detail, are similar in principle. They give to the individual investor the power to buy a divided interest in a mortgage on the best security in the country, namely, the producing farm. In France this sound and sensible principle has done more perhaps than any one factor to make the whole nation a nation of investors. The loans of the Credit Foncier are always oversubscribed by the public. In January, 1912, for instance, the Credit Foncier offered for subscription about 100 million dollars of 3 per cent. bonds, in denominations of $50 each and running to seventy years. This issue was nineteen times oversubscribed. In other words, there was more than 1 billion nine hundred million dollars of French money offered to the Credit Foncier on that date at a 3 per cent. rate of interest for seventy years to be lent to farmers and communities by that association.

It is through evolution that the French

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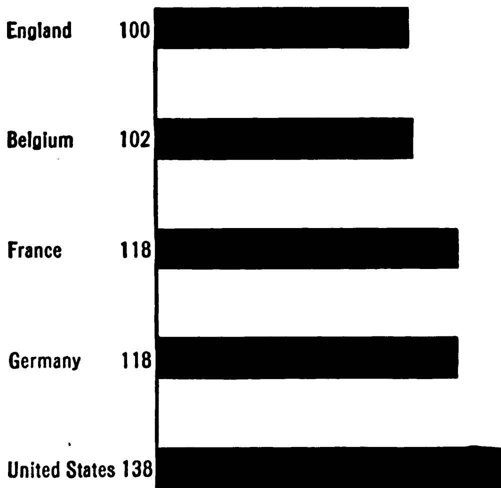
have worked out a perfectly balanced system whereby the lender of money throughout the whole country contributes his savings to meet the needs of producers who are also borrowers. It would be possible to evolve a system of this sort in the United States to a state of perfection, but it would be slow in reaching the standard which has produced this result in France. I do not expect to see the day in many years when the investors of the United States will subscribe, in a very large amount, for the bonds of a private institution, even though it be under Government auspices, issued at a 3 per cent. rate, and running for seventy years. All that we can hope to do to start with is to evolve a system much less perfect and less efficient than the French system, but infinitely more efficient than our present haphazard system of farm financing.



SHOWING THAT THE UNITED STATES IS THE MOST EXPENSIVE COUNTRY TO LIVE IN (U. S. GOVERNMENT FIGURES, 1909)

Having glanced at these two monumental examples of efficiency in lending on farm mortgage, I would pass on to consider the other branch of farm financing, namely, the borrowing of money against current needs, to plant the fields, to buy equipment to start the farm, to harvest the crops, and to carry the crops when harvested. These necessary and inevitable functions of farm life require an average of 3 Billion Dollars of current loans to American farmers year by year. We have estimated an average rate of 8½ per cent. as the rate paid by American farmers for this accommodation. Let us see what is the average rate paid by German, French, and Italian farmers for the same accommodation.

In working out the answer to this question, one encounters in Germany, France, and Italy, as well as in other countries on a similar scale, one of the most interesting and illuminating records that can be conceived. It is the story of the rural banks, so-called. In the German Empire, in 1909, under the purely rural system, about 12,000 little country banks did a business of approximately 1 Billion Six Hundred Thirty-four Million Dollars at an average interest rate of less than 5 per cent. A very large part of this lending was done on current account, much of it without any security except the promise to pay. That is the concrete statement of the business as it exists to-day.

This Raiffeisen system was not evolved in a day. It has been a system of slow and steady growth. It had its inception in pressing needs of a scattered agricultural population and it has developed as years have passed, until to-day it can probably be cited as the most complete and efficient system known in the world for the supplying of current funds to the greatest producing element in the country, namely, the small intensive farmer. It is more than sixty years since it was founded, and in that time there has not been a single instance of a failure of a Raiffeisen bank. In other words, through all kinds of conditions, including one tremendous international war — the Franco-Prussian War — these little rural banks have gone on performing their functions without any such period of catastrophe as is almost invariably predicted when a new system of banking is launched. It is worth while, therefore — inasmuch as we in the United States need, more than we need any other kind of bank, just such a bank as this, which will lend on current loans at reasonable rates to the small farmers of the

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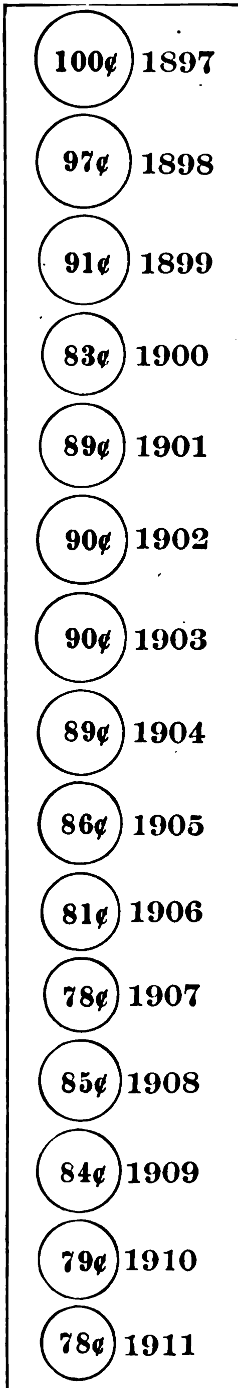


THE ENGLISHMAN'S DOLLAR
The decrease in the purchasing power of a dollar in England during the last 15 years has been 22 cents (Authority, Sauerbeck).

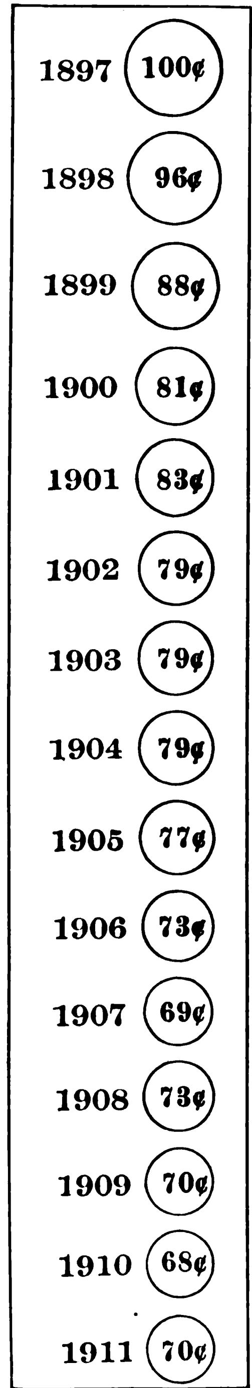
country — to summarize the story of the Raiffeisen banks from their beginning.

In the middle of the last century, the agricultural regions of Germany had fallen into a most deplorable condition. The lending of money to the agriculturists had been taken almost entirely into the hands of usurers, who exacted exorbitant interest, and the little farmers of that land paid rates of interest that would make even the highest rates charged in this country to-day seem insignificant. Inevitably agriculture languished under this tremendous tax. Thousands of rich little farms that for generations had supported independent producers passed out of the hands of their former owners under foreclosure of burdensome debts. Famine followed very naturally; for to overburden the farming class, either in Germany or in any other country, is to destroy the whole of prosperity.

Out of the famine and misery came a new order of things in Germany, and indeed in all the agricultural regions of Europe in which small farmers hold their fields in subjugation. Here was founded an institution that in the end brought back to the peasant farmers of Europe their old independence and drove the collectors of usury forever out of the fields of the German farmer. It is upon this same character of institution, or upon another based upon its broad principles, that we must call before we can solve the unrest of the nation.

In 1847, in one of the little peasant villages of the Rhine Valley, the new order of things began. A man named Frederick Raiffeisen, the mayor of several villages, stepped in to call a halt to usury. At first, he merely took his stand in the market place and traded for the account of his people with the middlemen who would despoil them. Later on, he took more practical steps. The first was to found a little organization of the wealthier men, who bought up cattle and stores and sold them, at fair profits, to the people. From that the next step was easy. It was taken fourteen years after the first intervention.

At Anhausen, Raiffeisen founded a society in which the farmers themselves



THE AMERICAN'S DOLLAR
The shrinkage of the American dollar during the same time has been 30 cents (Authority, Bureau of Labor).

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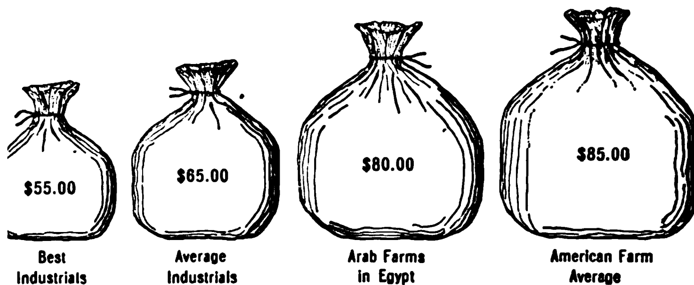

DICAP UNDER WHICH AMERICAN FARMERS DO BUSINESS

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that more and more men of means and of power in the money-lending world are beginning to give thought to the matter of cheaper money for the farmer. We learn through the press of the foundation of a society in Illinois modelled very closely after the Credit Foncier of France. One hears of half a dozen other large undertakings, some of them more or less visionary and some of them, doubtless, merely speculative, designed to centre and organize the business of farm loans throughout the United States. I do not know of the merit of these private ventures, but I do know that they indicate a new trend of thought and a new direction for organized financial growth in this country — namely, a trend and a direction toward the farm.

The work of reorganizing the farm finance of the United States is sure to come. The rapidity of its realization depends upon the farmers of the United States. They are the first to receive the benefits. If they do not rouse themselves to wipe out this terrific annual tax upon their industry no other man can accomplish the purpose for them. If, on the contrary, they, through their own organizations and through their representatives in Congress, demand legislation to accomplish this purpose, I have no hesitation in saying that the annual interest saved ten years from now will be enough to pay the ruling rate at that time on more than 4 Billion Dollars of additional money — enough to open and cultivate every section of the country to its full capacity.

The great problem for the farmers to settle is whether they will be satisfied to fight other trusts or put themselves on a strong financial basis and operate their own trusts.

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supplied the money, which, in turn, was lent out at reasonable rates to the people who needed it. From that little beginning the spread of the Raiffeisen banking system across the continent of Europe was one of the marvels of banking history.

At the present time, there is a Federation of German Agricultural Societies, numbering more than 19,000 farmers' banks, and including in its membership more than 1,750,000 farmers. It is an agricultural money trust, the object of which is to see to it that the farmer gets his money when he needs it and at rates that are commensurate with his security.

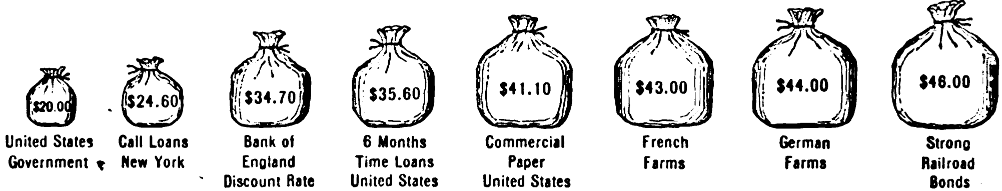
It is not necessary to trace in any great detail the steps of this mighty agricultural revolution. It was no peaceful conquest. About 1875, for instance, a bitter contest arose between this system of agricultural coöperative banking and another somewhat similar system, which had its chief strength in the manufacturing and marketing towns. This was the so-called Schulze-Delitzsch systems, founded, it is true, on similar principles but quite different in practice. The contest ended with no harm done, and both systems marched right onward, growing from that day to this in resources, in power, and in public usefulness.

If this tremendous movement had its birth in Germany and was worked out to its finest demonstration in that conservative land, Germany was not alone in using it. Italy followed within a very few years of the opening of the first Raiffeisen Bank at Anhausen. Switzerland and Belgium took the central idea of coöperation, but worked it out to conclusions more like the Schulze-Delitzsch system than the simple system of Raiffeisen. Ireland, India, England, and Denmark have studied these same matters and adopted so much of the principle and practice of the coöperative agricultural bank as is needed. Still later, indeed within the very recent past, Quebec and Massachusetts have carried on small experiments along the same lines, but with slight success so far.

In different parts of Greece and in Egypt, there are small branches of these systems, some of which are independent and others are grafted on to other organisms, working with private lenders exacting the maximum possible rate. In all these countries, yet under primitive customs, however, where the more scientific and less exacting forms of agricultural credit have taken root, they tend to drive out the usurer, because unorganized capital always takes flight before the advance of organized capital, whether in industry or in agriculture or in the realm of pure finance.

We have found the one cardinal fact that we set out to find. We have discovered that the German, the French, the Italian, the Irish, the Danish, and even the Egyptian and Hindoostanee farmer borrows on current account against his crops, his equipment, and even his chattels at a rate of interest 5 per cent. per annum or less. The American farmer, on the contrary, pays an average of 8½ per cent., while in some of our newer states the average will run to more than 10 per cent.

Let us turn back now, and complete the summary with which we started out. We find the American farmer borrowing 6 Billion Dollars at an average rate of 8½ per cent. and paying an interest bill every year of 510 Million Dollars. We find the farmers of other lands where agricultural credit is organized pledging the same sort of assets under similar loans and paying an average of less than 5 per cent. For the sake of rounding out the argument on a conservative basis, let us take 5 per cent.



WHAT IT COSTS IN INTEREST TO BORROW $1,000 ON TYPICAL KINDS OF SECURITY,

*Monthly average, 1911

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as the basis. The difference between 5 per cent. and 8½ per cent. on 6 Billion Dollars is 210 Million Dollars a year. That is the undue interest tax paid every year by the American farmer because he has no organized machinery to supply him with the capital he needs and no encouragement from the Government at Washington, D. C.

It is not necessary to dwell at any great length upon the question who gets that sum of money out of the pockets of the farmers. Probably those who get it earn it by the tremendous efforts they have put forth to tempt unorganized capital through unorganized channels into an unorganized borrowing trade. Yet the fact remains that our agricultural credit methods are extravagant and that the bills for the extravagance are paid by the farmer in the first instance.

I do not say that any credit system can be adopted and put into immediate operation which would save 200 Million Dollars a year to the farmers of this nation. What I do say is that the development of our American agricultural sections, more particularly of our Southwest — naturally a land of small farms and intensive growth — cannot reach its full strength or work out to anything approximating its final destiny until such time as there has been provided a new system of farm finance that will give to the small farmer ample opportunity to borrow on a business basis both against his farm and against his crops and other current assets.

Therefore, I welcome the growing signs of a national recognition of this undue tax upon our farms and their products.

I have observed, in my intercourse with the financial interests of the United States, that more and more men of means and of power in the money-lending world are beginning to give thought to the matter of cheaper money for the farmer. We learn through the press of the foundation of a society in Illinois modelled very closely after the Credit Foncier of France. One hears of half a dozen other large undertakings, some of them more or less visionary and some of them, doubtless, merely speculative, designed to centre and organize the business of farm loans throughout the United States. I do not know of the merit of these private ventures, but I do know that they indicate a new trend of thought and a new direction for organized financial growth in this country — namely, a trend and a direction toward the farm. The work of reorganizing the farm finance of the United States is sure to come. The rapidity of its realization depends upon the farmers of the United States. They are the first to receive the benefits. If they do not rouse themselves to wipe out this terrific annual tax upon their industry no other man can accomplish the purpose for them. If, on the contrary, they, through their own organizations and through their representatives in Congress, demand legislation to accomplish this purpose, I have no hesitation in saying that the annual interest saved ten years from now will be enough to pay the ruling rate at that time on more than 4 Billion Dollars of additional money — enough to open and cultivate every section of the country to its full capacity.

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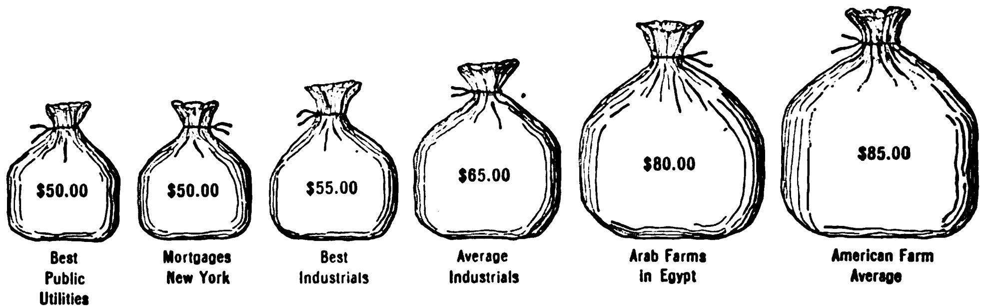

SHOWING THE GREAT HANDICAP UNDER WHICH AMERICAN FARMERS DO BUSINESS

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THE COÖPERATOR'S BIG DOLLAR

TWENTY THOUSAND AMERICAN FAMILIES THAT GET $1.08 WORTH OF GOODS FOR EVERY $1.00 THEY SPEND — A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE NORTHWEST

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

Who has just finished a special trip of investigation of the quiet wonders of the Northwest: the making over of whole states by the organization of country life, which is helping to solve problems that have long baffled both the city and country dwellers — the high cost of living, universal useful education, the scientific building up of communities. Beginning with this article Mr. Stockbridge will tell the fascinating story of the revolution in country living which is so mightily stimulating the landward movement.

TWENTY thousand families in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and in the neighboring states are successfully practicing coöperative buying and selling— a solution of the high cost of living. That is, they are getting the necessities of life from 8 to 10 per cent. cheaper than their neighbors. They have found a way to escape paying exorbitant interest for capital which almost all other families in their circumstances have to do. And while doing these two things they have broadened their outlook on life by actually living a very human and practical ideal of brotherhood.

I got my first glimpse of the symbol of it at Will Head's Beehive Farm at La Valle, Wis. He and Harvey Grover, who manages the coöperative warehouse, and I were in the middle of dinner when I caught sight of an adding machine. It stood on the sewing machine in the corner of the dining room. Now, an adding machine in a bank, or in a mercantile establishment, or in a factory, is not necessarily a symbol of anything. But an adding machine in a farm house — Will Head made it clear to me after dinner that it was a symbol.

"There's no chance for mistakes, you see, when you use an adding machine. Every one gets exactly what is coming to him, and that comes pretty near being justice and equality and brotherhood, as near as I can figure it out. Anyway, it is coöperation."

"Socialism?" I ventured.

"I don't know about that. But you've got to have the facts and figures before you can get at anything practical in the brotherhood or coöperative line. Everyone gets paid according to the number of pounds of butter fat in the cream he brings in, and the money from the butter goes to the people that earned it by bringing their cream in. It is perfectly easy to figure it out, especially when you've got an adding machine; but you could guess at it a million years and somebody would be sure to get a raw deal. After the stockholders get fair interest on their money — what we could hire money from any one for — we all share alike. That's brotherhood — brotherhood with the aid of a pair of scales and the Babcock test and an adding machine. That's the way it works out in the creamery. How is it in the warehouse, Harve?"

Harvey Grover sat on the veranda rail and explained that it was about the same way at the warehouse.

"Remember that time, Will, when the organizer for the Society of Equity first came here about eight years ago and got us all together and said if we'd join and pay a dollar apiece we would all be brothers and everything that was wrong would be put right?"

"I remember it," said Will Head. "Most of us joined and paid our dollar, and then went back to the farms and waited for things to set themselves right.

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After we'd been waiting a year or two we started the creamery."

Harvey Grover chuckled.

"Eighty-three of us started the warehouse," he said. "We took one share apiece at $50 a share. That gave us nearly $4,200 to put up the building with, and we had to borrow a little money at that. That was a year ago last November, and the first year we did $50,000 of business and had $1,700 profits left to divide up — that is, the members got $1,700 more than they would have had if we had not worked together. Potatoes, mostly, is what we ship. You can bring your potatoes to us and we will buy them from you, or we will load them in a car and ship them to Chicago for you, or you can rent a bin in the warehouse and store them there if you don't like the current market price.

"We sell potatoes for cash f. o. b. La Valle," he continued, "and when the warehouse makes a profit it goes to the men it buys the potatoes from, in proportion to the amount of business they have done for us. It is the same with the things we sell, for we are doing coöperative buying as well as coöperative selling. Farm machinery, fertilizers, flour, salt, feed — anything a farmer needs, except groceries and clothes, he can buy from us, and he shares the profits just as much as if he were a stockholder, excepting stockholders get 6 per cent. on their investment."

HOW GENUINE COÖPERATION WORKS

"Here's the way it worked out with me this year," said Will Head. "I've got a share of stock in the warehouse. I bought and sold just $700 worth through the company in the last year. The dividends on business done were 4 per cent. That makes $28. Then I got $3 dividend on my stock, so I got back $31 on an investment of $50, besides buying some fertilizer and tools as cheap as I could have bought them from any one else, and getting a higher price for my potatoes than any one else would have paid me. That's how coöperation helps me.

"When we first started we paid dividends only to stockholders — we hadn't grasped the real coöperative principle. But the stockholders didn't make that surplus — it was the men that bought and sold through the company that created it. I saw by the books the other day that one of the stockholders only did 75 cents' worth of business. He isn't entitled to as much of the profits as one of our neighbors who isn't a stockholder, but who did $500 worth of business with us. Is he?"

"Funny how long it takes some of the fellows to see that," reflected Grover. "They're getting the idea now, though. There have been too many middlemen, each clipping a little piece off the dollar on its way back from the consumer to the producer, without adding value to the product or giving service to the value of the dollars that they get. We have proved that there is one middleman that isn't necessary — the man that doesn't grow any produce, or use any produce, but just stands between the producer and the market and takes toll for putting it on the cars."

"This brotherhood idea has got to spread to the consumer before he can do business direct with the producer," said Will Head. "We are organized now to deal directly with the consumers, and just as soon as the consumers are organized they can deal directly with us. Railroad rate regulation will help some, parcels post will help some, but we're not going to get all the dollars we are paying for, and the consumers' dollars are not going to be worth all they have paid for them, until the consumers get together just as the producers are getting together all through this Northwest country."

"Coöperative stores?" I suggested. "Is that the next step?"

"They are taking that step already in lots of towns around here. If you are going up Minneapolis way, go in and see Ed. Tousley of the Right Relationship League. He's got the brotherhood idea, too, and he can tell you all about coöperative stores. And if you are down at Madison, look up John Sinclair in the State Board of Public Affairs, and see what he knows about coöperation."

I went to Madison and I went to

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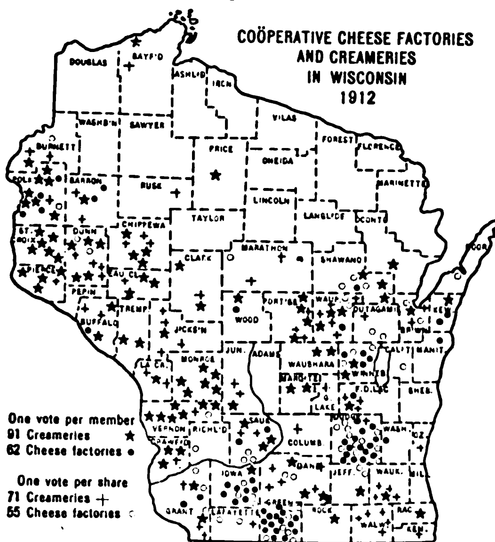
Minneapolis, and to many other places in Wisconsin and Minnesota and North Dakota, and I found that what Head and Grover and their neighbors around the little village of La Valle are doing is being done in hundreds of other communities by tens of thousands of other men and women, who are putting into practice the theories of the advanced economists, with an intelligence and success that are nothing short of startling to a visitor from the individualistic East. They are working out the problem of equal justice, without the assistance of politics. And, best of



all, the universities are helping, the state governments are helping, and, in some cases, even the bankers are helping.

The so-called "progressive" movement, as they see it in Wisconsin, is solely an economic movement — or, at least, an attempt to lay an economic foundation for the moral uplift that can only come about through the establishment of economic justice. So it did not surprise anybody in Wisconsin when the last legislature recognized the coöperative movement by enacting a law for the incorporation of coöperative associations on the true coöperative plan of limiting the amount of stock any individual may own, giving every shareholder a single vote regardless of the number of his shares, and distributing profits on the basis of purchases made or products sold, instead of upon the amount of stock.

There is a great distinction between dividing profits among stockholders and dividing them among the people who create them. The first plan is not coöperation, as they see it in the Northwest. It is exactly the plan on which the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Steel Trust and Standard Oil and all the other corporations are organized. The new coöperative idea — new for America, that is — is to distribute the earnings of any business among the people whose transactions have made those earnings possible. And this works out equally well whether the object of the coöperative enterprise is to sell the farmer's produce to the best possible advantage, or whether it is to enable farmers and townspeople alike to buy their manufactured supplies under conditions that distribute all the selling profit among the purchasers.

The last legislature of Wisconsin created a State Board of Public Affairs, to investigate economic conditions and to propose legislation. One of the subjects which it was especially charged with investigating was coöperation. Governor McGovern asked Dr. Benjamin McKee Rastall, Professor of Business Administration in the State University, to become director of the new investigating body, and Doctor Rastall sent Mr. John Sinclair to Europe to study coöperation at first hand.

Mr. Sinclair had found in Wisconsin 14 coöperative live stock shipping associations, 255 coöperative fire insurance companies, 23 coöperative potato and tobacco warehouses, 34 coöperative grain elevators, 162 coöperative creameries, 117 coöperative cheese factories, and 11 coöperative cow testing associations. Not all of these, however, are conducted on the true coöperative plan. Most of them are merely mercantile corporations with farmers as stockholders, differing in no essential from railroad or manufacturing corporations. Some have a few of the characteristics of true coöperation but not many are so completely coöperative in spirit and method as Harvey Grover's potato warehouse at La Valle.

In Denmark, Mr. Sinclair found farmers' coöperative enterprises at their best. His report shows that coöperation and edu-

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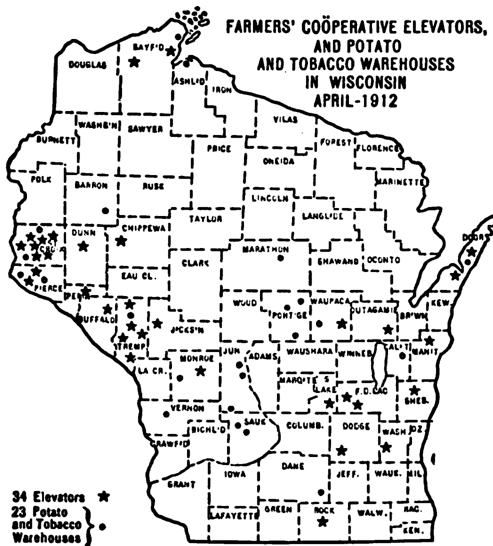

cation have raised Denmark, in less than a century, from the most impoverished nation of Europe to a population of two and one-half millions, with $250,000,000 in their savings banks; that 89 families out of every 100 own their own farms; and that the nation exports more than $90,000,000 worth of butter, eggs, and meat every year. This report has given a strong stimulus to the coöperative movement in the whole Northwest.

The other big phase of the coöperative movement — the organization of the retail buyers to cut out still another middleman's profit through the medium of coöperative stores — Mr. Sinclair studied in Great Britain, where the coöperative store has reached its highest development.

"But why do you come here to study the coöperative store when you have some of the best examples in your own state of Wisconsin, and a centre in Minneapolis, in the office of the Right Relationship League, where the most advanced coöperative methods are taught?" asked the leader of one of Scotland's greatest coöperative mercantile enterprises.

So Mr. Sinclair came back to Minneapolis to study the coöperative store movement at first hand; and there I went also to meet the three remarkable men who, without any blare of trumpets or political agitation, and almost without thought of personal reward, are slowly but certainly converting the whole Northwest to the coöperative idea.

Mr. E. J. Van Horn, Mr. W. F. Vedder, and Mr. E. M. Tousley, are president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the Right Relationship League of Minneapolis. All of them sprung from the soil of the Northwest. All have been country merchants and know the country store and the country people. Mr. Van Horn, a farmer himself until he was forty-one, meets the farmers and tells them how to organize in language they understand. Mr. Vedder, careful and conservative, brings calm, trained business judgment to bear on the coöperative problem. Mr. Tousley, a type of the militant propagandist, kindles the fires of coöperative enthusiasm over the whole Northwest.

Six years ago they began establishing coöperative stores. A previous organization with which they had been associated had failed because it began at the top — with a wholesale establishment. The new league began to build from the bottom up. A store was planted here and another one there. Now coöperative stores are being established at the rate of two or three a month. The officers of the league get very little out of it for themselves. They are in a very true sense soldiers of the common good. Charges that they were building up an organization for self enrichment at the expense of the consuming public were investigated last year by a committee

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appointed by the University of Minnesota, whose work was checked by an outside firm of public accountants, and this report disclosed that their average annual income had been considerably less than $2,000 a year apiece. One effect of this report was to bring to the League and its work the enthusiastic endorsement of the University.

Of course there were mistakes made at first and several projects that were attempted were found to be impracticable. Occasionally there was a total failure — a coöperative store that did not earn enough to pay its running expenses. Careful analysis of the causes of these failures showed that they were due in most cases to inefficient management and careless accounting methods. And out of this grew the recognition by the League and the coöperators of the Northwest that even brotherhood will not work without the adding machine, or what the adding machine stands for — exact and correct business methods. So an auditing department was established, and the coöperative stores began sending periodical reports and submitting to frequent audits, since when the percentage of failures has been reduced to a negligible proportion.

With hardly an exception, the coöperative stores of the Northwest have not been established as new institutions, but have been founded by customers buying up existing business establishments.

"It is contrary to all the principles of coöperation to increase competition," said Secretary Tousley. "One of the reasons of the high cost of living is that the public is supporting too many individual storekeepers. So we never think of opening a coöperative store as a new venture. And if you think it is difficult to induce merchants to sell out, you ought to look over our correspondence. We have asked practically every dealer in general merchandise in the territory in which we operate, whether he is willing to sell. More than half want to sell out and of these more than half are the leading merchants in their respective towns."

It seemed to be the natural and proper thing at first to engage the former proprietor as manager of the coöperative store. It did not take long, however, to discover that the old merchant was very seldom a competent merchant. The rule now is to hire the old owner as manager only in exceptional instances.

Out of the experience of the 112 coöperative stores now in operation, there have been evolved a set of principles and rules which, wherever they have been followed, have resulted in success. Fundamental among these rules is the requirement that no stockholder shall have more than one vote, regardless of the number of shares he holds; that the company shall have the first right to purchase any shares which the owner thereof may wish to sell; that the directors shall be compensated for attending meetings and forfeit their offices for failure to attend; that frequent inventories and regular audits shall be required; that the manager shall not involve the company in debt for anything except merchandise; that all goods shall be sold for cash at ordinary market prices; that a depreciation account shall be kept and that all profits above a small dividend on the shares shall be divided among the customers of the store in proportion to the amount of their purchases as shown on the sales slips. Stockholders, however, are given, not as a dividend on their stock, but in order to encourage others to buy shares, twice the amount of dividend on purchases that non-shareholders receive.

On these lines 55 stores in Minnesota, 41 in Wisconsin, 12 in the two Dakotas, 3 in Washington, and 1 in Illinois are doing an annual business of approximately $7,000,000. The total capitalization in $100 shares is around $2,000,000, held by approximately 15,000 men and women. And the profits divided last year among the customers of these stores amounted to more than $500,000 — a net saving of about 8 per cent. on the entire purchases of more than 20,000 families, for every share of stock represents at least one family, and the proportion of customers who are not stockholders is considerably more than one third.

These coöperative stores sell everything that anybody wants to buy. Drygoods, of course, form the backbone of their

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business; groceries come a close second, and boots and shoes are to be found in all of them. Many, if not most, of the coöperative stores carry lines of ready-made clothing for men and boys and a considerable proportion deal in ready-made women's garments. Some carry paints and hardware, although in most towns these goods are left to specialists.

They sell only for cash, for the most part. Being rural stores, they must take the eggs and butter offered by their customers, but they pay for these commodities in cash instead of in trade. Some coöperative stores will take a customer's note in exchange for aluminum "money," good only for purchases at the coöperative store. This avoids the bookkeeping necessary in a general credit business and gives the customer who must have credit all the advantages of the cash customer, less the interest on his note. Cutting prices below the general market level is frowned upon in the coöperative store. One pays as much for sugar or coffee or a pair of shoes at the coöperative as he would at the individual merchant's across the street. The difference is in the sale slip which entitles its holder to his full share of the profits of the business.

There *are* profits, too — larger, in most cases, than the individual merchant makes, notwithstanding that expenses are higher. It is a fundamental principle of coöperation, as they see it in the Northwest, to pay the highest salaries consistent with good business and not to overwork their employees. The manager of a coöperative store cannot make his son or daughter work for him without wages, as the individual storekeeper often does. Nobody is allowed to do anything for nothing. Even the farmer directors get $1.50 each for attending directors' meetings. It is not charity nor generosity at which the coöperative store aims, but a square deal to everyone — an accurate square deal of which the adding machine is the symbol. And nothing creates a sense of the square deal like a division of profits — at least that is what the coöperators say.

One important source of saving for the coöperative stores is in taking all the cash discounts, which the wholesaler is always ready to grant, but which the average country merchant seldom takes. Some of the stores pay nearly all their salaries out of these discounts. In November, 1911, the Jackson County Coöperative Company, at Lakefield, Minn., earned $281 by paying cash for purchases made during that month. In the same month the Willmar Coöperative Company saved $129 by paying cash for its merchandise. These are no more exceptional than is the fact that under coöperative management the Willmar store is doing a business of $12,000 a month, where, under its former ownership, it rarely exceeded $4,000. This is not only because the coöperative company numbers among its stockholders — and consequent customers — many families which were not customers of the store under private ownership, but because it lives up to that cardinal principle of the coöperative movement which requires its stores to be cleaner, better managed, better stocked with better goods than any other store ever seen in the community. So it is not surprising to learn that nearly one third of the business done by this store at Willmar is with non-shareholders. The figures shown by the audit of its business soon after the store was started are so typical that they are worth reproducing. The store cost $30,000. At the end of the first five months the coöperators found themselves possessed of $19,078 more assets than liabilities, of which $3,278 had been earned as net profits on $37,158 of sales during the first five months of coöperative business, after deducting expenses of $3,841. After paying a 6 per cent. dividend on the shares, the Willmar company returned to its customers, as profits on purchases made by them in five months, $1,724 — a 12 per cent. patronage dividend to its shareholders and 6 per cent. to customers not holding stock. And it put $327 into a reserve fund and carried over $797 as a surplus for future distribution or expansion.

It is through such sound business methods as the formation of reserve and surplus funds, recommended by the Right Relationship League and insisted upon by

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its auditing department, that the coöperative stores of the Northwest are building on solid financial foundations.

But the coöperative movement does not stop with the saving of dollars and cents for the coöperators. The fact that the biggest store in Kidder, S. D., is owned by the people of the vicinity, or that such coöperative stores as those at Warren, Minn., Montfort, Wis., or Ulen, Minn. — to mention but a few that are typical of the many — compare favorably in the arrangement and selection of stocks and general appearance with the larger city stores, does not alone satisfy for long. Out of the coöperative store movement is growing a true democratic spirit — a spirit in which the men and women of the Northwest are learning to pull together for the common welfare and join in the effort to solve the deeper problems of life.

This awakened democratic spirit manifests itself in a variety of forms. At Svea, Minn., a little Scandinavian village, nine miles off the railroad, it has taken the form of bringing the women of the community together — first as members of committees appointed to criticise the management of the coöperative store and make recommendations as to its conduct, then in broader social service to the whole community. The Svea store was one of the first coöperative ventures to establish a women's rest room. Lately it installed two traveling libraries, one in English and one in Swedish, as a free service to the people of the town. A coöperative telephone company, a coöperative creamery, and even a coöperative bank have had their inspiration in the example set by the Svea coöperative store, which itself acts as a coöperative live stock shipping association for its shareholders and others as well. And when the people of the larger town of Willmar, nine miles away, began to talk coöperation, the coöperators of Svea gave $300 to promote the missionary work and help their neighbors to realize what coöperation meant. Nearly all the coöperative stores maintain educational departments for which funds are appropriated — the Wisconsin co-operative law specifically sanctions the use of 5 per cent. of the revenues for this purpose — and this money is spent in spreading their gospel through the excellent little magazine, *Co-operation*, published by the Right Relationship League, and in lectures and courses in farming and in business.

The coöperative movement is spreading to the larger cities. A $100,000 company to operate a coöperative store in Minneapolis has been incorporated and one with $50,000 capital in St. Paul; and at Madison, Wis., where the cost of living is probably higher than anywhere else in the United States, shares in a $25,000 coöperative grocery are being bought by university professors, workingmen, state officials, and the public generally. A wholesale grocery — possibly wholesale drygoods and shoe stores — to supply the coöperative stores on a coöperative basis, as soon as the foundation of these enterprises is strong enough to support it, is planned by the Right Relationship League, while the Society of Equity is helping to organize the farmers into new coöperative shipping and selling associations.

Out of it all are developing, first of all, groups of men and women who are not only getting much more nearly a hundred cents for every dollar they earn, but who are, at the same time, unconsciously but surely, learning the vital lessons that the whole community and every community must learn before the dreams of the economic millenium can begin to be realized. My friend Will Head says: "When we farmers get so we understand business principles, you aren't going to be able to fool us much longer on the tariff." They are learning business principles through coöperation. More important, they are learning to do team-work. They are learning that economic brotherhood is workable so long as it deals in exact justice, and that the man-crop flourishes best when each individual contributes his best to the commonwealth, and the commonwealth returns to each individual his just and exact return.

It is a new economic democracy they are building up in the Northwest, and the adding machine is its symbol.

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PICTURESQUE NEW YORK

THIRD ARTICLE

AS SEEN AND DESCRIBED IN CHARCOAL SKETCHES AND TEXT

BY

F. HOPKINSON SMITH

MANHATTAN

SEEN by day from the banks of either river, it is a city built of children's colored blocks piled one on top of the other—square sided, and flat-roofed, with here and there a pinnacle or campanile tower overlooking the group — the whole made gay by little puffs of feathery steam coquetting in the crisp morning air.

On the rivers themselves, threading the currents like shuttles in a tangled loom, cross and recross the ships of all nations — not ours — the other fellows'. Huge leviathans; ferry boats from Hoboken to Plymouth; high-waisted brigantines in from the Pacific; barks, steamships; oil tramps — everything that floats carrying every known flag but our own.

All are welcome. Hospitality is our strong point. In fact we delight in taking second place, or third — or even fourth, if it suits our guests the better. "After you Alphonse" should have been inserted in the Declaration of Independence, to make clearer the clause that "All men are born free and equal."

For since the date of that historic document we have been keeping open house to all the world. Last year in Manhattan alone we welcomed and cared for nearly a million of these raw, untilled, unlettered, and unkempt dumpings; most of them Goths, Vandals, and Barbarians — 80 per cent. of them at any rate. And so enormous and continuous has been the influx and to such proportions has it grown that, of our five million of souls, almost one half are foreign born.

The worst of it is that with them comes the yeast of unrest — a leaven that in the older days worked slowly and in moderation, but which in these days ferments so quickly that the only check is the mailed hand of the law. Indeed, such gentle reminders as "Pay what we ask or we blow up the mill," backed by a stick of dynamite, and "Down with your flag and up with ours" (a red one), backed by a dirk, are being heard in every direction.

And this is not all. So busy have we been considering the comfort of this influx, and so eager to house them, that we have ignored and lost sight of the one thing that other nations less hospitable than ourselves hold most dear — the City Beautiful. For boast as we may, Manhattan is not beautiful. Not as Constantinople is beautiful with countless slender minarets and rounded domes; its fringe of white palaces bordering the blue waters of the Bosphorus. Not as Venice is beautiful with its marbles and bronzes, and stretches of silver lagoons encircled by a necklace of pearls, each bead a priceless example of the art of five centuries: Manhattan has only its ugly pile of children's blocks.

No — ours is not a beautiful city — not by day.

But see it by night!

When the shadows soften the hard lines and the great mass loses its details; and houses, lofts, and skyscrapers melt into a purple gray! When the glowworms light their tapers in countless windows; when towers and steeples flash greetings each to the other, and the dainty bridges in webs of gossamer dance from shore to shore under loops and arches of light; when the streets run molten gold

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and the sky is decked with millions of jewels.

Then Manhattan rises in compelling glory, the most brilliant, the most beautiful, and the most inspiring of all the cities of the earth.

MADISON SQUARE

This is the Out-door Club of the Over Tired! No dues; no complaint box; no cocktail hour: Every seat free.

Of course a certain exclusiveness prevails and extreme care is always exercised by the Committee of Admissions that no candidate is elected unless the hall marks of the fraternity can be found on his person. Not on his hands — and never on his palms, unscarred by toil. It is his trousers that count, whether new, whether worn, or whether half soled — the latter condition passing him with high honors and making him *Hors Concours* forever after.

Then there follows a minor test of the number of hours he can watch a sparrow hunt for a meal without moving a muscle, or the number of the minutes he can sleep behind a last week's newspaper, the policeman on the beat believing him to be wide awake, searching advertisements for work.

And they have certain rights — these Knights of the Benches — rights that the ineligible tax payer must respect. A few years ago there was a revolt against their preëmption of these sitting facilities and several hundred sterilized chairs were moved in to be rented at a penny each. Instantly the tocsin was sounded, the riot act read, and two platoons and an ambulance carted off the broken heads and legs — the latter belonging to the chairs. An Englishman from Hyde Park or a Frenchman from the Bois having grasped the situation in its entirety, would have laughed himself to the verge of apoplexy — every park in Europe being provided with such chairs in addition to the regular seats, but there was no merriment among the members of the "Over-Tired." The crisis was too serious. Their rights under the Constitution had been violated — the validity and power of the document itself imperilled.

The discomfited tax payer showed fight. This time he was armed with a wide brush and a pot of paint with which he labelled, "These Benches are Reserved for Women and Children."

"Suits us exactly," chorused the Members, and down they sat and are there still.

Once in a great while some pale young girl who has tramped from a sweat shop over by the river walks timidly past the row of outstretched legs and feet of the Over-Tired to find a vacant seat. Then if a guardian of the law happens along the nearest bundle of rags is brought to life by a tap on his shins with a night stick or he is jerked to his feet by the scruff of his neck should he grumble, and the girl is seated — but this is not often.

All these hideous vulgarities, however, fade and are forgotten when one loiters through its mosaic of light and shade on one of our early spring mornings and catches the shimmer of the new leaves bursting into song, all their little cups of green held up to the kind sky as if they were offering a libation to the gods for being so good to them. On these mornings the vistas under their branches are softened by the intermingling of a thousand tones. Hard lines fade, the rectangular and the straight are broken by waving branches giving you only glimpses here and there. Stanford White's tower becomes a bit of old Spain seen above the orange grove in Seville and McKim's temple with its pillars and pediment a part of Athens.

Over all is a sky unmatched in brilliancy the world over.

ELIZABETH STREET

Elizabeth Street, between Prince and Houston, is an ill-smelling thoroughfare, its two gutters choked with crawling lines of push carts piled high with the things most popular among the inhabitants — from a yesterday's fish to a third-hand suit of clothes.

About these portable junk shops swear and jabber samples of all the nationalities

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of the globe, and in as many different tongues, fighting every inch of the way from five cents down to three — their women and children blocking the doorways, or watching the conflict from the windows and fire escapes above.

It is the Rialto of the Impoverished, the alien, and the stranded. It is also enormously picturesque. Nowhere else in the great city are the costumes so foreign and varied, and the facial characteristics so diverse. Polish Jews with blue-black beards and keen terrier eyes — showing their white teeth when they smile; Hungarians in high boots and blouses; Armenians, Greeks, Chinamen — with and without their queues — but wearing their embroidered shoes and pajama coats with loops and brass buttons; old women in wigs, a cheap jewel and band of black velvet marking the beginning of the part in the hair, and now and then a girl in short skirt, long earrings and flat headdress — so graceful and betwitching that your memory instantly reverts to the gardens of Seville and Pesth.

One looked over my shoulder as I worked — it was the luncheon hour, and she was out for a breath of fish-laden air — a girl of twenty, with a certain swing and nonchalance about her born of her absolute belief in her own compelling beauty, an armor which had never failed in her struggle from the curbstone up. She had dark blue eyes and light, almost golden, hair, caught up in a knot behind, and wore a man's worsted sweater stretched over her full bosom and held around her snug waist by a cheap leather belt. She made paper flowers, and lived on the top floor with her mother — so I was told by the obliging baker whose front stoop steadied my easel — and who was good enough to keep the children, in their eagerness to see my sketch, from crawling up my legs and secreting themselves in my side pockets.

"And she's de best ever," he added in up-to-date New Yorkish — "and dere ain't no funny business nor nothin,' or somebody'd be hollerin' fur an amb'lance, and don't youse furgit it."

I agreed with him before she had passed the third push cart in her triumphant march. The china and tinware vender made room for her, and so did the button and thread-and-needle fellow, and so did the petticoat pedler, each with a word of good-natured chaff. But there was no chucking her under the chin or familiar nudge of the elbow. It was the old story of dominating maidenhood; another of those indefinable barriers which, like gray hairs and baby fingers, keep men above the level of the beast.

GANSEVOORT MARKET

West of its present site there once lay the little Indian village of Sappokanican, where in 1609 Hendrick Hudson is said to have stopped for provisions. Dried and fresh fish, no doubt, Indian corn off and on the cob, besides yams, venison, and berries in exchange for beads and gew-gaws: the same kind of bargaining that would go on to-day, the money standard abolished, and capons exchanged for spring bonnets.

Once a market always a market, is the record in most of the cities I know. Generally it is found in the centre of the town, surrounded by scraggly trees, and bare of everything except a place for carts and booths. As the town grows, the bald spot widens, and as the inhabitants become prosperous sheds are erected, and then bricks and mortar are laid. When their wealth increases steel and concrete are piled up.

The present market, by all the laws of logic, should have been named after the old village of Sappokanican. Doubtless it would have been had not a slight unpleasantness arisen some two hundred years later (1812) between the United States and Great Britain. What people ate and where they bought it and when were questions of secondary importance. The point was to let the enemy go hungry, and a fort was accordingly built on a small tongue of land thrust out into the river — to the right of where the big ocean steamships now disembark freight and passengers. Indians had become back numbers except those on wheels outside of tobacco shops, armed with wooden toma-

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hawks. Generals, however, were very much to the front, especially one by the name of Gansevoort, a distinguished officer in General Washington's army. So the fort was called by his name. In 1851, when it was sent to the scrap heap and the land was filled in around and behind it and the present market relocated and built, the name of the warlike gentleman followed as a matter of course, instead of the more euphonious and altogether more appropriate one of Sappokanican.

Its old traditions were revived at once, and in the fifties men and women really *marketed;* the poor filling their aprons, the rich, accompanied by their men servants, carrying big wicker baskets into which fish, game, vegetables, butter, and eggs were carefully stowed and carried home afoot, as far as Madison Square and beyond.

In the fifties, too, every good housewife considered it part of her duty to see her meat properly cut and weighed, a difference of two or more cents on the pound being of immense value in her economies. The progressive butcher boy had not yet begun his rounds at basement doors, nor had the telephone simplified everything for her but certain startling discrepancies and disclosures at the end of the month.

This, too, was before the trade combinations of fishmen, butchers, and green grocers made every housekeeper's passbook common property at the weekly meetings of the Clan where prices for the day are fixed.

"What are you charging old Spondulicks for porterhouse?"

"Thirty-four cents. Why?"

"Oh! he blew in here the other day kicking at your bills and wanted to try *me*, so I got to be posted."

It is not the fault of the Clan, it is ours. We have not the time to see our meat weighed, or to pick out a last week's cabbage or a this year's chicken at Gansevoort or any one of the other markets where the open space is filled with carts loaded with farm truck fresh from the soil, free to whomever will buy, and one third less in price than the Clan charges. It is the inconvenience, too, that counts. We dare not carry too large a basket in the Elevated, and none in the Subway, and the expressman would eat up the difference on what we save or what we think we save.

Manhattan is blessed on two sides with a marvellous water front. Every two hundred feet from the Battery to Spuyten Tuyvil there is a street running from river to river. Some of this water front is preëmpted and out of reach. Much of it can be bought. Were small markets served by boats — our normal mode of carrying food products — established on both rivers, say at every tenth or twelfth street, the Middle Man would be out of business.

EDGAR ALLAN POE'S HOUSE AT FORDHAM

It is exactly as he left it; a ground floor room and an attic with a box of a kitchen in the rear; close to the small windows looking on the street a scraggly fence framing a garden no larger than a grave plot, and on the side a narrow portico covered by a roof supported on short wooden pillars. It may have been painted since, probably has, and here and there a new paling may have been added to the fence, but that is about all. Everything else tells the story of its sad past, with the helpless bitter poverty of the great poet.

For nearly four years he and his frail, slender wife, slept in the attic under the low hipped roof — so low that his beloved Virginia could hardly stand upright within its cramped walls. And in this one attic room she died.

During that time all the furniture in the house would not have made comfortable one half of either of its two rooms. A few oak chairs and tables, a lounge on which his mother-in-law, Mrs. Clemm — "Dear Muddie" — as he used to call her, slept; a chair and his desk and their bed, with some vases for flowers, a few trifles and a shelf for his books and manuscripts.

With the gaining of the libel suit against a contemporary, who had maligned him in

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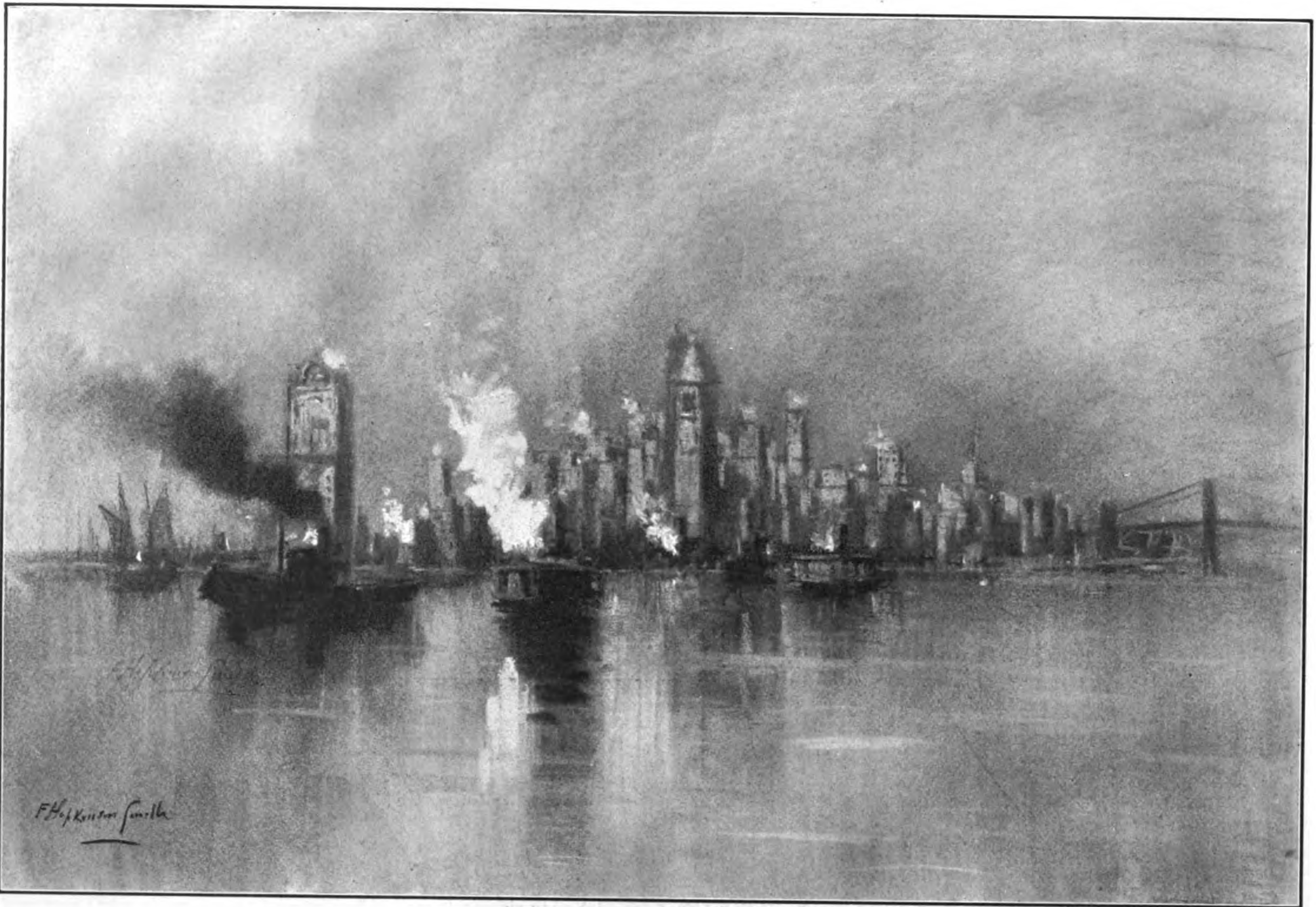

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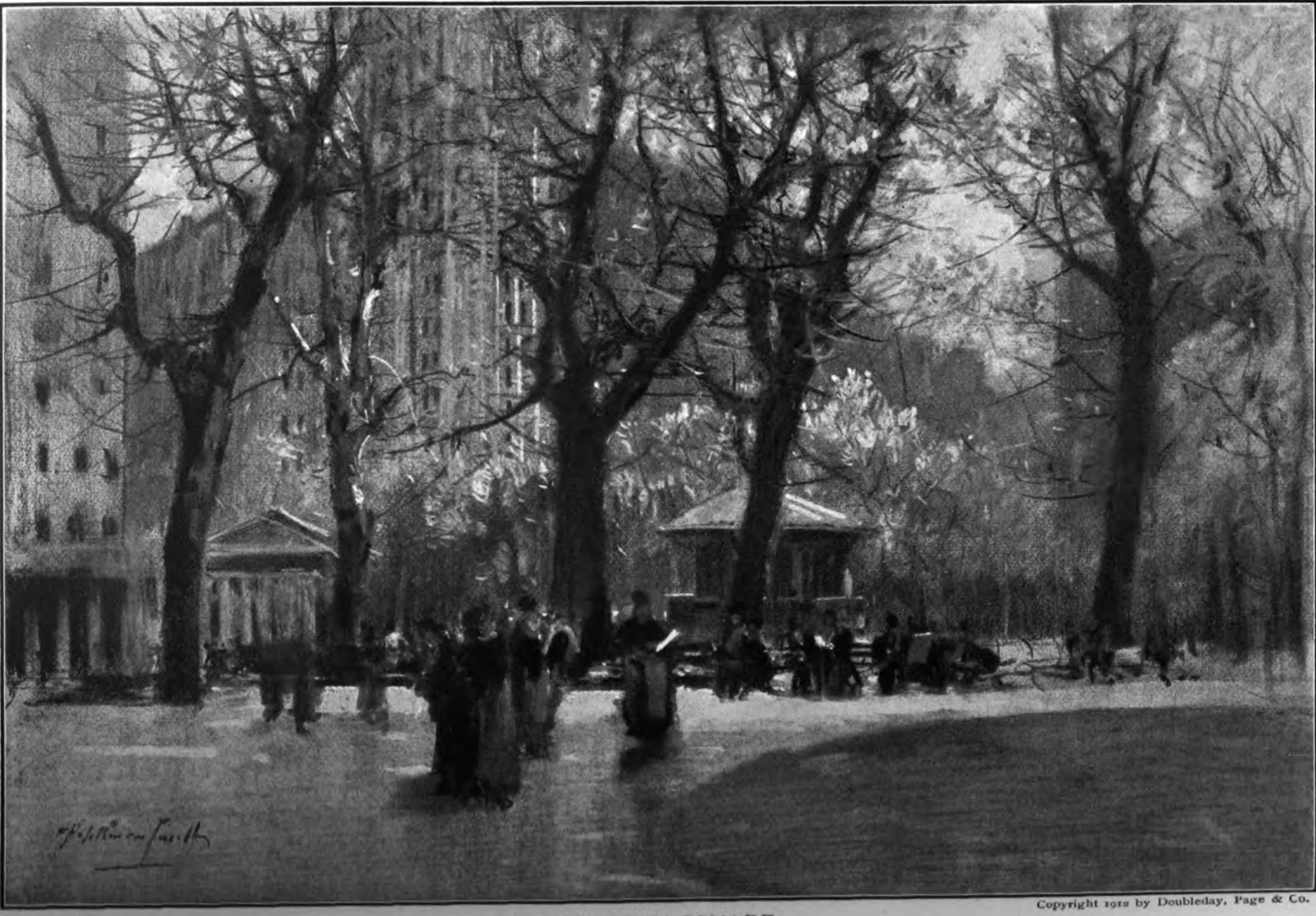

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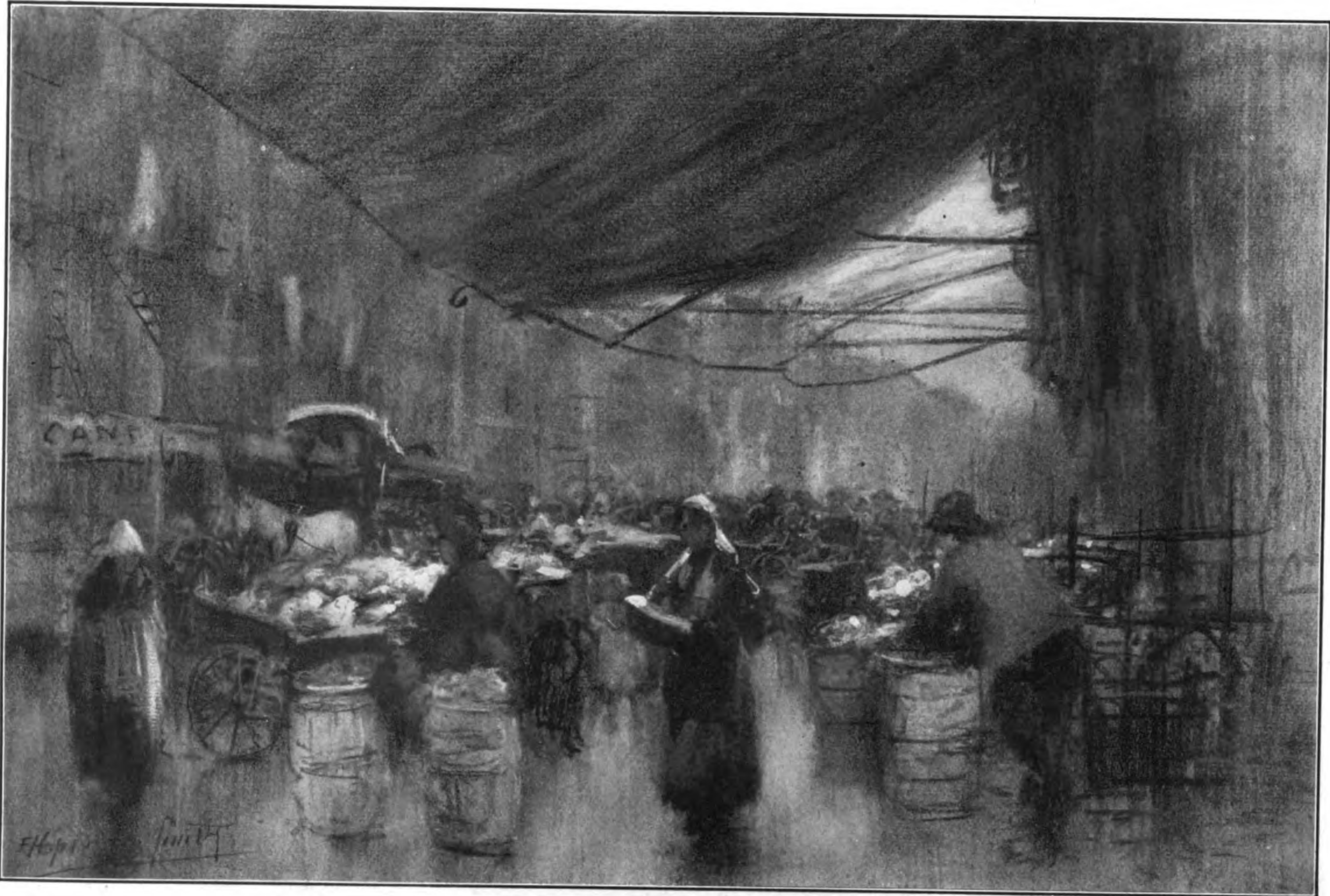

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EDGAR ALLAN POE'S HOUSE AT FORDHAM

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print, and the receipt of the meagre sum awarded by the jury, a few more necessities were added, among them a China checked-matting to cover the first floor, which "Dear Muddie" had always scrubbed on her knees, as she had done similar floors in their poverty stricken dwelling places.

When this was spent the pinch again became acute and the poor fellow resumed his weary tramp once more to the different offices — not many of them in those days — 1846 to '49 — to sell the thoughts his brain had coined. When his strength failed Mrs. Clemm would tuck the thin slips under her cloak and tramp for him. Sometimes there was one meal a day for the three — sometimes none — "The Raven" bringing only ten dollars, and many of his poems and criticisms less.

What this dear woman was to them both can best be told in the words of N. P. Willis: "Winter after winter, for years, the most touching sight to us, in this whole city, has been that tireless minister to genius, thinly and insufficiently clad, going from office to office with a poem, or an article on some literary subject, to sell — sometimes simply pleading in a broken voice that he was ill, and begging for him — mentioning nothing but that 'he was ill,' whatever might be the reason for his writing nothing; and never, amid all her tears and recitals of distress, suffering one syllable to escape her lips that could convey a doubt of him, or a complaint, or a lessening of pride in his genius and good intentions."

How keen was the suffering she tried to relieve is best described in Mrs. Gove's words as quoted in Professor Woodberry's life of the poet: "I saw her (Poe's wife) in her bed-chamber," she writes; "everything here was so neat, so purely clean, so scant and poverty-stricken, that I saw the poor sufferer with such a heartache as the poor feel for the poor.

"There was no clothing on the bed, which was only straw, but a snow white counterpane and sheets. The weather was cold, and the sick lady had the dreadful chills that accompany the hectic fever of consumption. She lay on the straw bed wrapped in her husband's great-coat, with a large tortoise-shell cat on her bosom. The wonderful cat seemed conscious of her great usefulness. The coat and the cat were the sufferer's only means of warmth, except as her husband held her hands, and her mother her feet."

A short time ago I spent the afternoon transferring the sad homely lines of the cottage to my canvas. The sun shone full upon it and the cherry trees that Virginia loved were just bursting into bloom. Only the dead stump of the big one whose blossoms brushed her window is left, but others were near by and while I worked on, my pencil feeling its way around the doorway and window sashes through which they so often looked; the chimney that bore away the smoke of the small fire that warmed them; the old tired creaky porch which had responded so often to his tread, my mind went over all the man had suffered, and my soul rose in revolt against the injustice and ignorance of those who had made it possible.

And yet — here is the pity of it — the same conditions exist to-day.

Worse, really — for in Poe's time merit — or what was considered merit — found its way into print. Now it must have, in addition, the hall mark of money. The most successful novel of the past year — the author's first — was hawked about for weeks and sold outright to an unbelieving publisher for a few hundred dollars. The author's second novel brought in as many dollars as the other had brought in cents, only the begging was reversed — the publishers being the mendicants, this time paying him a living wage — paying him his due.

All true, you say — and has been true since the day Milton sold "Paradise Lost" for the price of a week's board. And will continue to be true until the end of time.

Yes! but shameful all the same. More than shameful, when a simple business letter of Poe's covering a page and a half sold a short time since for a thousand dollars and the original manuscript of "The Raven" for a sum that would have made him and his dear Virginia comfortable all their days.

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THE GREAT AMERICAN FORUM

CHAUTAUQUA AND THE CHAUTAUQUAS IN SUMMER AND THE LYCEUM IN WINTER—"ON THE CIRCUIT" WITH MR. BRYAN AND THE PROGRESSIVES—INSPIRATION AND ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE MILLIONS—"THE MOST AMERICAN THING IN AMERICA"

BY

FRENCH STROTHER

AS THE last roar of the Baltimore Convention died to silence and most of the Democratic leaders made their way to Sea Girt to pay their respects to the party's candidate for President, William Jennings Bryan pleaded an urgent call from home and took the first train back to Nebraska. Thoughtless people exclaimed "Sour grapes," but they were mistaken. Mr. Bryan was simply listening to the behest of duty, hurrying back to the serious business of his life, which is, earning his living by lecturing. The Chautauqua circuit was calling him, as it calls many other men distinguished in our public life. In Baltimore or Washington Mr. Bryan may be a statesman: in Nebraska and Iowa in midsummer he is only one of "the talent," working at his trade (he belongs to the union, too), hired by the day and billed as part of the show in the same tent with "Rosani, the Wonder Worker," "Packard, the Cartoonist," "The College Singing Girls," and "The Russian Royal Balalaika Band."

MR. BRYAN "ON THE CIRCUIT"

IN HIS ANNUAL LECTURE TOUR OF THE CHAUTAUQUA SUMMER ASSEMBLIES. SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK AT THE LEFT

For, during the steaming days of July and August, when business lags and crops take care of themselves, the farmers of the Middle West strap a basket lunch on the running board of the

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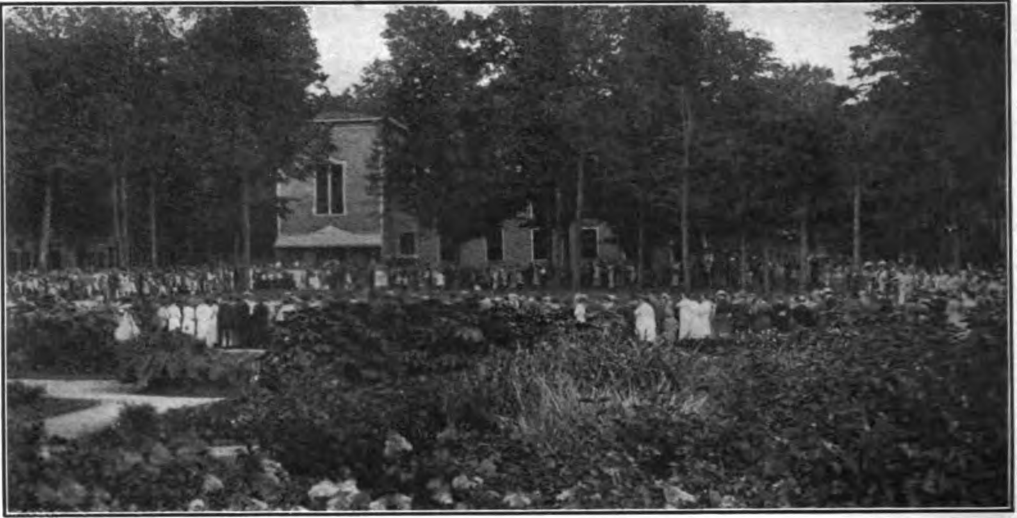
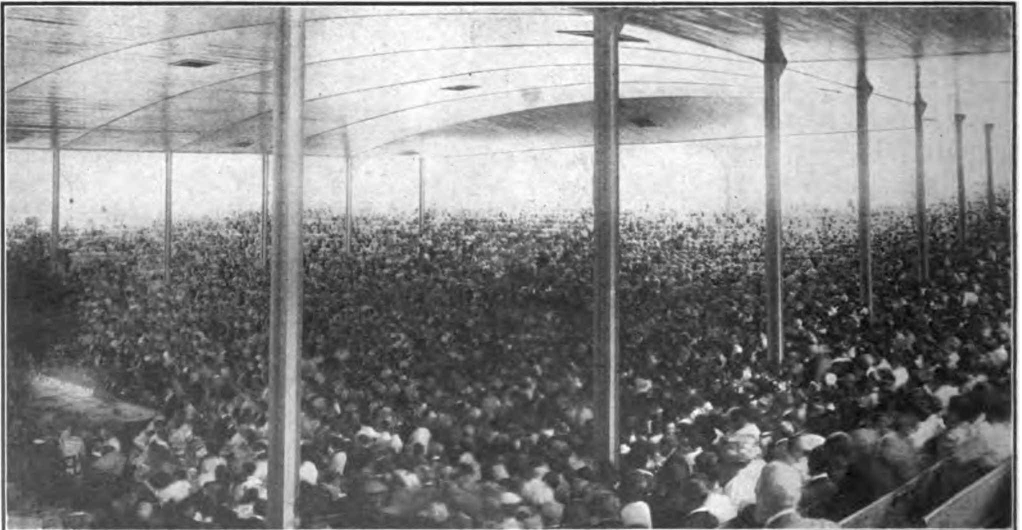


A SHAKESPEAREAN PAGEANT AT CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION

ONE OF THE OPEN AIR FESTIVALS THAT ARE GIVEN AT THE HOME OF THE CHAUTAUQUA MOVEMENT EVERY YEAR DURING THE SUMMER ASSEMBLY

family touring car and speed away to the nearest town for mental stimulation and refreshment. And so again Chautauqua and the chautauquas — there is a difference — are just now finishing their latest summer season and, especially in the Middle West — in Paw Paw, Oskaloosa, Mankato, and Dubuque, in Massillon and Marion, in Topeka, Terre Haute, in a thousand smaller places — they have performed again their annual service of inspiration and enlightenment to millions of people eager for light and leading. And when the days grow shorter and the evenings lengthen, the lyceum courses will be opened, and other and greater millions will attend them.

For these chautauqua assemblies in the summer and lyceum courses in winter are among the mightiest forces of popular



PERHAPS THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PLATFORM IN THE UNITED STATES

CONFRONTING A TYPICAL GREAT AUDIENCE IN THE AUDITORIUM OF CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION, WHOSE LECTURERS IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS HAVE INCLUDED THE MOST FAMOUS MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA

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information and diversion that operate to-day. Millions of people derive from them their knowledge of things above the common ruck of life; millions obtain from them the bulk of their lighter entertainment; and, most significant of all, millions absorb from them their political faith and are by them directed to their course of political action. The progressive movement that now is sweeping the country owes its strength very largely to the chautauqua, just as the abolition movement gained its momentum chiefly from the free platform of the lyceum.

Everybody knows something about the original Chautauqua Institution. Founded in 1873 by Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Church as a summer school for Sunday school teachers, it has developed into a great property on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in western New York, its 37 buildings and their grounds valued at a million dollars, its cottages housing fifty thousand people every summer who come from all over the world to hear the famous Chautauqua lectures, attend the famous Chautauqua summer school — the parent, by the way, of the summer

"RECOGNITION DAY" AT CHAUTAUQUA

UPON WHICH GRADUATES OF THE READING COURSE RECEIVE THEIR DIPLOMAS SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH HUNDREDS OF OTHERS ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO CANNOT COME AND WHO RECEIVE THEIR DIPLOMAS BY MAIL. OBSERVE THE MATURE AGE OF THESE GRADUATES OF "THE GROWN FOLKS' UNIVERSITY." BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT, THE FOUNDER OF CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION, IN THE FOREGROUND

More than one thousand chautauquas were held in the United States last summer. The average length of session was ten days; the attendance one thousand a day — a million people influenced by one institution. About ten thousand lyceum courses were given last winter, attended by five million people. And remember that the lyceum was born in the struggle for freedom for the slaves, and that the heart of the chautauqua movement is in Iowa, the home of progress and reform.

schools of the great universities — and enjoy the pleasures of a model resort in the open air and on the waters of Chautauqua Lake. And in every part of the world — in the housewife's leisure hour when the dishes are washed and the children are abed, in the Wyoming sheep herder's camp under the quiet stars, in the missionary's hut in Africa, and at the outposts of English civilization in the Himalayas of India — on the same day, every one of tens of thousands of grown folks, students in the Chautauqua read-

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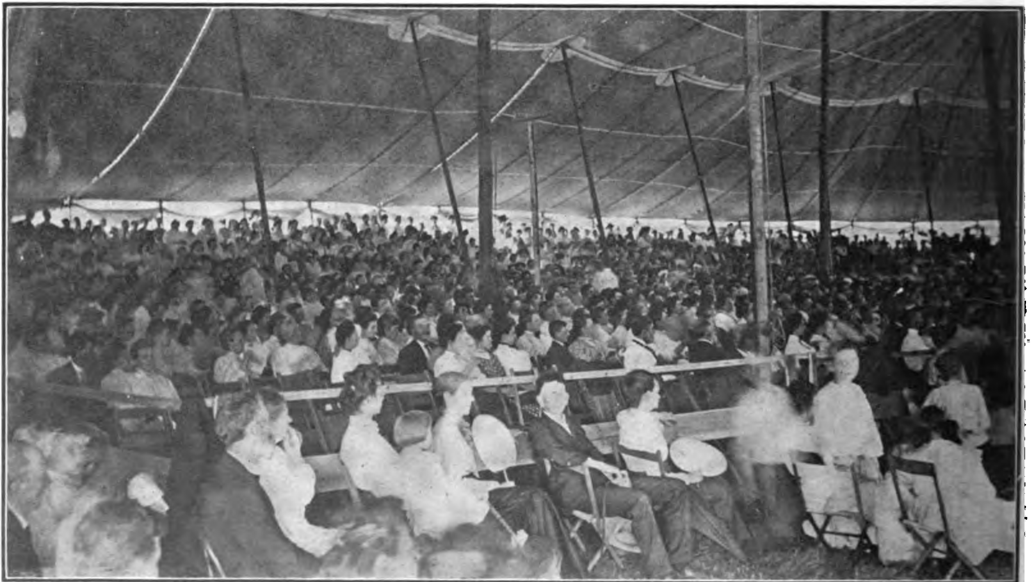
MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LYCEUM ASSOCIATION, WHICH IS THE "UNION"

ing course, read the same chapters in the same Chautauqua books and feel a sense of comradeship with the members of their study class. The Chautauqua reading course is the grown-folks' university, in which the educationally belated make up for the deficiencies of early training by this mature entrance into the realm of wider interests and world knowledge.

"Chautauqua," as Chautauqua Institution sees it, means these three things: "*a system of home reading*, definite results from the use of spare minutes; *a vacation school*, under competent instruction, in thirteen departments, with more than 2,500 enrollments yearly, in the best environment for study; and *a summer town among the trees*, with all conveniences of living, the pure charm of nature, advantages for culture, organized sports on water and on land, professional men's clubs and women's conferences, great lectures and recitals."

Since 1878, thirty-three classes have followed through the four-year course of home reading under Chautauqua Institution's guidance — 700,000 people who have gained by it their knowledge of history and art and science. Here are some of the books that they have studied: Merivale's



THE AUDIENCE IN THE "BIG TENT"
A COMMON SIGHT AT THE GREAT CHAUTAUQUA GATHERINGS

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OF THE PROFESSIONAL "TALENT" OF THE 11,000 CHAUTAUQUAS AND LYCEUMS—

"History of Rome," Hawthorne's biographical stories, Blaikie's "How to Get Strong and Stay So," Winchell's "Walks and Talks in the Geological Field," Warren's "Recreations in Astronomy," Van Dyke's "How to Judge a Picture," Bryce's "Social Institutions in the United States," McClintock's "Song and Legend from the Middle Ages," Brownell's "French Tracts," Ely's "Strength and Weakness of Socialism," Shaler's "Man and Earth," Scudder's "Social Ideals in English Letters." The course for 1911-12 is: "Twentieth Century America," by H. Perry Robinson; "The Spirit of American Government," by J. Allen Smith; "Materials and Methods of Fiction," by Clayton Hamilton; and "Twenty Years at Hull House," by Jane Addams. Graduates of the course receive a diploma on "Recognition Day," at Chautauqua if they can come, or otherwise by mail. And few of the graduates are less than thirty years old: hundreds are more than fifty or sixty.

The six weeks of summer school at Chautauqua offers 200 popular class-room courses in English, modern languages, classical languages, mathematics and science, psychology and pedagogy, re-

BIGGER CROWDS THAN THE COUNTY FAIR'S

A CHAUTAUQUA SUMMER ASSEMBLY UNDER THE TREES AT MONMOUTH, ILL.

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—WHO SUPPLY ITS LECTURES, IMPERSONATIONS, MAGIC, HUMOR, AND MUSIC:

ligious teaching, library training, domestic science, music, arts and crafts, expression, physical education, and practical arts. Many school teachers attend these courses both for inspiration and knowledge.

The popular lectures, however, have been the most famous of Chautauqua's institutions. The great open air auditorium seats 5,000 people, and it is often crowded. The list of lecturers is practically a roll-call of the nation's most distinguished men and women for the last forty years. Frances Willard, General Grant, John B. Gough, Lowell Mason, Edward Everett Hale, Mark Hopkins, Bishop Samuel Fallows, Lew Wallace, Prof. Von Holst, Mr. Booker Washington, President Charles W. Eliot, Murat Halstead, Miss Jane Addams, Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, Governor Folk — these names are picked at random from the long list of Chautauqua lecturers.

Here is a typical day's programme at Chautauqua:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 4, 1911

10.00 A.M. Devotional Hour. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman.

11.00 A.M. Lecture Series: "The Story of National Banks," Hon. Frank A. Vanderlip.

2.30 P.M. Lecture Series: "The Personality and Art of Mr. G. K. Chesterton," Prof. Frank C. Lockwood.

4.00 P.M. Organ Recital. Mr. N. J. Corey.

WAITING IN LINE FOR A CHANCE TO GET INTO A CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY

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IN ANNUAL CONVENTION AT THE CHAUTAUQUA GROUNDS, WINONA LAKE, IND.

5.00 P.M. Lecture Series: "The Use of the Bible in Religious Education," Rev. A. E. Lavell.

8.00 P.M. Concert. Busch's "American Flag" and Parry's "Man and Peace," Chautauqua Choir, Orchestra, Organist, and Soloists

But Chautauqua has achieved its greatest power through the extension of its idea to the unauthorized but worthy borrowers of its name in the Middle West. "Chautauqua summer assemblies" have been held for about thirty years at Pacific Grove, Cal., Piasa, Ill., Bethany, Ind., Battle Creek, Mich., and Monteagle, Tenn. To-day, Iowa alone has 100 such assemblies, Ohio 66, Illinois 52, Missouri 37, Indiana 34, Nebraska 34, Kansas 27, many other states many apiece.

These assemblies are held in July and August, when business is dullest and farm work lightest, and some of them, as Winona Lake, Ind., have grown with the years into miniature replicas of the original Chautauqua, with permanent buildings and a fame for interest and value that attracts thousands of pilgrims every year even from remote parts of the country. These assemblies retain much of the religious element that colors the work of the parent institution. Others, as some of the smaller assemblies in Illinois and Kansas, are merely camp grounds at which the people gather annually to listen

(AT McCONNELSVILLE, O.); AN ILLUSTRATION OF ITS POPULARITY IN THE MIDDLE WEST

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to secular programmes of instruction and diversion that have been prepared by a local committee.

These chautauquas are the chief social recreation of the year in many communities. They draw practically the entire population of the nearby country. In many towns, as in Petersburg, Ill., the stores close at 1.30 in the afternoon to the end of the session and then open only till 7.30 when the evening session begins. In Petersburg even the saloons observe these closing hours. Most of the audience bring their noon-day luncheon and return home every night.

and some season tickets. Tickets are sold for the course of seven days, three sessions a day, for $2.50.

Promptly on the morning of the 11th a special train sidetracks at Sheldon, and a big circus tent goes up, a stage is erected, and seats are set for 2,000 people. A lighting plant is installed and the place is bedecked with flags. Small tents are pitched outside as dressing rooms for the performers. By noon the crowd has come in from miles around, in automobiles and wagons — the whole family, mother, father, and the children, for the chautauquas always have something to please

A TENT CITY AT A CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY

ERECTED TO HOUSE THE VISITORS DURING THE SESSIONS OF A WEEK OR TEN DAYS

all ages with. Lively music attracts the people to the grounds. Ice water takes the place of circus lemonade. The side shows and other evils of the circus are conspicuously absent.

Others yet — but let us visit one of the Vawter chautauquas. Mr. Keith Vawter is their inventor, and they exist as yet only in Iowa, northern Missouri, and southern Minnesota. An advance agent comes to Sheldon, Ia., let us say, and placards the town with showbills and dodgers, announcing that the chautauqua will come to town July 11th and stay until July 17th. Flags and banners are hung about the streets, dray horses are covered with dusters bearing "chautauqua" in big type, and boys wear caps and buttons bearing the same legend. A balloon is sent up and when high in the air releases a fluttering medley of advertising matter

By 2.30 in the afternoon the audience has been seated by the uniformed attendants, announcements are made, and the chautauqua is under way with a concert by the Maurer Sisters' Orchestra. Then Mr. William Jennings Bryan mounts the platform and talks for two hours. In the evening there is a humorous lecture. Every morning the hour beginning at 9 is devoted to the children; and then a lecture follows. Note their titles; these

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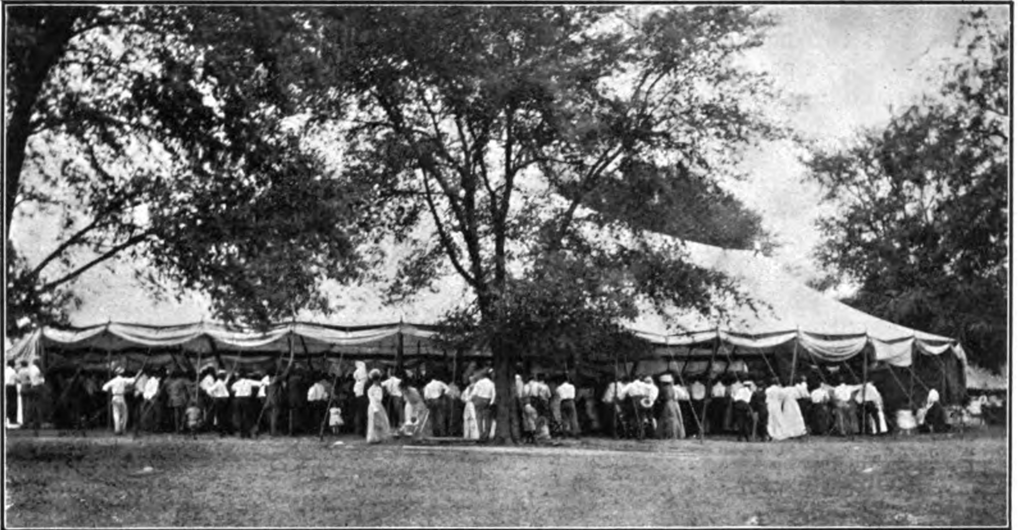

"STANDING ROOM ONLY" AT A TENT CHAUTAUQUA
AT MAYSVILLE, MO., THE AUDIENCE DRAWN LARGELY FROM THE TENT CITY SHOWN ON THE PRECEDING PAGE

are the "inspirational" lectures that are the ideal of the present leaders in chautauqua work: "The Miracle of Genius," "The Masters of Destiny," "The Discovery of Joy," "The City of the Soul," and "The Awakening of Woman." Every afternoon there is music and an address: historical or instructive, as "A Chapter in the History of Liberty," by Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus; or on current politics by a leader in public life, as "Problems of American Citizenship," by Senator Joseph L. Bristow. In the evenings, humorous lectures, feats of magic, travel lectures, or pictures and — always — music.

Thus, at an average daily cost of 35 cents, a quarter of a million people in 75 towns in three states last summer attended three sessions a day at which they got clean, high-grade amusement,

A CHAUTAUQUA IN THE OPEN AIR
EX-GOVERNOR HANLY OF INDIANA MAKING AN ADDRESS BEFORE A SUMMER ASSEMBLY AT OBERLIN, KAN.

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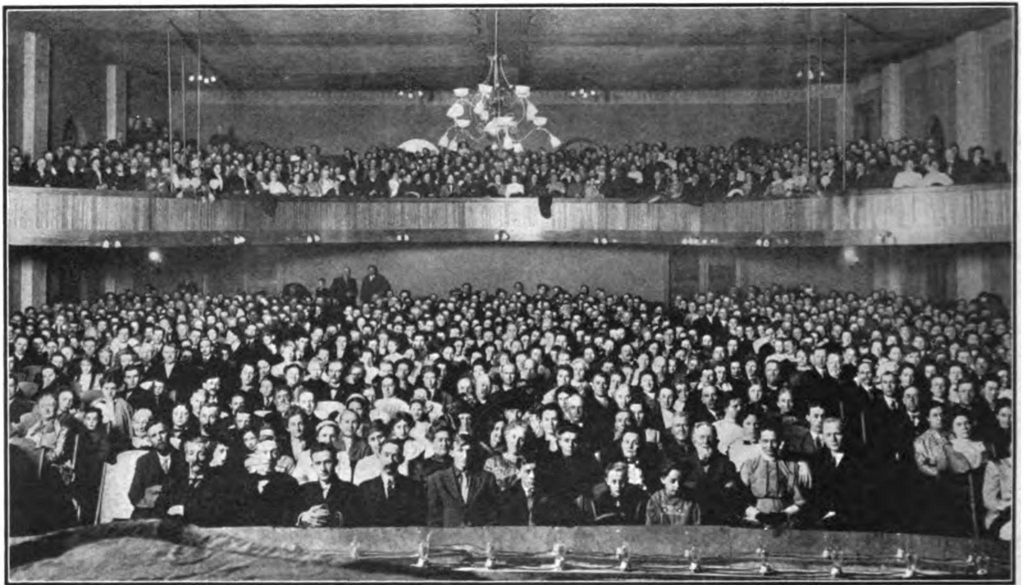
inspiration, education, good music, and a glimpse of two national political characters for the cost per session of two short moving picture performances or the cost of one very bad cheap vaudeville show.

The programmes of these tent chautauquas are run off with the smoothness and precision of theatrical performances. Eight of them are in operation at once, so that when Senator Bristow finishes his address on politics he takes the next train out of Sheldon for the nearest other tent of the circuit, probably arriving just in time comfortably to make his scheduled place on the next day's programme a hundred miles away.

Most of the chautauquas, of course, are not run this way, but are organized and managed by local people, who go to the lyceum agencies or direct to the "talent" for the attractions to make up their programmes. But the Vawter system is the latest development of the chautauqua idea, and its programmes are characteristic of nearly all the Western chautauquas.

Some of the older institutions, like the original Chautauqua, retain the religious impulse. Hence, at Pontiac, Ill., the hour from 9 to 10 in the morning every day is the "devotional hour." But, generally, the chautauquas have greatly diluted the religious element. The present leaders in the movement declare that its first function is inspiration, with instruction and entertainment as necessary and natural adjuncts; but they find the inspiration in uplifting lectures rather than in devotional religion.

The lyceum's origin and history are quite different from the chautauquas', but the two institutions now run so close together in their sources of material that they are practically under the same management and animated by the same ideals. The lyceum is a winter institution and its programme consists usually of six numbers, presented one at a time on evenings about six weeks apart. In these respects it will continue to differ from the summer chautauquas, whose entire programme is lumped into a few successive days.



A TYPICAL LYCEUM AUDIENCE

IN THE THEATRE AT LAWRENCE, KAN. LYCEUM COURSES ARE USUALLY GIVEN IN THE WINTER EVENINGS

The lyceum was founded upon the demand for a free forum for the abolition and temperance propagandas while the pulpits were closed and the newspaper columns denied to the advocates of those causes. Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo

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Emerson, John B. Gough, Susan B. Anthony, Henry Ward Beecher — these were the founders of the lyceum. It served their purpose and they passed on.

But the lyceum continued. James Redpath, its most successful manager, developed the lyceum from a lecture bureau system in which he was supreme. Upon the retirement of Mr. Redpath, Mr. George H. Hathawey and the late Major J. B. Pond became the managers. Mr. Hathaway is still at the head of this bureau, having been continuously in the business for more than forty-five years. In 1880 Major Pond retired from the bureau and began the personal management of distinguished platform people. Major Pond's method was to contract with men and women of established reputation — explorers, preachers, authors, or singers — for a certain number of appearances and then to book these attractions along the route of tours that often were as long as a circuit of the United States. From 1874 to 1887, Henry Ward Beecher delivered 1,200 lectures under Major Pond's management; Mark Twain and George W. Cable in joint readings earned $36,000 net profit in two seasons; Bill Nye, James Whitcomb Riley, and George Kennan traveled together in 1888–9 as a lecture "team"; Henry M. Stanley gave 110 lectures in the United States and Canada that earned $287,070 in gross receipts (this is the greatest success ever achieved in the lyceum); in 1895–6 Mark Twain made many thousands in the American part of his round-the-world tour; in 1901 Ernest Thompson Seton delivered 260 lectures in 26 weeks, a feat of endurance hard to rival. Major Pond also managed reading and lecture tours of F. Hopkinson Smith, Thomas Nelson Page, Lieutenant (now Rear-Admiral) Robert E. Peary, F. Marion Crawford, A. Conan Doyle, Max O'Rell, Lew Wallace, "Ian Maclaren," Anthony Hope, Hall Caine, and many others.

Major Pond's attractions were expensive and distinguished people whose lectures appealed to large city audiences. Two independent lecturers now work this field with extraordinary success: Burton Holmes and D. L. Elmendorf, with their illustrated lectures on travel. Both these men are naturally speakers of great charm who work up their materials with consummate art. Each has a gross income of more than $100,000 a year from a season of only ten weeks.

THE LYCEUM TO-DAY

But the development of the lyceum has been to become a series of performances by less notable people, and the place where it has taken firmest hold is in the smaller towns all over the United States. Here, in 12,000 villages and small cities, local committees or individuals manage such a course, nearly always as a public service, for a manager is lucky if he does not have a deficit at the end of the year. Hundreds of these courses are given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., as at Canton, O., where the assistant postmaster, Mr. L. T. Cool, has been the chairman of the lyceum committee for 27 years. Often the course is managed by a school official who wishes to add its educational and moral influence to that of the school. The Buckeye Theatre, at Elkhart, Ind., uses a ten-number course to fill in open dates. Mr. M. L. Weisenbarger, a merchant of Arcanum, O., manages a course and gives a ticket to one number of the series with every $5 purchase made at his store.

A typical lyceum season course is much like a typical day's programme of a chautauqua. Thus a course of six numbers ordinarily includes an inspirational lecture or an address by a public man, an evening of magic, a humorous lecture, and three musical evenings divided between a male quartet, an orchestra, and a musical "company" that presents a mixed programme of instrumental and vocal music and humorous dialogue or perhaps an abbreviated version of a grand opera.

With the remarkably rapid growth of both chautauquas and lyceums, the demand for "talent" has increased tremendously. This demand has enhanced the importance of the lyceum bureaus that supply the performers, and these bureaus, in turn, stimulate the organization of new lyceums and chautauquas by every art that they can devise. There are nine or ten principal bureaus — the

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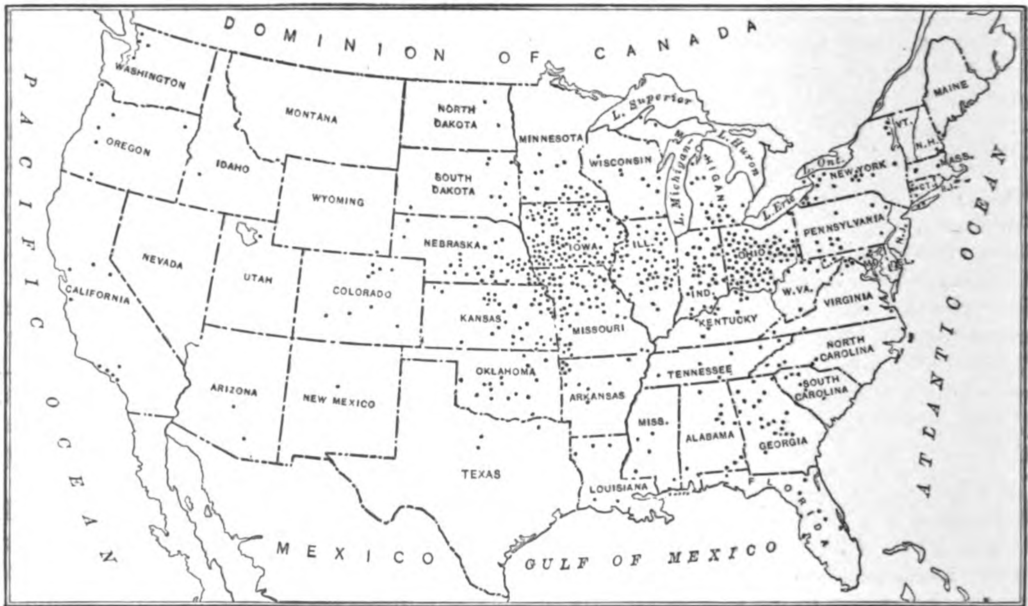
Redpath, Mutual, Coit, Alkahest, Central, Eastern, White, Midland, Davidson — and about forty smaller agencies. These principal bureaus alone sell annually between 4½ and 5 million dollars' worth of bookings to the local organizations and they, in turn, receive about 7 millions a year from the public appearances of these attractions.

The methods of these bureaus are almost identical with the methods of large vaudeville circuit managements. They buy outright, at so much a week, the time of musicians, magicians, opera troupes, entertainers, humorists, and those lecturers who make a profession of lyceum work; and they "book" these "attractions" along the route of regular tours, selling the dates for as much more than they cost them as possible. One of the bureaus employs a staff critic, a musical director, and a special company organizer the year round. It books its people for complete transcontinental tours from New York to San Francisco. Its business amounts to more than 1½ millions gross every year. It even publishes a journal for lyceum committees, which it distributes free to 28,000 committeemen.

The rise of the lyceum has also created a new specialized profession of lyceum entertainer. He (or she) must provide amusement or recreation of absolute cleanness and of a refining and elevating quality. It is remarkable to what degree the lyceum entertainment, in spite of its now largely commercial management and its frank adoption of vaudeville booking methods, has yet maintained its atmosphere of wholesome and innocent divertisement.

Mr. Montaville Flowers, the president of the International Lyceum Association, says that "the only arts indigenous to the lyceum perhaps are the popular lecture, the cartoon lecture, the monologue, and the male quartette," but adds that "there are other arts that are legitimate there." Mr. Leland Powers was the earliest impersonator on the lyceum stage and, probably is still the most distinguished, though he rarely appears now. Mr. Benj. Chapin's impersonations of Lincoln are perhaps as well known to the public as the work of any active man in the profession. Of the cartoonist lecturers, Mr. Ross Crane and Mr. Alton Packard are among the most popular.

The following extract from a letter



"THE CHAUTAUQUA BELT"

THE DOTS INDICATE THE TOWNS IN WHICH SUMMER ASSEMBLIES ARE HELD EVERY YEAR

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clearly describes the difference between the casual and the professional lyceum performer:

The lyceum and chautauqua attractions are divided into two classes — the people who are on the platform because of a fame made in other lines of activity, and the people (far the larger number) who have won their place on the platform from sheer ability to make good thereon.

The first class includes the public men and celebrities. Part of them make good from ability. They are the only ones who remain after a season. Bryan, Champ Clark, La Follette, Folk, Hoch, the roll of governors, legislators and judges is long. Most of them make good. But Bryan is the only one who can draw his fee [its value in attendance] on chautauqua or lyceum course.

The second class includes the long list of lecturers, writers, readers, entertainers, and musicians who really keep the lyceum and chautauqua alive. They are the lifeblood, the survival of the fittest. Making good is their daily business. After the people have been collected to hear a "great gun" and (usually) are disappointed, while the treasury is depleted to pay the big fee, the professional lyceum talent puts the people back into good humor by "delivering the goods," and at modest figures. Dr. A. A. Willits, past ninety, helped to make the lyceum along with Beecher, and is yet alive and filling occasional dates. Col. George W. Bain is yet filling full seasons. On the honor roll are a multitude like Strickland W. Gillilan, Leland Powers, Doctor Cadman, Col. G. A. Gearhart, Katherine Ridgway, and musical clubs like The Chicago Glee Club, The Apollos, The Dunbars, etc.

The "talent" have their "union," the International Lyceum Association, which is made up of 762 members. It is at once a distinguished and a various body. Hon. Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, belongs to it; and so does Von Arx, the Magician. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, rubs elbows at its meetings with the Beulah Buck Quartet; and Senator Vardaman of Mississippi fraternizes with Balmer's Kaffir Boys.

CHAUTAUQUA LECTURERS' FEES

The rewards of the lyceum and chautauqua performers vary greatly. William Jennings Bryan makes $50,000 a year as a lecturer. Ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon, ex-Governors Folk, Hoch, and Hanly, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, and Mr. Francis J. Heney every one make $10,000 a year or more. Speaker Champ Clark, Senators La Follette and Bristow and Gore, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Governor Hadley, Representative Victor Murdock, and the Rev. Drs. S. Parkes Cadman, Frank W. Gunsaulus, and Newell Dwight Hillis would every one make that much if he devoted his whole time to it at the rate he now receives for as many dates as he can spare from other work. These men ordinarily

THE CITIZENS
ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE
ANNOUNCE A COURSE OF
FIVE SUPERB
ATTRACTIONS
For the Season of 1911-12
SEAT SALE STARTS OCT. 20 AT 9 A. M.
CALVIN'S SHOE STORE
Positively no reserved seats are to be sold prior to this date. Out-of-town patrons may order by mail from Secretary Wm. S Wright, who will select the best available seats in the order that letters are received. Get your reservation promptly and insure a good seat for entire course
ATTRACTIONS
The Anitas
A Singing Orchestra NOV. 6
Edward Amherst Ott
The Purposeful Orator JAN. 10
William Rainey Bennett
Lecturer and Entertainer FEB. 27
Strickland W. Gillilan
Poet and Humorist MAR. 15
Mendelssohn Male Quartet Co.
APRIL 22
SEASON TICKETS $1.00 RESERVED SEATS 50c EXTRA

A LYCEUM "SHOW BILL"

ANNOUNCING A CHARACTERISTIC METHOD OF SELLING TICKETS FOR A TYPICAL LYCEUM COURSE

receive $150 to $200 and their railroad fare for every lecture.

These are the "top-liners." Lesser attractions are paid from $25 to $100 an appearance. Perhaps $50 a week is a fair average for the humbler "entertainers" who are hired by the year by the bureaus.

Perhaps as much as anything an observer notes the uncertain standards of the lyceum and chautauqua movement. Just now it is in the formative stage.

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This accounts for the astonishing variety of types of people that are engaged in its activities. Two paragraphs picked at random from the news items in *The Lyceumite and Talent,* and the *Lyceum World* — the leading journals of the movement — will illustrate this point.

Dr. Hugh Black gave a delightful lecture on the big course furnished Wilson College at Chambersburg, Pa., by President Reaser. Other numbers on this course were Campanari and Madame Emma Eames.

J. Mohammed Ali, the Happy Hindoo, has moved back from Oshkosh to Detroit, Mich., and is now ensconced at 834 Humboldt Ave. There is to be no let up to his lyceum activities.

Of its development along its own more distinctive path, the following letter voices the ideal of one of its leaders:

It should be emphasized in any story of the modern lyceum and chautauqua movement (I call the chautauqua the lyceum revival meeting) that the aim is not educational. It is not university extension. The aim of the lyceum and chautauqua is inspirational. It is to hold up high ideals before the people and show them how to attain them. It is to make better towns, and homes, and to inspire young people for higher things and to give the old sinner new hope. I have been in the lyceum work fifteen years and I have gathered much evidence of the power of the lyceum along uplift lines. It is a popularized extension of the pulpit, with sterilized entertainment added.

I think the lyceum is just beginning. It has doubled its dimensions in a decade and yet managers admit we haven't more than scratched over the ground. The cities know little about the movement. It is rooting in the country and small town.

Altogether, it is a tremendous movement, grounded in the life of the common people and urging them by pleasant paths always toward a higher vision of their destiny, easing the ascent by innocent broad humor and embellishing it with glimpses of the more gracious arts. It is a curiously American development — indeed, as an ex-president has said, "the most American thing in America" — and one that we need not, on the whole, be ashamed to own.

"WHAT I AM TRYING TO DO"

TO MAKE THE AMERICAN NAVY THE MOST POWERFUL, BECAUSE THE MOST EFFICIENT, IN THE WORLD

BY

GEORGE VON L. MEYER

(SECRETARY OF THE NAVY)

THERE is a watchword of the Navy Department which I think I am responsible for and which exactly describes the administration's attitude — it is "Economy with Efficiency."

The efficiency of our navy has never really been questioned — a glance at the records of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Spanish-American War will show you what I mean — but, particularly of late years, there has been a decided tendency away from some of the economical features. This propensity we are now trying to counteract while at the same time we wish to increase the strength of our fighting force.

"Economy" is a much abused word; it is often used as a synonym for "parsimony"; light expenditures are frequently alluded to as "economical expenditures." But no idea could be further from the truth. True economy is almost synonymous with efficiency and, as such, both are essential to the proper up-building of our navy, a procedure which I am sure every thinking American desires to see carried as far as possible.

One of the economical measures of primary importance, in my mind, is the consolidation of naval bases so as to eliminate, as far as possible, the cost of maintaining navy yards which bring in

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little return for the money spent upon them. Soon after accepting the secretaryship I made a close study of the problems on the Atlantic Coast from the Mississippi to Eastport, Me., and laid the matter before the General Board of the Navy and the Joint Army and Navy Board for consideration. Both of these bodies reported that the ideal plan would be to have two great naval bases on the Atlantic Coast in harbors which could receive and maintain the entire fleet and its auxiliaries.

Philadelphia, they added, was valuable as a base for the reserve fleet, while the station at Charleston, S. C., should never have been built but, being there, it could be used for a torpedo base. At Key West there is a station for torpedo vessels maintained more as an adjunct to Guantanamo (Cuba) than as an extensive naval base. But, reported the Joint Board, the only two places which could receive the fleet and all the auxiliaries, with harbors and anchorage sufficient for such purposes, were Hampton Roads and Narragansett Bay. Stations here would protect the entire coast, provide excellent bases for the North and South Atlantic fleets, and enable us to do away with our other yards — or to maintain them merely for docking purposes.

So far as the Gulf of Mexico is concerned, the General Board is of the opinion that the navy yard at Pensacola, Fla., and the naval station at New Orleans, La., are not necessary and may, at the discretion of the department, be closed at any time. Key West is considered the most important of the naval stations on the Gulf coast, because it is the nearest port within the continental limits of the United States to the naval base at Guantanamo. It also commands two eastern entrances to the Gulf.

The most important strategic points on the Pacific Coast are Puget Sound and San Francisco Bay, but the navy yards at these localities are not, as yet, adequate in their docking, repair, and supply facilities for the maintenance of the fleet for any prolonged period.

Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, owing to its advanced position and natural advantages as a naval base, is practically indispensable to our fleet in any operations against an Asiatic power and would be a great menace to us if it were permitted to fall into the hands of an enemy. It should be made as nearly impregnable as possible in order that it may be safely held and that the fuel and supplies of our fleet may be kept intact.

TO ABOLISH SUPERFLUOUS NAVY YARDS

We are at present embarrassed by a superfluous number of navy yards, distributed along the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Louisiana. This calls for a vast amount of money to be expended for maintenance, absolutely unnecessary to meet the actual requirements of the fleet. But nothing can be accomplished in the abolition of needless navy yards until their uselessness becomes so evident that local interests will be overcome by the nation's interest in meeting this question on broad, patriotic, business principles.

Another matter of economy — apparently small in itself, but of great public moment — is the employment of retired naval officers [who are prohibited by an act of Congress (June 10, 1896) from being so employed] in commercial organizations which manufacture iron, steel, armor plate, guns, ammunition, etc. In England, Germany, and other countries this is allowed and I consider it a great education for an officer to be able to go out, with the consent of the Government, and study with or be employed by concerns which are experts in their lines. There are also occasions when it would be very advantageous to us to grant a man leave of absence and let him study in the very corporations where they are making supplies; but we are prohibited by law from doing this.

It was believed when the Chandler bill was passed that the employment of officers by such concerns might influence the contracts between their employers and the Government. The department believes that that opinion should no longer have any weight, since the number of firms entering into the manufacture of steel and other material used by the Government is so great that our interests are amply protected. A repeal of the

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Chandler bill would greatly aid the navy in bettering its grade of offensive and defensive materials, and at the same time it would provide an economical measure, inasmuch as it would enable us to save on contracts and salaries of retired officers who would then be able to enter other employment.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT ABOARD SHIPS

Passing to the consideration of efficiency I may mention, as an indication of the progress which has been and is continuing to be made, the remarkable increase in the gunnery efficiency of the navy, due to the introduction of principles of scientific management.

In the battle practice of recent years the competitive system has given remarkable results. Officers drill and train their crews; every man is carefully selected according to his physical and mental qualifications to do the duties at the gun, and each individual is tested repeatedly to discover which is the best suited to the job at hand. The result is that every man at a gun station is the one best suited in every way, physically and temperamentally, for his particular duty.

The study of the time element in certain operations has been going on for years and a marked decrease in the amount of time necessary to perform these operations has resulted.

The first step was to make more rapid the work of each individual, rendering his movements as simple and easy as possible, preserving at the same time a uniform harmony insuring lack of interference. In order to obtain these ends each individual was first made to go through his work slowly, so that accuracy and perfection of each operation were obtained and unnecessary movements eliminated. This plan not only insured perfection of detail, but unconsciously each man was training his muscles so that they would quickly respond to his call and he would feel the minimum of fatigue.

As perfection of detail increased, speed was sought for and each man's work carefully timed by a stop-watch. In this way it was found that it required 2 1/5 seconds to open the breech of a 12-inch gun; 1/5 second to put in the primer; 3 2/5 seconds to ram the projectile; 4 1/5 seconds to ram the powder; 3/5 second to withdraw the loading tray and 2 3/5 seconds to lock the breech — or that 13 1/5 seconds necessarily elapsed between shots, exclusive of the time which must be allowed after the detonation before the opening of the breech.

Having attained a high standard of speed in the accurate firing of one gun, the drills are extended to the whole broadside of 10 or 12 turret guns.

The object sought is indicated by the opening statement in "The Rules for Battle Practice, 1911": "The measure of the battle efficiency of any vessel is her ability to deliver the greatest number of hits in the shortest possible time after the enemy is sighted and with the least expenditure of ammunition."

REMARKABLE EFFICIENCY IN GUNNERY

As a result of scientific management the hitting power of the fleet at long ranges has improved remarkably. Within the past two years the target has been much reduced in area but, even with this handicap, in the 1911 spring battle-practice of the Atlantic fleet, the 12-inch guns doubled the scores made at the practices only six months previous.

With the improvement in gunnery has also come a noteworthy improvement in preparedness for battle. The rules have been so drawn as to direct thought toward what may be expected in an engagement. Casualties have been simulated and unexpected difficulties have been thrown in the way of the gunners by the officers controlling the fire, so that they may be prepared to meet all obstacles. None of our vessels are now "smooth water" ships. The Department has demanded that the training be done on the open sea, where the rolling and pitching require the most expert skill on the part of the gun-pointers in order to hit the target. Further, it has been assumed that the vessels may have to fight in the most unfavorable weather and, therefore, the rules for the battle-practice have required the ships to train for engagements in rain, snow, and foggy weather, and

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generally when conditions are most unfavorable.

In the competitive battle firing the conditions are made just as severe as those which would obtain in real action. The firing vessel has no knowledge of the speed, course, and distance of the target vessel. All she knows is that somewhere on the horizon, at a distance of ten miles or more, is a column of smoke which marks the vessel at which she is to shoot. She steams toward it at her best speed and opens fire at whatever range she chooses, but the value of hitting at long ranges is forcibly impressed upon her by the amount which is added to or subtracted from her score for the shots which hit beyond 12,000 yards or under that mark. The whole firing is over in four minutes and the ship has no other chance to make good if she fails in this. No excuses are accepted for failure of guns to fire, for breakdowns of any character, or for any faults of the personnel or material.

For evidence of the value of competition in gunnery, compare the fighting efficiency of the vessels during the Spanish-American War and at present. The percentage of hits in 1898 was 3½ with the large guns firing about once in five minutes at short range. The percentage of hits in the recent firing at the *San Marcos* (the old *Texas*) was 33⅓, the range being 10,000 yards and the present rate of firing about ten shots in five minutes. A roughly drawn comparison shows that we are about 1,200 times better in gunnery efficiency than we were at Santiago.

ECONOMY IN FUEL CONSUMPTION

Modern principles of management have been applied not only to gunnery but also to engineering, with the result that the Atlantic fleet now burns less coal per knot in steaming 12 knots than it did at 10 knots speed during the trip around the world. In almost all cases ships now continue to exceed on full power trials their trial trip speed and with greater economy in coal and oil. These results were produced by energetic attention to duty, in which losses and wastes were eradicated in boilers, engines, and auxiliaries. A constant stream of detailed information on design and operation exists between ships and the Department, and vice versa, so that officers may readily benefit by the experience of others; that good organization and sound practices may become standardized, and methods of doubtful expediency be brought under widespread discussion.

Supervising the entire scientific management of engineering, gunnery, and the rest is an advisory board before which are laid the questions relative to detail of execution arising in the different branches of the service. This formation of a thinking body which advises but does not execute, together with the direct instruction of the workman through each motion which makes up his daily work are two portions of the theory of management in the navy which are essentially new.

I have endeavored to create an advisory board of the highest possible executive ability in the Navy Department at Washington by taking four experienced officers as aides to advise me in questions of administration of the fleet, of the personnel, of the material, and of inspection — the four natural divisions of the military work of the Department. These aides advise me and the approved plans are executed by the commanders of the fleet and the chiefs of the several bureaus.

As an example of the manner in which this procedure works out I may mention that not long ago a board of scientific management experts visited the Atlantic Fleet and reported that the battleships were the finest examples of organized efficiency they had ever seen.

The adoption of like plans in the navy yards presents many difficulties, for the work there is largely of a repair nature and the time of completion may, at times, be more important than the cost of the work. However, I am giving the matter much attention and the yards will eventually be brought to as high a state of efficiency as is consistent with military necessities.

MORE SHIPS, MORE MEN

Now as to the most important item of all — the immediate need of more ships and the men to man them!

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The present relative standing of the great naval powers of the world is: England, Germany, United States, France, Japan.

Now the Department knows, and Congress knows, that if we build but two battleships a year we will have fallen to fourth place by 1916 — the order then being: England, fifty-two; Germany, thirty-two; Japan, twenty-one; United States, twenty; France, nineteen. If we authorize but one ship a year we will drop to fifth place as we will have but sixteen ships to France's nineteen.

This includes only the "capital" ships — the Dreadnaughts and Super-Dreadnaughts upon which the entire strength of our naval fighting force depends. At present we have only twelve capital ships, built and building, but we have a number of old-type battleships which are rapidly becoming obsolete; for there is nothing which "goes out of style" as rapidly as do battleships; and when you consider that they cost in the neighborhood of $10,000,000 each, you will realize that "keeping up with the fashion" in navy architecture is rather an expensive process.

But it is an essential one if we desire properly to protect the many thousands of miles of coast and the billions of dollars' worth of property situated near the sea — to say nothing of saving our insular possessions from the grasp of the enemy in time of war.

The opening of the Panama Canal will greatly increase the efficiency of our fleet, permitting, as it will, the rapid passage of the vessel from one ocean to the other. But the Department has taken this into consideration in submitting the estimates for the new battleships, and I do not see how we can maintain our supremacy with less than two first-class battleships a year, in addition to a number of high-speed cruisers to harass the enemy's commerce and out-steam their big ships.

THE NEED OF AUXILIARY SHIPS

With our immense coast line and the whole of Central and South America to separate the east from the west coasts — as it now does — we should need double the fleet of such countries as Germany, France, or Japan whose coast line is practically continuous. In time of peace it is pointed out that we will never have war, but history shows that wars come with little or no warning. There is no time to build battleships or submarines and it is impossible to buy them. Congress should provide the auxiliaries, destroyers, etc., that go out with the battleship fleet, but when war comes the auxiliaries will not sink an opposing fleet — only equal battleships can do this.

The Department recognizes the value of torpedo craft and submarines and would be glad to have more of them, but it is of the opinion that, until more of our old battleships are replaced, it is wiser to provide for two battleships annually than to sacrifice battleship strength for vessels of less military value.

The other vessels in which the navy is deficient are battleship cruisers — big 27,000 ton vessels with a speed of twenty-seven or twenty-eight knots, such as both England and Japan are building as rapidly as possible — which could run away from a battleship fleet and completely destroy commerce and harass seaports; scouts, destroyers, submarines; repair, supply, fuel, ammunition, and hospital ships, and tenders to torpedo vessels. A number of gunboats, river gunboats, and tugs also are required for the routine duties of peace as well as those of war. The number of such vessels, except gunboats and tugs, should be proportioned to the number of battleships — for example, there should be four destroyers and one scout for each battleship, one repair ship for each squadron of eight battleships, etc.

On this basis our present fleet is deficient by eight battleship cruisers, eighteen scouts, eighty-two destroyers, six tenders to destroyers, three repair ships, five supply ships, three hospital ships, four ammunition ships, twelve fleet fuel ships, twenty-two submarines and ten tenders to submarines.

But even with the ships now on hand we are short of the number necessary to man all the serviceable vessels, and there is an absolute necessity for the enlistment

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of 4,000 men at once to take charge of the new vessels and to care for the ships which we are forced to place in reserve owing to lack of men — and appropriations — properly to man them. Shortly we will have twelve old-type battleships, five old-type armored cruisers, and twenty smaller gunboats and cruisers in reserve, with only about one fourth crews to care for them. Four thousand additional men at the present time would enable us to man the active cruising fleets and at the same time care for the vessels that will shortly go in reserve according to our present plans.

The Navy Department is being run economically, but it is futile to expect that, with a constantly increasing number of ships and new demands upon those already in service, we can get along with the same number of men that we had some years ago. As an example of the ratio at which Congress allows us to enlist men I might mention that, during the period from January 1, 1909, to January 1, 1912, the number of navy officers increased 346, the number of enlisted men increased 5,366, and the displacement was increased 132,000 tons! This is discrepancy that is visible even to the eye of the landsman.

In addition to more men and more ships the navy also needs a complete wireless system—for which Congress has been asked to appropriate $1,000,000 — and a number of hydro-aeroplanes which I believe will take their place as the "eyes of the navy" just as the aeroplanes are used for scouting and other duties in the army of every progressive nation.

In past years the United States navy has proved itself the superior of any with which it has come into contact — its present apparent strength is below that of at least two other world powers, but I think that, were it put to the test, it would easily demonstrate its military efficiency.

At least, that is what I am trying to bring about.

WILSON–TAFT–ROOSEVELT

THE CANDIDATES COMPARED — AN INTIMATE EVENING WITH EACH

BY

A COMMON ACQUAINTANCE

COMPARISONS are odious. They are also inevitable, when three men of origins so similar and yet of characters so sharply contrasted as those of Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Wilson are running for the Presidency. I have found it rather interesting to compare and contrast the three, as I know them, personally and privately, in their characters as men, not officials.

The three are sons of families of about equal prominence and standing in their several communities: the Roosevelts and Bullocks and the Tafts and Torreys were people of substance, and the Wilsons and Woodrows were people of intellect. The three eminent sons of the three families were born within two years of one another; Wilson is nine months older than Taft, and Taft is a year and a month older than Roosevelt. All three went to good schools; there are no better colleges than Princeton, Yale, and Harvard. Differences in their characters appeared already in the varying manner in which they comported themselves at college: Wilson read books of his own choosing, toiled to perfect himself in writing and debate, became a favorite and a leader, and was graduated forty-first in a class of one hundred and twenty-two. The year before, Taft had been graduated from Yale second in a class of one hundred and twenty-one. The year following, Roosevelt took his degree at Harvard with honors in natural history and claiming to

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have held for a short period the light-weight sparring championship.

Since leaving college, Wilson has been eighteen months in public office; Roosevelt eighteen years; Taft, except for four years, has been continuously in office since 1881 — in all, twenty-seven years.

Taft is fat; Wilson spare; Roosevelt muscular.

Taft, for all his 270 pounds, is one of the best of dancers, and dearly loves a reel or a waltz; Roosevelt is not a fairy on his feet; Woodrow Wilson has been known to do a cake-walk with almost fatal results to his small audience.

President Taft is the most careful dresser, inclining to striking waist-coats — which are well displayed on the most prominent feature of his anatomy. Wilson much affects gray. He generally wears in his tie a pin representing the arms of the State of New Jersey; his watch-guard, under his vest, bears a Phi Beta Kappa key. Roosevelt is often distinctly slouchy; a very low collar is an invariable feature of his attire, and he wears a campaign hat whenever he can. Not many Americans have seen Mr. Roosevelt in a suit of evening clothes and a silk hat at noon. I have. "Never felt so much undressed in my life!" he whispered.

All three are "blue-"eyed. Taft and Wilson have slight imperfections of sight. Wilson corrects his with a gold-mounted eye-glass, which he lifts to aid his *pince-nez* when he reads. Roosevelt's protruding eyes need strong correctives constantly.

Taft plays golf with zest, and watches a baseball game with the enthusiasm of an abandoned "rooter." Wilson was once told by the captain of the "nine" that endured him for a few weeks at college that he would make a baseball player if he were not so damned lazy. He still umpires an amateur game now and then — and plays amateur golf. Roosevelt's sport is killing things.

Taft is fond of the theatre and of travel. Roosevelt furnishes his own excitement. Wilson's chief secret joy, so it was told me by a more intimate friend than I pretend to be, is to pull an old hat over his eyes and walk through the city streets where the thickest throngs are, like Poe's "Man of the Crowd." The Governor is no relation of Poe's "William Wilson"; he may have a dual nature, indeed, being a compound of the contemplative and reserved man with the enterprising and ambitious man, but his moral nature is single and constant.

Mr. Roosevelt is an abstemious liver. He does not "drink," though the wide-spread belief that he does will probably never die. The fact is Mr. Roosevelt's demeanor and actions are much of the time those commonly exhibited by an intoxicated man. He is in private just as he is on the stage — T. R. never leaves the stage.

THEIR IDEAS OF HUMOR

All three are fond of merriment. Taft is half the time in paroxysms of laughter; his eyelids half closed, his double-chin quivers, and his body heaves; sometimes he is silently choked, and then a hearty laugh rings out. Roosevelt's laughter is a soul-searching performance, convulsing his features while his voice rises to an inarticulate, falsetto scream. Wilson's laughter, no less hearty, is more controlled, though it sometimes interferes with his speech. Wilson laughs aloud less readily than do his rivals, but he smiles much more than they do — the friendly, pleased smile of a man who likes clever words, original turns of thought or expression, oddities and whimsicalities, and who always has an eye and an ear open for a whisper of humor or the bright eye of a passing conceit, while not averse from an occasional knock-down and drag-out joke.

All three are jokers. Taft likes his good and strong, and has plenty of friends — Knox, for example — who sees that he gets them of that brand. Wilson is the most confirmed and the liveliest story-teller. He is a rare impersonator. Gaunt and long-limbed, perfectly ready to "give himself away," in any skylarking that may be going on, Wilson, in his times of relaxation, makes a good imitation of a comedian. Roosevelt, though he is most violent and vituperative in speech, never crosses the line of conventional modesty, never utters a word that a young girl might not hear. He has a line of rather

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fierce jokes of which of latter days he is fond of delivering himself. Taft is particularly happy with darkies. I was at the White House one day when a colored brother called to thank the President for his presence at a meeting the evening before in the interest of some colored institution.

"And how did the collection turn out?" inquired the President with grave anxiety.

"Well, sah, jes' toll'able, sah, toll'able," replied the visitor, noncommitally.

"I suppose that means you got your hat back!" laughed the President.

THEIR TREATMENT OF VISITORS

In nothing is Roosevelt more sharply contrasted with the rival candidates than in treatment of the visitor. President Taft and Wilson pay attention to a caller; they listen, listen patiently even to the fool, the babbler, and the bore. Roosevelt never listened to anybody in his life. I have never witnessed anything funnier than the vain efforts to speak made by men whom T. R. had sent for for information, but who came only to be drowned under the spout of his vociferation, and dismissed without having had a chance to finish a sentence.

It is said that Mr. Taft has moods in which he allows himself to be irritated by petty things. If this be true, it is no more than might be said of a great many men habitually occupied with big things. The little things must be made smooth for them or there is trouble. Wilson still occupies himself too much with little things that he could better trust to others, but he never allows himself to be perceptibly annoyed. Roosevelt gets shockingly angry with offenders — or those whom he regards as offenders — but never about petty things. Indeed, nothing is petty when it has attracted Mr. Roosevelt's attention. It is instantly a crime against high Heaven; it is infamous; it is treasonable; the culprit is no common misdemeanant, he is a vicious malefactor, a debauched knave, a desperate demagogue, and a witless fool; he has violated every principle of decency; he is a fellow marked by utter absence of morality, sodden lack of conscience, low servility to greed.

Mr. Roosevelt miscalls people to their faces. He arraigns them as if they were before the judgment seat of the Almighty. I have heard him tell the managing editor of a newspaper which had printed editorials criticizing the Administration policy that he was an impious craven who ought to have the sense to believe, even if he could not understand, that the President was an agent of Providence whose will it was wicked to try to thwart and dastardly even to question. I have heard him berate a Congressman who had signed a report displeasing to him in language like this:

"This is a clear case of violent conspiracy! It is a most outrageous act — a cowardly and outrageous act! You have put a stain on the flag! You have done America a wrong which it will take years to wipe out." And so on.

That affair came up in Congress on an inquiry by John Sharp Williams as to whether the President had not violated Section 6 of Article I of the Constitution, which provides that no Representative of the people shall be called upon to account in any other place for his utterance in Congress — a provision, Mr. Williams said, that had been inserted because it had been the habit of George III of England to call to the Palace members of Parliament and berate them for their votes. In response to Mr. Williams's inquiry, the abused member arose and said that it was true that "the President had intimated that the report might have been worded in a happier manner!"

This is the way in which for years T. R. has been allowed "to get away with it."

President Taft would have made fun of his caller and got in a few serious, telling words. Mr. Wilson (the "offense" being clearly a debatable one) would have reasoned sympathetically with the visitor and won him over. That is what he did, over and over, at Trenton with members of the legislature. They began by opposing bitterly everything he proposed and denouncing him as a kid-glove interloper who would soon be sent about his business, and they ended by voting through his measures almost unanimously and asking for more. Brief as has been Governor Wilson's official life, there is no record in

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our politics of a leader who has won over more of his enemies. The man who made at Baltimore the speech putting him in nomination was the man who a little more than a year before had nominated Wilson's chief opponent for the New Jersey Governorship. The instance is merely typical. It has been a wonderful sight at Sea Girt recently to see the procession of famous Democratic leaders from all parts of the country come along to make their sullen submission to the "new boss," and to observe how, after a handshake and ten minutes' talk, they run over each other in cheerful haste to pass under the yoke.

THEIR APTITUDE FOR PUBLICITY

There is a constitutional difference in the way in which the three men regard the business of publicity. Mr. Roosevelt has had a more vivid and constant sense of the value of the advertising man than any other American has ever had; he has played to the press more continuously and more adroitly than any other public man we have ever had.

Mr. Wilson appreciates the importance of publicity; he is hospitable to newspaper men, always accessible by them and frank with them; but he has not yet acquired any skill in using them. He is still singularly innocent as to the possibilities of getting "good stuff" into the papers. It has been very hard work for his secretaries even to get advance copies of his speeches; and, since the nomination, dozens of "stories" which Roosevelt would have recognized as good for "front-page display" have failed to reach the ears of the eager reporters. There are a score of bright fellows encamped around the telegraph office by the side of the Little White House at Sea Girt this summer, and one of the Governor's secretaries is especially charged with the duty of looking after them; they have easily persuaded Mr. Wilson to give them a quarter of an hour every morning and afternoon. But it is only by tiresome watchfulness that the press secretary can get hold of the striking incidents of the busy days, and it is only by questions that the Governor can be brought to tell the most important news to the group ready to seize any picturesque item and to turn it into a big story to transfix the attention of the country to-morrow morning. They are all his admirers, but the newspaper boys often yearn for the good old days at Oyster Bay, when the keenest newspaper artist in the profession seldom let a day go by without handing out a "scare-head" about himself.

It was interesting to observe the demeanor of the Wilsons under the unaccustomed trials to which the reporters and photographers are subjecting them. They have faced more serious trials together, and they submit to this one as a family united in resignation. On the part of the young ladies there may have been perhaps a little pleasurable excitement in getting into a motor-car while the motion-picture camera looked on, but they were all very self-conscious and guiltily suspectful that they were making guys of themselves. T. R. always has one eye on the camera brigade and is unhappy if it is not on hand; he will postpone a gesture any time until the last photographer gets his diaphragm adjusted.

Mr. Taft not only lacks the instinct for publicity, but he has a contempt for it. I have heard him explain, "I don't want any forced or manufactured sentiment in my favor." It was in the White House and a visitor was urging a campaign of press education, saying that all the country needed to bring it to the President's side was a better knowledge of his ideas and his aims; that Mr. Taft had only to open the sluices a little and to let out a few facts, and his opponents would be silenced.

"I simply can't do that sort of thing," the President replied. "That isn't my method. I must wait for time and the result of my labors to vindicate me naturally. I have a profound faith in the people. Their final judgment will be right." But Mr. Taft will do nothing to help the people to come to a judgment. If he is misjudged, he has himself to blame for it. No public man can afford to neglect the press. Mr. Taft easily accords opportunity for long and frank conversation with reputable writers who ask for it, but he invites nobody, and never makes an occasion.

And yet Mr. Taft is the only one of the

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three who has ever been in newspaper work. As a young man he was court reporter on the Cincinnati *Times* and later on the *Commercial.*

THREE MOODS OF SELF-REVELATION

This article is intentionally a mere collection of personal impressions; it is confessedly subjective. I am going, in conclusion, to set down here recollections of three evenings, one with each of the rivals, and perhaps the most agreeable hours I ever spent with them. They are not to be described in detail, but of the general spirit of each occasion I may speak:

The first was with Mr. Roosevelt, soon after the close of his Presidential term and near the end of the voyage on the *Hamburg,* when he was enjoying his first opportunity in many years for rest and retrospect. The ship had passed Gibraltar and entered the Mediterranean; we were steaming, toward sunset, along the coast of Spain. I joined Mr. Roosevelt for a walk on deck. We gazed together at the purple headlands, overhung by the glittering snow-peaks of the *Sierra Nevada.* Mr. Roosevelt's spirits rose in sober elevation as he gazed at the land which had been the theatre of the long struggle between Moor and Christian, and turned from that to look down at the sea fabled since earliest history began. He talked of the Hellenic adventurers who had sailed out to the Pillars of Hercules; of the ghostly fleets of successive generations that had glimpsed the splendid panorama of the shores — galleys of Phoenicians, transports of Iberians going to the Punic wars — down to the magnificent modern armadas whose prows had cut the indigo waters.

It was a delightful hour, for Mr. Roosevelt has a vivid martial and romantic imagination. But his talk was all of expeditions of war, descents on the coast, burning cities, pirates, heroic forays, actions at sea. This I will say, that he had to be reminded that the biggest fleet that ever sailed these waters — a fleet at the sight of which Jason would have swooned, and Villeneuve stared, and Nelson been confounded — had been there by his own orders. I reminded Mr. Roosevelt of that, and he stopped in his walk and looked out over the rail and back again and broke into a grin and a chuckle and exclaimed: "By George, that was me, wasn't it!" And then he woke to real enthusiasm and told with uplifted fist and flashing eye what that fleet would have done if it had ever had a chance, by George!

The second was a late autumn afternoon at Beverly-by-the-Sea. It was on the eve of the long tour of the country which President Taft made last year. By hard labor, Mr. Taft had got ahead of his work (a thing most unusual for him, it may be said) and had an hour or two for rest. He used it sitting before the dying log in his study and meditating out loud on the subject that really lies near his heart: the prospect of international peace.

I was the only listener. For an hour the President soliloquized. It would have startled conservative patriots could they have heard him. There was no length to which the head of the nation was unwilling to go to avoid bloody conflict, no length, I mean, in the direction of substituting arbitration for war. There was no scorn which the tongue of man can utter that he did not pour out upon the savage, childish folly of standing men up to shoot at each other because the governors of their countries have been unable to agree.

That is all: Mr. Taft's thoughts, in his evening hour, turned to peace. With a heat of conviction of which those who do not know him would not have believed him capable, hurling his defiance into the face of the hollow popular sentiment that passes for patriotism, Mr. Taft talked of peace. Mr. Roosevelt, on another evening, watching the sun go down, had babbled of battles.

The third scene was an evening with Woodrow Wilson at the cottage at Sea Girt. There had been high sport at dinner on the broad trellised piazza, and Mrs. Wilson and her eldest daughter had been laughingly bundled into the motor-car for an evening's entertainment at Spring Lake, a mile or two up the coast. Somehow a different mood fell as we who were left sat down in the gathering twilight in the big

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hall. There had been a disputed quotation at dinner, and Miss Jessie Wilson had slipped away and brought back the volume in order to verify it. It lay on the table now, an anthology of verse — not Palgrave's nor any that I know — and Mr. Wilson took it up and fingered it lovingly. The other daughter, Miss Eleanor, went over and perched on the arm of his chair, and in a moment he was reading bits of poetry, and soon we were all swapping our favorites. Everybody's favorites, I suppose they were — "Tintern Abbey," "The Ode to a Grecian Urn," and the rest, favor passing gradually toward songs of heroism like Matthew Arnold's "Let the Long Contention Cease," Arthur Clough's "Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth," and Edmund Sill's "Opportunity." That, by the way, Mr. Wilson confessed one of his prime favorites; so let it be set down here for that reason and to point the contrast that will appear in a moment. Sill's verses run:

This I beheld or dreamed it in a dream:
There spread a cloud of dust along the plain,
And underneath the cloud, or in it, raged
A furious battle, and men yelled, and swords
Shocked upon swords and shields. A prince's banner
Wavered, then staggered backward, hemmed by foes.
A craven hung along the battle's edge
And thought, "Had I a sword of keener steel—
That blue blade that the king's son bears—but this
Blunt thing!" he snapped and flung it from his hand,
And lowering crept away and left the field.

Then came the king's son — wounded, sore bestead
And weaponless—and saw the broken sword,
Hilt buried in the dry and trodden sand,
And ran and snatched it, and with battle shout
Lifted afresh, he hewed the enemy down,
And saved a great cause that heroic day.

Now Theodore Roosevelt reads poetry sometimes, and his favorite happens also to be called "Opportunity." John J. Ingalls wrote it, and during Mr. Roosevelt's presidential term a copy of it hung over the mantel of the executive office. Here it is:

Master of human destinies am I.
Fame, love, and fortune on my footsteps wait;
Cities and fields I walk; I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote, and passing by
Hovel, the mart, and palace, soon or late
I knock unbidden once at every gate.
If sleeping, wake — if feasting, rise before
I turn away. It is the hour of fate,
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death; but those who doubt or hesitate,
Condemned to failure, penury, and woe,
Seek me in vain and uselessly implore.
I answer not, and I return no more.

I submit that the difference in the moral as well as in the artistic elevation of these two ideas of Opportunity is significant of the contrasting nature of the men to whom they respectively appeal.

But Mr. Wilson did not read his real favorite until the evening was gone and bed-time had come. Then, his daughters conspiring, a volume of Wordsworth was produced, and we listened to "The Character of the Happy Warrior." Being well past the years of sentiment, I yet admit that I have seldom been so moved as I was at the noble words as they were read that night. That the reader felt any emotion would have been imperceptible to a stranger, so controlled was his voice and his look. It was the recital, by a great soul, of words well approved of the great souls of the generations since they first were written — a description of the character of the true knight. It was impossible not to feel that it was a description, in some particulars peculiarly apt and intimate, of the character of the reader — a revelation of himself truer than any he could otherwise possibly ever have given. The poem is too long to set down here, but here is a little of it:

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
. . . . 'Tis he
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife
Or mild concerns of ordinary life
A constant influence, a peculiar grace;
But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,

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Is happy as a lover, and attired
With sudden brightness, like a man inspired.

. . . .

He who though thus endowed as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes,
Sweet images! which, where so'er he be,
Are at his heart.

I think it not at all a fanciful conceit to believe that I have seen two Presidents and one President who is to be, in twilight self-revelations: one, of his ruling passion for contests of physical strength; the second, of his extreme devotion to peaceful paths; the third of a natural gentleness averse from strife and yet of a soul capable of rising exultant to the storm.

AS A FOREIGNER SEES THEM

WILSON — TAFT — ROOSEVELT

BY

CHARLES OSTER

(THE DISTINGUISHED FRENCH PUBLICIST WHO HAS SPENT THE GREATER PART OF SEVERAL YEARS IN THIS COUNTRY IN CLOSE STUDY OF AMERICAN POLITICS)

GOVERNOR WILSON'S nomination undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new era in American politics. Before all, the Democratic choice is a scholar and a deep student of political problems.

Twenty, or even ten years ago, a man of his type did not receive consideration for any important political office and, if he dared to enter the political field, public opinion would have been very quick to send the schoolmaster back to his books. Some of that feeling still prevails, of course, but it is not dominant as it was then. The insurgent movement started in the Western Universities and the widespread influence of certain of them, especially of the University of Wisconsin, cannot be questioned. The excellent work of Professor MacCarthy and his reference bureau has met general approval and has found many imitators. In 1911 Professor Merriam was nominated and almost elected mayor of Chicago. By 1910 a University man could be elected Governor of a great state and in 1912 nominated for the Presidency by a great party.

College men could hardly put forward one of their numbers better fitted for political office. Woodrow Wilson has not only thoroughly studied the theory of statesmanship, he has proved as Governor that he was also up to the practice. As Governor he has accomplished a great deal, realizing in his executive capacity many things that he has advocated in his writings. He had always said that in legislation, as in administration, the Governor or the President should be the real leader of his party and he showed in New Jersey that this was possible.

And I think that if, on certain questions, the initiative and the referendum for instance, he has changed his mind there is absolutely no reason to question his sincerity. Simply the practice of politics made it clear to him, that to get what they want, the people need new weapons and that the election of good executives is not enough. Instead of standing pat he confessed frankly that he had been mistaken. In doing so he did what in England Robert Peel did on the free trade, and Gladstone on the home rule issue, and in France, what Thiers did on the question of the form of government. At the times of their acts these statesmen were called demagogues, but their fame was not endangered by such arraignments and we think that Governor Wilson's memory will share the same fate.

He is of course in no way a demagogue. He is not even a radical, he is only a pro-

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gressive of the constructive type. Any intelligent man who has had the opportunity of talking at length with Governor Wilson, cannot fail to realize the care with which he has studied every foreign and every internal issue. He knows exactly what can be accomplished in each case. He knows also the usefulness of most of his fellow Democrats and for what each of them is more especially fitted. I should not even be surprised if in his mind his cabinet were already made up, because he has the greatest quality of a statesman — the gift of seeing far and of dealing not only for the moment but for the future. He is, therefore, especially fitted to be the head of the nation. If elected, the affairs of the country will be well cared for and if the necessary progressive legislation is passed it will be done with prudence and without injuring the country's prosperity.

He has also the attractiveness and the magnetism of a leader. His oratory is marvelous and except the great French orator Waldeck Rousseau I never heard anybody who can as well make clear to an audience his ideas without arguing, simply by laying them out in the most admirable classical form. It is always a pleasure for me to hear him, and in spite of being somewhat blasé on political eloquence I never fail to do so when opportunity offers. In strength of character he is peerless. Nobody can influence or frighten him. His record in New Jersey has showed that he understands how to deal with the bosses. This was perhaps his weakness in Baltimore, because if opposition to the bosses makes one popular with the people it is not quite so with the politicians. He won, however, in spite of a combination of bosses against him, because these men did not dare to oppose popular sentiment. He is the stronger because he has refused to commit himself to any patronage promises and if he enters the White House he will go in without being hampered by any personal pledge to anybody. Of course his election to the Presidency is not absolutely assured. He will have to meet certain opposition. The bosses and the worst elements of American society will do all they can to defeat him. But I am not so sure that this will not be an advantage rather than a handicap.

Governor Wilson's opponents have based their hopes on the foreign born vote which generally went Democratic in the last elections. They will try to deprive him of such support by using certain sentences written by him about undesirable immigrants. What he wrote on the subject, however, meets the approval of the best and most far-sighted citizens of the United States. He only expressed the opinion of the great majority of his party. Such principles did not hurt the party in the past, they will not beat Governor Wilson in November.

MR. TAFT'S FAILURE

On the Republican side the prospects are far from being so good. It is a current saying to-day that the regular nominee of the party, Mr. Taft, has no chance whatever of election. Nobody questions to-day that the administration of a man whose success was four years ago generally predicted is a failure. Of course some of his achievements are very good. His judicial appointments are generally considered as the best made for years. His courageous opposition to the recall of the judges merits only praise. His advocacy of reciprocity with Canada and his prosecution of certain trusts make a good record. In spite of this he is looked at by the average Amercian as a man without character and as a tool of the interests.

The reason for it is that in reality the place for Mr. Taft was not in the White House but on the Supreme Bench. His judicial mind, accustomed to weigh everything, did not give him the executive ability to decide at once. In addition to that Mr. Taft all his life has been a judge or an administrative official. He had never played the difficult game of politics before. He knows only the theory of it. He does not understand the practice and is therefore doomed to defeat by his political awkwardness and by his overdoing of good political themes.

Mr. Taft knows for instance that a political leader must stand by his party, but he is mistaken when he assumes the responsibility of a tariff which is not his

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own. He knows that a chief executive must defend his officials, but he goes too far. In defending Mr. Ballinger he breaks with Mr. Pinchot whose friends all over the country form a solid back-bone of opposition to the President. He knows that a political leader must try to save his friends whose election is endangered, but there is no reason to make as unpopular statements as he made in his Winona speech trying to save Representative Tawney. He knows that a President must, in a democracy, keep in contact with the masses and explain his acts and his policies. He does not realize that if the American people like to see their chief executive sometimes, they do not want to see him all the time, and that his constant touring of the country makes him the target of legitimate criticism and makes people believe that he is only seeking reëlection. His mania for taking the stump all the time is especially unfortunate because he has none of the qualities of the stump orator. His simplicity of expression has become proverbial. He admits having written an important political speech on a train. He says, "I was too long a man of straw," "I am a rat in a corner." Such statements do not add anything to his prestige and injure greatly his reputation as a statesman. More and more the average citizens question his Presidential fitness, more and more he becomes weak with the masses. Since his unfortunate primary campaign this became apparent even to the blindest.

Mr. Taft has of course some admirers and followers. His amiable manners have made him a favorite in the drawing rooms. The lawyers, even the Democrats, like his ways and his person. He has won by his courtesy the heart of the Southerners and one cannot hazard criticisms of his policy in that part of the country without being met by the reply: "You must be prejudiced against the President." Unfortunately for him all this support is of no help to him. The drawing rooms have no political influence whatever, the legal profession is, in contemporary America, the most unpopular one, and historical reasons make it impossible for the South to vote for a Republican.

Mr. Taft was not the kind of President the people needed in 1908. The rank and file felt this even when they elected him. They voted for him reluctantly and only because it was against Mr. Bryan and because he was indorsed by Mr. Roosevelt, then at the climax of his popularity. Since his election that feeling has increased. The President has tried to be a harmonizer but the people wanted a fighter. The President does not realize that the popularity of President Roosevelt, of Governor Wilson, of Governor Hughes, is made up of their opposition to the bosses. He thought he would succeed better in working with the party organization and with Congress, without understanding that their unpopularity was so great that it would reflect upon himself. If he had come when the people were tired of a long struggle he would perhaps have been successful as was a very similar man, President Hayes. But to-day the American people want a Jefferson or a Jackson, and Mr. Taft is not of that type. He has failed, therefore, and after four years leaves his party weaker and more disrupted than it ever was since its foundation.

MR. ROOSEVELT AND DISRUPTION

Of course he alone is not to be blamed for that deplorable state of affairs. Former President Roosevelt shares to a large extent that responsibility. With all the good he has done in awakening the country from a long sleep and in lifting ideals to their legitimate place, with all the popularity he won by such a course Mr. Roosevelt was an overpowering adversary for Mr. Taft. Roosevelt's victories were sweeping and undoubtedly he was the choice of the rank and file of his party for the nomination. Regardless of the merit of his contests for delegates at Chicago, which were not all of the best, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt won almost every time when the people had their say in a primary ballot. But his victory to a large extent proved a political boomerang. The violences which marked the primary campaign did not please everybody. Many began to believe what each of the opponents said of the other, and the feeling spread that neither of them was now fitted for the Presidency. People will realize

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this in November and will be surprised at the large share of the Republican electorate which will have left the Republican ranks.

Of course the reason for the break in the party is even more profound. Sooner or later it had to come because it was impossible to keep under the same flag men of as different character and tendencies as Senator Penrose and Senator Poindexter. One of the two elements had to leave the party. But the third party is rather a personal party than a party of principles, and without the backing of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity its weakness would appear very soon.

Of course this element will enable it in November to make some show; it is even possible that to a certain extent the 1912 campaign will be a repetition of the 1856 campaign and that Mr. Roosevelt will beat Mr. Taft as Fremont defeated Fillmore. For the success of the progressives this fall I do not see any chance and I do not imagine that the most intelligent of the insurgent leaders entertained such a hope. However, with Mr. Roosevelt anything is possible and I should not dare to forecast a certain defeat of so resourceful and skilled a politician. But his victory would only be a personal victory, not a party victory, because his magnetic personality is much stronger than the ideas he spreads and the principles he advocates.

COMMUNITY CONTROL IN CANADA

HOW TRUSTS AND BOOMS HAVE FORCED SOCIALISTIC LAWS UPON A CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE — CANADA'S EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

BY

ELMER E. FERRIS

NOTHING could be much more shocking to the average Canadian, especially to the Canadian farmer, than to be told that he is a Socialist; and he might even resent rather hotly the statement if any one asserted that he was living in a highly socialized land. "We are conservatives here," he would say, with the pride that no one but a provincial can put into the word. But the fact is that, in Canada, some of the most radical measures of government ownership that exist anywhere outside of Germany have lately been adopted; and the reason that the prairie dweller does not suspect that these laws are "advanced" is that they are the result of his own unsensational meditations and not of the red flag or the agitated mob.

The thing that set the farmers thinking was the trust situation. This developed in Canada rather differently from the way it did in the United States — much more rapidly and more riotously. In 1908, there were few corporations worthy of the name in the Dominion. In 1910 the Minister of Labor, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, said that there was hardly a day when the newspapers did not make mention of some new consolidation.

By the end of 1911, practically all the necessities of life were under corporation control. Meanwhile, however, the farmers of the Northwest had begun to analyze the situation. Confronted by a constantly rising scale of prices on the staple commodities that they had to buy, they were at the same time forced to let their farm products go in the markets at a much smaller amount than formerly. This last injustice they attributed to the elevator and meat combinations. The elevator trust had obtained control of the storage, grading, and marketing facilities of grain throughout these provinces. The individual farmer, possessing none of the facilities, was forced to sell to it and to receive, in grading and prices, largely what it was pleased to give.

The same conditions existed with re-

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ference to the meat trust. It gained control of all the slaughtering, storage, and marketing facilities. The farmer had to sell his live stock upon the hoof to the combination at such prices as it might arbitrarily fix — and with the same result.

The elevator companies and meat companies, of course, deny that there is any combine, or that there has been any artificial lowering of prices. These questions, however, have been frequently threshed out, both by private and Governmental investigations, and the people have reached a conclusion, the earnestness of which was demonstrated in Manitoba in 1910 at the March session of the Provincial Parliament. This body passed two remarkable measures: one, entitled "An Act respecting a System of Government Elevators"; the other, "An Act respecting the Live-Stock Industry."

The former act conferred upon the province of Manitoba the power to acquire, construct, and operate grain elevators at any places within the province. It made provision for the issuance of bonds and for the appointment of three commissioners who were to have sole charge.

The other act provided for "establishing and operating a public abattoir for the slaughter of cattle and other live stock, with a suitable cold-storage plant." It also provided for a bond issue and for the appointment of commissioners.

Immediately afterward, three capable and experienced men were recommended for commissioners by the Grain-Growers' Association and were appointed by the Government. Similar action was taken with reference to the live-stock measure. The Elevator Commission at once sent out a staff of experts to investigate elevator facilities throughout the province, and an engineering department began drafting a new elevator system. There were 300 grain shipping points in the province. During 1910 the Commission purchased 163 elevators that were already fully or partially equipped, and they erected ten new elevators. Their first annual report declares that 107 Government elevators were put into operation during the season and, notwithstanding that in many districts crop conditions were poor, they handled 3,354,100 bushels of grain. Almost a million dollars was expended in purchasing, equipping, and building elevators. The report adds that the results of the season's operations were satisfactory and demonstrated that the Government elevator system can be made a success.

The Board of Abattoir Commissioners, when they took up their task, found themselves confronted by difficulties that compelled slower progress. It was obviously necessary to provide stock yards and railroad facilities in connection with a public abattoir, and this involved a separate enterprise of even greater magnitude. After numerous conferences with the three leading railroad companies of Canada, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the board filed, on June 24, 1910, a preliminary report in which they recommended that a corporation be organized for the purpose of constructing suitable stock yards. Acting upon this recommendation on March 24, 1911, the Provincial Parliament passed an act incorporating "The Public Markets Ltd.," authorizing a capital stock of $1,000,000 to be divided between the three railroad companies; the board of directors, not exceeding four, to be appointed by the companies; the Government to appoint a representative who is to be a member of the corporation and attend meetings of the board and have access to all books and records; the allotment of shares of stock and their subsequent transfer to be made under the supervision and with the consent of the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, the Government reserving the right to fix and regulate all rates, tolls, and charges, and also the right to purchase at cost price not more than fifteen acres, within the stock yards, as a site for the Government abattoir and storage plant.

Immediately after the passage of this act the Abattoir Board completed an agreement between the Government, the three railroad companies, and The Public Markets Ltd., whereby there is to be established upon a tract of land in St. Boniface (the city across the river from Winnipeg), not later than October 1, 1912, a modern and commodious stock yards system with all necessary railroad facilities. A report

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setting out this agreement in detail was filed in January, 1912, by the Board, showing that the railroad companies and The Public Markets Ltd. were now prepared to proceed actively and that fifteen acres had been reserved as a site for the Government abattoir, and recommending that the parliament ratify the agreement and make provision for carrying it out. There is no doubt that prompt and favorable action will be taken as soon as the parliament meets.

THE SPREAD TO OTHER PROVINCES

The contagion of these actions straightway spread outside of Manitoba. The parliament of Saskatchewan recently passed a measure incorporating the Saskatchewan Coöperative Elevator Company. Under this measure the province practically finances an elevator system (up to 85 per cent. of the cost) and retains a measure of governmental control. And in Alberta, at present, the inhabitants are besieging parliament with petitions that it take similar action with regard to elevators and abattoirs. More significant still, the farmers of all the provinces are uniting to urge the Dominion Government, and with a good prospect of success, to take over the big terminal elevators at Fort William.

The confidence of the people in a drastic experiment of this sort has been greatly strengthened by the success of government owned and operated telephones in several of the provinces. In Manitoba this system has been in existence for two years with the result that $968,025 was added to the capitalization. In 1909 alone fifty-three new agencies were added; the income for that year was $788,444; rural rates were reduced from $24 to $20, and $170,000 was expended in betterments and in increasing the efficiency of the system. The present capitalization of the whole system is $5,102,977. The last annual report shows a thriving and successful condition. Alberta was the first province to own and operate a telephone system. In 1905 the telephones were owned and controlled by a private company. A law was passed empowering the province to build and operate its own system. The Provincial Government started to do so, whereupon the telephone company discreetly sold out to the province, which for more than four years has been operating it with satisfactory results. Alberta is also coöperating with the farmers in the creamery business. Through a dairy commission it manufactures butter, keeps it in cold storage, attends to its sale and to the distribution of the proceeds among the farmers. The output of the Government creameries last year was more than 1,000,000 pounds.

SOCIALIZATION IN CITIES

But the provincial parliaments are not the only legislative bodies that are seeking to raise economic pressure by socialized law-making. The inhabitants of the western cities have worked out, apparently with real success, some very interesting experiments in municipal ownership.

Edmonton, Alb., with more than 32,000 population, owns and operates not only its electric light plant and water works, but also its entire street railway and telephone systems. So do Calgary, Alb., Regina, Sask., and other cities. Winnipeg, with more than 100,000 population, owns an electric plant, a quarry, and a plant for the manufacture of macadamized pavements and sidewalks. It also owns a railway leading to the quarry and has recently been negotiating for the purchase of its entire street railway system. It is now almost impossible for a private corporation to obtain a public service franchise in any of the leading cities of the western provinces.

But it is in the method of taxation that the most radical municipal experiments are being tried. Vancouver and Edmonton have adopted a modification of Henry George's "single tax" principle; "One tax only and that upon the land." In these two cities, about 95 per cent. of the taxes are laid upon land alone.

Vancouver is the Pacific Coast terminal of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern Railroads. It is only twenty-five years old, but it now has more than 110,000 population. Like all cities of rapid growth it contained a large amount of vacant property that was held for speculative purposes. During the last few years

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all these Western Canadian cities have been passing through the trials of real estate speculations. Real estate speculators in rapidly growing towns reap a large "unearned increment," while contributing little or nothing toward the upbuilding of the city.

In 1896 the City Council of Vancouver passed a law exempting all buildings and improvements from taxation up to 50 per cent. of their assessed valuation. The avowed purpose of this law was to stimulate building and improvements by throwing a larger proportionate burden of taxation upon vacant property. In 1906 the council increased the exemption to 75 per cent., and in 1911 to 100 per cent., thus freeing buildings and improvements from taxation altogether. Edmonton has also adopted this system.

How does it work? Its advocates maintain: (1) that is simplifies taxation and prevents tax dodging; (2) that it provides sufficient revenue without imposing an unreasonable burden upon the land. This claim they substantiate by showing that the rate of taxation has not been increased under the "direct tax" laws. It has remained at twenty-two mills on the dollar in Vancouver during the last fifteen years, because the rapid advance in real estate values has permitted the total revenue to increase without raising the rate; (3) that it stimulates building and improvements. To prove this they give these facts:

In Vancouver in 1895 (the year before the 50 per cent. reduction) the per capita value of building operations was $200. The next year it increased to $245. The year after the further reduction of 25 per cent., there was an increase of $2,283,350 in building operations, and during the year following the final adoption of the single tax they increased from $29,644,720 to $37,658,600. Similar results are cited by the authorities of Edmonton. The present consensus of opinion in both cities seems to be that the system is the most equitable and satisfactory system of municipal taxation that could be devised.

SANITARY SARANAC LAKE

A SMALL TOWN THAT HAS HAD ONLY SEVENTEEN DEATHS FROM CONTAGIOUS DISEASES IN TWELVE YEARS — A MODEL WATER SUPPLY, SEWERAGE SYSTEM, AND A REMARKABLE HEALTH CODE THAT IS ENFORCED

BY

STEPHEN CHALMERS

(The World's Work announced, in May last, a prize of $100 to be awarded for the best article on the sanitary regeneration of a small town. The editors chose the following article, from the many excellent manuscripts that were submitted, as being the most suggestive to other small communities that confront the problem of improving their health conditions.)

A COMMERCIAL traveler came out of the dining room of a Saranac Lake hotel last winter and casually expectorated over the verandah railing. A plain man in plain clothes walked up to him, announced himself as a health officer, and placed the drummer under arrest.

"But — Good Lord!" exploded the commercial stranger. "This is beyond the limit."

"Spitting in public places is a misdemeanor," said the health man, unemotionally.

"But — Great Ginger!" exclaimed the drummer. There was little more that he could say, for he knew of the existence of similar ordinances elsewhere, but elsewhere they were mostly honored in the breach.

"But not here," said the health officer, as he led his prisoner toward the office of a

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justice of the peace. "We had an anti-spitting ordinance in this town before ever the State Board of Health or New York City passed one. We are beating them to it in the enforcement, likewise."

"Well, what's a man to do?" the drummer demanded, furiously.

"There are cuspidors at the hotels," said the officer. "Outside, if you *must* expectorate, use one of these," — handing the prisoner a patent paper pocket cuspidor such as you can buy at any drug store for about a dollar a gross. "And burn the old one before you use a fresh one," added the health officer.

As the drummer was a stranger and did not know his Saranac Lake, the judge discharged him with a reprimand. The first act of the commercial traveler when he regained the street and liberty, was to expectorate once more — this time, let us say, in an excess of agitation. Again a hand fell on his shoulder, and again he was led before the justice.

"So soon again?" said the judge. "Ten dollars!"

As the drummer paid the fine he asked the health officer with much sarcasm if this was the spotless town he had heard of where they scrubbed the streets every morning with patent soap.

"No," said the Board of Health man, smiling. "We just hose the ignorant with common sense and let it go at that."

But Saranac Lake, a pretty little town in the Adirondacks with a population of 5,000, is as deserving of the title, "spotless town," as any place of any size in the United States. Notwithstanding that young inhabitants can remember when there was no railroad connection between it and the world, it has been a pioneer in the practice of a scientific sanitary code. Saranac Lake's code has wielded a widespread influence and its example was not lost upon New York City and upon the New York State Board of Health when the latter came to make its general code. Furthermore, in 1908 a national congress of eminent physicians, assembled at Washington, saw fit to award Saranac Lake a medal for the excellent preventive and curative health ordinances which govern that rural community.

Briefly, here is a town of at present 5,000 resident inhabitants, where, since the health ordinances were put into force in 1896-7 —

1. There have been no deaths from measles or scarlet fever;

2. There have been but 2 deaths from diphtheria, one being of a child *brought into* the town in an advanced stage of the disease;

3. Typhoid fever has claimed only 10 in fifteen years, 6 deaths occurring in the first four years of the Health Board's existence, and the remaining 4 *in the ensuing ten years, when the population had more than doubled;*

4. Tuberculosis claimed, during the first four years of the Health Board's existence, from 1897 to 1900 inclusive, one person in 693; from 1901 to 1905 inclusive, one person in 1,241; and from 1906 to 1911 inclusive, one person in 3,125.

The figures on tuberculosis are for the resident population, which has increased during the Board's existence from about 1,500 to 5,000. In fairness to the town I exclude from death statistics a floating population of about 1,000 persons going and coming to and from all parts of the United States in search of a tuberculosis cure. The present average annual death rate from all causes for the total number of persons in the town is about 150 annually. Comparing this with the figures for the resident population, one will at once perceive where the greater number of deaths from all causes comes from. As a great many victims of tuberculosis go to Saranac Lake as a last hope, and already in a dying condition, it would be unfair to the town to consider such deaths as any criterion of the place's general health.

Twenty years ago Saranac Lake was a backwoods hamlet with a population of less than 1,000, cut off from the world by forty miles of wilderness, drawing its water in buckets and barrels, emptying its sewerage and garbage at the back door, more or less ridden with typhoid, diphtheria, and other communicable diseases. To-day —

1. It has a sewerage and water supply system which is far ahead of that in any other town of its size;

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2. Its streets are paved and the town is lighted throughout by electricity;

3. It has a street-cleaning department, a fire department, an efficient police force, and a body of general inspectors of town conditions;

4. Its merchants and physicians are organized in a Board of Health, a Board of Trade, and a Society for the Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis;

5. Its matrons are organized in a Village Improvement Society for the general uplift of the town and directly for the encouragement of the sanitary household;

6. And it is a town where the percentage of deaths among resident inhabitants, from contagious diseases contracted within the town limits, is a minimum difficult of figuring because several years may elapse without a single death occurring under this head or that.

This last item is the more astonishing when it is considered that a large proportion of the resident population went to the town with tuberculosis, was cured of it, liked the place, and settled there.

The proof of Saranac's claim is that, although there are never less than 1,000 cases of tuberculosis in or around the town (transient patients), there is no case on record of any resident contracting the disease through proximity. The health measures in this rural town are such that any germ of any disease is at least corralled in the person who has it. Saranac Lake has established beyond argument that Hester Street or Hell's Kitchen could be as immune as this mountain town, if either were similarly regulated. The motto of the municipal crusaders against communicable diseases might well be:

"Take care of the garbage and the air will take care of itself."

Everybody who has read the letters written by Robert Louis Stevenson from Saranac Lake in 1887-8 must have a fairly clear idea of what conditions were then.

AS STEVENSON KNEW THE TOWN

It was a scattering of shacks along the banks of the Saranac River, which was at once the main sewer, the main water supply, and the family washtub. Typhoid vied with diphtheria to head the death statistics (if they were ever kept!). The winter air and the night air were dreaded, for those were the dark ages. There was tuberculosis then among the resident population, for it was cold and the houses were kept almost hermetically sealed. The living room was practically the woodyard in winter. Fuel was the principal furniture, for the stoves were voracious. Stevenson was not the only man in Saranac who locked himself up with wood smoke and tobacco reek and turned a deaf ear to that exponent of the efficacy of fresh air, Dr. Trudeau.

The garbage was heaved out at the backdoor (and the door shut — quick!); the water was thawed from blocks of ice of a morning, and there was usually a sediment of mixed matter at the bottom of the family drinking pitcher; and when the spring thaw bared the scrap heap of winter, there came an aroma — no, a plain smell! — upon the land, and much sickness descended upon the people.

In the warm summer months matters were worse — naturally. The only thing that preserved the Saranackers was that they were an outdoor people, of necessity — men of the woods, mighty hunters — and they waxed healthy enough in summer and fall to face winter's insanitary conditions with a mimimum of deaths from diphtheria and typhoid and tuberculosis.

Then came the railroad extension to Saranac Lake in 1888. With the coming of the first train there awakened the native instinct of a shrewd people. At the approach of strangers, Mrs. Saranac rolled up her sleeves and bought a cake of soap. She scrubbed the village from top to bottom (it is built mostly on end), aired the rooms and made a flower garden, while her husband, Silas, put the pig-sty well to leeward, gathered all the information he could get about city ideas and city ways, and prepared to meet the city people for the honor of the family and the village.

But if the city people in 1888 had more ideas about sanitation than Silas Saranac had, a great many of them were wrong. It was not long before Saranac Lake took advantage of every city idea of sanitation that struck the village wiseheads as being good. At the same time, and at the advice

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of Dr. Trudeau, Saranac Lake tabled some accepted ideas of sanitation which, it decided, belonged to the dark ages.

BUILDING HOUSES INSIDE OUT

Then a town began to build — suddenly, it is true, but very carefully. Most of the city people who came to the hills seemed to thrive on the fresh air (it could hardly be on the food, which was distinctly inferior); so between one day and the next shrewd Silas Saranac came to the conclusion that he had been fooling himself all along about the deadliness of air. He acted upon this conclusion and built his new house inside out. To-day the Saranac Lake houses are all inside out, and they will become more so as time and architecture roll on.

Up to 1892, however, nothing really effective was done toward those excellent sanitary measures which were destined to win the medal of a great congress of health experts. Then the man came to the mountain hamlet who was needed to make it what it is — Dr. Ezra S. McClellan, of Georgetown, O.

One year after his arrival the first public water supply was turned on. It came from a reservoir on one of the hills, the water being pumped by a turbine direct from the river. Less than twelve months later, a small sewer was laid. This was between 1892 and 1894.

In later years, when the rapid growth of the community necessitated re-improvement, and on a larger scale, Dr. McClellan, who in the meantime had become a member of an organized Board of Health, was appointed president of a Board of Sewer and Water Commissioners. It was McClellan's enthusiasm more than anything, perhaps — and it shows what one man can do in a community — that led to the installation of Saranac Lake's present excellent water and sewer system. The system itself was planned, I believe, by Professor Olin H. Landreth, of Union College, Schenectady.

About this time the supply dam broke and the water supply was badly polluted as a result. Dr. McClellan started legislation to have the dam rebuilt. A measure was introduced at Albany toward this end. On the day before the signing of bills, Dr. McClellan received private information by wire that Governor Black meant to veto the proposition. The valiant doctor jumped on a train and reached Albany and the Governor at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth second.

"Governor Black," said he, "years ago the state of New York built a dam in the Saranac River six miles above our village. That dam is now dilapidated. The water is frightful. Existing conditions are such that a terrible epidemic of typhoid threatens us. The *village* of Saranac Lake holds the *state* of New York responsible!"

It was a terrible responsibility. Governor Black signed the bill and the dam was rebuilt.

Still the Board of Health of Saranac Lake was not satisfied. Again it was Dr. McClellan who questioned the perfectness of the water supply. After lengthy argument the village found itself in a position to advertise its drinking-fluid as the real honey-dew — the milk of paradise. The town purchased and deeded to the state an isolated little lake at the base of Mount McKenzie. This natural reservoir, fed by numerous mountain brooks, is surrounded by state forests. Bathing, fishing, even boating, are forbidden there. The water is liquid crystal and it is protected by the state for all time.

Incidentally, having now a fine water pressure, another village board organized a fire department and a street-cleaning department, and bought a sprinkler to lay dust. It is really remarkable what a lot of things can be done with plain water — and soap — and a little ginger!

To go back to the real beginning, it was in July, 1896, that Saranac Lake organized its Board of Health. The best of the town's level heads came together at its meetings. One of the first measures passed was the anti-spitting ordinance. This was in December, 1896. Thus, New York City was "beaten to it," as the health officer said to the drummer, by several months.

It is characteristic of the admirable solemnity of a country board that this anti-spitting ordinance was not passed for fun, or to satisfy any faction of the ultra-fastidious. "Good sanitation as well as good manners" required it, said Silas

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Saranac. The man of the street and the hotel verandah who punctuates a yarn with deadly expectorate periods, laughed at the ordinance until he found himself haled before a judge. Nowadays, an arrest for reckless punctuation is rare in Saranac Lake. To some, the cost appeals strongly: to most, the ordinance is too blessed to be violated.

Next, the Board of Health used diphtheria anti-toxin for the first time in Franklin County, and found it good. Then came compulsory disinfection (by the use of formaldehyde) of all rooms in hotels and boarding-houses vacated by persons even suspected of having a communicable disease; and the requirement that hotel and boarding house keepers not only disinfect vacated rooms, but also foot the bill! The Board realized that greater numbers were coming every year to Saranac Lake in search of a cure for tuberculosis, and that it would be a terrible burden upon the taxpayers to pay the cost of the fumigations incidental to a transient population of 1,000, more or less all the time. And so, in most cases, the "extra" creeps into the guests' bills, which is fair enough. In protecting others against him, he is being protected against others. This provision of the ordinance is probably unique in either codes.

A PRIZE-WINNING HEALTH CODE

It was not until 1908 that the work which the Saranac Lake Board of Health had done since its organization in 1896 was published as a completed sanitary code. It was this code which, in the same year, won for the town the silver medal of the Tuberculosis Congress. New York City, I think, took the first prize. This code covers everything imaginable that might touch good health. It even forbids keeping a profane parrot, and, abolishing pigs altogether, declares that in Saranac Lake one must not keep chickens. The latter ordinance, to round out perfection with a flaw, is studiously winked at!

In 1908-9 Saranac Lake put the finishing touches to its town by paving the two business thoroughfares and the main residential street, and at the present moment the paving of the whole town is under consideration. Reeking lamps were abolished years ago. All lighting is now by electricity.

Before Dr. McClellan died he heard men speak of that metamorphosed backwoods hamlet as "the metropolis of the Adirondacks," paved, electric-lighted, modern yet rurally charming, and with an impregnable sanitary code. He could well say, "only seventeen deaths in twelve years from any contagious diseases, including typhoid" — and die happy!

The remarkable thing about Saranac Lake's ordinances is that they mean business until repealed. The town is absolutely in accord about its health ordinances. There are few complaints and few violations. The former are attended to with a promptness, and the latter with a severity, that inspires not so much fear as confidence and respect. But the housekeepers of Saranac Lake are proud of their town and its sanitation. The women are the directors of the Village Improvement Society, which is the censor of every other board or society in town. To the influence of this gentle board of energetic women is due, perhaps, the absence of disorderly saloons, gilded palaces, and the resulting social evil. Few communities of even less than 5,000 inhabitants can truthfully say that there is not a single house of evil repute within miles of its limits.

Then, too, this society of women sets an example and takes a stern interest in garbage disposal, the acquiring and beautifying of parks and playgrounds, and expresses itself (when it becomes necessary) upon matters of street-cleaning, social organizations, the public library, or upon any other subject which it fancies the busy men have overlooked.

After all, health and progress in any community depend upon the proper conduct of the individual household. As woman is, or should be, supreme in the home, it would seem that, after the men have laid the sewer and turned on the water, the rest depends greatly upon the wife and her perception of the real opportunities under her nose.

Mrs. Silas Saranac saw hers and bought a cake of soap. To-day she is, as the Scotch would say, "the proud woman!"

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

POPULATING THE BACK COUNTRY BY ADVERTISING

LYNCHBURG, VA., is one of the first places to realize that the forward-to-the-land movement is worthy of the serious attention of a Chamber of Commerce. This little city, which is one of the wealthiest of its size in the East, lies in the heart of Piedmont Virginia, a country rich potentially but yet poorly developed. Most of the land has been in the hands either of large owners who, because of the very extensiveness of their possessions have not been able to cultivate them properly, or else of small holders too ignorant or too shiftless to do more than eke out a scanty income for their increasing families. In other words, the back country was of too little use to Lynchburg. It lived on its manufacturing industries too completely to think about itself as an agricultural centre.

Two years ago, however, the wastefulness of allowing so much productive land to lie idle was borne in upon the intelligence of the town, and it straightway organized a Chamber of Commerce, which had as its aim the creation of a new rural population — a population of the sort to be consumers of the city's manufactured products and, in their turn, suppliers of the raw necessities of life. A conference was straightway planned and the real estate agents and representatives of the counties and railroads were invited to meet with the new organization. These gentlemen, however, paid no attention to their invitations and the conference had to be abandoned for want of attendants.

Nothing daunted, however, by the first repulse, Lynchburg sent her representatives to the county boards of supervisors and to the railroads to inform them of the new line of progress and to persuade them to appropriate money for advertising their farming districts. The final effort, however, resulted in but a pittance, only $200 each from three counties, $400 from seven or eight real estate agents, and a sum from the Chamber of Commerce sufficient to make the total $2,000. However, that was a start. With it, 25,000 attractive booklets descriptive of the agricultural sections of Piedmont Virginia were prepared and a five months' campaign of advertising was begun.

During the succeeding twenty weeks, 10,000 requests for literature about fruit growing and farming opportunities in Piedmont Virginia were received and answered by the Chamber of Commerce. It was not long before the homeseeker began to follow his letters of inquiry, and during the fall of 1910, a few months after the small advertising campaign was started, more homeseekers were investigating conditions in Piedmont Virginia than had ever before come to the section, and many of them bought farms. In the early months of 1911, another $2,000 was raised, and during the succeeding months this was expended in a manner similar to the first appropriation.

The returns from about ten months of advertising with a total expenditure of less than $4,500 has thus far resulted in the sale of more than half a million dollars' worth of farm lands in Piedmont Virginia. Inquiries came from as far away as Mexico, Canada, and even from Europe; and practically every Northern and Western state in the Union was represented on the correspondence list. One real estate agent reported that he had sold $121,000 worth of land, another had established twelve families on 2,300 acres of land, and another had settled eight families on farm lands that sold for a little more than $30,000. Throughout a list of a half dozen real estate agents who gave in their records, the results were the same; and, in every case, the homeseeker settled down to hard work with the avowed purpose of making the farm pay a profit and of becoming a useful citizen.

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FORWARD TO THE LAND

A FARM INCOME AND A CITY INCOME

A COMPARISON OF ACTUAL FIGURES IN THE EXPERIENCE OF ONE FAMILY

COLONEL J. B. POWER, of Power, N. D., one of the actual builders of the Great Northern and for thirty years a farmer, keeps accurate accounts of his farm expenses and income. He is particularly well equipped to compare the farmer's income with the income of the city man, because he was, to all intents and purposes, a city man during most of his adult life, up to the time he was fifty years old. Now, at eighty, he has had thirty years of practical farming experience, but has always kept in close touch with city affairs.

"One of my sons is president of a bank in St. Paul," said Colonel Power. "Another is president of a large manufacturing company in Minneapolis and a third is here on the farm with me. All are married and have families, and all make good incomes. Of the three incomes, however, that from the farm is not only the most easily earned but it leaves a larger cash surplus than either of my other sons has at the end of the year.

"Our farm here contains 2,500 acres. Counting the land value at an average of $30 an acre, then allowing for the comparatively small value of the buildings, implements, machinery, and the live stock, it represents a total investment of about $100,000.

"We actually till 1,112 acres, which have been carefully surveyed, and the different plots of which are accurately laid out from season to season. Here are my figures for a typical year on the farm.

"In this year we had 480 acres of the farm under cultivation and the balance of the 1,112 acres was pasture land. We had 250 acres in wheat, from which we took 3,930 bushels. This wheat sold for 95 cents a bushel, bringing $3,734. We had 148 acres in oats, from which we took 3,600 bushels, worth, at 30 cents a bushel, $1,080. We had 32 acres in barley, which yielded 600 bushels, worth, at 50 cents a bushel, $300. The other 50 acres of cultivated land was in corn which we raised for fodder to a value of $686, hay of which we got 250 tons, worth here about $2.50 a ton, about $150 worth of potatoes, and the rest was in the garden from which we got vegetables and fruit for our two families — my son's and my own, as well as for the hired help.

"The total cash value of the crops grown on the farm in this year were $6,575. The expenses, mainly for wages for cultivating and harvesting the crops from the 430 acres in wheat, oats, and barley, were $1,955. The corn crop cost $279, the garden cost $100, the hay crop cost $210. The taxes amounted to $200. The total cost in cash of operating the farm for one year was $2,745, which if we had sold all the crops would have left net receipts in excess of expenditures of $3,830. The 1,112 acres of the farm in use are worth an average of $37.50 an acre, or $41,700. The profits from crops on a cash basis figured out 9¼ per cent. on the value of the land

"But this is not all there is of a farmer's profit. We got from the farm without additional labor, pasturage for 75 sheep, 10 milk cows, 20 work horses, and the entire herd of 300 beef cattle. By feeding the corn, oats, and barley to the live stock we got more for these grains than we would by selling them for cash. Wheat is practically the only crop we sell for cash. The rest we convert into beef, mutton, and pork.

"For a period of fifteen years the average cost to me for raising wheat was 43⅝ cents a bushel and the average net price received was 70⅛ cents per bushel.

"The exact profit from the live stock can hardly be figured down to a particular year, as the sales in any one year do not

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represent the product of that year, but of two or three preceding years during which the stock has been maturing. I keep a careful record, however, from which I am able to approximate very closely the yearly cost of the maintenance of live stock. I include in this the cost of making hay on the farm, grain at its market value, the labor cost of caring for the stables and cattle, part of the expense for repairing of buildings and wagons, and the personal property tax on the live stock. I find that it costs $61 a year per head to keep work horses. Horses which are not being worked and consequently do not require so much feeding cost $20 a year a head to keep. Pure bred cattle, kept for breeding purposes, cost about $20 a year a head; whereas beef cattle figure for maintenance about $8 a year a head. Sheep cost $1.60 each per year to raise, and hogs will average a cost of about 3 cents a pound — a cost of $4.50 for a 150-pound hog.

"Taking our average live stock sales it adds another $3,000 net profit to the cash income from the farm, or, in all, something more than 6 per cent. on the investment value of $100,000, not all of which investment, however, is utilized in producing this income, as more than half of the land is not used at all.

"Now consider what we get out of this investment. We have first a living, which includes everything except clothing and groceries, and part of them are paid for by the products of the farm, which are not otherwise converted into cash, such as eggs and butter. This is a living for two families. We have two dwelling houses on the farm, one for my son and his wife and children, and one which Mrs. Power and I occupied as our home until her recent death. To support two families in either St. Paul or Minneapolis, and support them as well as we can support ours on the farm, would cost, with prices for rent, food, clothing, etc., as they are at present, from $2,500 to $4,000 a year for each family. I am in a position to estimate this accurately because I know very closely what it costs my sons who live in those cities to get along. If a living for two families is worth only $5,000 a year in the city, then the income from this farm is equivalent to an income of $12,000 a year in the city.

"In addition there are many other conditions which favor the farmer rather than the city man. My son's manufacturing business pays him a good salary and an income on his stock, but he is facing, first, a constant and rapid depreciation in the value of his buildings and machinery, a fluctuating market which may at any time reduce his profits to a very small amount if not wipe him out entirely, and a tremendous fire risk compared with any such risk we have on the farm. If all of our buildings were destroyed by fire, they could be replaced for probably 15 per cent. of the entire capital value. Depreciation on farm machinery of course figures out at a rapid rate, but the total machinery investment is small compared to that in a factory. The depreciation on buildings is at a much lower annual rate than in the city. And I am not taking into consideration at all here the fact that if we did not raise anything on the farm except barely enough to live on, we would still be making $2,500 a year through the increase in the land value, which will average at least $1 an acre a year, and this very much more than offsets any depreciation in buildings and machinery.

"My sons who live in the city are obliged to live up to certain social standards which involve large expenditures for clothing, entertainment, rent, etc., and though their total incomes may equal the income from the farm, yet neither of them is able to show as good a surplus at the end of the year and what they get they work a great deal harder for than we do here on the farm.

"As farms go, the capital represented in this one is considerable. The average American farm comprises 146 acres; our farm comprises 2,500 acres — 1,100 acres in cultivation. As you get down into smaller farms the comparison between the farmer and the city man of equal income is much more favorable to the farmer. The city workman who earns $3 a day and pays $12 a month rent is infinitely worse off than the small farmer who earns from his farm only barely enough to maintain his family. The city workman is never

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sure of his job any more than the city manufacturer is sure that his business is going to continue to prosper. The farmer, whether on a small scale or a large scale, knows to a certainty that there are going to be more people every year wanting the things which he produces, and that with ordinary intelligence and a reasonable amount of work he can never fail or be out of a job."

HOW TO GET A GOVERNMENT FARM

THERE are 520 irrigated farms ranging from 20 to 80 acres each which the Government wishes to get into the hands of good farmers.

The United States will give one of these farms to any man who has not previously used his homestead rights.

It will, however, make him pay from 40 cents to $1.50 an acre a year for the maintenance of the irrigation system and from $35 to $70 per acre for the water to irrigate it with.

This sounds high but it is not too high for land that yields as much as these lands do and it may be paid in ten installments. No interest is charged. When this payment is made the payer is not only the owner of the land but also part owner of the irrigation system that supplies water to the land — and these Government irrigation works are the best constructed that there are in the West.

This seems to be a golden opportunity. It is. But only for the right kind of a man. To develop one of these irrigated farms takes a man with intelligence and industry, preferably with $1500, $2000, or more capital. If he has experience in irrigating, so much the better; but it is not necessary, for many of the most successful men who have taken the Government farms never farmed by irrigation before.

There are more profits in an irrigated farm than in the usual farm in the humid country, as there is more speed in a thoroughbred than in a common horse, but it takes better men to get the best out of the thoroughbred and the irrigated farm than it does to get along with the ordinary horse and the ordinary farm.

These 520 farms are scattered in eight different irrigation systems or projects in the Northwest. To get one of these farms necessitates a trip of inspection (as the purchase of any farm ought to do) and the signing of various affidavits. However, the United States Reclamation Service, that builds the irrigation systems, will send to any one who applies for it a full description of the different locations and a trustworthy statement of what can be grown there and at the same time explain exactly the procedure which the applicant for land should follow. Any one wishing one of these farms should write to Mr. C. J. Blanchard, The United States Reclamation Service, Washington, D. C.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FARM LANDS

38.—*Q*. What can you tell me about land, farming, climate, soils, prospects, etc., near Mercedes, Tex.?

A. Mercedes is in a section well adapted to the growing of truck crops, corn, cotton, rice, sugar cane, and several kinds of fruit. Although the rainfall averages about twenty inches little agriculture except stock raising is practised without irrigation. Water for stock raising purposes is carried through canals from the Rio Grande and small tributaries that serve temporarily as reservoirs. The land is, as a whole, level, but locally slopes away from the streams causing poor drainage conditions, and occasionally resulting in alkali deposits. The soils vary from clays and silt to light sandy formations nearer the Gulf.

The average annual temperature is 73 degrees F. and the humidity about 80 per cent. The highest recorded temperature at Browns-

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ville is 102 degrees; the lowest, 12 degrees; frosts occur, on an average, between December 20th and February 6th. Educational, social, and industrial opportunities are increasing with the growth of the, at present, small population. Large markets are distant, but transportation facilities are good.

Mr. William Doherty, Kingsville, Tex., Traffic Manager of the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico R. R.; the Superintendent of the U. S. Agricultural Experiment Station at Brownsville; and the Dean of the State Agricultural College at College Station, can supply additional details.

39.—*Q*. I want to go West and farm. I am fifty years old, married, with four children, and about $1,000 available capital. I was raised on an Illinois farm but for twenty-five years have done other work. I would be glad to work for a good farmer for a while.

A. One of the United States Reclamation Service Irrigation Projects in the Southwest should offer an opportunity such as you seek. Write to Mr. C. J. Blanchard, Statistician of the Service, Washington, D. C., for suggestions and advice. Your capital will get you out there and buy a team of horses with which you can obtain work either on the Project or on individual farms, while you are taking up a homestead claim of your own. By leaving your family East for a year or two you could reduce traveling expenses while finding just the location you want. Of course, you will be attempting a new, unfamiliar kind of farming, and must expect plenty of hard work and more or less hardship.

40.—*Q*. Is there sufficient rainfall in the region of Montana tributary to Fort Benton and Great Falls for general farming? (2) Are there available homestead lands in other parts of the state?

A. (1) By using dry farming methods and drought resistant crops, fair results can be obtained in favorable years on the benchlands of this section. The average annual rainfall is, however, but about 14 and 15 inches for the two places, so that irrigation is practically essential for assuring regular, better-than-the-average crops. (2) In the twenty-nine counties of the state there are nearly 15,283,000 acres of surveyed, unappropriated public land open to homestead entry. The greatest amounts in particular counties are 2,366,735 acres in Valley, 1,636,002 acres in Custer, 1,001,799 acres in Rosebud, 910,203 acres in Fergus, 890,502 acres in Dawson, and 838,377 acres in Lewis and Clark counties respectively. Details can be obtained from the General Land Office at Washington, D. C.

41.—*Q*. What are the advantages of Western lands over Eastern lands for fruit raising?

A. Without considering the lands suited to the growth of citrus fruits, it appears that the Western fruit growing sections offer the advantages of (1) virgin soils, (2) favorable climate, (3) abundant sunshine, (4) sufficient moisture (supplied by irrigation if there is any question as to the natural supply), (5) coöperative methods of growing and marketing, and (6) a reputation for fruit production created by enthusiasm and advertising on the part of the local growers. Of course, there are, in many parts of the East, just as favorable natural conditions, equally good markets much nearer at hand, and equal opportunities in general. But to make the results as universally profitable as those of the West there are needed coöperation, system, better marketing methods, and better all-round farming.

42.—*Q*. Can truck gardening be worked at the year round in eastern Virginia?

A. By using cold frames and hot beds for a few months, you can keep busy the year round in the Tidewater Section of the state. At Norfolk, the truck raising centre, the average date of the first killing frost in fall is November 12th, and of the last in spring, March 27th, and the average temperatures for December, January, and February are 42.9 degrees, 40.7 degrees, and 41.5 degrees F., respectively. The ordinary temperatures therefore permit a variety of outdoor work all winter, but the possibility of a freeze renders impracticable the raising of any but the hardiest plants at this time. Of course, the planting and marketing dates are from four to eight weeks earlier than those around New York, and the growing season is proportionately longer.

43.—*Q*. Of whom can I get information about the Canadian Northwest and its agricultural and commercial opportunities?

A. The following will not only supply general information, but can also probably refer you to the best local sources of more detailed reports: G. U. Ryley, Land Commissioner, Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, Winnipeg, Manitoba; A. T. Davidson, Land Commissioner, and Thomas Howell, Immigration Agent, Canadian Northern Railroad, Toronto, Ontario; L. O. Armstrong, Colonization and Industrial Agent, Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal, Quebec; Honorable Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, and the Office of Crown Lands, Ottawa, Ontario.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

[*The* WORLD'S WORK *will publish letters, or extracts from letters, from its readers, dealing in an interesting way with topics of general interest.*]

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE MINISTRY?

TO THE EDITOR: I wish to enter my protest against many of the statements in, and especially the spirit which prompted the writing of, the article in the June WORLD'S WORK, entitled: "The Matter with the Ministry."

My work at present takes me to ministers' homes, and associations, and I never hear them or their wives utter such sentiments. I have endured the criticisms, suffered the persecutions, and lacked for money long due me; but if I were to-day going to decide upon my life's work, knowing what I do now, I would say "the ministry of the Gospel for mine." I am far happier in it to-day than 25 years agone.

(REV.) JOHN H. BRANDOW.

Albany, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR: I cannot avoid writing a letter to the editor for the first time in my life. I have known hundreds of ministers and, wherever the people are facing the primitive problem of making a living from the soil and preserving law and order, the church is a great power. Here in rural Texas the ministers sway public opinion as in the old days. But in the cities the churches are merely social institutions. They don't meet the issues of the day, and I think I know why they don't.

The crimes of the city are the crimes of the counting room — ill-gotten gains. If every minister would demand that no member of his church should own houses rented for immoral purposes, there would be such a fight within the church as would leave the Christians on one side and the people who ought to be thrown out on the other. The job of the church to-day is not so much to spread the gospel — although that is still a job — as it is to scourge out those who pollute its sacred temples in search of profit.

I know ministers who without compromise of any sort whatever have men crowding their churches. They are big upstanding fellows with back bone and belligerency in their fight for the cause of Christ. But most of the ministers I know, while good Christians, are such mollycoddles that if I believed them veritable saints I'd rather take a beating than talk to them. There is just as much room in the Christian church for strong men as ever, and a strong man can easily free himself from petticoat domination in the church. I know several right in my home city who've done it.

CHESTER T. CROWELL.

Austin, Texas.

TO THE EDITOR: One of the most serious defects of ministerial work, if not the most serious, in my judgment, was not stated in "The Matter with the Ministry." This is the short period of actual service in the pastorate. Under that form of church government which gives the individual church the privilege of calling the pastor, the term of actual service is not more than three times the length of the time required for the preparation for the ministry. In many instances it is not nearly so long as this. Large numbers of good and able men are loath to enter a service that will practically terminate at 45 or 50, leaving them without support, without training or opportunity for making a living for their families and themselves.

(REV.) WM. HARRISON DECKER.

Nanticoke, Pa.

TO THE EDITOR: The present age has outgrown the old theology. Since the doctrine of evolution has come to stay, placing primitive man low in the scale of humanity, the old story of the fall of man (a slur on the omniscience of Deity), bodily resurrection, and many other miraculous events are now discarded by all true scientists. The belief is becoming general that we are, and always have been, governed by natural, immutable law, and if we transgress we must suffer the penalty, which is educational, merciful, and makes for progress.

Remedy: The leaders will have to come out and express their honest belief, revise the old creeds, and teach rational doctrines that conform to modern thought.

CLINTON STEVENS.

Malone, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR: I have preached twenty-five years, have had good congregations, have gotten a very good salary, have met with the same kind of people in the churches that every minister meets with and they have treated me well. I have educated my children, have saved

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Mr. William Dohert
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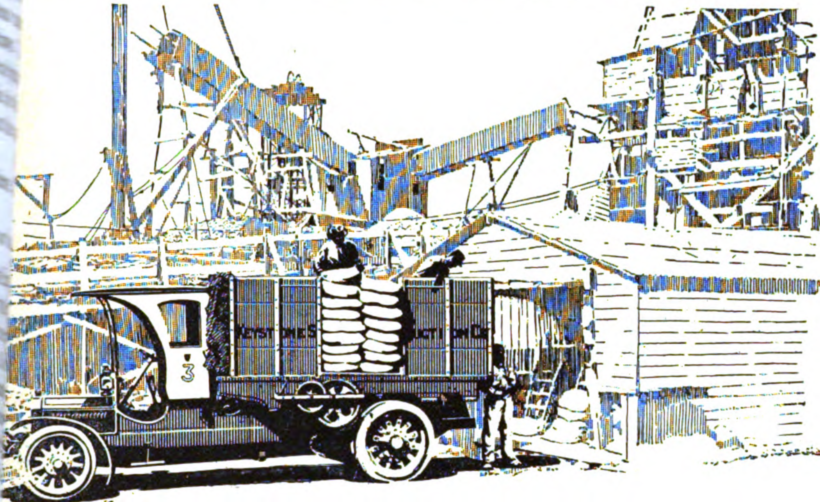

Keystone State Construction Company has four of our trucks in daily service. The truck shown in the illustration has replaced ten teams

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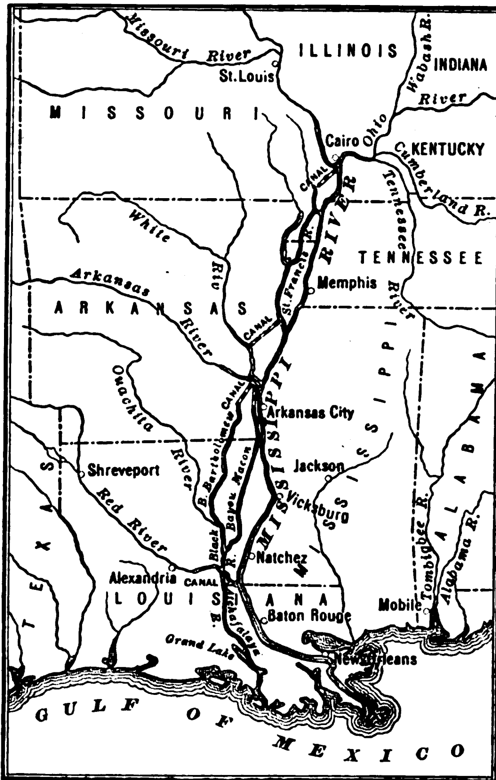
some money, and have received kindnesses unnumbered from the church people. I have had some ambition and have been happy in seeing it in some measure realized. With the observation and experience and reading of twenty years, I do not believe that the conditions in the church to-day warrant the whine contained in "The Matter With the Ministry."

(REV.) W. LOMAX CHILDERS.

Roanoke, La.



A "DOUBLE TRACK" FOR THE MISSISSIPPI

A PLAN TO PREVENT THE ANNUAL FLOODS BY PROVIDING A SECOND CHANNEL FOR THE SURPLUS WATER BY DREDGING THE RIVERS AND BAYOUS THAT PARALLEL THE MISSISSIPPI AND CONNECTING THEM BY CANALS, UTILIZING THE EQUIPMENT AND MEN THAT WILL SOON COMPLETE THE SIMILAR TASK AT PANAMA

TO THE EDITOR: There is and should be a well-marked distinction, in virtue of the office which the pastor holds. The essential dignity of the minister's position is quite generally recognized by the community. And when a clergyman is ignorant of his social relations, the spectacle is not ludicrous but tragic.

Even the ungodly are bitterly opposed to a money-making priesthood, for the heart of the Christian message is self-sacrifice. The common people demand of their pastor what he claims to be: a leader along the hard pathway of the sacrificial life. Let him waive his leadership here and put his trust in the unrighteous mammon, and support is quickly withdrawn. This is not sentiment, but a matter of principle. No man who makes every sacrifice for his people will be allowed to do without the necessaries of life.

(REV.) W. SYDNEY BURGESS.

Shelburne, Mass.

WHY NOT DOUBLE-TRACK THE MISSISSIPPI?

TO THE EDITOR: Appalling destruction was caused by the recent overflow of the Mississippi River: the territory most largely affected being Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana. Thousands of square miles of fertile land were covered from five to twenty feet deep with water that came through the breaks at Luna, Ark., and Alsatia, Torras, and Hymelia, La.

The Nation must grapple with this problem and not require the comparatively small population which has heretofore borne the major portion of the expense for levee maintenance by direct taxation to care longer for the drainage and flood waters of two thirds of the United States — of all the territory lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains.

Because of the topography of the country, it is possible to do as the railroads do when a single line has too much traffic — *to double-track the Mississippi River*. I suggest a spillway or a canal commencing just below Cairo, leading from the Mississippi River to the system of bayous and rivers that runs parallel with the Mississippi through Big Lake, utilizing in the same general direction the White, Arkansas, Bartholomew, Boeuf, Macon, Tensas, Black, Red, and Atchafalaya rivers, all of which run parallel to the Mississippi River a sufficient distance to lend themselves to this plan, flowing, most of them, from one into the other, and making necessary but comparatively short and inexpensive canals from one river into the other. *The entire system of dredging and canals would not cost one quarter of the actual loss occasioned by this overflow of* 1912.

This entire country is almost a dead level and without rock, presenting only the cheapest class of excavation. The entire construction would not cost more than one of the Gatun locks; and, with the discarding of all the excavating machinery at Panama, now is the time to avail ourselves of not only the machinery, but of the most efficient organization ever gathered for the displacement of earth.

Chicago, Ill. D. K. JEFFRIS.

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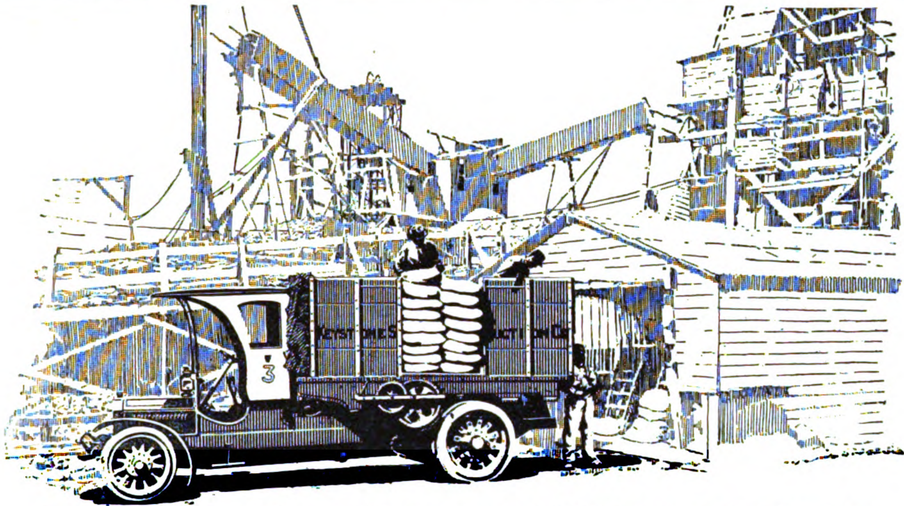

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Three Articles

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Gov. Thomas R. Marshall
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The World's Work

WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR

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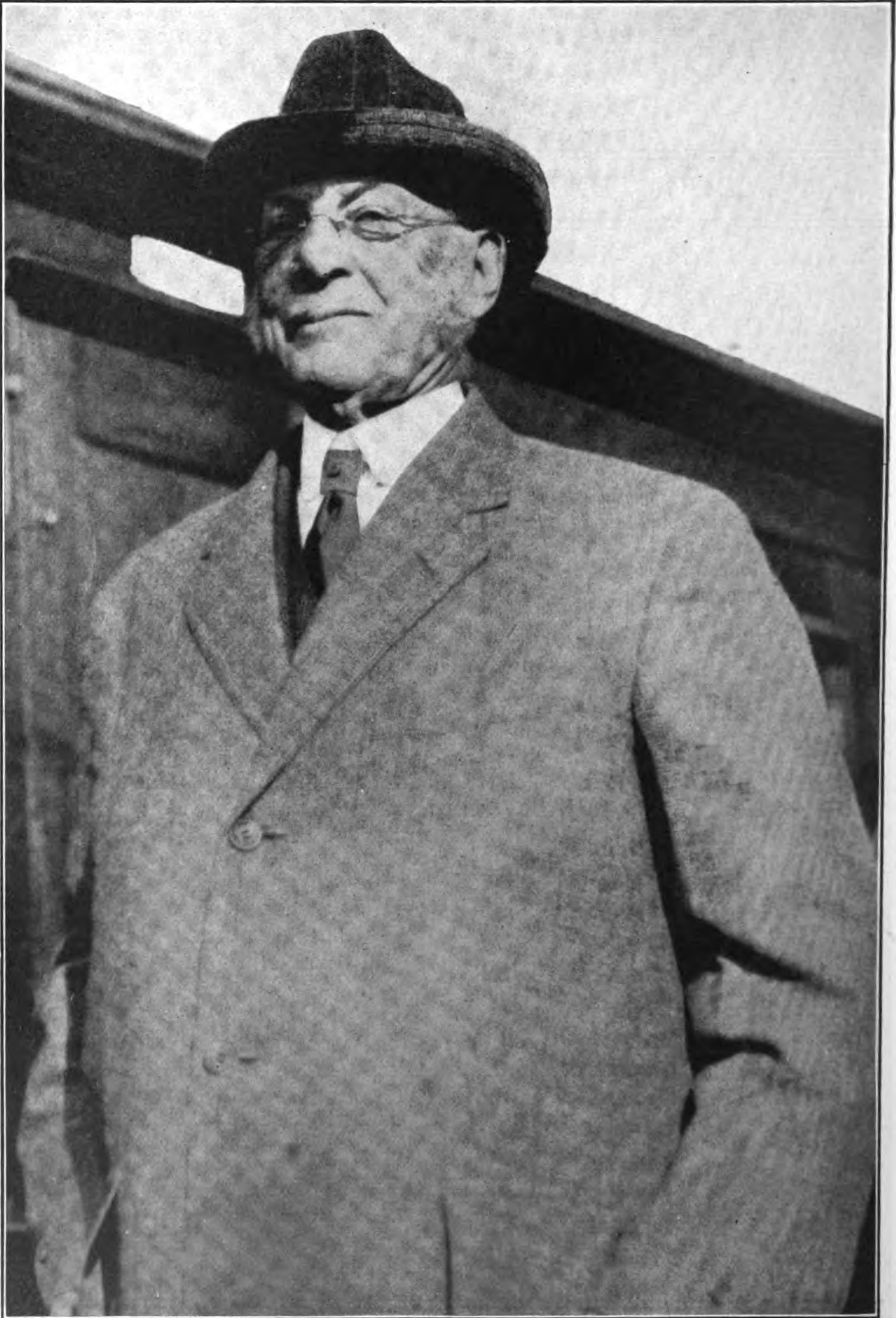

Photograph from Brown Bros.

DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT

PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF HARVARD, WHO SAID AT THE END OF HIS WORLD-WIDE TRIP: "I WOULD NOT BE WILLING . . . . TO STATE BROADLY THAT THE NATIONS ARE TAKING SERIOUSLY THE IDEA OF UNIVERSAL PEACE"

[See "The March of Events"]

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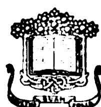
THE
WORLD'S WORK

OCTOBER, 1912

VOLUME XXIV



NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE revelations of political campaign subscriptions are humorous, cynical, disgusting, and exceedingly instructive. How the givers and the receivers squirm and explain and protest! The great value of these scandalous revelations is the measure they give of the moving forward of the public conscience. When Mr. Archbold of the Standard Oil Company gave $100,000 in 1904 to the treasurer of the Republican fund, he gave it in cash and he wished to make sure that it would be "gratefully appreciated" by Mr. Roosevelt. "Gratefully appreciated" is an apt phrase. It was not appreciated, as Mr. Archbold hoped it would be; but there is no assertion by anybody that it was returned. Mr. Roosevelt has declared that Mr. Knox remarked that he had never heard of anybody's refusing campaign money from any source. It was perfectly natural that Mr. Archbold should attribute the prosecution of his company to his refusal to contribute more and it is perfectly natural that the enemies of Mr. Roosevelt should conclude that the large sum contributed by Mr. Frick had something to do with the failure to prosecute the steel corporation.

In a word, when great corporations or other "interests," whether corporate or individual, contribute to election funds, both contributors and beneficiaries of the election are put to a strain. They generally expect to give and to receive payment in some form; or, if they do not, they cannot escape the suspicion of expecting it. You have tarred hands if you touch this dirty stick at either end, no matter who you are nor what your motives.

Since 1904 we have come a good way out of that dismal immorality which Mr. Hanna reduced to a science. We have forbidden by law the continuation of corporation contributions; and, more important than that, we have come into a mood to demand publicity of all campaign funds —who gave them and how they were spent.

The frankness of Governor Wilson and his managers and their wish to win the election with the smallest expenditure in recent times is the most popular as well as the cheapest kind of campaigning that can be done. And, best of all, the grip of campaign contributors on the Government cannot again be renewed. The insolence of cold cash — we gain incalculably in proportion as we escape that.

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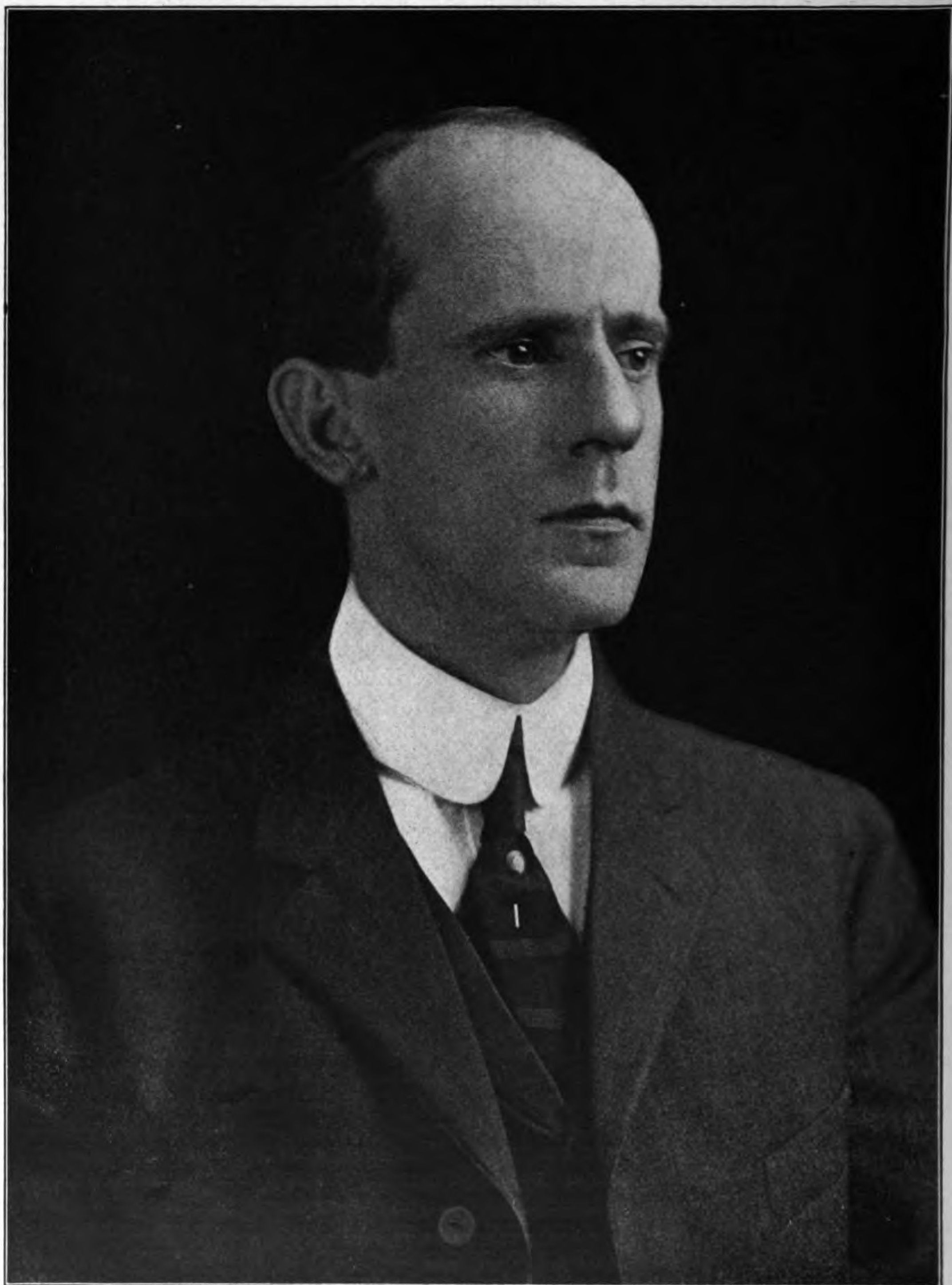

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MR. LOGAN WALLER PAGE

THE PRESIDENT OF THE JOINT GOOD ROADS CONFERENCE OF ROAD MAKERS AND ROAD USERS BEGUN AT ATLANTIC CITY ON SEPTEMBER 30TH

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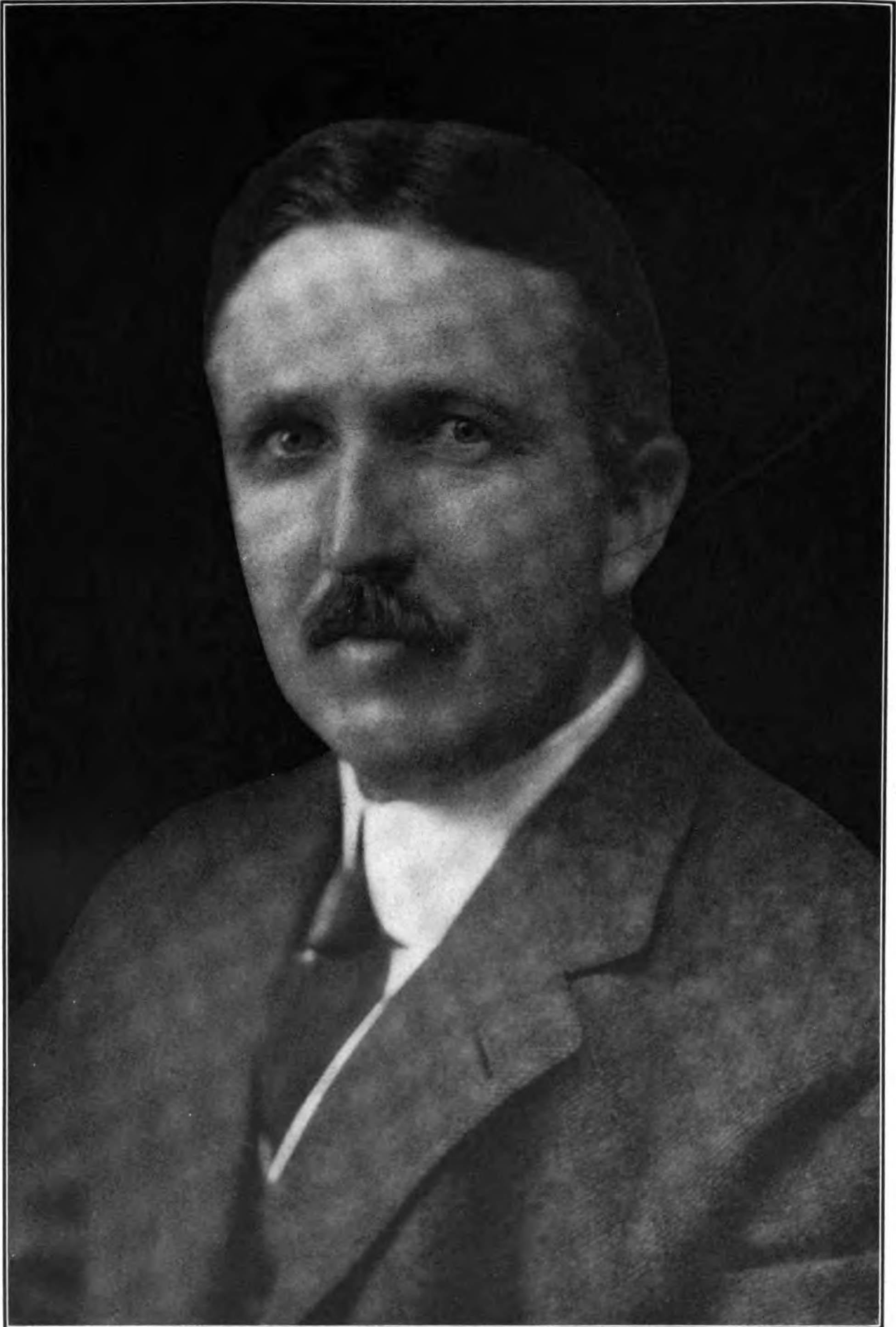

MR. ROBERT P. HOOPER

THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION WHICH WITH THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT AND THE ASSOCIATION OF ROAD MACHINERY AND MATERIAL MANUFACTURERS IS HOLDING THE GREAT ROAD CONFERENCE AT ATLANTIC CITY

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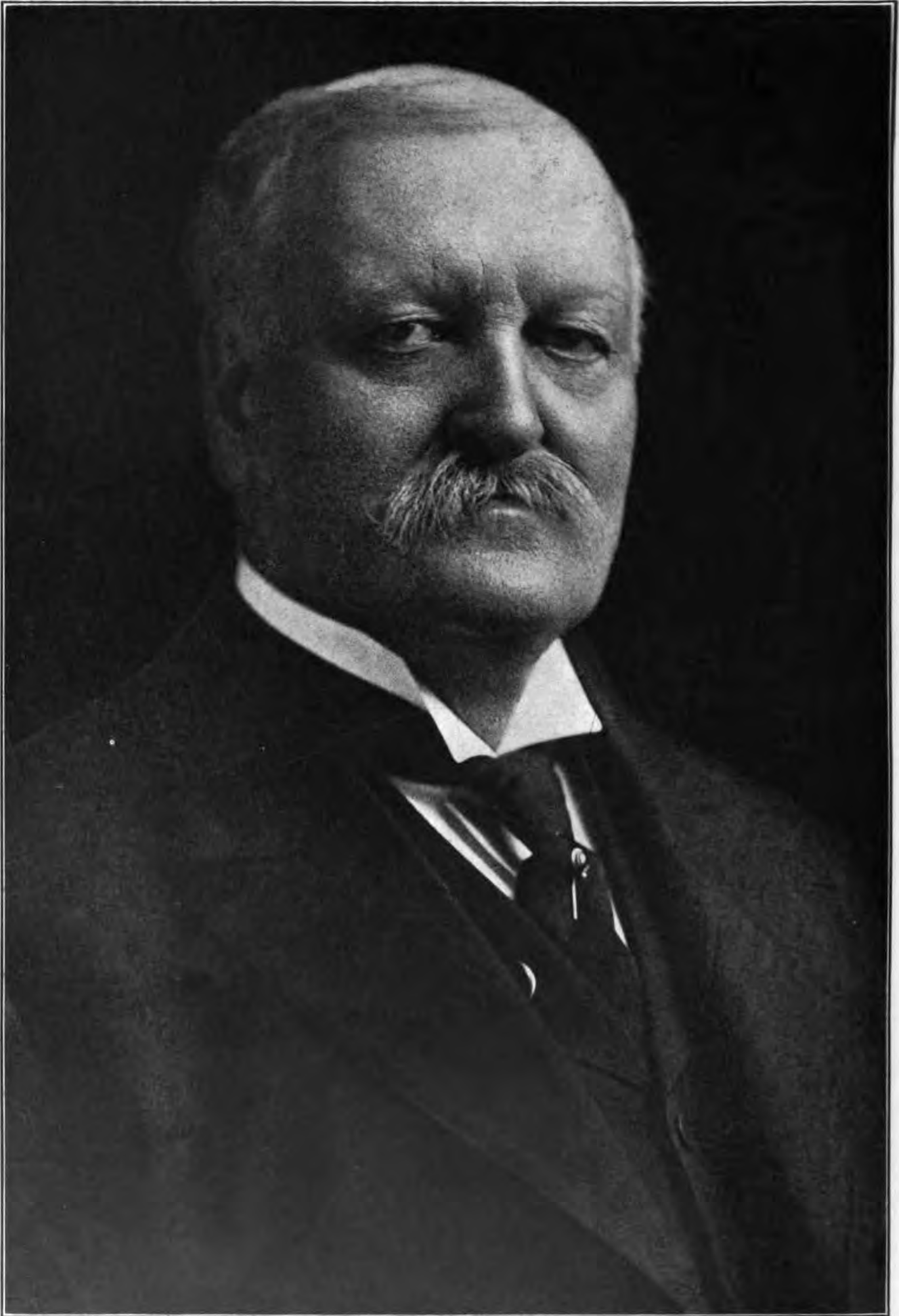

CAPTAIN J. B. WHITE

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONSERVATION CONGRESS WHICH MEETS AT INDIANAPOLIS THE FIRST WEEK IN OCTOBER TO DISCUSS THE SAVING OF HUMAN LIFE AND HEALTH

[See "The March of Events"]

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Photo by Pirie MacDonald

PROF. EDGAR ODELL LOVETT

PRESIDENT OF THE RICHLY ENDOWED RICE INSTITUTE WHICH OPENS ITS DOORS IN HOUSTON, TEX., IN OCTOBER WITH THE HOPE OF BEING THE GREAT ENGINEERING SCHOOL OF THE SOUTHWEST

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MR. GEORGE B. CALDWELL

PRESIDENT OF THE INVESTMENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION RECENTLY ORGANIZED TO FIGHT THE "GET-RICH-QUICK" FRAUDS AND TO ENCOURAGE THE PRACTICE OF WISE INVESTMENT

[See "The March of Events"]

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SENATOR JONATHAN BOURNE

OF OREGON, A CONSTANT WORKER FOR THE PARCELS POST, AND ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE ACT TO ESTABLISH IT [See "The March of Events"]

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DR. EMILE BERLINER

INVENTOR OF THE MICROPHONE TRANSMITTER IN THE MODERN TELEPHONE, AND OF THE METHOD OF MAKING THE RECORDS USED IN THE VICTOR TALKING MACHINE, STANDING BEFORE A "GYRO" ENGINE, WHICH IS ALSO OF HIS INVENTION [See page 673]

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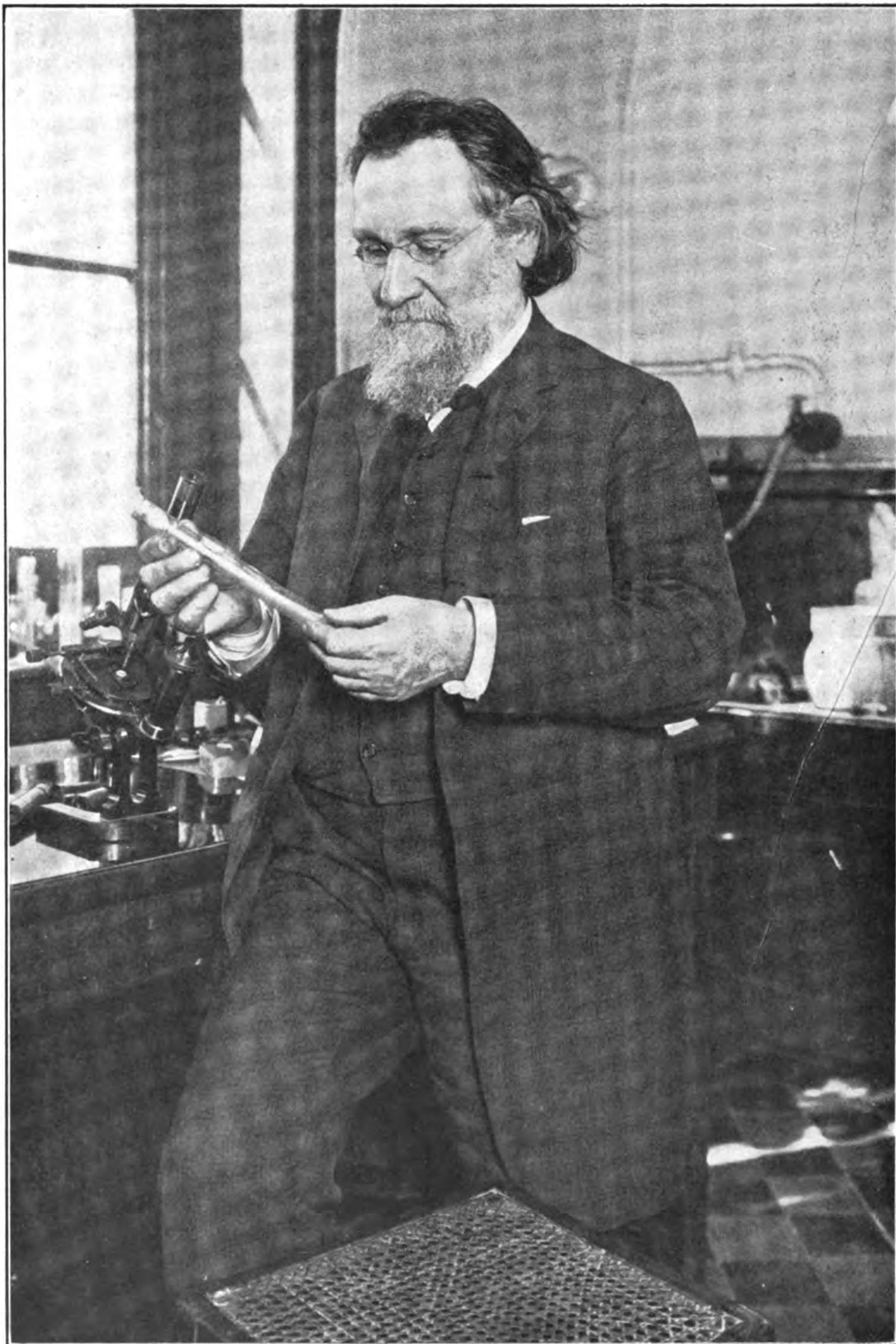

DR. ELIE METCHNIKOFF

WHO HAS ADDED TO HIS OTHER BENEFITS TO HUMANITY THE DISCOVERY (WITH DR. BESREDKA) OF A TYPHOID VACCINATION WITH LIVE BACILLI WHICH HAS NO UNPLEASANT AFTER EFFECTS

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GENERAL BRAMWELL BOOTH AND MRS. BOOTH

HE SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER AT THE HEAD OF THE SALVATION ARMY WITH ITS 8,972 CORPS, CIRCLES, AND SOCIETIES SCATTERED THROUGH FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

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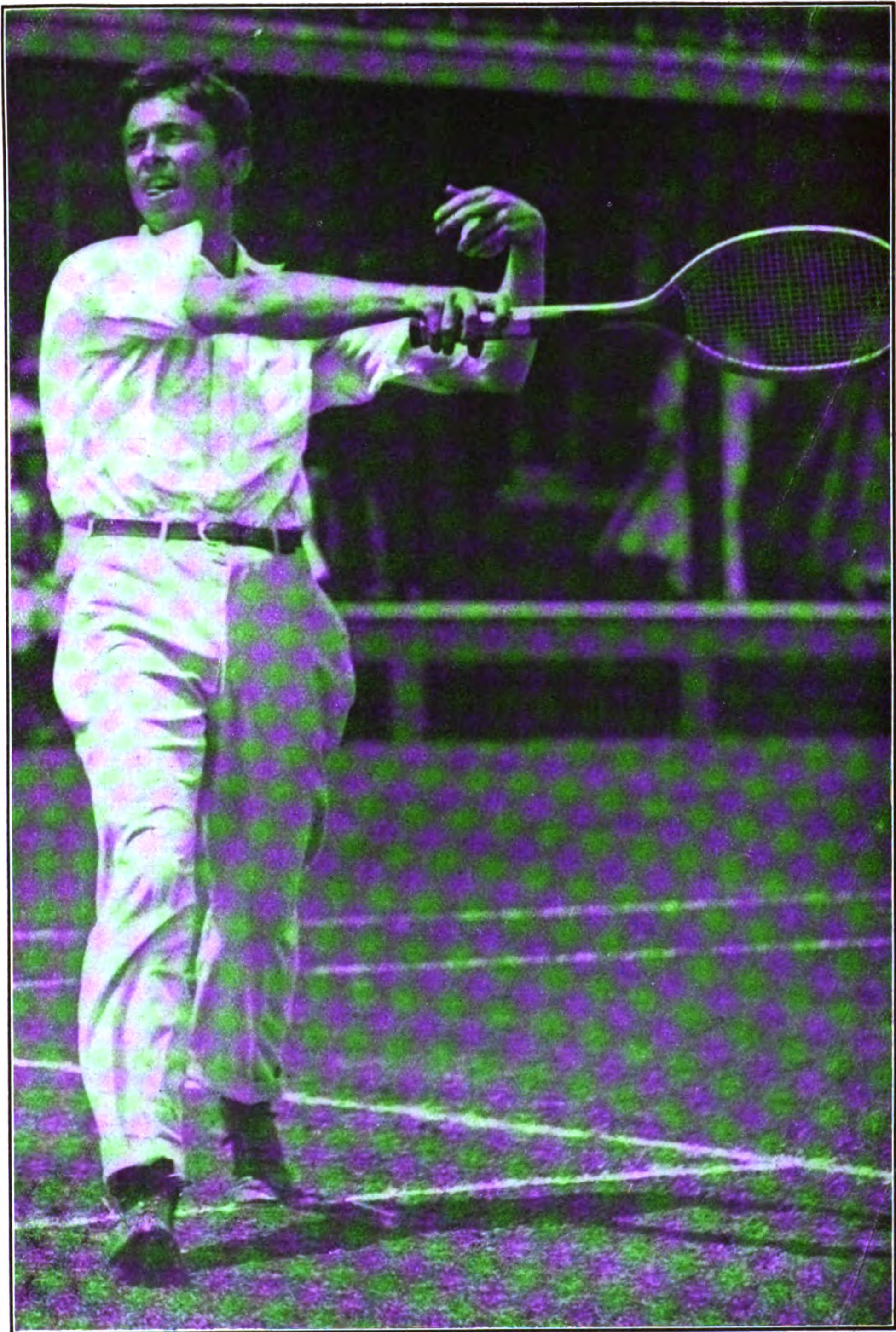

Photograph from Paul Thomson

MR. MAURICE E. McLOUGHLIN

OF CALIFORNIA, WHO RECENTLY WON THE AMERICAN TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP AT NEWPORT — THE FIRST WESTERN CHAMPION

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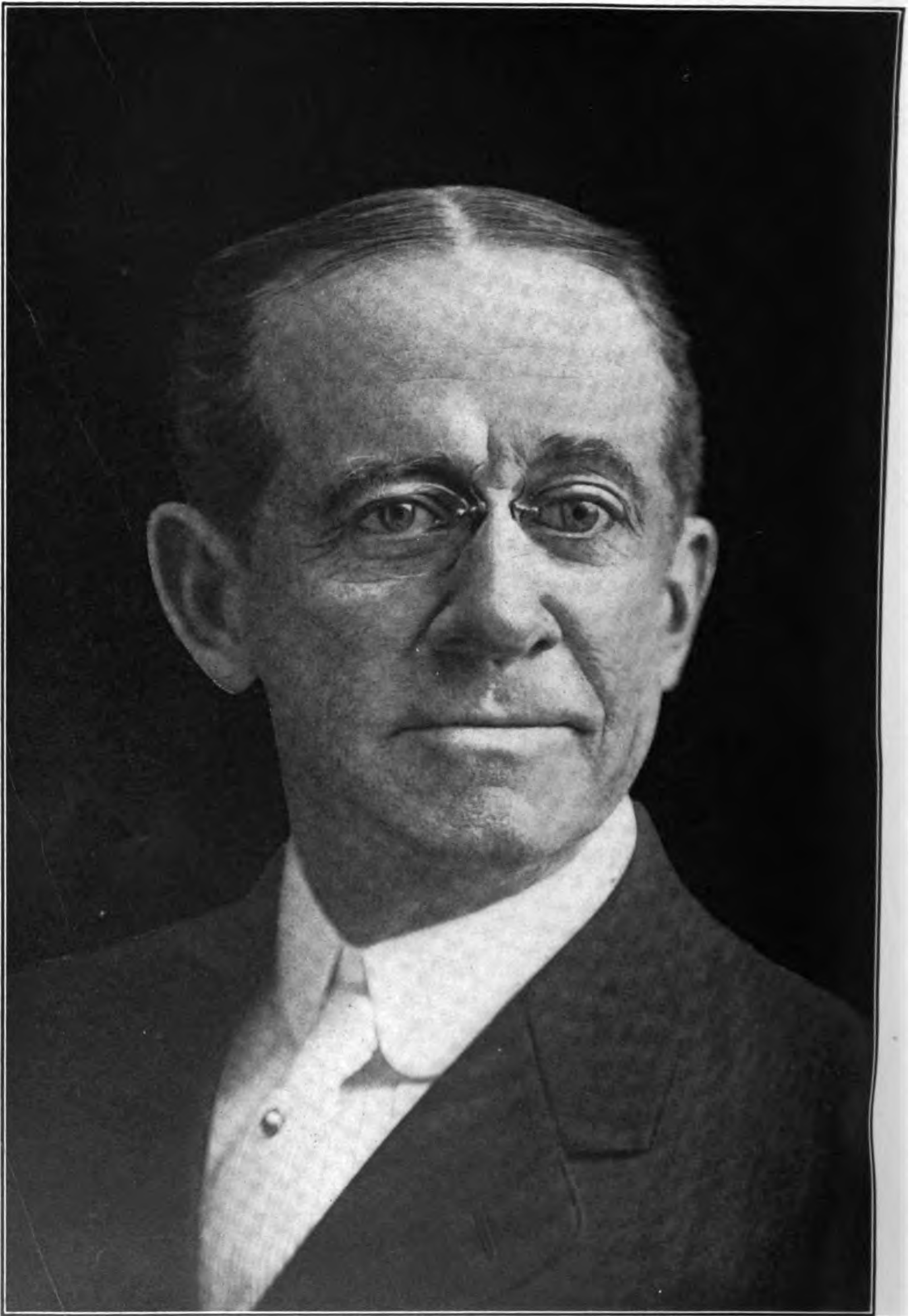

MR. WILLIAM H. CRANE

THE VETERAN ACTOR WHO, IN HIS 68TH YEAR, IS NOW PLAYING HIS FIFTIETH SEASON ON THE AMERICAN STAGE

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MISS LYDIA HOLMAN

THE TRAINED NURSE WHOSE NINE YEARS' WORK IN THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS HAS INSPIRED THE RED CROSS TO TAKE UP RURAL NURSING ON A NATIONAL SCALE

[See "The March of Events"]

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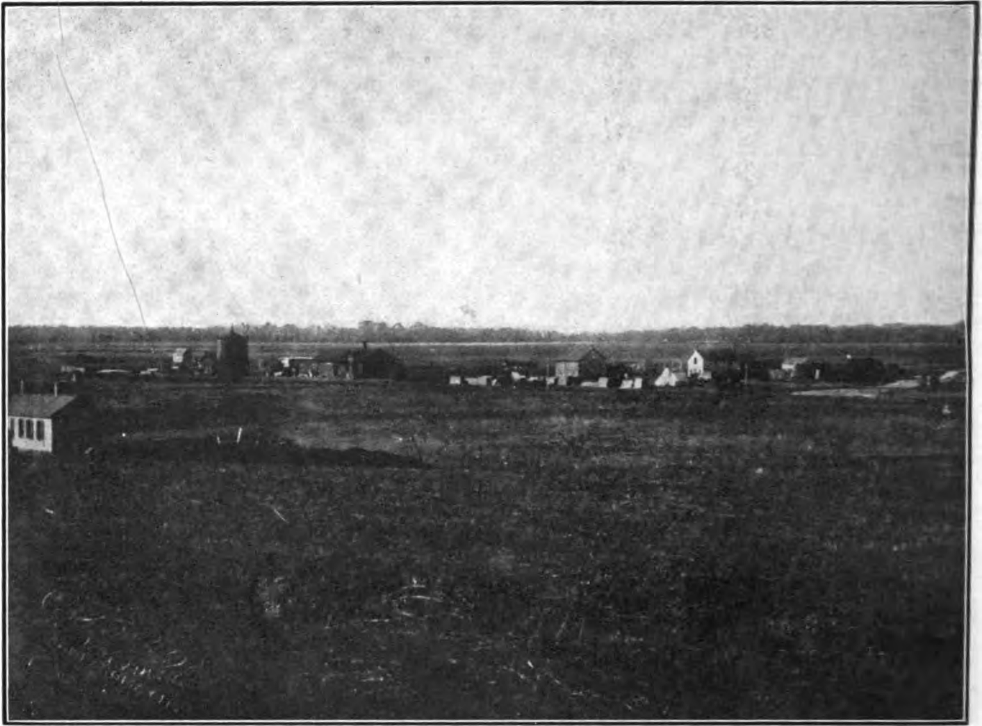

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN CITIES

IN 1889 OKLAHOMA CITY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A WATER TANK AND RAILROAD STATION. IN 1890 IT HAD 4,151 PEOPLE IN IT. BY 1900 IT HAD 10,037 AND IN 1910 ITS POPULATION WAS 64,205

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THE SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS

THE work of the second session of the Sixty-second Congress — the longest session in thirty years — has received more public attention than any other for many years. Though the upper house has been Republican, the work of the Congress may fairly be called a Democratic achievement. It has to its credit a very serious effort (1) to take off the tariff burden from the people and to make the cost of living cheaper; (2) to make the political life cleaner; and (3) to establish more humane conditions in industry.

It passed bills reducing the tariff on wool and on cotton, the two standard materials for clothing. It passed a bill reducing the tariff on steel and iron, which affects the cost of almost everything from transportation systems to the kitchen stove. It also framed a measure putting farmers' and laborers' supplies upon the free list, and another taking off all duties on sugar. But none of these became laws because they met with the President's disapproval.

In endeavoring to make political life cleaner, it passed a proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the popular election of Senators; a law requiring publicity of campaign funds and expenses; and another limiting the amount that any candidate for Congress may spend in his campaign, under which one Representative has already been debarred.

The creation of the Industrial Commission, the Children's Bureau, the passage of the law taxing white sulphur matches (which give people "phossy-jaw") out of existence, are an earnest of its desires to improve the conditions of life and labor. This session has also to its credit the passage of the Bourne-Lewis parcels post law. On the other hand, the Sixty-second Congress has had as weak a backbone as its Republican predecessors in dealing with the pension scandal, and it has passed a Panama Canal Bill that favors a particular industry at the expense of the public though its other provisions make it a memorable enactment.

THE PARCELS POST AT LAST

THE parcels post, passed in the last days of Congress to go into operation the first of next year, will bring a new era of convenience, for even in its experimental form it will serve the people more promptly than the express companies and it will serve more of them, for the express companies hardly served those people outside the cities and towns at all.

Eleven pounds in weight and a total of six feet long and around are the limits placed on the size of a package which may be sent through the mails at parcels post rates. The rates depend upon the distances which parcels are carried. Directed to a place less than 100 miles, approximately, from its starting point, a package not over a pound in weight would cost five cents; to a place approximately 300 miles away six cents; to a place approximately 600 miles away, seven cents; 1,200 miles, eight cents; 2,000 miles away, nine cents; 2,800 miles away, ten cents; 3,600 miles, eleven cents; and to all further places twelve cents. Additional weight is charged in the first zone, three cents a pound extra; the second zone, four cents; the third zone, five cents; the fourth zone, six cents; the fifth zone, seven cents; the sixth zone, nine cents; the seventh zone, ten cents; and to all further points, twelve cents extra for each additional pound.

The zone system is a new principle in post office management. It would seem to be uneconomic to charge as much for carrying a package from one town to the next as for transporting it across the continent, or to our island possessions. A country of small territory can afford to have one rate only, but when distances are so vast as they are in the United States, a different problem is presented.

Will the new experiment succeed? It is not pretended by its advocates that it is the best possible plan. The rates are high. Distance to Germany may be taken as fairly represented by the third zone, approximately 600 miles. The cost of sending an eleven pound package within this zone will be fifty-eight cents. In

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Germany it can be sent 600 miles for twelve cents; in France for sixteen cents.

However, the Postmaster General can change the classifications of mailable articles, the weight limit, the rates of postage, the system of zones or almost any other conditions imposed by the new law (either to serve the public better or to increase the revenue), but to make these changes he has to have the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The new law, is, therefore, frankly an experiment. It affords the post office an opportunity to work out its own salvation and the public's. It gives the executive latitude enough to be efficient. But with the added power which this law gives the office of Postmaster General it becomes particularly necessary that that official be a man who has ability and the inclination to use it for the public good. The law marks a new era of convenience for the public and the end of at least one special privilege with a sinister political influence — that of the express companies.

THE TWO-EDGED PANAMA ACT

THE Panama Canal Act, whether or not it be a violation of our treaty with Great Britain, is a continuation of an indefensible special privilege — practically a ship subsidy. The bill takes great pains to keep the railroads out of the coastwise shipping business in which the law already prohibits any foreign ships from competing. By eliminating these sources of competition a tempting condition for the formation of a shipping trust is created with the privilege of the free passage of the canal added as an inducement.

But the act also contains a provision allowing foreign-built ships to be entered in American registry and allowing free material for shipbuilding to come into the United States and to be used on American ships. This is a piece of legislation that has been long desired and many times refused. Hitherto none but American-owned ships built in America behind the high-tariff wall could engage in our coastwise trade. Even in the foreign trade only American-built ships could fly the American flag. The Payne Act of three years ago, however, allowed all materials for shipbuilding and repairing that were to be used in any ships built in this country, except those for the coastwise trade, to come in free. Our shipyards could build a cheap ship for a foreigner to use in his country, or a cheap ship for an American to use in the foreign trade, but it could not build a cheap ship for an American to use along his own coast. But the new Panama Act goes much further and allows free raw material for shipbuilding to enter our shipyards even if the American coastwise shippers are to be the beneficiaries thereof. It also allows foreign ships to be entered in the American registry if they are used in the foreign trade, which includes the Philippines and Cuba.

This ought to be the beginning of a new era of American shipping, an era of freedom again. Thus a great restraint on our trade is removed. Free material, free ships, and an unfettered trade on the high seas — these are great steps in the right direction. There remains still to open our coastwise trade to the ships of all nations, to all competition.

NEW ORLEANS UNDER COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

NEW ORLEANS has voted 10 to 1 to put its 339,075 people under the commission form of government. This is the largest city that has so far adopted this method of making city government simpler and its responsibility more compact.

There are now 202 cities governed by commissions, from Hartselles, Ala., and Hamilton, Ill., with less than one thousand five hundred people each, to Memphis, Tenn., with more than one hundred thousand and St. Paul, Minn., with nearly a quarter of a million; and now New Orleans with more than a third of a million.

The first merit of the method is that the problem in city government is simplified at the very start. Party politics and all other irrelevant questions are set aside in the beginning. The voters have a chance to say directly whether they prefer this set of men or that set. There is nothing to confuse them. And the direct

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responsibility of the commissioners tends to make them efficient.

And yet even the commission form of government, as great an improvement in honesty and efficiency as it is, is not so efficient as it should be. When a town elects a distinguished lawyer to be the head of its street department, it may know that he is an honest and intelligent man, but it has no guarantee of his managing ability or his knowledge of paving. The city of Staunton, Va., when the state constitution prevented it from having a commission to govern it, employed a trained engineer to act as general manager of the city. That was adding technical knowledge to good intentions. Sumter, S. C., is now taking up this plan. This is the nearest American approach to the German method of training mayors — of making city administration a distinct profession and an honorable career.

THE PENALTY OF NEGLECTED EDUCATION

SOUTH CAROLINA has again chosen the unfittest possible man for Governor and thus again pays the heavy penalty of previous generations' neglect of popular education. Governor Blease's administration, which is to be continued for another term, is the most shocking and discouraging in recent times in any commonwealth.

The forgotten man in South Carolina, the product of the neglected school, untaught, untrained, and suspicious, continues to plague the state. He has none of the information of civilization; he has never had a chance to get it. What we call progress does not appeal to him; he doesn't understand it. He cannot rise above the low level of his information, and he votes for Blease.

Such is the political price of neglecting men. Economically the penalty is as bad. It means shanties instead of houses; lack of sanitation; poor farms and poverty — all the kindred ills of ignorance.

This is all the greater pity because within recent years most admirable educational and economic progress has begun in South Carolina and the present rate of advancement is a credit to the real leaders of the people, and the present political backwardness is the result of preceding neglect and stagnation. Happily it cannot last long.

THE PRACTICAL LESSON BEFORE US

IT IS a startling calculation that Mr. Yoakum made of the increased cost of living in five important countries during the last ten years. The relative rate of the rise of prices is shown thus: What a dollar will buy in England, it requires $1.02 to buy in Belgium; $1.18 in France; $1.18 in Germany; and $1.38 in the United States. Yet prices have of course gone up in England also.

While it is true that the rise of prices is a world-wide movement, it has not been a uniform movement by any means. To general causes must be added also local causes. And among the local causes in the United States, whatever others there may be, two surely stand out: the tariff and the wasteful organization of our distributing machinery. One might say the wasteful machinery of our whole economic and financial life. And these are causes that it is within our power to remove. We can really revise the tariff downward. We can give the farmers an economical system of credit; we can spread coöperative buying and selling; we can make good roads; we can cut out useless middlemen and middle machinery. We can begin at the bottom, if we are so minded, and manage our affairs not as adventurers and exploiters of a new continent but as an orderly and properly organized community of economic human beings who know that waste is crime and leads to poverty.

ABOUT REGULATING THE PRESS

THE recent post office appropriation act contained a provision which requires newspapers and periodicals to file with the Post Office Department, and to publish at stated intervals, their circulation, the names of their editors, their owners or the list of stockholders, if the publication is owned by a corporation.

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There is a similar law in New York which, however, does not require the filing of the names of all stockholders, but does require the publication of active owners and editors; and all periodicals in this state comply with it. But the public has shown little or no interest in the subject.

The aim that the law-makers have is a good one — to enable the public to know who is responsible for the conduct and opinions of periodicals. But it is doubtful if the requirement to make public the names of stockholders will uncover any useful information. Any stockholder in a newspaper who may wish to hide his identity will be likely to transfer his stock to a friend or a dummy, as stockholders in other enterprises often do.

Another clause requires —

> That all editorial or other reading matter published in any such newspaper, magazine, or periodical for the publication of which money or other valuable consideration is paid, accepted, or promised, shall be plainly marked "advertisement."

This is already of course the habit of all reputable, openly conducted periodicals. With the others — it is doubtful if anybody will take the trouble to enforce it, or can enforce it.

Making the press honest by enactment is — a hard job, to say the least of it. There is no harm in trying; but the elusive quality of the crime aimed at is peculiar. For instance, probably the worst faults of the worst newspapers are their sins of omission, such as the failure to report legitimate news that might harm some friend or "protected interest." You cannot punish a paper for what it did not do.

The real remedy for the sins of the periodicals must lie in the discernment and the education and the discrimination of the public. When people cease to read merely sensational publications, they will cease to thrive. But there seems no good reason to hope that we are yet approaching such a state of public opinion. We have seen for instance, within a recent period, the successful sale to the gullible public of stock in sensational magazines that had no reason to exist and no chance to survive.

The newspapers and magazines are as honest as the public demands; and it is difficult to see how the unworthy publications can be eliminated or made better in character by enactments, so long as the public prefers them or tolerates them.

Apropos of the misrepresentation of the WORLD'S WORK by Mr. George French in his recent articles in *The Twentieth Century Magazine*, about which something was written here last month, Mr. Charles Zueblin, who was then the editor of that magazine, has written that a correction will be published in the October number. The moral of this is — it is better to verify your statements than to have eventually to correct them.

EUGENICS AND WAR

ONE subject warmly discussed at the Congress of Eugenists recently held in London was the effect of war on national physique. Prof. Vernon Kellogg, of Leland Stanford, Jr. University, urged the necessity of peace for the development and maintenance of the best manhood. He declared that nothing could be more disastrous to the physical strength of a people than the direct selection of the most robust for work which carried them away from home, prevented their giving their vigor to children, and returned them, if at all, maimed, diseased, and exhausted. The prevalence of war, draining the country of its able-bodied men, brings with it an era of greatly lowered birth-rate and of the birth of weak and undersized children. This happened during the Napoleonic campaigns. When they were over, even though the survivors were decimated and wounded France entered on a period in which an inch was added to the wartime stature of its inhabitants.

Professor Kellogg's argument provoked replies from German and English military officers, who defended military service on the ground that it strengthened and developed the recruits. The German, a general, alluded to the physical strength and high spirits of the young soldiers he had seen marching through the streets of London. There can be no doubt that military exercise and discipline are bene-

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ficial to those brought under them — so long as they do not go to war. But the same exercise and discipline directed in other channels — in preparation for duties not destructive but efficient for prosperity — these would give the same result, as a by-product, while their chief purpose would not be wasted. Every advantage claimed for military service could be gained by training for war, not against other nations, but against the common foes of all. On the sole ground of the maintenance of a people's physical vigor, war is greatly to be deplored. It inevitably kills many, injures more, and at the best withdraws a large proportion of the most vigorous from fatherhood during their best years, while it leaves the weakest to transmit their deficiencies to the following generation.

THE GREAT HEALTH CHANGE THAT IS COMING

PERHAPS the most important change that is taking place in the United States is the rising conscience of health. It takes many forms, personal and social — from the practice of outdoor exercises to the requirement of health-certificates as a condition of marriage. The National Government, some state, and many municipal governments have exhibitions of methods of combatting particular diseases; health officers are acquiring greater powers, and boards of health are in many places taking on new forms of activity. A large part of periodical literature has to do with such subjects — from the war on houseflies to the campaign to eradicate hookworm disease. All the while, too, the scientific conquest over disease spreads its area of achievement. And the National Conservation Congress chose this year to have its discussions turn on the saving of vital resourses.

The most hopeful fact is that almost every movement for improvement in the public schools proceeds, consciously or unconsciously, from this central thought — that all sound training must go along the great highways of health. An unsound child cannot do its work properly. More than that, every scheme or plan of sound training starts and ends with health — not only with such incidents as the garden-work, the shop-work, the playground, the preparation and the sowing and the eating of food, the clothing of children, the care of the lavatory; but the matter of instruction is based more and more on the facts of physical life.

All this will in time bring an acute community conscience about health; for, when a biological philosophy unconsciously underlies "education," as a theological philosophy so long underlay it, we shall have come from an old world into a new.

A CANCER CURE AT LAST?

CANCER is the most fatal malady that roams unconquered by science. For tuberculosis, typhoid, smallpox, relief has been found; for cancer, as yet, none — unless Dr. Gaston Odin has found the cause and remedy. It is a hope. There have been other hopes, and none has yet come to full realization. But Dr. Odin's work has proceeded cautiously, and the results which he now announces in Paris seem to rest upon a substantial basis.

In a long quest for the origin of cancer, Dr. Odin, a practised bacteriologist, easily convinced himself that the disease was the work of a microbe and that (since a cancer might break out anywhere in the body) the seat of the microbe was in the blood. But long study of the blood of cancerous patients found no microbe. The investigator did notice, as others had done before him, that the red corpuscles were of unusual and irregular shape. Instead of being normally round and smooth, they were rough, lop-sided, and enlarged.

One day it struck Dr. Odin that the microbe he had sought so long in vain might be hiding in the red corpuscles, causing the distension. His investigations have established, he says, the truth of this suspicion. He found a reagent that would break down the red corpuscles of the blood and release the cancer microbe, now easily identifiable. Specimens of the blood of 79 cancer patients showed its presence; specimens from the blood of 29 non-cancerous persons showed none —

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except in a single explainable case. Convinced that he had penetrated the secret of the disease, Dr. Odin secured the coöperation of two other eminent Paris specialists; eight test-tubes, containing blood specimens, five from cancerous and three from healthy individuals, were placed before him and he immediately recognized without mistake all the cancerous and all the healthy cases.

The isolation of the microbe of a disease is a long step toward its cure. Dr. Odin claims to have proceeded to the cure; he has, he says, obtained a serum that destroys the microbe and eradicates the disease, if not too advanced.

It is, of course, too early to repose complete confidence in the efficacy of the Odin cancer serum, seeing it was first used only a very few weeks ago; cancer is a most insidious foe, lurking for months in obscure tissues after all superficial evidence of it has vanished. But if, as seems probable, the enemy has been identified and its lair discovered, it is a fair expectation that its final conquest is not far off. It is a great thing merely to have provided a sure diagnosis of a disease, the very suspicion and terror of which has driven many to suicide and hurried others to unnecessary deaths. Heretofore medicine has had no certain means of determining whether a suspected tumor is malignant. To have provided that is much; to furnish a serum that will exterminate the cancer bacillus and a vaccine that will forestall it — if these things are done, this will be among the mightiest triumphs of medical science.

DR. ELIOT ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT

PRESIDENT-EMERITUS ELIOT, of Harvard University, on his return from a round-the-world journey. in behalf of the peace movement financed by Mr. Carnegie, is reported to have said that "international or national disarmament is not taken seriously by the leaders and thinking men of the more important peoples."

I would not be willing to come out and state broadly that the nations are taking seriously the idea of universal peace. There is a strong sentiment for it everywhere, of course, but such a sentiment is as old as the hills, and has been found more or less in all times and climes. . . . Men individually all over the world do less fighting to-day than at any other time in the history of the world, and they have a greater and more abiding respect for the institutions of peace, the courts and legislative bodies than they ever had. This is perhaps largely because of a natural growth toward a better civilization and a higher Christianity and not so much due to any special peace propaganda. . . . Some of the leaders in various countries are sincerely devoted to the splendid principle of arbitration, and are opposed to war on various unselfish grounds, but I fear that the time is not yet here when the truly strong men — the men who are in power or who may be in power to-morrow — are unequivocally on the side of reason and humanity as opposed to the sword and savagery.

Yet this is quite as encouraging a report as any competent student could be expected to bring home from such an investigation. Disarmament will come at last only in response to a practically universal demand of the masses of all civilized nations, and not before. The men who have the responsibility of the defense of their countries will never, of their own accord, disarm the nations.

Universal peace, when it comes, will come as the result of a long and slow educational process, and by the increasing use of such peaceful machinery as the Hague tribunal. This is so far the one great definite contribution to the peace movement that makes a landmark in the long, slow rise from the barbarism of war.

There is one other possible but improbable method of preventing any war that may become imminent — that all the workers who are called on to bear arms or to support an army or a navy should go on a strike. A sort of universal strike, which would be a universal mutiny, would be effective. The trouble is, as soon as the rulers of any country decide on war, so large a part of the population become inflamed with patriotism that a general mutiny becomes impossible.

Universal peace will come by the slow process of evolution — come by education and by the working of economic laws.

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DR. FURNESS

A MAN lately died in Philadelphia who represented the finest type of the leisurely scholar, and whose taking away is a loss to the spirit and mode of life of which there is never likely to be too much in the United States. Dr. Horace Howard Furness knew more about Shakespeare perhaps than any other man of his time; he had more information about the plays, their sources and texts than any other one man perhaps has ever possessed since Shakespeare died. For half a century, while other men were busy doing other (probably more practical) things, Dr. Furness was studying the works of the great Elizabethan dramatist. Forty-one years ago he published — as the first of his long series of what he called the *Variorum Shakespeare* — a collation of the texts of "Romeo and Juliet," with elucidations drawn from the vast body of criticism and annotation in all languages—the first of fifteen volumes, every one a monument of patient erudition.

Naturally amiable, his serene kindliness of nature, was rendered warmer rather than drier, more joyful rather than more serious, more sympathetic, friendly, and enthusiastic rather than self-centred, by a life-time of devotion to bookish study. Doctor Furness, in his delightful home, surrounded by his great library, in the midst of manuscripts, pictures, relics, and memorials of the drama in its most favored hands, lived a tranquilly happy life. For his seclusion from the strife of modern activity, his occupation with a problem of the past — did not put him out of sympathy with his fellows.

Neither did his deafness. His friends will remember him as he always seemed to be: with a smile of affection and eager expectation on his face and a trumpet to his ear. Whenever he walked out he carried in his pocket a card on which was written: "Don't blame the driver. It was not [illegible] I am deaf."

[illegible] to-day, with so great need of [illegible] of the best men in the [illegible]ing problems, with so [illegible] of progress to be [illegible]ed to cloistered scholarship. Yet it is a better place because even one such scholar has lived it — not only because of what he did, but more because of what he was.

THE SPREAD OF RURAL NURSING

THE Red Cross Society is now organizing a rural nursing service, to cover every state in the Union. The inspiration of this movement is the work of Miss Lydia Holman, of Baltimore.

Twelve years ago, Miss Holman, herself a trained nurse, was called from Philadelphia to the mountains of North Carolina to care for a wealthy woman who had been stricken with typhoid fever while visiting her summer home. The patient recovered and Miss Holman became an object of veneration to the mountain folk, for typhoid had been almost always fatal among them. She, in turn, was greatly touched by the suffering that was widespread among the people because of their ignorance of sanitation and hygiene, and because of the lack of proper nursing of the ill. She gave up her career in the city and for nine years made her home among these mountaineers, where, she says modestly, "I answered calls day and night, which was proof surely that the people appreciated my work."

> Almost from the day of my return the work grew heavy —a carbuncle on the back of a neck to clean up; a cut lip to sew together; babies to have infected glands opened and drained; teeth to extract; woodchoppers' feet to sew on; skin cases and then, 'hallo! hallo!' the night call to get me out. Motherhood on a mountain top in a cabin with other children for the mother to care for whilst the husband travels for miles to secure the services of the nearest 'likely' person, be it doctor or only neighbor; alas! for American motherhood in isolated rural communities! This phase of the problem alone convinced me that my work was here.

Miss Holman's field comprised sixty square miles, which she traversed by bad roads and worse trails at all hours and in all weathers. She exhausted her funds and much of her health in this task before she appealed for assistance. With the aid of Dr. William H. Welch, pathologist of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, the Holman Association was organized to extend this kind of work. Dr. Welch is president of the

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Association. The first work it did was to equip a small hospital and nurses' home at Altopass, N. C., with an operating room and fifteen beds, as a centre for organized work in rural nursing. The plan is to establish numerous neighborhood houses with infirmaries, as headquarters for nurses and as meeting places at which the people may gather for instruction in home nursing, care of children, cooking, and housekeeping. Perhaps these houses may develop also into social centres.

The Red Cross Society, acting upon the suggestion of this example, has organized between eighty and ninety local committees in the United States that select and enroll nurses who shall act as reserves for the Army Nurse Corps in time of war but who shall at other times be utilized in the rural nursing movement. With such powerful backing, the possibilities of this movement for the amelioration of suffering and for the improvement of sanitary conditions in the country districts are inspiringly great.

CLEANING OUT THE LOAN SHARKS

THERE are a good many million people living in the cities of the United States whose only property is to their household goods, and their only income a not too large salary. When an occasion arises in which they need to borrow they have but two alternatives: to put their household goods up as collateral or to mortgage the coming salary. The money-lenders who do this business easily become usurers or "loan sharks." They charge from 10 to 100 per cent., and they hound and persecute those who fall into their clutches.

Organized efforts have been made to end this vicious system. Perhaps the most hopeful movement of the sort was made in Cincinnati last spring when Mayor Henry T. Hunt stationed a policeman in every loan office in the city with orders not to allow them to do business until they took out a license and otherwise came under the laws. Mayor Hunt then invited everybody who was in the hands of the loan companies to notify him. The response was so large that the city machinery of relief proved inadequate. At this point the Citizens' Mutual Loan Company stepped in. This company was organized in 1900 by leaders of the religious and philanthropic life of Cincinnati. One of its directors, Mr. Harry M. Levy, wrote to Mayor Hunt, placing at his disposal the organized aid of the Company and $10,000 in cash to help out the victims of the loan sharks. The offer was accepted; and here are some of the results:

In one case the Guarantee Loan Company demanded $20 on a loan. The case was settled by the payment of nothing. The "Society of Cincinnati" demanded $68.70 in another case. Settled for $40.95. D. H. Tolman demanded $31.85. Settled for $15.15. Ohio Finance Company demanded $14. Settled for $5.50.

These are typical settlements in about two hundred and fifty cases. Altogether, nearly three thousand dollars was saved to these people by the action of the Citizens' Company. This is only the money side of the question. The saving in mental distress and in moral degradation was incalculable. Twenty-four other public associations are attacking the problem in all parts of the United States, and they are doing great good. Similar results can be achieved in every city by like methods.

A COUNTY THAT CURES DRUNKARDS

YOUNG Dick" O'Rourke is a graduate of Valparaiso (Ind.) University, a former student at the Michigan College of Mines, and a saloonkeeper in Houghton County, Mich. In the spring of 1911 he was elected county supervisor from Franklin Township, and by the end of the year he had drafted an ordinance that has nearly eliminated drunkenness from that community.

Young O'Rourke, as supervisor, learned that Houghton County, in spite of its prosperity as the centre of a rich copper mining district, spent $65,000 a year for the relief of paupers. He investigated and found that nine tenths of this distress was caused by the excessive drinking of men who were family bread winners. Last winter, at his suggestion, the board of supervisors chose a special officer whose duty it should be to seek out habitual

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tipplers, warn them to stop drinking, and, if they failed to heed the warning, to get their photographs and to file copies of them with every one of the three hundred saloonkeepers in Houghton County, with orders that no liquor be sold to these men.

Frank Rahkola, a big, mild-eyed young Finn — and a teetotaler — was chosen for this work. Immediately the wives, sisters, sweethearts, and employers of the hard drinkers began to report them to him. Rahkola visited every case. Often he had to make the journey on skis over six feet of snow. In seven months he called upon ninety men. Eighty-four of them forswore their drinking; only six photographs had to be posted. Many of those who "swore off" were out of work because of their irregular habits. Officer Rahkola got jobs for them, and they have all justified his recommendations of them by staying sober. He visits these probationers frequently to give them encouragement, counsel, and admonition. The photographs of the six worst cases are kept under lock and key and are known only to the saloon men and to the special officer. Thus there is no humiliation of anyone.

Under this law eighty families have had temperate fathers restored to them; Houghton County has saved probably $15,000 of poor relief money in seven months; and the saloonkeepers are entirely satisfied with the ordinance. Altogether, Mr. O'Rourke's plan is a hopeful step toward the solution of a difficult problem.

PROGRESS IN THE STATES

THE Initiative and Referendum are operative in South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and California—fourteen states. In seven more, a constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum has been submitted to the people: Washington, Nebraska, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Mississippi, and Ohio. In two more states, Wisconsin and North Dakota, one legislature has approved the Initiative and Referendum; in each case another legislature must do so before they go to the people. The prospect of adoption in all these nine states is practically undisputed. With the Initiative and Referendum operative in 23 states, half the Union, lacking one state, will be under the rule of direct legislation. Such has been the progress of the idea of giving the people more immediate control of their own affairs. The first Initiative and Referendum law was passed (in South Dakota) in 1898.

II

The Income Tax Amendment needs the approval of but two more state legislatures to become a part of the Constitution of the United States. The New Jersey Assembly, meeting early next year, is confidently expected to make one of the two; Pennsylvania may be the other.

HELPING THE FARM SEEKER

LATELY people have come to realize more pointedly than ever before that prosperity is impossible without good farming, and the farmer has been the most assisted worker in the United States. Through state and national departments of agriculture, experiment stations, fairs, exhibitions, demonstration farms, farm special trains, publications, and colleges there has been available to him the most modern and detailed advice, criticism, suggestion, and help. Even the embryonic farmer in the agricultural school or college is to-day offered greater opportunities and facilities than were given fifty years ago to any student in any institution.

But only within the last year or so have definite steps been taken to help the man who, even more than the actual farmer, needs guidance and advice — the farm seeker, the prospective farmer in search of a desirable location. Excellent colonization work has been done by railroad companies and boards of trade, but, sincere as it may be, their literature is inevitably local, partial, and biased in favor of their own territory.

A broad field of usefulness lay practically untouched. The need was urgent for disinterested, trustworthy, detailed information about all parts of the country.

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To meet it, the WORLD'S WORK organized its Land Department. It has found the need acute, the desire for information sincere and definite, the appreciation of the assistance generous and spontaneous.

Then came other movements in the same direction to help along the work, and their cordial reception proved the reality of their service. The first National Land and Irrigation Exposition ever held in New York City, the organization of a National Committee of Immigration Officials, the beginnings of the Land Departments of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* modelled after that of the WORLD'S WORK, and the recommendation made to the Secretary of Agriculture by Dr. B. T. Galloway, Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, that the Department take steps to assist farm seekers in obtaining facts about the various sections of the country — all these are mile posts in the remarkable growth of the new idea.

Most recent of all, there has been issued by the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration of the Department of Commerce and Labor, a set of pamphlets summarizing briefly the facts about every state in every one of the seven census divisions of the United States. The nature of the country, the land, and the natural vegetation is mentioned; the climate, the distribution of population, railroads and markets, the types of agriculture most likely to prove successful, the average prices of land, the number and condition of farmers and the status of their labor problems, the special inducements, drawbacks, and opportunities — all are reviewed and presented in compact, readable form.

Obviously an exhaustive account of the agriculture of the country — or any part of it — would make a volume of unwieldy size. And on the other hand, all the information that one should know about the particular farm he buys could never be included in any book that deals with extended areas. It must be gained by personal examination. These booklets, however, serve admirably to point out the various ways and give the necessary preliminary knowledge. Any one contemplating the ownership of a farm, unless he has already chosen a locality, should look through them. And there is no reason at all why he cannot. They are free and will be sent for the asking.

THE FOLLY OF FEDERAL AID FOR ROADS

AN EXAMPLE of the economic folly and political immorality to which the theory of Federal aid in the construction of good roads inevitably leads is found in Mr. Shackleford's bill which passed the House of Representatives last July and then died on the Senate files. This bill provided, first, that all highways in the United States that are traversed by rural mail carriers should be classified into three grades: (A) shell, vitrified brick, or macadam; (B) clay, sand and clay, sand and gravel, or rock and gravel; and (C) — well, "just roads," provided only they be ditched at the sides and dragged periodically. Then followed this astonishing provision: that whenever the United States should use any such highway "for the purpose of transporting rural mail, compensation for such use shall be made at the rate of twenty-five dollars per annum per mile for highways of class A, twenty dollars per annum per mile for highways of class B, and fifteen dollars per annum per mile of highways of class C."

And further, that "the compensation herein provided for shall be paid at the end of each fiscal year . . . to the officers entitled to the custody of the funds of the respective highways."

Reduced to practical results, the bill would have provided a free gift every year, from the Federal Treasury to the county board of supervisors, of at least $15 a mile for every mile of "reasonably passable" (language of the bill) roads within the county limits.

"It will only cost $20,000,000 a year at first," pleaded Mr. Shackleford in support of his bill.

"Yes," retorted Mr. Kent of California, "and it will start a worse than pension system, with a bigger budget than the pension roll, and without any mortality tables ever to put an end to it."

"What is a paltry $20,000,000 to a great

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country like the United States?" pleads Mr. Shackleford.

"The coast fellows and the river fellows get their 'pork' in the rivers and harbors bill: our folks on the dry land want theirs," was an openly-spoken argument heard many times in the House lobby. And the bill passed the House, too.

That is the temptation, and the shameful falling under it, that grows naturally out of our pension graft. Good roads we must have, but that price is too high to pay for them, even as the padded pension roll is too high a price to pay for a reputation for "gratitude" to men who never earned it.

GOOD ROADS AND "PORK"

MR. JESSE TAYLOR, secretary of the Ohio Good Roads Federation, sent by Governor Harmon as a delagate to the first convention in favor of federal aid for good roads, in a vigorous plea for this policy, said:

> Look now at the agricultural appropriation bill enacted by the Congress of the United States and signed by our President on the 3rd day of March, 1911. From 1832 down to the 3rd day of March, 1911, there was not a dollar appropriated from our National Treasury to aid in the construction of public highways, although we have done all these other things which I have enumerated; but on the 3rd day of last March, 1911, there appeared in a bill passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States, the enormous sum of $10,000 in aid of the construction of a public road. I am not giving anybody away when I say that the President of the United States in his busy life and the business of his official office over in the White House saw something in that bill — he might have seen something about the boll-weevil or something about the scab on the sheep or the disease of the cattle in Texas, but there was something else in that bill which attracted the eye of the President of the United States, and it was that little ten thousand dollars in there. Within forty-eight hours after he signed the bill a request went from the White House that the $10,000 be expended — where? To improve a road which leads from the District Line to the front gate of Chevy Chase Golf Club. They went out and made a deal with the State of Maryland to put up an equal amount, and they are constructing one of the finest roads ever built within the United States with this $10,000, and the Maryland money, from the District Line to Chevy Chase Golf Club, and I stood on it on the 28th of last September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven. And that was the first money spent, the first national aid to the people at home, since the year 1832.
>
> Now, if it is right to do all these other things; if it is constitutional and right to take $10,000 out of the National Treasury and spend it on a road for the pleasure and comfort of the President of the United States, I will be damned if it ain't right to build one in front of my door.

Spend whatever you like from the Federal Treasury but give me my share — that is the substance of his plea. It is also the philosophy that underlies all "pork barrel" appropriations.

It is debatable how much traffic is interstate, how much the Federal Government should help good roads: but it is an established fact that while millions of dollars a year have been spent by "pork barrel" methods on our rivers, the traffic on them has decreased. And it is just as certain that similarly conducted Federal aid for good roads will not give us permanent good highways, but will add another tremendous source of "honest graft" for the Congressmen to bring home to their districts.

When Mr. Taylor gets the Government to build the road to his front door his next door neighbor will bet his salvation to get the Government to do the same for him.

Behind the desire for good roads, which are a paramount necessity, lurk the pork-mongers. The good roads enthusiasts, unmindful of the fate of the waterway, enthusiasts, are willing to compromise a little with the pork barrel. By their overzeal, they are running a risk of seriously crippling a movement that means much to every part of the country.

THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH

LAST year thirteen and a half million cases of sickness among wage earners of the United States caused a loss in wages of $366,000,000 to the sufferers — and a loss of a very great deal more than that to the country.

Many of these cases of sickness were

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preventable. Many of them were due to harmful industrial methods which thoughtfulness could have avoided. Almost every branch of industry has its special dangers of injury or disease; some industries deal with substances dangerous to health; some tend to keep the workman under conditions injurious to health; many, in these days of complicated machinery and high speeding, subject them to nerve strain. "Diseases of occupation" are nowadays recognized as having a very wide range indeed; cobblers' chest, "phossy jaw," writers' cramp, and telegraphers' palsy have their parallel in almost every industry. In New York State, practising physicians are required by law to report to the State Department of Labor cases of "occupational disease" which they are called upon to treat. Germany and England are far ahead of the United States, however; in both these countries the protection of laborers against the special disease to which their occupation subjects them is assumed by the State as a duty.

II

In America, having but lately and still only partially awakened to the necessity of the conservation of material natural resources — forests, waters, lands, minerals, and the like — we are still unconscious of the duty of conserving our vital resources. We are allowing a million and a half lives to be lost annually and three million human beings to live in a constant state of incapacity.

A considerable part of this great annual national loss is unnecessary. Here is race suicide at least as deplorable as that which receives so much attention from so many students of our vital statistics. It is safe to say that, in the light of present medical knowledge, one-third of the million and one-half yearly deaths are preventable; of three men who died last year, one, at least, might still be living and working.

A bulletin issued by the Federal Bureau of Education on the subject of the health of pupils in the schools goes so far as to assert that three fourths of them need attention for physical defects. Fifty per cent. have bad teeth which affect their health; 30 per cent. have adenoids, enlarged tonsils, or cervical glands; 25 per cent. have defective vision; another 25 per cent. suffer from malnutrition; 5 per cent. have tubercular symptoms; 5 per cent. spinal curvature, flat-foot, or some like deformity.

Yet there are people who doubt the advisability of the Federal Government (which has long studied the welfare of fruits, grains, horses, and hogs) interesting itself in the health of the men, women, and children who make its chief wealth.

WORKINGMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

TWELVE states now have laws relating to industrial insurance: California, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New Hamphsire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin. In nearly all the states of the Union statutory changes have been made to modernize the laws of employers' liability, but only the states just named have acts that apply to all servants and that are, therefore, "compensation acts." Most of these laws were framed by legislative commissions, who investigated the work of other states, attended interstate meetings of similar committees, and then made their recommendations to the legislature. Governor Osborne, of Michigan, called a special session of the legislature expressly to pass a Workmen's Compensation Act and a Presidential Primaries Law.

New York was the pioneer in legislation favorable to workingmen, but the Court of Appeals set aside that law, which compelled the employer to pay compensation only according to a certain scale in a few hazardous trades. The ground for the adverse decision was that the act would deprive the employer of property without due process of law, and some of the arguments bolstering it up were so absurd, the comparisons so illogical, as to arouse general condemnation. Every state court that has passed upon the constitutionality of a similar act since that decision, has upheld the act; and there are five such decisions to date — in Massachusetts, Washington, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Kansas.

What has been the attitude of the courts

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of the East, of the West, and of the Middle West? The Massachusetts Supreme Court, in July, 1911, gave a liberal interpretation of the constitution, by declaring valid a law which abrogated all three of the employer's common law defenses — negligence of a fellow servant, voluntary assumption of risk, and contributory negligence of the injured man.

Washington followed suit in September, 1911, taking the opposite stand to the New York court toward a law embodying the same principle. It is significant, especially to the advocate of judicial reform, that whereas the New York decision was based on the argument that private property could not be taken without due process of the law, the Washington decision declared that the enforcement of compensation was merely the exercise of police power, which Judge Fullerton defined as "the power to govern." Thus we have two state courts taking exactly opposite attitudes. The Washington court expressed the belief that losses caused by injury to a workman should be borne by the industry causing them or, perhaps, by the consumers of the products of such industries; "That the principle thus sought to be put into effect is economically, sociologically, and morally sound we think must be conceded. Indeed, so universal is the sentiment that to assert to the contrary is to turn the face against the enlightened opinion of mankind."

II

Wisconsin took a stand in November, 1911, not only in favor of workmen's compensation, but against an "eighteenth century interpretation of an eighteenth century constitution" in the twentieth century. The opinion of the court, written by Chief Justice Winslow, declares that "Doubtless the law will need and will receive some changes and amendments as time shall test its provisions and demonstrate its weak points. It would be unreasonable to expect that a law covering so important a subject along lines not before attempted should be perfect, or very near perfect, upon its first enactment. If experience shall demonstrate that it is practicable and workable and operates, either wholly or in great measure, to put an end to that great mass of personal injury litigation between employer and employee, with its tremendous waste of money and its unsatisfactory results, which now burdens the courts, the long and painstaking labors of those legislators and citizens who collaborated in framing it will be fittingly rewarded by a result so greatly to be desired. That result will mean a distinct improvement in our social and economic conditions."

The Wisconsin law gives both parties the choice of abiding by a carefully fixed scale of compensation, settling their disputes before the State Industrial Commission (which practically has the powers of a court) or of settling damage suits in the law courts as previously, with all the expense and delay which that course involves. Those employers who do not elect to come under the jurisdiction of the Commission are, however, deprived of two of the old common law defenses: voluntary assumption of the risks of the industry and the negligence of a fellow-servant. The fellow-servant doctrine holds good only where the industry employs less than four men — an industry so small that the employer can guard himself against the mistakes or misconduct of others. The new law is looked upon as somewhat compulsory in effect, though optional in form; for it leaves the non-electing employer, of his three common law defenses, only contributory negligence of the injured person. The law went into operation the first of September, 1911, and so far as can be learned, not one of the 435 firms (which employ more than 63,000 men), who have chosen to abide by the rates and decisions of the Industrial Commission, has paid out as much money for claims as it formerly paid to insurance companies for protection. The firms that have elected to come under the operation of the law in Wisconsin are the larger concerns which act under the advice of lawyers. Twenty-five per cent. of the accidents in the last year in Wisconsin were adjusted under this law. The workmen, too, have gained, for all who have had valid right to compensation have secured it without the expense and delay of a regular law suit.

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In Wisconsin and California, for example, an employer must affirmatively elect to come under the operation of the act before it applies to him. The result is that few of the smaller employers take the trouble to study the law and hence relatively few concerns operate under it. In New Jersey, however, it is assumed that an employer wishes to act under the law unless he specifically elects not to do so, with the result that a relatively large number of concerns do operate under the law.

CARRYING THE GRADES TO THE COUNTRY SCHOOL

HERE is the simple plan by which Mr. I. J. Scott, Superintendent of Schools of Story County, Ia., applied the town method of grading classes to some of the country schools under his supervision. Instead of having children of all ages taught in every schoolhouse, as the rural custom is, he divided the pupils of three adjoining districts into three groups composed, respectively, of the primary classes (grades 1 to 3), the intermediate classes (grades 4 to 6), and the advanced classes (grades 7 to 9). He then assigned the first group to one schoolhouse, the second group to the second schoolhouse two miles to the east, and the third group to the third schoolhouse two miles to the west. Every pupil walks to the schoolhouse nearest his home, as he did before, and if his classes recite in one of the other schoolhouses he is carried thither by a wagon that is hired especially for this purpose by the united districts.

Some of the helpful results of the plan are these: from 31 classes a day these schools are now able to cover the same work with 14 classes a day; from an average recitation period of 10 minutes these schools have risen to an average recitation period of 25 minutes; the teachers are able to give much more thorough preparation to their work and far more spontaneity to the class-rooms; the pupils receive more individual attention and therefore get more enjoyment and understanding from their lessons; the average attendance of the three schools has risen from 36 pupils to 45. And these benefits are achieved for only $3.52 additional cost per pupil per year. The children have suffered no inconvenience from the wagon ride even in winter. On one Friday afternoon of every month the wagon, after taking the children home, brings their mothers back to the schoolhouse for a neighborhood discussion of the schools, with results in increased interest in the school work and in strengthened social relations that have added much to the community life. The school libraries were divided into three parts according to their suitability to the ages of the children of the three schools, and many new books were added. Better morals and easier discipline are reported by the teachers because the children are segregated according to ages.

The problem of efficiency in country schools is one of the big vital problems of our country. This plan of graded union schools seems to supply one step forward in their improvement — a short step, perhaps, but noteworthy nevertheless.

AFFAIRS IN THE CARIBBEAN

THE blowing up of the palace at Port-au-Prince and the death in its ruins of the Haytian President and a hundred of his followers, brought to a characteristic end the "reform" government of Gen. Jean Jacques Dessalines Michel Cincinnatus Le Conte. The victims being only a few score Haytians, it was nobody's business, and the new President, Gen. Tancrede Auguste, who was in the saddle before the flames had expired, will be permitted to carry on for a little while, until he in turn is shot or poisoned or blown up, the wretched tyranny that passes for the Government of the Black Republic.

Le Conte had been in power less than a year and was just beginning to show his abilities as a successor of his former master, Nord Alexis — as savage an old gorilla as ever licked his bloody lips with glee as he watched the dying. A correspondent writes to the WORLD'S WORK defending Le Conte against the reflection cast upon him by Mr. Hale, in an article in the August

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number, for the execution of Gen. Jules Coicou. It is true that the charge on which Coicou was executed was a true one; he had headed a squad that went out and shot down twenty-seven persons (two of them his own brothers) on the street one day during Alexis's reign. Coicou richly deserved his fate. Mr. Hale did not take the trouble to mention the circumstances that he had done the deed — at the order of Le Conte, then Alexis's Minister of the Interior. Government in Hayti is a procession of murderous and murdering Negroes; it is a part of the regular order for an assassin's principal in a crime later to be his accuser, judge, and executioner.

People in the United States have a notion that life in Hayti is an opera bouffe affair. Far from it. It is an affair of killing and cannibalism, of poison and plunder. A corpse in the street is nothing. A burning house is nothing. A fusillade into a crowd by drunken soldiers; the sight of a drove of chained prisoners beaten by *cocoamacaques*, or left to starve and be devoured by wild hogs — these are nothing. Could the facts be realized, the world would not allow another day to dawn on the most sordid, savage, and terrible scene exhibited on earth.

II

The account of the Caribbean situation given by the WORLD'S WORK in previous issues has been criticised because it asserted that Santo Domingo was in a state of unrest. The death of Le Conte revealed the fact that the Government at the eastern end of the Island was about to declare war on its neighbor to the west, on the ground that Dominican rebels were being armed and paid by the Haytian President. The war will likely be averted by the taking off of Le Conte, but the half dozen insurrections going on in Dominican territory will continue until a stronger man than General Victoria gains possession of the presidency of that country.

III

In Nicaragua the events forecast by this magazine in June and again in August have come to pass. Readers of the daily press are being regaled with descriptions of the battles between General Mena and Gen. Emiliano Chamorro, with President Diaz in the background and the American Legation, protected by marines from an American ship, as the principal object of the shells thrown into the Capital by the rebels. All industry is prostrated; business and traffic are suspended; harvests have gone to ruin; and many are dying of famine, a little relieved by food from relief ships in the harbors.

In Mexico, anarchy prevails generally throughout the provinces. The Madero Government is showing little ability to restore order, and American troops are exchanging shots with Mexican rebels across the Rio Grande, while our border towns are crowded with refugees to whom the Federal Government is furnishing shelter and food.

Whether or not our humane instincts are touched by the misery of the Central American and Caribbean spectacle, it is impossible to escape wondering just how long it will be before the United States is dragged into serious trouble and forced to frame a rational policy with respect to it.

POUND FOOLISH DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

IF EVER a human enterprise deserved the aid of mankind, the founding of a Republic in China deserves it. But it is growing tolerably clear that the heroic rising of the Chinese against ancient sloth and corruption, hailed by civilization as an astounding and joyful event, is not receiving the unselfish help that civilized nations might and ought to give. For ten months — critical months for the new Republic —"the Great Powers" have been haggling over the terms on which they might lend China the money necessary to pay off and send home the revolutionary army and to provide for the first necessities of organizing a modern government. Six months were used up in an unseemly scramble to participate in the loan. The United States would not allow a group of European bankers to supply the money alone. It must join them. Then Japan must be admitted—and Russia. Then the coalition split into two groups, jockeying

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against each other. Meanwhile the loan had grown to gigantic size; $5,000,000 could not be lent unless $45,000,000 more were contracted for, on terms which meant foreign dictatorship in China's affairs.

It is true that those who lend money to the Chinese are justified in making sure that it goes to rightful uses and in securing the safety of principal and interest. But it is not for this that the Powers are embarassing the Republic with demands to which the national pride of the awakened people will not permit it to yield. Our own State Department frankly says that its interest in participating in the loan lies in its desire to have a voice in the reconstruction of China's fiscal policies and to give American bankers a share in the financial operations of which China is to be the scene.

This may be shrewd diplomacy. Isn't it, possibly, too shrewd? Are we not throwing away a rich heritage in the friendliness of the Chinese to our whole nation, gained by John Hay's frank diplomacy, for a mess of pottage — profits to a few American bankers?

Whatever other Powers — greedy for territory — may hope for, the United States wants nothing of China but her good will. That is hardly to be secured by assisting the selfish international cabal that is antagonizing Chinese patriotism and seriously embarassing the new Government by forcing upon it an enormous unnecessary loan for which China is to pay the price of surrendering control of its own affairs.

The most fruitful diplomatic steps that the United States has ever taken in the Far East have been those dictated by generosity and grounded on our assumption of the good faith of our Oriental friends. The return of the Boxer indemnity gave us a place of singular influence in the hearts of the Chinese and brought to our schools the best blood and brain of their ancient land. The revolution was very largely indeed a result of the American education of Chinese youths, and the new Government is very largely formed on American ideals. How foolish to barter our unique advantage for a minor one shared by five other nations!

TO CLEAN UP THE BANKING BUSINESS

IN THE United States there is a great group of banking houses whose business it is to buy and to sell investment securities; they are the middle men between the producer of bonds and stocks and the consumer. Their function, therefore, is to supply the constant flood of capital necessary to carry on all our commercial enterprises, and, in doing this, to see that the interests of the people who buy these securities are properly protected.

These houses that are engaged in this big business, which has an annual turnover of about $2,000,000,000, have never been organized to coöperate for their own protection. Practically every house has stood on its own feet so far as protection is concerned. There has been no free interchange of opinion. Every house has gone along trusting to its own ability to look out for itself, and trusting to its own judgment solely as to what was good and what was bad in finance. To a certain extent this lack of coöperation was due to trade jealousy and to the very keen spirit of competition that exists in the banking business; in part, however, it was because no great need for coöperation has been felt by the investment banking fraternity. This fraternity has ignored the "get-rich-quick" game and all other forms of fraudulent finance, on the ground that they did not matter in the least to the legitimate banker and that a study of them would be of no profit to their clients.

Now for the first time there has been organized an association of these investment bankers. Its purpose is to fight "get-rich-quick" finance. It undertakes to establish a bureau to investigate every prospective flotation of stocks and bonds; it pledges itself to aid all constructive financial legislation. The men who have organized the company and who are its officers and governors are almost all men well known in the investment business and men of high standing and reputation. Probably few of them know very much about the illegitimate phases of finance, but all of them are quite capable of learning whatever is necessary to learn. On the

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face of it, the organization should be a strong and ultimately a compelling force for the elimination of the "get-rich-quick" game, so far as it can be eliminated.

This magazine has played at least a small part in this battle against crooked finance for many years past and hopes to continue its work along this line for many years to come. We know from our own experience that the only foundation upon which a campaign to eliminate crooked finance and a campaign to educate the public in straight finance can be carried on hand in hand is that the people or association or magazine carrying it on must go into it with clean hands, free from self interest of a direct sort and imbued with the sense of public service.

This investment bankers' association seems to have all these characteristics. It may well become the very heart of the war against crooked finance and a source from which the public may draw its information concerning all flotations of securities. It should become the Committee of Public Safety in Investments.

THE MAN WHO WAS TRUSTED

ONE day early in August a Colonel Cornwall was arrested in New York on the charge that he had appropriated and used more than $200,000 of other people's money while acting as executor and trustee for half a dozen estates in Pennsylvania. He declared his innocence, but while on his way home in charge of a constable he managed to get a revolver out of his suit case and to kill himself before the eyes of a car full of people, thus tacitly confessing his guilt.

The record of this incident may be of value to those persons who, having funds, are obliged to lean altogether upon the judgment and good faith of other people. It appears that this man had in his hands two funds of $100,000 each, one of $70,000, one of about fifty thousand dollars, and one of about twenty thousand dollars. It seems that he bought and sold securities and property for these funds absolutely at his own discretion and that practically no supervision at all was exercised over his use of the money.

There are many thousands of funds in this country that have been handed down by people who have died, or that have been set aside for a particular purpose by living men, which are handled by strangers on the same conditions under which Colonel Cornwall handled funds in his charge. What, then, can be done by a man, when he sets aside money, to safeguard it against the same kind of losses that have fallen upon the five or six estates at the hands of Colonel Cornwall?

First, he should realize that, merely because a man is a good lawyer, a good country bank officer, a good judge, or a good doctor he is not necessarily a good financial administrator. It has been pitiful, at times, to review the history of country funds as this history has been detailed to the WORLD'S WORK in letters received from beneficiaries and from the executors themselves. During the panic of 1907, more than a dozen instances became known to this office of funds that had been handled to the best of the ability of the man upon whom the responsibility for them rested, but that had been nevertheless completely disorganized by that brief panic. In some cases heavy losses had already taken place; and in others the income had been cut down and it would be necessary to go through a long and very painful process of upbuilding before the fund would be restored to its former size.

We have found, in our records, cases where an executor of a large fund did not know that if he bought bonds above par he ought to set aside a certain amount of his income to meet the dwindling of prices as the bond approaches maturity. An executor believed that bonds were guaranteed by a trust company, simply because the name of that company was on the bond as trustee. Other executors have put funds into extremely dangerous, in-

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flated stocks, quite unconscious that they were running any serious risk. One executor in New Jersey was proud that he had averaged more than 8 per cent. on the funds in his charge by a process of marginal trading whereby he never paid more than 50 per cent. for his stock and borrowed the rest of the price from the stock exchange firm. In dozens of instances a fund administered altogether in mortgages had finally been found in possession of very badly depreciated properties taken under foreclosure. In some instances this property produced no income, and in others the income was good enough when it could be collected, but the expense of administration was very heavy.

We have abundant evidence that there are thousands of men administering estates, investing private funds, and even handling the funds of colleges, institutions, army organizations, hospitals, and churches, who have not the least right to be handling funds more sacred than their own. It appears that almost any one is willing to assume the responsibility of taking charge of this sort of job. A great many people seem to regard the investment of money as so simple and easy a task that it requires no training whatever, no special knowledge and no great sense of responsibility.

The burden of this condition falls most heavily upon people who are dependent upon the income from invested funds. Orphans are the most likely victims. Elderly women are next in the list. If it were possible to collect from all the newspapers the record of a single year covering the cases where trusted executors had defaulted, where old family lawyers had died and left their affairs so complicated as to make it impossible to straighten out the funds in their charge — that record would be terrible enough to convince every one who read it not only that it is a fearful thing to assume responsibility for other people's money, but that also it is a fearful thing to turn over money to another man and give him free rein to handle it as he pleases.

In making their wills, some men turn over all their assets to executors with no instructions whatever to guide them; others turn the assets over with instructions. Both ways have advantages and both have disadvantages. It is pretty well agreed, however, by conservative judges that a certain amount of instruction should accompany the grant. No man is so wise, so honest, and so certain of his own tenure of life as to be fit to have funds turned over to him with permission to use them as he likes for the benefit of others.

If funds are large enough, probably the safest way to leave money for the benefit of others is to put it into the hands of a trust company and stipulate that it be administered under the laws governing such investment in New York, Massachusetts, or some other well regulated state. If funds are small, however, this is sometimes inadvisable, for I do not know any other class of investors that get smaller net returns out of funds invested under trustee regulation than the average trust company.

A modification of this method is not uncommon. I have seen a will drawn by a business man, himself a shrewd investor, giving to a trust company very explicit instructions as to the use of his money after death. He does not limit the fund to securities legal for trust funds. He makes his restrictions strong enough to eliminate as much of the speculative element as can be eliminated by rules laid down years in advance. He makes the discretion of his executor wide enough to permit him to invest in any standard class of investment securities and gives him considerable room for the exercise of his own judgment. Finally, he prohibits the investment of more than 10 per cent. of the fund in the securities of any one industry, railroad, or municipality. He lays a very strong restriction upon the class of real property that can be bought.

If a man is not himself an investor and does not know what he is doing, it is a perfectly easy matter to obtain the best of advice as to what rules to lay down and what restrictions to be placed upon the use of money. If it is necessary to call upon a lawyer to frame a will so that the provisions will be binding, it is equally necessary, where sums of money are to be invested, to obtain equally proficient advice on the manner of investment.

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TO HELP THE HELPLESS CHILD

WHAT THE NATIONS OF EUROPE ARE DOING FOR THE ABANDONED, THE ORPHANED, THE INDIGENT, AND THE ANTI-SOCIAL

BY

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, WHO RECENTLY MADE A PERSONAL INVESTIGATION OF EUROPEAN METHODS OF CARING FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

THE champions of childhood in the United States have modestly asked the Federal Government to collect and distribute vital information in respect to the life and death of children. As so often happens, the greatest nation on earth slowly crawls into the rear of the humanitarian procession. While we delay, the civilized governments of Europe act; while we request statistics of mortality and abuses, other federal administrations exhibit statistics of activities and achievements. We sacrifice helpless, innocent babies to a political theory and an economic fetich, and put Herod to the blush. No one would ask our Federal Government to extend its activities as far as is found practicable in France, Italy, and Hungary. Our territory is too vast, our local conditions are too varied for that. But there is an urgent demand for national intervention analogous to that of the Department of Agriculture which has been so beneficent an educator in caring for vegetables and animals, and so, indirectly, for human beings.

All advanced countries collect vital statistics of the distribution of population by age and sex; of births and deaths by age and sex; of the still-born, both illegitimate and legitimate. The statistics of the United States in some of the most important points, as births, are not found in the standard tables, because they are incomplete. We have excellent pedigrees of our well bred sheep, hogs, and stallions, but no records of our children.

Legislation must vary with the constitution of each country. Germany has one fundamental law for its twenty-six federated members and leaves many administrative measures to be worked out by states. The Civil Code provides for the guardianship of all neglected and imperilled children, and brings the illegitimate waif under the shield of the imperial command. But each state has the power to apply that fundamental law in its own way. Many of the cities, with more or less state legislation, have recently transformed the individual guardianship into a public, professional guardianship, with admirable results.

Hungary has gone further in this direction and created a legal and administrative system which is free from traditional patchwork and entirely modern. Where the state of dependence or danger is due chiefly to physical conditions, as infancy or feeble mindedness, the Ministry of the Interior is the organ of care; while in cases of violation of law and for purposes of correction, the Ministry of Justice is responsible. Since 1907 an elaborate system of prevention and protection has been built up; neglected children have been placed in families or in institutions for training. The State has under its direct control more than 50,000 children who are supervised by a medical director. At Budapest is a central hospice and receiving hospital for temporary treatment. Seventeen asylums, each under a medical superintendent, are established at convenient centres throughout the kingdom; but as far as possible the wards are placed in families and become absorbed in the general population. For the care of nurslings and motherless young children 352 districts have been organized in the communes, and babies are placed with foster mothers who are supervised by

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medical men. Defective and abnormal children are treated in hospitals, asylums, and special schools. Teachers are trained for each particular branch of education. The total annual cost of this national protection of children is more than two million dollars. A voluntary society, the National League, with its 50,000 members, coöperates with the State agencies. For correctional training of delinquent juveniles there are five reform schools for boys and one for girls. Those schools are on the cottage plan, with groups of about 20 pupils under a teacher.

ADMIRABLE REFORMATORIES IN ITALY

In Italy the youthful delinquents increased from 30,108 in 1890 to 50,000 in 1905, while many more were in moral peril. Children who have entered an anti-social path are gathered in the *Riformatori* institutions like the reform schools of our country. Under Director Doria these institutions have been transformed from prisons into schools, with admirable programmes and capable instructors. The writer visited several of these schools in 1911, and saw with special interest the education in artistic industries. Ten of these schools are public and thirty-three are private — all under government control. Each pupil is examined by a physician at entrance, and treatment is based on the findings of the study.

As yet the laws for neglected children have not been developed; but vigorous associations are urging such legislation and doing what private charity can do to meet the emergency.

The child labor acts of 1902 and 1907 prohibit the employment of young children in dangerous and unwholesome trades. A medical certificate of health and a school attestation of proficiency must be presented by a child of fifteen who seeks employment. Under fifteen years of age, all night work is forbidden by law; no period of labor shall be more than six hours; the day shall not extend beyond twelve hours, of which one to two hours must be devoted to rest. One day of rest in each week is required.

The State has assumed control of all schools, even private schools being required to meet national standards; and the authorities are working steadily to reduce illiteracy by enforcing obligatory attendance upon free schools.

In France, state care began with foundlings in the fourteenth century. St. Vincent of Paul gave a powerful impetus to the movement and was supported by Louis XIV. The Revolution called these waifs "children of the fatherland," and, ever since, the national obligation to the helpless has been recognized.

Three classes of children are under State supervision: *enfants trouvés*, children abandoned by parents; *enfants abandonnés*, who have been deserted by irresponsible or unfit parents; and orphans. All of these are "assisted children." There are also children aided by the communes in the homes of indigent parents. In 1889 the class of children maltreated or abused was distinguished and placed definitely under the care of public poor relief agencies. All "assisted children" are under national inspection, directed by the Ministry of the Interior. Expenses are divided between the general and local administrations. Private philanthropy adds immense resources of gifts and service.

Wayward and vicious children are sent to reform schools of various types, of which the most famous is at Mettray. The remarkable school, Théophile Roussel, near Paris is an institution for the training of boys who cannot be managed in public schools or by parents. A law of 1908 required the supervision of girls given to prostitution; but it seems thus far to have failed, from lack of institutions to shelter and teach those arrested.

Attendance in elementary schools has been compulsory since 1877.

The juvenile court methods have been tried since 1906 with encouraging success by the Society of Patronage for Children; and in Paris, in 1911, was held the first international congress of people who are friends of the juvenile court.

England has tried all kinds of experiments in the field of child welfare. Owing to the early development of factory industry, the evils of unregulated child labor came to light. The ideas of John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, Thomas Guthrie,

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the Earl of Shaftesbury, and other philanthropists bore fruit, after a prolonged and painful struggle with apathy and avarice. Innocent little ones were removed from the debasing associations of workhouses and poorhouses; those who were abandoned, neglected, maltreated, were placed under educational direction. A series of acts was passed from 1802 to the present day, which gave national protection to children and young persons exploited for private gain in mines, mills, and factories. Public education began with reformatory and correctional laws and agencies, since 1838. The idea of punishment gradually yielded to that of education, and now England has its superb Reformatory Schools for the older and more callous youth, its Industrial Schools for the younger and less difficult cases, and its Day Industrial and Truant Schools to supplement the elementary public schools. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 laid the foundation for popular education. General criminality is decreasing. In 1906 in England and Scotland there were 44 Reformatory Schools with 5,434 pupils; 133 Industrial Schools with 17,782 pupils; 21 Day Industrial Schools with 3,511 pupils; 13 Truant Schools with 3,805 pupils.

All the most important laws relating to children were codified in the notable "Children's Act" of 1908, which is a monument of progress. Juvenile courts are making headway. Many private associations coöperate with the public authorities. Indeed, many of the schools are owned and managed by such associations, receive subsidies from the State, and are under national supervision and control.

OTHER NATIONAL WELFARE PROGRAMMES

Belgium derives its civil law from its historical connection with France. Parental authority may be suspended, and abuse of the weak may be punished. Children under 12 years may not be employed. It is unlawful to offer young persons alcoholic drinks or to lead them into mendicancy or prostitution. Abandoned and neglected children in institutions of charity are under legal protection. Elementary schools are free, supported at cost of the State, but attendance is not yet obligatory and there are 121,000 children out of school. Boys and girls who have made themselves liable to punishment may be "placed at the disposition of the Government" and sent for training to a reform school.

The law of Norway (1896) deserves particular notice, for it is in some ways more radical than our juvenile court laws. A young person under sixteen years who is in moral peril from neglect or vicious habits is not tried in a court, but a board of guardians has authority to place him in a good family, or in a school approved by the king. A board of guardians exists in each commune, and consists of the local judge, the pastor, and five other persons, including a doctor and one woman. The township reform schools are subsidized by the state treasury. Children who are taught to beg or steal or wander can be taken away from their vagabond parents and trained to be good citizens.

Sweden makes its ancient, general children's institution the centre of its system of care for foundlings and other abandoned children. The income is derived from endowments and subsidies, all under national direction. Nurslings are kept until they are weaned and then placed in families to be reared. A law of 1902 has brought the care of children by foster parents under more strict control. Neglected children in moral peril are placed under commissions which are responsible for the education of children up to the sixteenth year and for their supervision until they are twenty-two years old. School attendance is obligatory, even for the blind and deaf; and feeble-minded children are sheltered and trained in special institutions subsidized by the State.

The Swiss Federal Constitution of 1874 authorized the national legislature to enact laws for the protection of neglected children. A law of 1902 granted an allowance to cantons which may be used to help clothe and feed indigent school children, and for the maintenance of vacation schools and sanitaria for pupils. Special provisions are made for the feeble-minded.

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The Swiss civil code, which goes into effect this year, contains many provisions for the protection and care of youth; the obligation of parents to educate feeble children; the duty of the board of guardians to interfere where parents neglect their children; improved care of illegitimate children and their mothers. The new criminal code will give still further defense to maltreated children. The factory laws contain provisions about night work and Sunday rest; and supplementary education of apprentices; but this legislation needs to be developed a great deal farther than its present stage.

We have now, under the direction of Miss Julia Lathrop, a children's bureau. There should follow from it a knowledge of conditions that is now lacking and a programme for their improvement.

THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL

THE PICTURESQUE AND ORIGINAL GOVERNOR OF INDIANA WHO AMENDED A STATE CONSTITUTION SINGLE-HANDED AND WHO IS NOW THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE

THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL ought to bring a libel suit against the camera. No living man was ever so outrageously abused by the disciples of Daguerre. They and their machines are in a manifest conspiracy to prove that the State of Indiana is governed by a weazen-faced manikin whose head, a chinless appurtenance to a pair of gigantic ears, is about to slip down out of sight through his collar. A camera can lie worse than a tombstone. Mr. Marshall, in the flesh, has ears the same in number and approximately the same in size as those of others of the human family. He has a chin in the usual place. The pen is mightier than the kodak, and the reader may take it on the higher authority that Mr. Marshall is a man of agreeable, even distinguished, countenance, erect of head, keen of eye, and compelling in manner. You would not guess it from his photographs, but he is urbane, from his well-cut locks to his small, well-shod foot and the tips of his perfectly manicured fingers. The taste that selects his ties transcends all criticism. Robert Chambers and other authorities on details of the personal proprieties would describe the Hoosier Governor's clothes as "well-built" and himself as "well-groomed." To silence the slanders of the camera, it remains only to note the Phi Beta Kappa key (of unusual weight and elegance) on his fob, the ring on his finger, the stick in the gloved hand, the large, round, real, tortoise-shell spectacles which add distinction while they relieve the wearied eye of the wearer.

"I wonder if any argument, moral or material, could persuade some photographer to manufacture a flattering portrait of me," sighed Governor Marshall, as he ran his eye over a tray-ful of Wilson and Marshall badges thrust under his eye on the train traveling eastward to Sea Girt the other day. "I shouldn't want anybody to vote for me under any misapprehension as to what my political views were, but I wouldn't care a hang how many votes I got on the strength of some other better-looking fellow's photograph."

Successful lawyer and man of the world; chosen on his personal popularity, Governor of a great state, over which he has presided with striking independence, and vigorous originality of character; a man of thought, yet alert to events; of dignity, yet of spontaneity and utter sincerity, Mr. Marshall really carries in his face and manner evidence of the kind of man he is.

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Indiana has given the nation three Vice Presidents and five candidates for the Vice Presidency: George W. Julian, who ran with John P. Hale on the Free Soil ticket in 1852; Schuyler Colfax, Grant's running mate in 1868; Thomas A. Hendricks, Tilden's companion in 1876; and Cleveland's in 1884; William H. English, who accompanied Hancock to defeat in 1880; and Charles W. Fairbanks, Roosevelt's companion in 1904.

Here is a curious fact: Indiana, which was admitted to the Union in 1816, has voted in 24 Presidential elections. In 22 of these, its vote has proven to be the vote of the nation. (True, Jackson in 1824 and Tilden in 1876 were not seated.) In both of the two remaining cases local causes deflected the state's judgment: in 1836 it voted for a favorite son, William Henry Harrison, four years before the country was ready to entrust him with the Presidency; and in 1848 its interest in internal improvements, chiefly canals, induced it to cast its vote for Lewis Cass.

But that is a remarkable record. Twenty-two times out of twenty-four, Indiana has indexed the judgment of the nation. In many respects the Hoosier State is especially fitted to represent the type and average of American sentiment. Its soil was the meeting-place of two streams of emigration, one from New England and New York, the other from Virginia and North Carolina. The centre of population has been within its borders for three decades and will apparently rest there for generations to come. It is in recognition of the happy fatality that seems to attach to the vote of Indiana that so many of its citizens have been put in the second place on Presidential tickets.

In point of ability and force, Mr. Marshall clearly outranks most of his predecessors. Hendricks, of course, was a figure of impressive size, long the unchallenged head of his party in the state and long a powerful factor in national politics. Julian was an enthusiast; Colfax was a complacent partisan of shadowed memory; English a non-entity; Fairbanks an ambitious citizen of average ability and a generous hand. Marshall is a poor man, who never thought of office till he found himself nominated for the governorship in a bad year, who won his first campaign with ease, and who in four years of office has impressed himself on his state as an original, fearless, and clear-headed man of the type of which statesmen are made.

INDIANA'S CONSTITUTION PROBLEM

You can get no better conception of the man than in the chapter of his administration dealing with the Indiana Constitution. He tells that story in some such manner as this:

"The original constitution of our state, framed under the old oak at Corydon, contained no provision for amendment, but provided that every twelve years a vote should be taken as to whether a convention should be called, and that the General Assembly should, if the vote were favorable, provide for such convention; also, that the convention should have the power to raise, amend, or change the constitution. The vote, therefore, should have been taken in 1828, '40, and '52. However, the General Assembly in 1849 called a constitutional convention, caused the deliberations of the convention to be filed with the Secretary of State, and then submitted the convention's document to the people, who adopted it. The new instrument went into effect in 1851.

"It will be observed that the convention was not called in accordance with the requirements of the old constitution; also, that the new constitution was adopted not only by the convention but ultimately by the people. If it is necessary to follow strictly the constitution in order to obtain a new one, then the constitution of 1851 is unconstitutional.

"The new constitution did provide for its own amendment, but see how its provision has actually worked — or failed to work. This is the method: a proposed amendment must pass two General Assemblies by a majority vote in each house; it must then receive a majority of all the votes cast at the election in which it is submitted to the people — a majority, that is, of the votes cast at that election, not merely of those cast on the amendment. While one amendment is pending, no other may be proposed.

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"Now, what do you think of the chances of getting that constitution amended? In earlier, simpler days two amendments did get through, at special elections, but for thirty years it has been impossible to alter a syllable. I don't need to tell you or anybody with intelligence that a state constitution that can't be altered is a frightful handicap. No matter how conservative and old-fashioned you are, there are some ideas which were popular a generation ago that simply won't work under the conditions of to-day.

"This is the fix we are in in Indiana: a proposed amendment has been 'pending' for fifteen or twenty years. This amendment has to do with requirements for admission to the bar. When the constitution of '51 was framed, there was abroad a good deal of dislike of the courts. You know there is nothing new under the sun. People go about exclaiming that they have found something new and making a terrible fuss about it. You can be sure that they haven't discovered anything new; they have just dug up some old idea, once familiar and long forgotten. This present-day suspicion of the courts of justice is an echo of a sentiment that swept over the land in the middle of the last century. It was so strong that when the people of Indiana came to make their constitution, they put into it an enactment that any person of good moral character should be admitted to the practice of law. Now, I have a good deal of respect for the free and easy 'constitutional' lawyer, who is not burdened by any prejudices that acquaintance with law might impart, but the time came when it was a pretty common belief in Indiana that our bar would be the better if it did set up a slightly higher standard. So an amendment was proposed, went through the two houses of the General Assembly twice, and was submitted to the people.

"It has been impossible to get a vote on it sufficient either to approve it or reject it. Until that can be done, no other amendment can be proposed. It can never be done. That is the position we are in. The people of Indiana are bound down under a fundamental law which they have no means of amending by so much as a punctuation mark.

"Now, a constitution is sacred to me. But the rights of a people are more sacred. A constitution has got to be a workable thing, and when one fails to work — why, then it's time to get another."

THE GOVERNOR TO THE RESCUE

How were they to get another? Thomas Riley Marshall would give them one. So he thought; so he arranged to do. He consulted men of learning and wisdom of both parties in all parts of the state, and then he sat down and wrote a constitution for Indiana. The General Assembly passed it and decreed that it be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection.

"Are not the people of a state superior to a constitution which they themselves made, but which has ceased to be workable? Does anybody seriously assert that a sovereign people are obliged to remain bound hand and foot because a document which was never intended to do more than guide them has brought them to a standstill? Cannot a constitution, which was itself unconstitutionally adopted, be superseded even though it provides no constitutional means for doing so? Were the people made for the constitution, or the constitution for the people?"

Perhaps other Governors finding the constitution of their state unworkable would have written a new one and given it to the people to adopt in supersession of the old. Perhaps so. But Thomas R. Marshall is the only Governor who has done so. It is a refreshing performance.

One may wonder why it would not have been better to have called a convention and let it write the new document. A knowledge of Indiana politics goes far to answer that question. The state is so evenly divided politically that no party can ever count in advance on electing its ticket. The most bitterly debated state issue has been for years the regulation of the liquor traffic. They are educated in Indiana to refinements which puzzle outsiders and leave us wondering at the feeling displayed over what to us seem mere differences of method. For instance, for years the fight has raged between the advocates of "county option" and "township option." Of the 92 counties 70 were "dry" three

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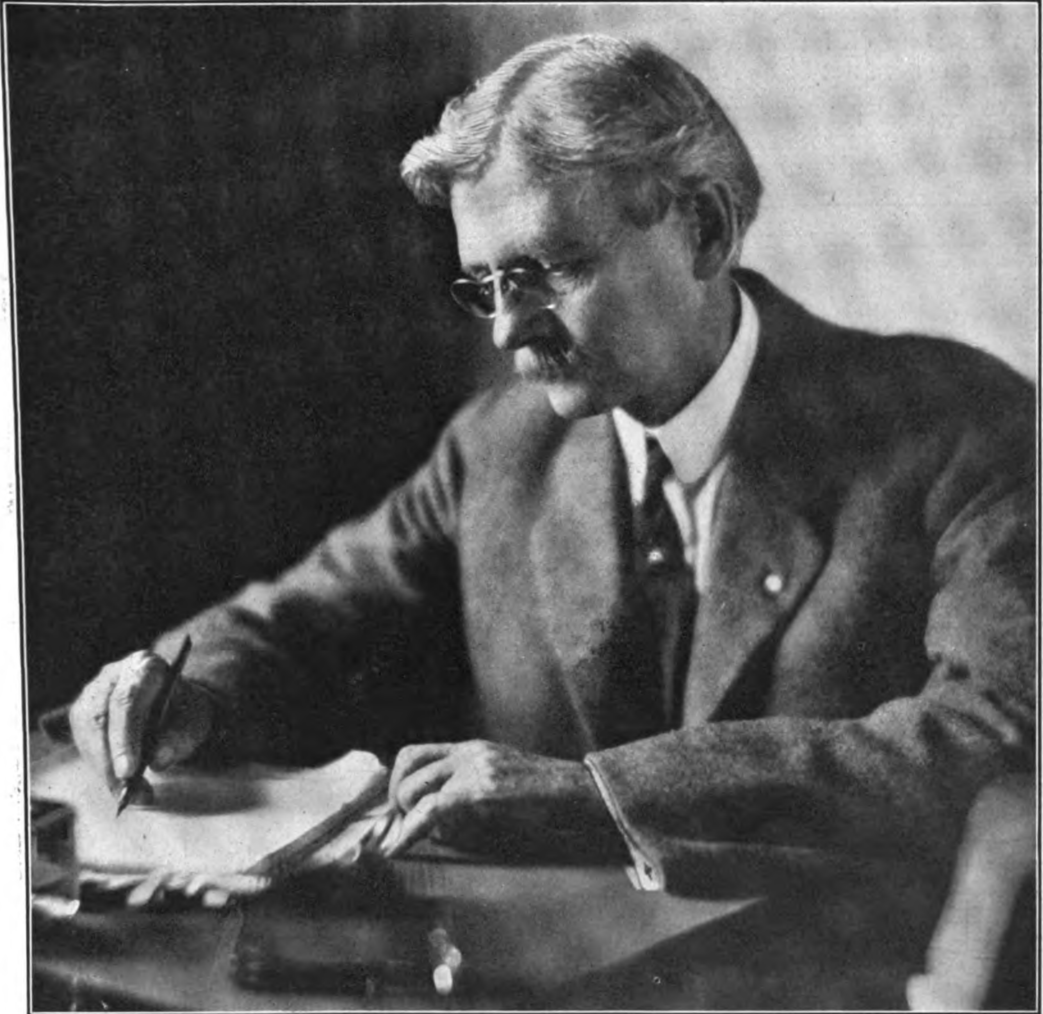
years ago under Republican rule. The Democrats abolished the right of counties to bar the sale of liquor and conferred it on the townships. Governor Marshall is among those who believe that it is only in the community where the local sentiment is behind a prohibition law that you can enforce it; who declare that drinking was as common as ever in most of the counties called "dry," and that the substitution of the smaller unit has been of immense advantage to the cause of temperance.

Be that as it may, it is easy to understand that, public sentiment being so nearly divided and so excited, there would have been little chance of a convention constructing a constitution for which a majority could have been secured. Politics is so eager in Indiana that it would have been too much to expect the politicians to have refrained from playing politics in a convention; too much to expect that anything but a sorry patchwork would have been put together only to be rejected after all the trouble.



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GOVERNOR THOMAS R. MARSHALL OF INDIANA

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Governor Marshall's constitution was non-partisan. It avoided questions on which the sentiment of the state was closely divided. They could be settled later, when once the way was open for

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settling things. The necessity now was to open that way — to get a workable constitution under which something could be done.

The new document was amendable — that was the whole point of it — on reasonable terms. One significant, important, and highly courageous change it proposed to make: it restricted the right of suffrage. In the state of Indiana, at the present time, one need not be an American citizen in order to vote. Any man of full age who has been in the United States a year and in the state six months and has declared his intention of becoming a citizen is entitled to vote. Thousands in this category do vote. Investigating the election of 1908, in Lake County alone, 2,700 voters being questioned were found to be unnaturalized foreigners who had come through Ellis Island the year previous. Many of the state officials elected then had had pluralities of less than 2,700.

Governor Marshall's constitution requires foreigners to be naturalized before voting; it also requires them to be able to read the Constitution, in some language, not necessarily English.

"I'm as ready as anybody to welcome the muscle and blood and brain that by immigration adds so much to our country's prosperity. But I think we ought to make some few slight inquiries before we ask the newcomers to take the running of our government out of our hands. A judge admitting a bunch of them to their first papers one day just before the last election, said to the interpreter:

"'Ask them if they are friendly and well-disposed toward the Constitution of the United States.'

"'Judge, Your Honor,' expostulated the interpreter, 'I'll never be able to get that over. Ask 'em something easy-like and sensible.'

"'Well, you might just ask them if they want to tear down the laws of this country.'

"The interpreter turned to his crowd,

GOVERNOR MARSHALL'S RESIDENCE IN INDIANAPOLIS

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and there was an awful clatter and clash of syllables for a minute or two. Then he turned around, smiling, and made answer,

"'No, Judge. They say they don't want to tear 'em down. They wants to blow 'em up!'"

That is hardly a typical "Tom Marshall story." It is rather too funny. "Tom Marshall stories" are seldom really funny. There is a peculiar color, a peculiar *timbre* to them. When you hear the first half dozen of them you wonder why he thinks them worth telling; they are just little incidents that happened somewhere, something that somebody said, not particularly interesting, not especially bright. But by and by you begin to expect them and to enjoy them, and you begin to see that this is this man's way of thinking and of dealing with life; he cherishes homely instances, he thinks it worth while to repeat rather commonplace happenings. He takes a frank delight in them himself. I found nothing more interesting in Mr. Marshall than his story-telling habit and the character of his stories, the preponderance of anecdotes with only the slightest flavor of the most quiet kind of humor. At first I was disappointed; I enjoy a good story. After a while I caught sight of a certain realistic art, true, pertinent, and illuminating, like the exquisite realism of a great French or Russian story-writer.

The Marshall constitution allows the establishment of the initiative and referendum. "I don't believe in it," said the Governor. "At least, I don't believe we need it in Indiana. But that's no reason why the people should be barred from having it if they want it. They can have anything they want under the constitution I propose. The women suffragists have attacked it because it does not give the vote to women. They forget that under it they can get the vote for women, while under the old they can't."

It appears for the present, however, that the advantages of the Marshall constitution are not to be enjoyed by the good people of Indiana. The Supreme Court has enjoined a poll of the state on the question of its adoption. The decree of injunction was a three to two decision on the part of the Court. A petition for a rehearing, on grounds which the friends of the new constitution believe cannot be resisted, has been filed.

Governor Marshall has vigorous views on the subject of corporations. He thinks they can and ought to be managed under existing law; it is not necessary to fill new legal volumes with enactments. He points to what he did to the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad of Indiana, which name

IN HIS STUDY AT HOME

described a "jerkwater" line from Cincinnati to Chicago, which was sold for six millions and straightway mortgaged for forty millions, and otherwise manipulated apparently according to the practices of enlightened high finance. His Attorney-General informed the Governor that there were no statutes to meet the case, but was

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instructed to go ahead and bring suit anyhow. An hour or two of conference with the financiers was all that was needed to persuade them to wiser courses. The capital stock was paid in, the big bond issue was cancelled, and a smaller one authorized, bonds to be issued under iron-clad conditions as actual work of improving the road went on; officers of the company were forbidden to sell themselves stock or bonds except in the open market, and not for less than eighty cents on the dollar, and an ideal business enterprise was organized out of what had looked like a wild-cat scheme.

"We don't need more law to deal with corporations. It will be enough if we apply the principles of equity and common law. I will undertake to drive any undesirable corporation out of our state on the basis. A corporation is the creature of the state, and the state stands in relations of peculiar responsibility toward its creations. What it made, it can unmake. They contend that a corporation, once created, is a person, and is endowed with the rights and privileges of a person. I won't go into that, except to observe that it is not a person in any such sense as will permit it to marry another, or, under the form of a 'gentlemen's agreement,' to enter upon unlawful cohabitation with another."

AT THE NOTIFICATION EXERCISES
WITH GOVERNOR WILSON AT SEA GIRT, N. J., ON AUGUST 7TH

The Governor is not very keen on primaries. It is not hard to understand why a man whose experience is confined to Indiana politics should have small sympathy

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AT THE BAT
IN A FRIENDLY GAME OF BASEBALL

In spite of the impossibility of amending the Constitution, Governor Marshall's administration has succeeded in putting into effect a great deal of progressive legislation. The state has ratified the Income Tax Amendment to the Constitution; it petitioned Congress to submit an amendment providing for direct election of Senators; it passed corrupt practices and campaign publicity acts. A most liberal employers' liability act was passed, abolishing the fellow servant rule, and the doctrine of assumed risk. Furthermore, child labor laws were strengthened, the Railroad Commission was empowered to fix rates, and the Tax Board was given with the new, direct methods for which the electorate of most of the states are clamoring. The parties are so evenly divided in the Hoosier state that a wish of any appreciable group receives instant attention.

The Democratic candidate insists that the tariff is the issue on which the campaign must be fought. "'The rule of the people,' which the third term candidate talks about, may be all very well, but what the people want to-day is the abolition of the wicked 'protective' duties that burden every family, every individual. The average American doesn't care to be offered the comforts of religion when he is hungry. When he wants salad, he won't be put off with a promise of salvation."

IN A BORROWED AUTOMOBILE
USUALLY GOVERNOR MARSHALL RIDES IN THE STREET CARS TO THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE, AS HE DOES NOT OWN A CARRIAGE OR CAR

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enlarged powers. Cold storage limitations were enacted, a standard of weights and measures was adopted, sanitary school-houses and medical inspection of pupils were provided for. Laws were passed making the block system of signals on railroads obligatory; a bureau for inspection of mines, factories, and boilers was

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MRS. MARSHALL

WHO WORKS ALMOST AS HARD AS HER HUSBAND FOR THE CAUSE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

established; a commission was formed to advance agricultural and industrial education; building and loan associations were brought under the banking department of the state; a system of uniform accounting was established in all state departments.

Columbia City, where Mr. Marshall practised law from his 21st birthday, in the Centennial year, down to the day of his inauguration as Governor, is an ordinary county-seat without special attractiveness or interest, set down on the prairie twenty-five miles west of Ft. Wayne. The Whitley County lawyer's fame extended through all the counties round, however, and he practised all through northeast Indiana. Till well over forty, he lived a bachelor; then he lost his heart to a girl in Angola, where he was arguing a case. Since he married Miss Kinsey, fourteen years ago, the couple have never been separated for twenty-four hours. She accompanies him everywhere; many were her adventures during the campaign in which her husband visited every county in the state. The companionship is not merely romantic, though it is that; Mrs. Marshall, it is noticeable, is a second pair of eyes and ears for the Governor, shrewdly alert to all that he ought to see and hear.

The Marshalls' home at Indianapolis — the state provides no residence — is a modest cottage backing up against the Benjamin Harrison homestead. It is a comfortable sort of place, and the occupants will leave it with regret.

"To tell the truth," remarks the Governor, with the perfectly simple frankness with which he will tell his inmost thought on any subject in the world, "the Vice-Presidency ought to pay more.

"The Vice-Presidency ought to pay more. I don't see how we are going to get along at Washington. We are very modest people. I live in a rented house and walk or take the street-car to my office every day, and don't need much. I borrowed money to run for Governor on, and I have managed to pay that nearly all off — all but about eighteen hundred dollars. And now I've had to arrange to borrow more to pay my personal expenses with this time. I would have declined if it wouldn't have looked peculiar. If I have to go to Washington how am I going to save all that out of my salary? It isn't right."

It isn't right. The United States doesn't deserve to get a first rate man for Vice-President unless it makes the office "pay more." We shall be lucky to get a man like Marshall.

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ACROSS INDIA WITH "KIM"

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE HERO OF MR. KIPLING'S TALE OF THE EAST

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"LITTLE FRIEND OF ALL THE WORLD"

"Though he was burned black as any native, . . . Kim was white — a poor white of the very poorest."

BY EDGAR ALLEN FORBES

If it be permitted, let me first recount my achievements, after the manner of Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, "M. A., of Calcutta University" — otherwise known to the players of the Great Game as "R. 17."

Twice have I roamed over the empire where Kim and his "Holy One" wandered in quest of the River that "washes away all taint and speckle of sin." I have seen the "te-rain" to Umballa, the Gates of Learning at Lucknow, the Temple of the Tirthankers at Benares, "the long, peaceful line of the Himalayas flushed in morning gold," and "that wonderful road that leads into Great China itself."

I have heard the creaking well-windlasses in the yellow afterglow, "the gurgling, grunting hookahs" in the still, sticky dark, and the boom of a Tibetan devil-gong. The "ash-smeared fakirs by their brick shrines under the trees," the mouse-colored Brahminee bull, the letter-writer squatting in the shade, the patient coolie pulling the punkah, the strong-scented Sansis whose touch is deep pollution — all these have I seen many times.

And, after a search that for a time seemed as hopeless as the lama's search for the River of the Arrow, I have made pilgrimage to the spot where the author of "Kim" was born.

Suffer me, therefore, to acquire merit!

LET US concede, for the sake of argument, that I was mildly enthusiastic about "Kim" before ever I went to India, and that I had placed him in my calendar alongside Barrie's "Sentimental Tommy," who was canonized a dozen years ago. But "Kim" was to me then merely a story — the rattling good story of an Irish soldier's outcast, who one day lords it as the son of a sahib over Chota Lal and Abdullah, and on the next day eats out of the same dish with the *fakirs* of the Taksali Gate. Incidentally, of course, it

THE AMRITZAR GIRL

"O Holy One, a woman has given us in charity so that I can come with thee—a woman with a golden heart."

was to me a most wonderful story of the Government's secret service — "the Great Game that never ceases, day or night, throughout India."

That was yesterday. To-day "Kim" is to me the best guide-book and the most faithful interpreter that the traveler may find in India. No other book that I know of so clearly unfolds that wonderful land and its mysterious customs — and I am not unfamiliar with Murray's and "The Other Side of the Lantern." The life of India as set forth in "Kim" is the life that the traveller sees before him everywhere

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MAHBUB ALI, THE HORSE TRADER
"THE PEDIGREE OF THE WHITE STALLION IS FULLY ESTABLISHED"

throughout the empire, "every detail lighted from behind like twigs on tree-tops seen against lightning."

If all India should be blotted out to-morrow by a great tidal wave and the Bay of Bengal should henceforth wash the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and if at the same time all other books about India should be obliterated, that picturesque life could be reproduced in large part from "Kim" alone. An artist familiar with the costumes and the coloring of the East could turn its pages slowly and bring back the whole land, from the Punjab to the sea. The one great gap would perhaps be the life of Benares, which does not appear in Mr. Kipling's story except in an incidental way.

As I went northward for a thousand miles from Bombay, paragraphs and sentences and phrases from "Kim" flashed by like telegraph poles. Whenever the train stopped alongside a station, there on the platform I saw "the station filled with clamour and shoutings, cries of water and sweetmeat venders, shouts of native policemen, and shrill yells of women gathering up their baskets, their families, and their husbands." Kim's friends were all there — the Amritzar courtesan, the fat Hindu money-lender, the well-to-do cultivator with his wife and baby, the burly Sikh artisan, the young Dogra soldier of the Loodhiana Sikhs, and the entire passenger-list of the *te-rain* to Umballa. That northward journey was one long commentary on the book — but the book was also a commentary on the land.

As now, with closed eyes, memory goes racing back over the highways of British India — north to the Punjab, east to the lowlands of Bengal, north again to the Himalayan snows, and southeast to the old Rangoon pagoda — one vision stands out sharp and clear against a confused background of palaces, temples, and hovels. It is the vision of the boy of India — that pathetic silhouette that unconsciously stands in picturesque pose against every Indian skyline.

A BHISTIE, OR WATER-CARRIER

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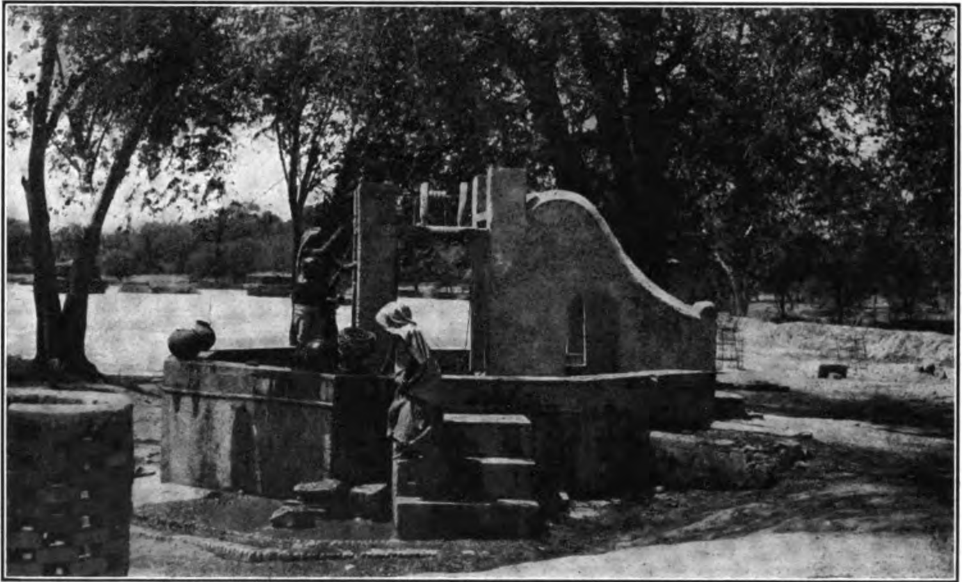
Now Kim, of course, was not a Hindu. "Though he was burned black as any native; though he spoke the vernacular by preference, and his mother-tongue in a clipped, uncertain sing-song; though he consorted on terms of perfect equality with the small boys of the bazar, Kim was white — a poor white of the very poorest." Yet the life that Kim led was preëminently the life of the Hindu boy, and so the boyhood of the land was to me a matter of particular concern.

The boy of India is not as other boys. He lacks the physique (and apparently the inclination) for athletic sport, and he has not the mischievous daring that leads to impertinence and even to petty crime. He is generally desperately poor; rarely can he read or write; seldom does he speak English; and many think that to speak the truth is even more difficult for him. Nevertheless, up to a certain age he is a most attractive little fellow.



DAWN IN INDIA
"ALL THE WELL-WHEELS WITHIN EARSHOT WERE AT WORK"

Whether he be Hindu or Mohammedan or what-not in religion, he is pretty much the same boy wherever you find him, in the Punjab or the Deccan. If, aged two, he sits astride his mother's hips naked as he came into the world, he gazes fearfully at you with large lustrous eyes. If, aged ten, he hovers about you in the bazars, arrayed in a loin-cloth or in a much-soiled nightie, with a dish-cloth wound around his uncombed head, he hopefully awaits the slighest excuse for presenting a claim for payment for imaginary services — for the Oriental is a gambler by instinct and regards every European as a possible source of gain. But if you will select the least tidy and the most insistent lad in the bazar and temporarily engage him as your guide — though neither of you understand a word of the other's language — you will discover virtues that the hotel-guide lost long ago.

As becomes a man who travels with a camera, I spent most of my time on foot and in the places where India most loves to congregate. I was in daily contact with almost every kind of Indian boy, from the son of the rich Parsee to the miniature imitation of a holy man, as represented by the little Saddhus on the Ganges. Yet it is a remarkable fact that I crossed the entire land of India once and more before I found a boy who impressed me as having come out of the book to show me what Kim was really like.

It was not astride the green-bronze cannon across from the Wonder House

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"THE TE-RAIN TO UMBALLA"

THIRD-CLASS COMPARTMENT "CARRIAGES" ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULAR RAILROAD

at Lahore, but lounging lazily against a pile of rubbish on the Ganges, that I first saw Kim in the flesh. He was a picture that would have delighted the soul of an artist. Half-sitting, half-standing there against the stone and mortar of a ruined temple, something out on the sacred river had caught his eye and made him oblivious to everything else. Over his head was stretched a queer little cap made from a piece of cloth; this and one solitary rag of clothing shone out white in the Benares sun. Otherwise, boy and background were of one color. Hugged to his breast was a crude stringed instrument, and beside him was the water-jar that had probably brought him to the edge of the river.

As he turned his face and caught sight of the sahib and his kodak, his lithe body instantly braced itself for a bound, like that of a startled deer. Then a half-mischievous smile parted his lips and he held out his hand instinctively in that sign of distress that is a badge of Indian brotherhood. It was unmistakably Kim — Kim as he must have looked as he stood before the Amritzar girl and implored the Breaker of Hearts for "a little ticket to Umballa." Of all the boys of India, the little chap there below the Nepalese Temple remains to-day the most fascinating in memory.

Within a week I saw him again. This time it was on the banks of the Hooghly, and he was perhaps a year older — about the age of Kim when he besought Mahbub to "let the hand of friendship turn aside the whip of calamity." Sitting on a step like a sahib instead of flat upon the ground, he held a bag of sweetmeats in one hand and clutched a cigarette in the other. The cigarette was held between the fingers in the most approved sahib fashion. He had nothing on except his loin-cloth, and his freshly bathed body shone like polished bronze. Had his hair and features not been unmistakably Arian, his deep color would have made him an Ethiopian — but the eyes were gray-blue. The pose and the serious look on his face

JULLUNDER FRIENDS OF KIM

THE WELL-TO-DO CULTIVATOR, WIFE, AND BABY (AND BUNDLES) HEADED FOR THE TE-RAIN

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recalled the scene where Kim sends for the bazar letter-writer and dictates a long letter to Mahbub, ending with that fine touch of Irish humor — "Send me some money, for I have not sufficient to pay the writer who writes this."

You will remember that Mr. Kipling makes frequent reference to the *fakirs* of the Taksali Gate — a disreputable craft of holy men whose mannerisms Kim imitated now and then. By a coincidence, Kim was in the company of one of these holy bodies when I saw him this second time. A few feet from him, squat on a piece of carpeting, was one of the most picturesque *fakirs* that I saw outside of Benares. He was not ash-smeared like the others and his skin also was very dark. The blackness of his complexion was increased by the mass of jet-black hair which encircled it and fell over his shoulders, while his caste-mark stood out like a semaphore signal set at "full stop." But it was not glaring enough to blind the most casual observer to the fact that a genuine 18-carat rogue was among those present.

It was in the city of Taj Mahal that . ran into old Mahbub Ali, the horse-trader, whose performances in Chapter I, when he misled the smooth-faced Kashmiri *pundit* by pursuing the Flower of Delight with the feet of intoxication, early marked him as a sleuth worthy of the best traditions of Scotland Yard. Mahbub was even now rolling across the *serai* in the direction of the Gate of the Harpies, but there was a quizzical smile on his face that seemed to say, "The pedigree of the white stallion is fully established!"

The fact that he was not at that moment arrayed in the fantastic frontier dress of the Afghan hills was no disguise. I recognized old Mahbub a block in the distance, for a burly brown man coming down a sunlit street and waving a beard that is of a shade between scarlet and orange is no inconspicuous personage. I saw this phenomenon several times in India and, had it not been for "Kim," would have wondered what racial intermixture could produce so strange a coloring. But that phrase — "his beard dyed scarlet with lime (for he was elderly and did not wish his gray hairs to show)" — explained the mystery. It is in little matters like this that the book is so helpful in the interpretation of India.

THE RAILROAD STATION AT DELHI
WHERE "E. 23" ESCAPED IN THE GUISE OF A SADDHU

Hurree Chunder, the Babu, was not so easily located. There were babus every-

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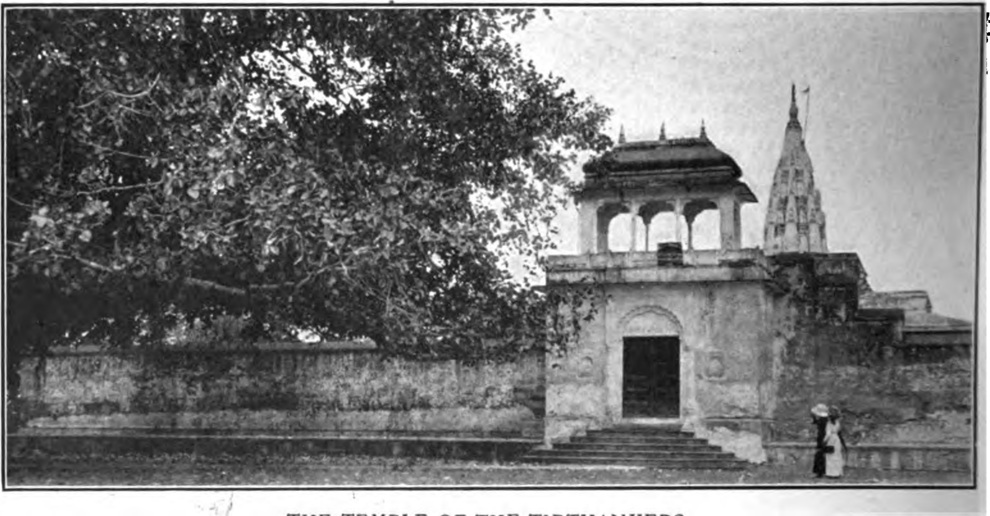
where, of course, and plenty of them with college degrees — for India has five great universities. The term "babu" originally meant Mr. or Esq., but in the usage of to-day it is applied to any native clerk who writes English. It was also no difficult task to encounter a babu whose bombastic language and self-complacency were like unto Hurree Chunder's. Nor was it rare to find one so obese that he waddled like a water-logged derelict in a rough sea. Moreover, the big umbrella, the patent-leather shoes, and the open-worked stockings were as thick as leaves on an autumn day — but none of the babus was "R.17."

It was not until I had crossed over to Rangoon that I found him. He was now in the guise of "a most sober Bengali from Dacca — a master of medicine," sitting behind bottles and testimonials "telling what things he has done for weak-backed men and slack women," and for those lamentable colics that overtook the sharp-tongued old lady's grandchild.

Hurree was asleep when I first saw him, with spectacles of green glass shading his eyes from the tropical glare. From the peaceful look on his oily face, he may have been dreaming of the F. R. S. that had come to be the goal of the Babu's ambition.

It was too much to hope that chance would bring across my path the wandering feet of the old lama of Suchzen, "still burning with his inextinguishable hope." The astonishment of Kim in the first chapter when the Red Lama shuffled round the corner makes it clear that holy men of this persuasion are not common to Central India. Moreover, the Tibetan lamas are Buddhist monks, and Buddhism is one of India's dead religions. I have seen a Buddhist priest reverently paying his devotions at the great tower of Sarnath, near unto the Temple of the Tirthankers, but he was a Japanese who was making a pilgrimage to the five holy places of Gautama Buddha, of which Sarnath is one.



THE TEMPLE OF THE TIRTHANKERS

AT SARNATH, NEAR BENARES; THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE LAMA DURING HIS SEARCH FOR "THE RIVER OF THE ARROW"

I had abundant opportunity to see real Tibetan lamas later — and red lamas at that. On the borderland of Bhutia and Nepal, at the back-door of Tibet, you may see a lama attended by his chela and the begging-bowl, making a house-to-house visitation, as regularly as you may see the milkman. I have been at Tibetan temples, with their gongs and prayer-wheels, and even in the same village with the great Dalai Lama from Lhassa — but never a sight of Kim's benefactor.

To my great joy, however, I found a photographer of Tibetan people who chanced to have a photograph that showed me just what the lama of the book must have been when he first left

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A BAZAR LETTER WRITER

"'FOUR ANNAS,' SAID THE WRITER, SITTING DOWN AND SPREADING HIS CLOTH IN THE SHADE"

KIM'S PLAYMATES WATCHING A JUGGLER

CHOTA LAL IN GILT-EMBROIDERED CAP AND ABDULLAH IN MUSSULMAN TURBAN

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THE BIRTHPLACE OF RUDYARD KIPLING

THE SITE IS INDICATED BY DIRECTOR BURNS (IN WHITE) OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WHOSE CATALOGUE SAYS: "WHILE MR. LOCKWOOD KIPLING HELD THE POST OF MODELING PROFESSOR IN BOMBAY, HIS SON RUDYARD KIPLING, THE WELL KNOWN WRITER, WAS BORN IN A SMALL HOUSE IN THE COMPOUND IN WHICH THE SCHOOL NOW STANDS"

the hills of his delight, in the company of the chela whose death brought Kim into the Seeker's service. Here I found also, by the rarest stroke of luck, "the Great Wheel with its six spokes, whose centre is the conjoined Hog, Snake, and Dove (Ignorance, Anger, and Lust), and whose compartments are all the heavens and hells, and all the chances of human life."

When the old lama had made the surprising discovery that his beloved chela was the son of a sahib and had secretly resolved to bear the cost of "one expensive education," he was told by the priest that "the best education a boy can get in India is, of course, at St. Xavier's in Partibus at Lucknow."

When, therefore, I looked out the train window in the morning light and saw the word "Lucknow" on the station platform, it gave me the thrill that comes from seeing a name that has been familiar for a lifetime. Here I should tread in the footsteps of heroic men, and here also I should see Kim's "Gates of Learning."

A REPUTED BIRTHPLACE OF MR. KIPLING IN BOMBAY

THE SMALLEST HOUSE, JUST BACK OF THE "TICCA-GHARRIE" THAT IS DRIVING UP THE STREET

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While waiting at the station for breakfast, I approached the English-speaking Hindu who was in charge of the news-stand and asked for the location of St. Xavier's in Partibus.

His face clouded with uncertainty, so I explained:

"St. Xavier's — a school for sahibs and half-sahibs."

He was not sure about it. He called two other Hindus and they talked it over. The only result was the information that it was far up-town.

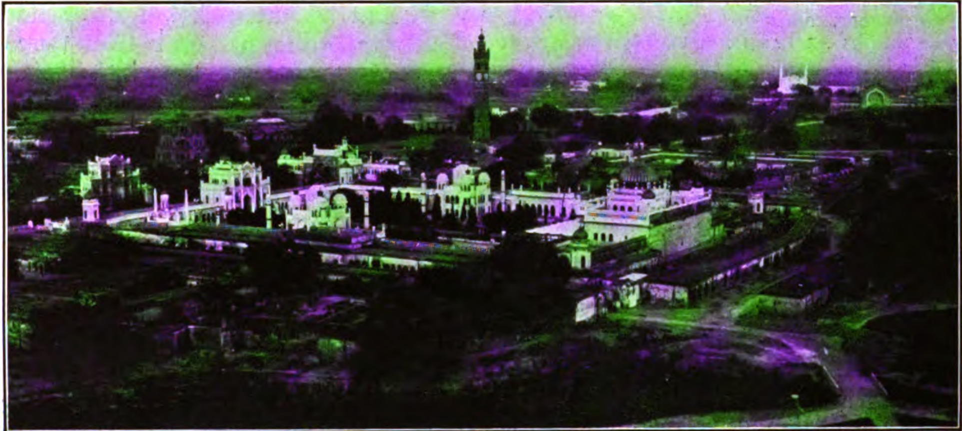
Then I asked the manager of the station restaurant, who was a white man, relatively speaking. He repeated the name doubtfully but shed no light on the obscurity of the situation.

Here at the Residency we halted, beneath the only flag in the British Empire that is never hauled down. In the company of a survivor of that memorable siege I wandered about the ruins, where English roses and wistaria now clamber over the rusty cannon that had thundered in the hopeless days. Then we drove away to the finest medical college east of Suez, and on to the marble palaces that belong to the garish days of the old Kings of Oudh.

My watch said that I now had three hours in which to see St. Xavier's in Partibus, and lunch. I therefore stepped lightly into the *gharry* and said:

"St. Xavier's."

Nothing happened. The driver placidly awaited orders.



THE PALACE OF LIGHTS, LUCKNOW

"THERE IS NO CITY — EXCEPT BOMBAY, THE QUEEN OF ALL — MORE BEAUTIFUL IN HER GARISH STYLE THAN LUCKNOW"

"Oh, never mind," I said cheerfully. "The driver of the *ticca-gharry* will know where it is. A cab-driver is sure to know the location of the best boys' school in India."

After breakfast I started out with a full programme. Over the Charbagh Bridge, which young Havelock (the son) had captured with a brilliant dash; then up the broad road along which the elder Havelock had led the shattered remnants of the old Highland Brigade; past the Sikandrabagh walls where the Sutherland Scots had annihilated three full regiments of sepoys; then on down the highway of death that winds three quarters of a mile to the Baillie Guard Gate.

"St. Xavier's!" I repeated, in a tone of reproof.

The Mohammedan gentleman who held the lines gave me the mystic sign which denotes that the intellect is hopelessly bewildered.

"You not knowing St. Xavier's?" I asked incredulously. "St. Xavier's — big *madrissah* — *madrissah* for sahibs."

Ah! the mystery was cleared. Away we went up the white and dusty road along the bank of the Gumti. At last he pulled in his horses and pointed across the half-dried river to a cluster of buildings partly concealed by beautiful trees.

"St. Xavier's?" I asked.

"Yes, Sahib. Canning College — fine!"

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HURREE CHUNDER, THE BABU — "R.17" DISGUISED AS A BENGALI "HAKIM" — "HE HAS EVEN PAPERS, PRINTED IN ANGREZI, TELLING WHAT THINGS HE HAS DONE FOR WEAK-BACKED MEN"

"Canning College — no, no!" I said in reproach. "Canning College new school."

"Yes, Sahib. New school — very fine!"

Then — in words of one syllable, slowly and with great emphasis, I made it clear that I was seeking St. Xavier's — a *madrissah* for the sons of sahibs — a Catholic *madrissah*. Ah! Now he understood. We set off merrily in another direction.

Half an hour of confident driving and we stopped again. I looked at the sign on the *madrissah* and saw "Reed Christian College." I longed for the native tongue that I might speak to the driver with the "blistering, biting appropriateness" of the old lady of Saharunpore.

We continued the journey and came to another large building. I got out and walked across a square to a large tablet. Here I read the name of the bishop who had laid the cornerstone of another mission school. It was out of the question for this to be St. Xavier's.

Then I angled across the square and intercepted a schoolboy. He, at least, would know about St. Xavier's.

I explained the whole story in the simplest of English and tipped him to tell it to my driver in any or all of the 147 vernaculars of India. Then we again changed direction.

It now became evident that the trail was getting warm. Against the sky shone a large crucifix — a Roman Catholic Church. St. Xavier's was a Catholic school, for Father Victor had made it clear that Kim would be reared as a Catholic if he went there.

Just beyond the church was the group of school buildings. They answered to that part of the description which refers to "a block of low white buildings."

But deep disappointment met me again. Above the main building was the sign "St. Francis' School." There stood the boys, however — sahibs and half-sahibs — and I decided that it might perchance have two names. To one of them I propounded the riddle that I had been trying to solve in the hot sun.

No, he had never heard of a school in Lucknow of that name. If there were one, and especially a Catholic school, he thought he should have known it.

In other words, I had reached the end of a blind trail and been duly pocketed. Since it was now time to return to the

"THE WHEEL OF THINGS"

"THE GREAT WHEEL WITH ITS SIX SPOKES, WHOSE CENTRE IS THE CONJOINED HOG, SNAKE, AND DOVE (IGNORANCE, ANGER, AND LUST), AND WHOSE COMPARTMENTS ARE ALL THE HEAVENS AND HELLS, AND ALL THE CHANCES OF HUMAN LIFE"

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station — for special trains do not await the convenience of a solitary traveler — I drove away.

I have spent hours at the problem since. One reading of the author's description makes the reader believe that it must have been the fine old La Martinière College that was meant. But the description does not fit that institution better than it fits St. Francis' School. Possibly the author intended to be misleading, lest the school make too much use of the excellent advertising. The one consoling reflection that I have is that I have seen *all* the big schools of Lucknow — and therefore, have seen Kim's!

My last pilgrimage in India was made to the birthplace of Mr. Kipling. On a former visit I had sought it in vain, meeting such experiences as befell me at Lucknow while in search for "the Gates of Learning." On my return to India, an official of the Standard Oil Company at Bombay had kindly secured the required information. He described the house with such minute accuracy that I knew it at sight — a small native place on a side street near the Marine Lines Station. I had visited it and photographed it and departed with content. Then I went on pilgrimage to another part of the city to visit the Art School where the elder Kipling had been the Professor of Modeling.

As a double check on accuracy, I asked the Principal if he knew where Mr. Kipling, the writer, was born.

"I can show you the place, but the house has been torn down," he said. Then he took me about a hundred yards from his bungalow and pointed out the spot — near a low building that dated from the Kipling régime.

"It was just about here that the cottage stood," he said. And the School's prospectus and other data corroborate the Principal.

And so, with the photographs of two birthplaces of Rudyard Kipling in my possession, I sailed contentedly westward across the Arabian Sea.

THE HIGH COST OF RAILROADING

(THIS SECOND ARTICLE OF A SERIES DEALS WITH THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY, THE PROSPERITY OF WHICH MAKES THE PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY.)

THE BIGGEST OF OUR INDUSTRIES

A BUSINESS THAT PAYS MORE THAN A BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR IN WAGES — HOW THREE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR WAS ADDED TO THE PAY-ROLL — SIXTY MILLION EXTRA DOLLARS FOR THE TAX-COLLECTOR — THE GREAT PROSPERITY OF THE DAMAGE-SUIT INDUSTRY — THE GROWING BURDEN OF INTEREST CHARGES — WHY THE COUNTRY MUST WAIT FOR NEW RAILROADS

BY

B. F. YOAKUM

(CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ST. LOUIS AND SAN FRANCISCO RAILROAD.)

THE railroad business is the biggest industry in the United States. It disburses more than a billion dollars a year to its 1,700,000 employees. According to the census of 1910, the largest other industry in the country was lumber. In 1909 manufacturing lumber gave employment to 695,000 men and paid them in wages three hundred million dollars. The railroads are also the largest consumers of manufactured products in the country. Out of the 18 million tons of iron and steel produced in 1907, the railroads bought more than one half; and out of every four thousand feet of lumber cut in the mills of the country, the railroads consume one thousand feet.

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Apart from the railroad direct pay-rolls, they support indirectly another army of men larger than their own forces. In 1909 the following industries employed men and paid wages as shown below:

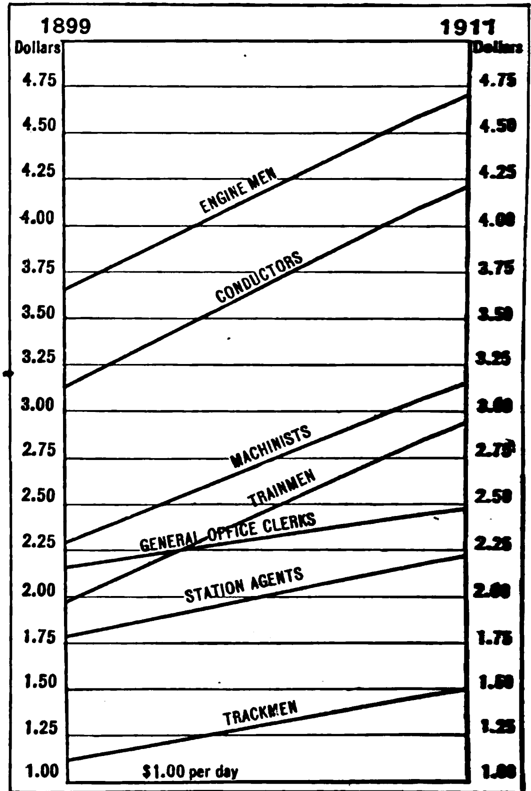
THE INDIRECT PAYROLL OF THE RAILROADS

	NO. OF MEN	WAGES
Foundry and Machine Shops including Locomotive Works .	531,011	$321,000,000
Lumber and Timber .	695,019	318,739,000
Iron and Steel, including rails	240,076	163,739,000
Steam Railroad Cars .	43,086	27,135,000
Paint and Varnish . .	14,240	8,271,000
	1,523,432	838,884,000

Talking about what it costs to live, I have chosen the railroads as an illustration, because their prosperity or the reverse means the prosperity or depression of the whole country; and because 80 per cent. of the cost of all material bought by the railroads goes to labor and the advance in the cost of doing business in this giant industry may become a menace for the future of the whole country. We find it the main issue in every wage conference between officers and men. We find it the basis of every strike, every spasm of discontent. We meet it year by year in our coal bills. We struggle with it every time we have to pass on bids and specifications for new cars, new engines, or new supplies. We tackle it again whenever we come to figure on building a new line to meet the needs and demands of the people in undeveloped sections, awaiting transportation that development may go forward. It hits us hard again in our tax bills and our payments in personal damage suits.

We come face to face with it in our dealings with the bankers and investors of the world. The era of easy money for railroad building, railroad improvements, railroad expansion has temporarily passed away. To-day, we pay five and one half dollars in interest for the same supply of capital that, in other days on equal security, cost us only four and one half dollars. When we consider that the railroad business, in the nature of things, must always be a tremendous borrower of capital, the importance and the imminence of this question of the cost of capital becomes apparent.

Late in July, on the witness stand, Mr. Atterbury, General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, undoubtedly the most powerful of our systems, testified that, if the advances now demanded in wages had been in force last year, there would have been hardly a dollar of surplus left out of the surplus income of that system. In other words, the cost of living and of doing business would have resulted in leaving hardly a dollar for the future growth and improvement needs of the property.



THE RISING WAGE SCALE

SHOWING THAT THE PAY OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES HAS INCREASED FROM 30 TO 50 PER CENT. IN TWELVE YEARS. NOTE THAT THE GENERAL OFFICE CLERKS NOW RECEIVE LESS THAN THE TRAINMEN.

We will take some of the largest items that go into our pay sheet, not as an argument, but to show where the money goes and how rapidly the cost of living to railroads has increased. First, we will take the cost of wages. In discussing this and other matters I do not wish to appear as

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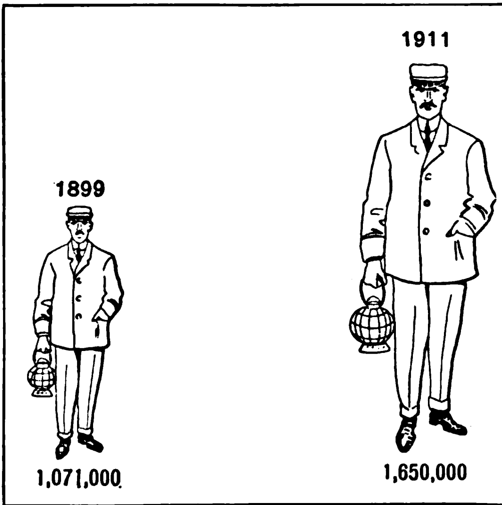


THE RISE IN RAILROAD EXPENSES

1. THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

discussing the merit of wage increases, but only to show that increase in cost of everything in every other business except railroads is met by increasing their prices, while railroads pay all advances in prices and wages and do their business for the public at the same old rates. The burden of the cost of living falls as heavily upon the employees of the road as it falls upon the roads themselves. Some of the advances that have been made have been justified by the facts; some have not. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with matters that have been settled or that will be settled by conference between officers and men in the railroad service. All that I shall do and say in this connection is to set down the actual facts with regard to the effect and results of these increases as we have measured them in our income account and let them speak for themselves as a matter of information and consideration of the public. If they disclose conditions that call for remedies, undoubtedly the remedies will come, in one way or another. That is the railroad history of the future which will be written in due course.

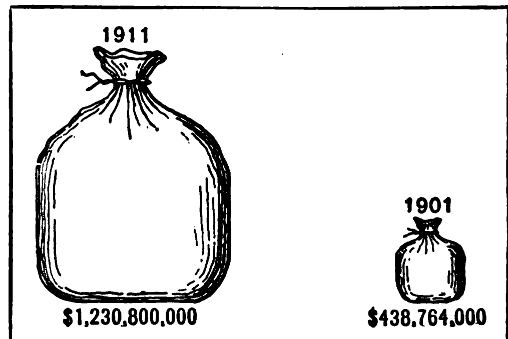
In February of this year, the Bureau of Railway Economics completed a detailed and painstaking study of the effects of the increases in wages in 1911, which were big and widespread. The Bureau used in its calculations all the roads more than five hundred miles long which were able to furnish comparisons for three years past. The study showed, first, that on June 30, 1911, there were 31,037 less employees on the railroads than on the same day of 1910. In spite of this, the wages paid by the railroads were 49 Million 976 Thousand Dollars more than in 1910. While the employees were gaining this amount in revenue, the net revenue of the same railroads decreased 41 Million Dollars.

Let us make this comparison clear. In 1911, it cost the railroad in wages as much money to carry 94.7 tons of freight one mile as it cost to move 100 tons the same distance in 1910. In many instances that could be cited, this fractional difference measured the difference between dividends earned and dividends not earned, between a strong financial position and a weak one, between prosperity and depression. There are few industries so strong and doing business on such a large margin between cost and selling price of their products that they could suffer this extra tax of more than 5 per cent. of gross earnings without feeling it very severely.

The comparison does not stop at these two years. Taking as a standard the amount of railroad labor that could be bought in 1911 for $100, the actual cost of that same amount of labor in 1910 and previous years is indicated in these figures:

Cost in 1911	$100.00
Cost in 1910	95.80
Cost in 1909	92.90
Cost in 1899	75.00

The total wages paid by all the railroads



2. THE GROWTH OF THE PAY-ROLL

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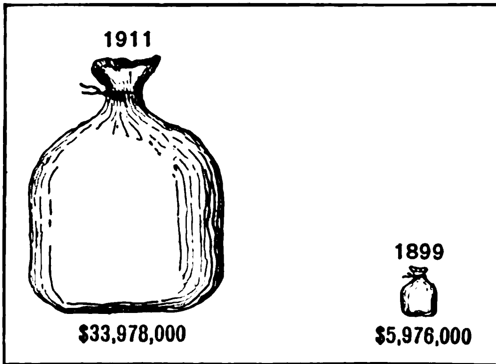


3. THE INCREASE IN THE COST OF DAMAGES TO GOODS IN TRANSIT

in 1911 amounted to approximately 1,200 Million Dollars. On the wage scale of 1899, the same amount of labor would have cost 900 Million Dollars. The difference of 300 Million Dollars measures the increase in compensation of employees due to wage increases alone. If railroad labor had been capitalized on the basis of its earnings in wages in 1899, identically the same labor would have received in 1911 an extra dividend of 300 Million Dollars. It is a sum greater than the total net dividends earned and paid by all the railroads of the United States in 1910.

The high increased dividend to labor has been paid to every class of men employed on the railroads. In the table below are figures showing the average daily wages paid to a few classes. The figures for 1899 and 1909 are official. The 1911 figures are estimates based upon the work of the Bureau of Railway Statistics.

DAILY WAGES TO RAILROAD MEN

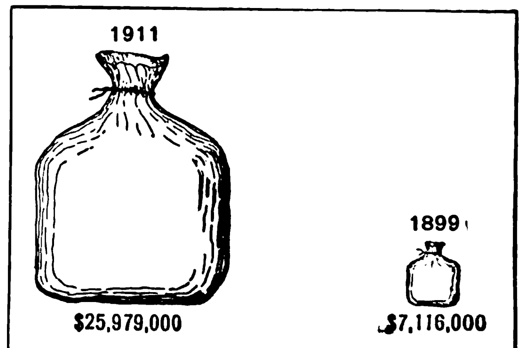
	1911	1909	1899
Enginemen	4.72	4.46	3.72
Firemen	2.94	2.67	2.10
Trainmen	2.92	2.60	1.94
Clerks	2.49	2.31	2.20
Shopmen	2.25	2.13	1.72
Station Agents	2.20	2.10	1.74
Trackmen	1.50	1.38	1.18

The sociologist may observe with some interest that, while in 1899 the general office clerk enjoyed a higher wage than either the fireman or the trainman, the trend of events has put these classes of producers ahead of him. Here, perhaps, one may find some tangible evidence to guess upon what class the burden of increased cost of living falls the heaviest.

To sum up these facts in a concrete way, we employed in 1911 about one million seven hundred thousand men; and we paid them in the form of wages 1,200 Million Dollars. If the wage schedule of 1899 had prevailed in 1911, we would have been able to hire the same number of men for the same length of time to do the same work at a wage cost of 900 Million Dollars. We paid 300 Million Dollars more for labor than we would have paid for the same labor on the old schedule to move the same amount of traffic.

The increased cost of labor is an overhead charge entirely unproductive, from the standpoint of earnings. It is interest at 5 per cent. on six billion dollars of capital. When one reflects that the total inventoried cost of all the railways in 1910 was a little more than fourteen billion dollars, the full significance of this statement may be grasped. The increased wage schedule has placed upon us an overhead charge equal to 5 per cent. on nearly half the total cost of the railways.

Next to labor, the biggest single item of expense in running a railroad is the cost of buying coal. In 1911, fuel cost 227 million dollars. Out of every hundred dollars earned in the railroad business, $8.05 went to pay the coal bills. In 1899 coal was abnormally cheap. Therefore, though I have used 1899 in other comparisons, it is better in the item of coal to take the next year, 1900, when coal was selling at higher prices, and to be fair we want for comparison normal coal prices. In that year, out of every hundred dollars earned



4. INCREASE IN COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES

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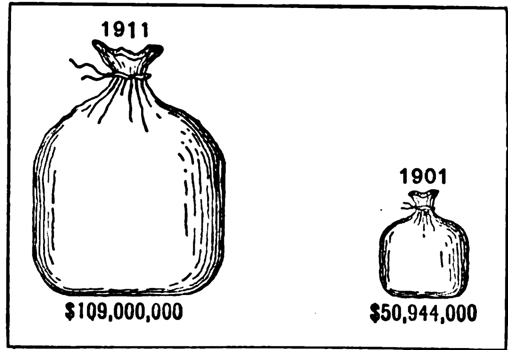
by the railroads $6.09 was used up in paying coal bills.

Applying this figure of $6.09 to the gross earnings of the roads in 1911, I find that, if the coal had been bought in that year at the rate it cost in 1900, the total coal bill for the year would have been 167 Million 231 Thousand Dollars, or 59 Million 673 Thousand Dollars less than it actually was. This item of nearly 60 Million Dollars may. therefore, be taken as a fair and complete measure of the additional cost of living to the railroads for their fuel.



5. THE INCREASE IN TAXES

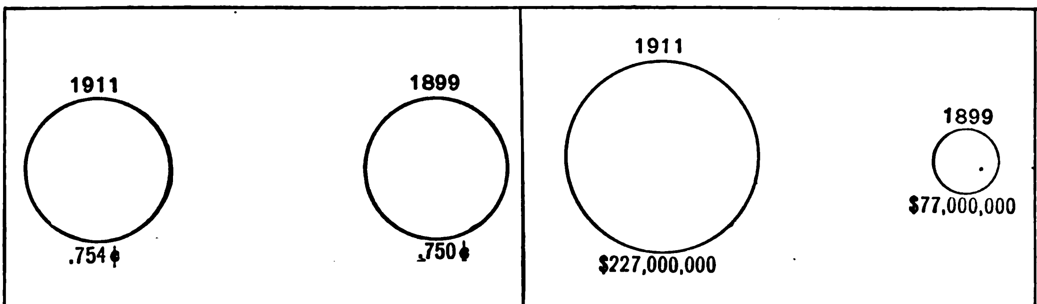
In the ordinary course of business, not when we are building new lines or carrying on heavy reconstruction work, but just for ordinary maintenance of line and rolling stock, we buy enormous amounts of lumber, of steel rails, of angle bars, of ties, forgings, tools, pipe, wire, paint, and hundreds of other manufactured commodities. Every thing in this list has increased in price. The one exception usually cited is steel rails, which since the advance from $17.62 in 1899 to $28 per ton has remained there.

In the item of taxes paid by the railroads there is much food for thought. In 1899, every mile of railroad on an average had to earn and pay $247 for taxes. In 1911, the average tax for each mile was $446. The principle underlying this remarkable advance seems to be that, as the cost of running the Government, the states, and the municipalities increases, it is good business to get as much of the increased cost as possible out of the railroad corporations.

There is no fixed basis for the adjustments. The invariable rule is to adjust upward. In every year since 1896, the average tax rate has risen. The most remarkable advance in a single year took place between 1905 and 1906, when taxes on railroads jumped 15 per cent., or $11,300,000.

This process of higher taxes is still going on, faster than ever. The aggregate of taxes paid rose between 1899 and 1911 from 46 Million Dollars to about 109 Million Dollars. The fiscal year just closed shows an increase of 6 per cent. or $6,500,000. I am not debating the rights and wrongs of the increase, but simply setting down items in our bill for living expenses in the railroad world. This tax item is only another 63 Million Dollars which we have to earn and pay if we continue doing business.

Another item of the same general sort is the item of loss and damage claims. In 1899, the railroads paid to shippers on such claims a total of 5 Million 976 Thousand Dollars. In 1911, it was 33 Million 978 Thousand Dollars, an increase of 469 per cent. In the same period the actual movement of freight in the country increased a shade less than 80 per cent. If the same proportion of gross earnings had been used in 1911 to settle such claims as was used in 1899, the total would have been about 12



6. AVERAGE FREIGHT RATES PER TON PER MILE

7. THE RISE IN THE COST OF FUEL

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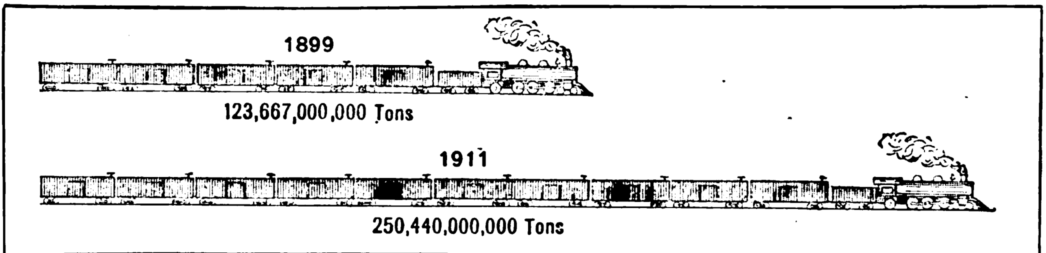
Million 800 Thousand Dollars. Here is an excess charge of about 21 Million Dollars — money thrown away so far as our profit and loss account is concerned. There are various causes for this, one of which is the advanced commercial value of goods damaged, but this is an additional charge that the railroads have had to pay from their earnings just the same. Reckoned on the same basis, there was a waste of about 11 Million Dollars in the item of personal injuries on the railroads. Considering the many millions of dollars spent on safety appliances, on guarding crossings, on signal systems, and on many other items to give greater safety to the public, the extraordinary increase paid for personal injuries indicates that the legal profession has advanced more rapidly in efficiency than has the railroad profession.

Let us take recent data and see what is now happening. Take the past three full years as a criterion, and see the story they tell. In 1909, 235,000 miles of railway earned in gross 2 Billion 607 Million Dollars. In 1911, 244,000 miles earned 2 Billion 814 Million Dollars. This was a healthy increase in traffic. When we come to look at net earnings after taxes, it is a different story. Out of the total gross earnings in 1909, the railroads saved 813 Million Dollars in net. Out of the 207 Million larger gross earnings in 1911, they saved only 771 Million Dollars. In the meantime, 14,500 miles of additional railroad, which cost at least 600 Million Dollars, had been put in operation. In other words, after spending 600 Million Dollars more in new plant, this industry earned 207 Million Dollars additional gross and lost 42 Million Dollars in net! The result speaks for itself. The reason for this I have set forth in the statement already made. The items, are as follows:

Of these specified items, as compared with 1899, the increased cost is something over four hundred million dollars annually. In the past eight or nine years there have been small but gradual reductions in both freight and passenger rates. These reductions have not been large at any one time; but there has been a constant lowering of rates on different articles as a result of rulings by Federal and state authorities, until the shrinkage, as compared with what they would have been under the old rates, amounts to about one hundred and thirty-five million dollars. The lowering of rates and the increased cost of operations, therefore, make an annual difference of about five hundred and thirty-five million dollars in net railroad earnings.



I. HOW THE RAILROADS HAVE INCREASED THEIR FREIGHT SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC WHICH THEY HAVE ACHIEVED BY INCREASING THE TONNAGE CAPACITY AND THE NUMBER OF THE CARS, AND THE SIZE AND POWER OF THE ENGINES

I have before me a complete traffic analysis of the railroad business of the country for the ten years from 1900 to 1910. From a purely traffic movement standpoint, there has been a steady advance all around. The amount of freight traffic that moved on the lines in 1910 as against 1900 showed an increase of 45 per cent.; while the freight revenue increased 42 per cent.; the passenger density was 66 per cent. greater in 1911 than in 1900; and the passenger revenue grew 51 per cent. These are healthy indications. They show a constant and steady increase in the amount of work that is demanded of the railroads. They fairly measure the job that is laid down for us to do by the

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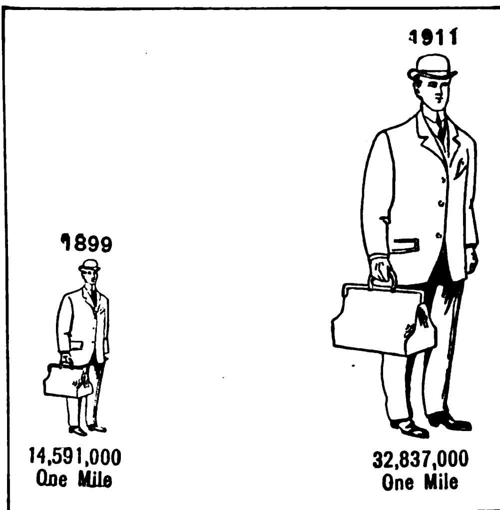
advance in growth and expansion of business in the United States.

The demands of this service, however, have grown more and more exacting as year has followed year. In 1900, the railroads of the country had to move 1863 tons of freight, one mile for every inhabitant in the country. In 1910 the people needed the movement of 2773 tons. This shows the traffic demands that have been made upon the railroads as public carriers of freight. In the same time, we have had an equal demand for passenger service. In 1900, the average distance each inhabitant travelled by train was 211 miles. In 1910 it was 352.

We have met these demands, first, by building more railroads. That alone, however, was not nearly enough to care for the service demanded. Ten years ago, for every 1,000 miles of track there were 7,092 freight cars, 180 passenger cars, and 195 locomotives. Now there are 8,900 freight cars, 195 passenger cars and 245 locomotives. In the meantime, the capacity of the freight cars has increased from less than twenty-five tons to more than thirty-six; the locomotives have more than doubled in tractive power; and the passenger cars have increased about twenty per cent. in average seating capacity.



2. AND THEIR PASSENGER SERVICE

These are the steps we have taken in order to handle the business of the country. These are the reasons why the gross revenue of the railroads of the country have advanced steadily and without serious interruption; in spite of the tremendous burden of increased wages, increased cost of fuel and materials, increased taxes, and other items in the rising cost of running a railroad.

Up to the present time, there has been a constant saving in actual cost of moving freight and passengers — through the constant advance in the weight and power of locomotives, through larger cars, and through the resulting larger train loads that have been possible. That saving in expense is reaching its limit. Advance in overhead charges from this time on, according to the judgment of mechanical officers most skilled in these matters of transportation science, must be met without much further aid from the mechanical ways and devices. We have reached a period when much greater economy in transportation seems almost impossible, and if there is to be a much further reduction in cost in conducting transportation it will have to be through curtailment of service to the public.

Although our revenue-producing plant has been constantly enlarged, we have also been forced by public demands to meet a hundred other expenses that have produced no return in kind. Aside from the increase in taxes enumerated, more than 70,000 miles of road have been equipped with block signals; hundreds of miles of track lying in cities and suburbs have been elevated at enormous expense; terminals and stations have been built at great cost; the weight of standard rails has been increased from 75 to 90 pounds to the yard to carry the heavier equipment; old stations torn down and modern stations literally by the hundreds have been built to meet the demands of the public; last, but not least, we have spent 200 Million Dollars to meet the cost of regulation and supervision of operations by the Federal Government and the authorities of the States which we serve. These are purely unproductive expenditures. They come with serving the public, and are part of the price we have to pay to live and carry on our business. They are overhead charges upon our income fixed by the Government.

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Turn from the operating end of the railroad business to the capital charge imposed upon us through no fault of our own.

In 1899, it was no uncommon thing to see the railroads of this country raising capital in all the markets of the world, for building, for improvement, at 4 per cent. In that year the first mortgage bonds of old established systems like the New York Central, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Lake Shore, sold at prices to yield less than 3½ per cent. on the investment. You may find, in the records, that the New York Central 3½ per cent. bonds were in strong demand in this country and in Europe at more than $1,100 for every $1,000 bond.

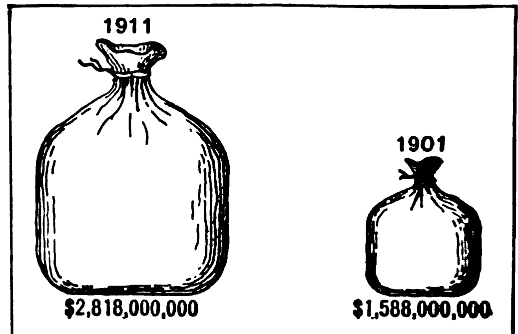
To-day the same old established bonds of the New York Central are worth in the markets about $880 per bond. A few years ago, the Pennsylvania raised several hundred millions of dollars for improvements, additions, and terminals at an average rate little over 3½ per cent. This year, the new capital of that system cost more than 4½ per cent. Where the railroads of the country ten years ago could obtain all the money they needed for their legitimate requirements, to-day these same railroads are stinted for capital and are compelled to pay larger and larger commission for meagre supplies of money at a rate 1½ to 2 per cent. higher than the rate of other years.

The burden of borrowing is one of our heaviest burdens, because it is perpetual. We need in this country at least 500 Million Dollars a year of new railroad capital. To get it, under present conditions, we have to assume a charge of 25 to 30 Million Dollars a year, although we pay that additional interest charge to investors all over the world. It does not enable us to carry a single additional ton of freight, to cut a fraction of a cent from our operating costs, or to add a single additional car to our equipment. It is simply, to the railroads, an additional item in the cost of living, the cost we have to earn and pay out of our revenues year by year.

No one has claimed that when once a railroad bond is sold it becomes anything else but a fixed interest tax that must be collected from the public. So long as bankers and investors can buy these bonds at a high interest rate, they become collectors of a high tax that the public must pay.

If we were building and equipping 6,000 miles of new railroad a year, it would require 240 Million Dollars. We now need 500 Million Dollars annually for betterments. The difference of 1½ per cent. between a 4 per cent. rate and a 5½ per cent. rate on this borrowing amounts to more than 11 Million Dollars a year. The average life of a bond is forty years. Therefore, during the next forty years, the railroads will pay 450 Million Dollars more in interest on the money borrowed each year than they would have paid at the 4 per cent. rate.

Under present conditions the only sane argument for favoring government owner-



THE INCREASED GROSS EARNINGS

ship lies in the fact that the interest rates would be an average of 2 per cent. less per annum. On the present bonded debt this would amount to saving about 200 Million Dollars a year. The service to the public, the development of the country and the freight rate — would be worse than on the railroad as now managed. While government management of our transportation system would probably be undesirable, the Government should, in the interest of the people, do all that it consistently can to aid the railroads' credit in finding new money to carry on improvements and new railroad building.

It is difficult to lay the blame for this condition upon any one in particular, yet the fact that the greatest instrument in our future development is being crippled, all thoughtful men must see. Perhaps, in

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our railroad expansion and railroad enthusiasm, we have done some things that have accelerated the decline of American railroad credit, but the best critics of the world acquit the American railroads of any great inflation in their bonded debt, even though they have at times criticised expansion in the stocks and junior securities.

These matters that I have cited are some of the facts. There are other facts equally important. I am not a pessimist about American railroads. This year we look for apparently abundant crops, and to the high-class railroad freight business that will result throughout the whole year from this abundance. Net earnings will expand and we shall have a new lease of life.

NEW CONSTRUCTION AT A STANDSTILL

I have here set down some causes. Let us look at the railroad question from another viewpoint. For thirty years past, we have added an average of about six thousand miles of new railroad a year to the American transportation system. To build and equip these lines we have drawn from all the markets of the world about 240 Million Dollars a year in new capital. To-day those who figure on the building of new lines have to face two very serious problems. The first is the question whether or not, with the rising cost of doing railroad business, new railroads can be operated with a profit. The second is whether or not we can get the necessary capital. Under present circumstances, as there is a grave uncertainty about the answer to those two searching questions, the builders of railroads in the United States have slowed down. Most of us do not care to undertake the responsibilities of spending the money that is now necessary to build new lines, and then face the even greater question of operating them at a living profit.

Therefore, under present conditions, the average amount of new railroad in this country in the next few years will fall far short of the average for the last thirty years. No new lines of importance are being projected. The only expansion going on is a very minor matter, a matter of little extensions into rich sections of important spurs and feeders. The builders of the railroads must wait until the problems of to-day are settled before they can plunge ahead and give their ambitions and their constructive plans free rein.

What that means may best be illustrated by a few facts. Suppose that the check in railroad building cuts down the average yearly new mileage to 2,000 miles. In steel rails alone, this means a decrease of 500,000 tons a year. To make a ton of steel rails, it takes two tons of iron ore, one ton of coke, and half a ton of limestone. All that means money to the laborer. This item of 500,000 tons of steel rails alone will account for the loss to the railroads of about 100,000 car loads of freight every year — enough to make up a train 757 miles long — and it cuts off many freight crews to man these trains. The production of the material and the movement of the freight employs an army of men, all drawing good wages.

It is not necessary to carry this illustration onward, to trace it through the payrolls of the car and engine building companies, through the lumber camps, the paint factories, and the other industries that live largely upon the railroad industry. Once stated, it is self-evident that, if the economic conditions of the next ten years make it impossible or unprofitable to build this 4,000 miles of new railroads that otherwise would be built, labor, industry, trade, and commerce alike will feel the effects of that curtailment. You cannot wipe out 160 Million Dollars' worth of construction in this or any other country without paying for that curtailment in nearly every branch of industry in the country.

I write as a railroad builder. The railroad I helped to plan and helped to build is to-day employing more than fifty thousand men. Their families make up an army of a hundred and fifty thousand people who draw the support and education of their children from our pay-rolls. In the part of the country where my work has been done, railroads are still needed. East of the Mississippi River, there are less than five thousand acres of land to every mile of railroad, but in the West there are more than thirteen thou-

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sand acres. Oklahoma is only half supplied with railroads. Arkansas is barely prospected, Louisiana is short of transportation properly to develop the state. Texas needs very badly at least 10,000 miles of new line. Arizona, New Mexico, and, in fact, almost all the Western states need a large amount of railroad building in the next ten years. I know that these great regions of the Southwest can never come into their own until they get the transportation facilities they need. I should like to see railroad building go forward. It cannot be done in a large way until the future of the railroad business is clearer than it is to-day.

This is the result from the standpoint of new construction — namely, that it has come to a temporary halt and must remain stagnant until a solution is reached.

These things must not happen. It is unthinkable that the mass of the American people desires to destroy the greatest of the constructive industries, the building of new railroads. It cannot be conceived that the interest of the whole nation will be served by bringing about a condition that tends to injure the world-wide credit of the American railroads to a point of saying that we do not want more railroads to enable us to go on upbuilding.

A political leader strong enough to formulate a combination constructive and regulative policy will eventually take hold of this most important question and promulgate it. I fully expect to see a resumption of the building of railroads, establishing new cities, the opening up of untilled lands, and patient people waiting for railroads to develop their lands, coaxing thousands of producers every year into the rich, new country in which such work will be carried on. That means that a solution of the present difficulty, which amounts to a deadlock, will be found before it comes to the era of a setback.

Here is need of real constructive statesmanship. This is a problem of pure statesmanship. It is not a matter of political jobbery, of academic theory, of experimental, haphazard procedure. It is not a matter that can be settled and laid aside by political chicanery, by the expounding of academic ideas, by the piling up of bureau upon bureau at Washington, and commission upon commission throughout the land.

Practically all the legislation, state and Federal, on the matter of railroads in the past decade, has been restrictive, prohibitive, regulative. Some of it has been salutary. Some of it has tended to be destructive. What is needed now and what we must have if we are to go forward is the direction of upbuilding. We have been told in a thousand ways what we must not do and dare not do. The administration of the future must tell us what we can do and show us the way to do it.

BEEF

THIRTY-TWO CENTS A POUND FOR STEAK AND WHY — TWO EXPLANATIONS, IN TERMS OF THE INTIMATE STORY OF TWO FAMOUS CHARACTERS IN THE CATTLE BUSINESS, MR. JOHN CLAY, OF CHICAGO, AND COL. POWER OF FARGO, N. D.

BY

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

"THAT will be seventy-two cents," said Mr. Danahy, handing my parcel across the counter. "Will that be all to-day?"

"Seventy-two cents!" I gasped. "For goodness' sake, man, how much does that steak weigh?"

"Two pounds and a quarter — thirty-two cents a pound," smiled Mr. Danahy.

I was proceeding to unburden my mind on the subject of robbers, the beef trust, the high cost of living, and the tariff, when a small girl came into the butcher shop.

"Mama wants ten cents' worth of soup

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meat," she said. "She said won't you please cut it with the ham knife. It makes it taste better."

Mr. Danahy sharpened his knife, obligingly trimmed a ham with it, and then deftly carved and sawed off a chunk of beef, which he threw on the scales. I glanced at the weight. It was two and a quarter pounds — the same as my porterhouse steak.

"There you are, little girl," he said, as he handed her the package. She gave him ten cents in payment.

"That's the answer," he said as the child disappeared. "She gets two pounds and a quarter for ten cents. I've got to sell those cuts for that price or not sell them at all. I can't get porterhouse steaks enough to supply the demand. I pay twelve cents a pound for an entire carcass of beef. You pay thirty-two cents a pound for about 10 per cent. of it, but there is 40 per cent. that I have to sell for less than it costs me. I am paying more for everything than I did five years ago — more rent, more wages to my helpers, two delivery wagons instead of one, and more for the beef that I sell. I don't know who is getting it all. I know I am not making any more above my living than I was then. Maybe it's the beef trust. Maybe it's the farmer. All I know is that my percentage of profit isn't as big as it used to be."

A day or two later I was in Chicago, where the beef comes from — such of it as doesn't come from Omaha or Kansas City or East Buffalo or New York, or any other of the dozen big packing house centres — and out at the stockyards I met John Clay. They say of John Clay that he knows every steer in the United States by its first name. It is probably true that he knows every cattle shipper in the United States, and that they all know him. What is more, he knows cattle — beef cattle — from the range to the packing house, as well as anyone in the United States. Being a Scotchman, John Clay is a poet and a canny business man. The son of a tenant farmer on the Scottish border — he likes to tell the story of his father's skill in farming, which enabled him to accumulate $300,000 without owning a foot of land — he graduated from Edinburgh University more than forty years ago, and came to America to seek the fortune which he succeeded in finding.

He was a cowboy in Wyoming, a ranch manager in Texas, a ranch owner in California; he saw the life of the West when it was literally the Wild West, lived it, and was a part of it. He saw the shorthorn and the barbed-wire fence displace the Texas longhorn and the free range; and he was one of the first of the cattle men to see and understand that the population of America was beginning, thirty years ago, to press upon the means of subsistence, and that with increased demand and diminishing supply, beef was going to go up and up to limits that nobody has yet been able to set. So, from punching cattle and raising cattle, he turned, a quarter of a century ago, to selling cattle in the stockyards of Chicago and the other great centres.

Last year he sold $125,000,000 worth of live-stock on commission. He owns a dozen banks scattered through the cattle-growing sections of the West; and he maintains a country seat in England, close to the Scottish border.

"Fifty cents a head commission for bringing the seller and the buyer together — that's what our firm gets out of beef," he said when I asked him why porterhouse steak was thirty-two cents a pound. "Fifty cents a head — the commission has been increased only once in the twenty-six years that I have been in this business. How much a pound does that figure out on a 1,400 pound steer? I know that it gives us a profit of less than 1 per cent. on our year's business."

"The packers, then? The beef trust?"

"Ten million head of cattle are converted into beef every year," replied John Clay. "Say that they weigh 1,200 pounds apiece — a low average. A cent a pound profit for the packers would mean $120,000,000 a year. Not even the yellowest of the yellow journals ever accuse the beef trust of making that much. It isn't the packers that are getting it — it's the farmers."

"The farm trust?" I suggested.

"They haven't organized it yet. When

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they do, beef will go higher. While the farmer is getting more for his cattle than ever before, it is partly because of the increased demand and shortage of supply, and partly because it costs him more to produce a steer and to get it in condition for market than it used to. That is the real reason why your steak cost you thirty-two cents a pound. There are more people eating steaks every year and fewer people producing them. It will be a long time before the food supply overtakes the demand. In some respects it will never catch up. Not long ago I went to the corner butcher shop near my home in Chicago for a steak. The dealer charged me thirty cents a pound. I protested and asked what we were coming to with prices like that.

"'I don't know, Mr. Clay,' replied the butcher. 'All I know is, your coachman's wife was in here an hour ago and bought the same cut and paid the same price.'

THE HIGH COST OF CHOICE CUTS

"That is an illustration of a demand which the supply can never overtake — at least not until cattle breeders learn how to produce an animal composed entirely of choice cuts. At the present prices paid by the packers for beef on the hoof in the Chicago stockyards, from seven to nine cents a pound, the loin steaks would be actually worth at wholesale from thirty-five to forty-five cents, exclusive of all profit, if every one insisted upon having them, and nobody would buy the rest of the carcass.

"The day of cheap beef has gone, partly because of the increased demand for choice cuts, partly because the actual supply of cattle has fallen off. In 1910 there were 10,545,000 head of cattle received at the ten biggest cattle markets in the United States. In 1911, shipments to these same markets were only 9,848,000 head. In the ten years from 1900 to 1910 the human population of the United States increased 18 per cent. while the number of head of cattle decreased 1.8 per cent.

"I spend much of my time on my country place in England and buy beef there from Swift & Company's Liverpool house. Although an American house, they cannot sell American beef in England in competition with the beef from South America. I bought there last winter, at wholesale, loins of Argentine beef for ten cents a pound; the wholesale rate in Chicago for American beef of the same quality was more than twenty cents."

"Who gets the money?" I ventured.

"The farmer gets more than anyone else," said John Clay. "But he has to pay more than ever before for everything. His breeding stock costs more. Pasturage is more expensive as land values rise. He pays more for labor. Grain for fattening cattle for market costs him more — an increase which enriches the farmer who raises corn. Corn sold recently for eighty cents a bushel — nea ly a cent and a half a pound. If it takes four pounds of corn to make one pound of beef, how much profit does the farmer make when he sells his fattened stock for eight cents a pound? The railroad charges him more to take his stock to market, because the railroad has to pay more for its rolling stock, its rails, and its labor. And although I am paying drovers $83 a month who used to work for $50, I don't charge any more for selling the cattle. If the farmer makes only one cent a pound net profit — from $10 to $15 a head — he makes more than the packers make on beef.

"The wholesaler and the retailer who handle the beef have heavier expenses than ever before. Rents are higher, they must pay higher wages, their wagons and equipment cost them more. Perhaps the retailer makes too much profit, and perhaps it is the customers themselves who are responsible for the profits the retailer gets. The really serious elements that enter into the high cost of living centre about the retailer.

"First among these I put the telephone. The telephone has replaced the market basket for a considerable percentage of our people.

"Out of all the toll that the consumer pays, the farmer gets the largest single profit. The best proof of this is that the farmers of America are buying automobiles faster than the city people are manufacturing them."

It all sounded reasonable enough. It

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was the farmer, then, who was really getting the profit from my seventy-two-cent-porterhouse steak.

The trouble was to find a farmer who knew what his profits were. Eugene Grubb, who is perhaps the greatest potato grower in the country and something of a cattle man himself, thought that Col. J. B. Power might know, and Dan Wallace, the editor of the *Minnesota Farmer*, was pretty sure that the Colonel could enlighten me. Then I met Tom Cooper, the North Dakota better farming man, in Minneapolis, and he was positive of it.

"Sure, Colonel Power can tell you what a steer costs," said Mr. Cooper. "I'm going back to Fargo to-night — come on and go with me."

Colorado, Minnesota, and North Dakota seemed to be unanimous for the Colonel, so early the next morning I was telephoning from Fargo to the Helendale Farm, nearly forty miles away.

"I want to come out and see you, and find out why porterhouse steak costs me 32 cents a pound," I told Colonel Power.

THE COST OF RAISING BEEF

"Perhaps I can help you out on that," was the cheering response. "You can get a train out of Fargo in twenty minutes."

When I got to the farmhouse Colonel Power was ready with facts and figures. Not only has he been raising beef cattle for thirty years, but he has been keeping track of the cost. It is second nature to Colonel Power to keep track of figures. A New England farm boy seventy-odd years ago, he was for thirty years a surveyor and railroad builder before he settled down at fifty on the Helendale Farm. He is nearly eighty now — I wouldn't have guessed it within twenty years if he hadn't told me — and he keeps his farm records with the same mathematical accuracy with which he ran the lines for the Northern Pacific, when the Indian and the buffalo were the principal inhabitants of North Dakota.

"You noticed the fences as you drove across the prairie?" he queried.

I nodded.

"That's one of the reasons why you are paying thirty-two cents a pound for porterhouse steak," said Colonel Power. "Another reason is that the 'cattle barons' of the old days of the free range are going out of the cattle business. This is proved by the records of the shipments of cows and calves to the Kansas City and Omaha stockyards, where these western cattle are principally sold. The Texas steer will soon be as extinct as the buffalo, because there will be no more cows left on the western ranges.

"The raising of beef cattle has already become an industry for the small farmer, and the cattle ranch of the future will have, instead of tens of thousands of head of native stock, a few hundred head of pure-bred stock of the beef varieties. But until there are enough farmers raising these small bunches of cattle every year to bring the supply up to its former proportion to population, there will be a long interval in which beef will constantly go higher. It takes years to rebuild the cattle industry, once the breeding stock is sold off."

"How much does the farmer make on a steer?" I asked.

"Here on the Helendale Farm I am breeding shorthorns exclusively — not pure-bred, but high-grade stock that is almost equal to pure-bred. I do not believe in selling steers for beef before they are three years old. The younger, light-weight steers do not bring enough to justify selling them. I figure that it costs a little more than $25 to produce a steer weighing 1,000 pounds at three years old, provided the pasture land is not worth more than $15 an acre. On native uncultivated pasture, under normal conditions, it takes four acres to feed one steer.

"The first year the principal expense is the maintenance of the cow — about $8. The calf will not require more than $2 worth of feed through its first winter, at the rate of a half a pound of grain a day, and a little hay. In its first season in pasture it will gain from 200 to 250 pounds in weight, at a cost, figured at 6 per cent. on a $15 land value, of $3.60 for rental, and a labor cost of about $1. That is, one man will get $75 during the season for taking care of 80 steers. This makes the

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cost of adding 250 pounds of beef to the weight of a steer about $4.60, or 1.8 cents per pound.

"The winter feeding, being principally consumed in the growth of bone, costs another $3.40, making the cost of carrying the steer through its second year about $8. The feeding cost includes hay, at the cost of making it, which is about $2.50 a ton on our farm, and grain at its market value at the elevator at Leonard.

"The third year the cost of adding another 250 pounds to the steer's weight is the same and at the end of the third year it weighs 1,000 pounds, or thereabouts, which has cost, including everything, a little more than two and a half cents a pound. After this, it must be fattened. The farmer's real profit comes in fattening the steer. Most of our steers are sold to men who fatten them before selling them to the butcher.

WHAT THE CATTLE-RAISER MAKES

"To find out for myself exactly what part of the price of your thirty-two cent porterhouse steak I was getting, and who else was getting profits out of it, and how much, I made an investigation a little more than two years ago, which may help you to judge whether your retail butcher was cheating you. On September 8, 1909, I took thirty-five steers out of the pasture. They were from thirty to forty months old and averaged 1,040 pounds apiece. Their value on the farm at that time I estimated at four cents a pound, a total of $1,456.

"I put these steers in a new pasture and for thirty days fed them some corn on which they gained 100 pounds apiece. Then I selected the fifteen heaviest, (weighing 1,245 pounds apiece) and put them on fattening feed. The other twenty I left in the pasture but I continued to feed them corn. At the end of seventy-four days from the time I first took these steers out of pasture, they had made an average gain, the whole thirty-five of them, of three and six-tenths pounds apiece per day. Then I shipped them to the stock-yards at South St. Paul.

"The weight of the fifteen fed steers on our scales at the farm at the time of shipment averaged 1,386 pounds. The twenty partially fattened steers averaged 1,246 pounds. They had to be driven seven miles to the railroad and the train on which they were shipped to the stock yards was caught in a blizzard and held up for thirty-six hours, during which time the cattle were fed and watered but once, so that the shrinkage in weight in transit, always a considerable item, was unusually high, averaging more than eighty pounds each. At the stock yard weights the twenty steers which had not been fattened brought five and a half cents a pound and the fifteen partially fattened sold for six and a quarter cents. After deducting freight charges, yardage, commissions, and feed in transit and in the yards, amounting to about $140, the net proceeds for this bunch were $2,374. They had been valued at $1,456 on September 8th. The market value of the feed they consumed during seventy-four days was $324. The labor cost for the same period was about $1 a day, making the steers cost $1,854. The net profit from feeding was $520, earned in seventy-four days. In other words I made a profit of from one and a half to two and a quarter cents a pound on these steers by feeding, which must be added to the profit I would have made if I had sold them in September at four cents.

THE PACKER'S SHARE

"At the South St. Paul stockyards these fifteen fat steers were bought by Swift & Company. I did not have to sell to Swift & Company or to any of the members of the so-called beef trust. I sold to them because they were the highest of a dozen or more bidders. Every animal offered for sale in the stockyards is sold on its individual merit. An extra fine grain-fed steer, weighing 1,400 pounds, that will dress out 60 per cent. of marketable beef, from which can be obtained a choice lot of roasts and steaks, is always eagerly bid for by the packing houses, by the local butcher, and by the buyer who is making up a car-load of that class of cattle for the eastern market. The highest bidder always takes it. The only class of cattle the packers have a monopoly on is the 'scrubs' which are fit only for canning.

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Only the large packing houses are able to utilize these poor grades of cattle at all. They can make them up into bologna sausage, corned beef hash, and other delicacies which the small butcher is not equipped to manufacture.

"I followed this bunch of fifteen steers through to the retailer just to find out whether any one was being robbed, and if so, who was doing the robbing. This sale was made to Swift & Company on November 19, 1909. One of these steers weighed 1,313 pounds. It cost the packer, at $6.25 per hundred, $82. This steer, when dressed, produced in beef 58 per cent. of its live weight. There were just 760 pounds of marketable meat which the packer got for his $82 — almost exactly ten and three quarter cents per pound. Only 26 per cent. of this beef was in ribs and loins — the latter being the part from which your porterhouse steak was cut. Another 25 per cent. was in the round and rump and 49 per cent. was in the cheap cuts — the chuck, plate, brisket, flank, and shanks. And for it all Swift & Company paid ten and three quarter cents a pound.

"On that date Swift & Company were selling dressed beef, entire carcasses, at nine cents a pound. At that rate the beef from this steer, for which they paid $82, would have brought them $68.40. I did not discover any traces of robbery there, nor even when I found that in selling it in the commercial cuts, they could still get, at the prices which ruled on that day, only $75.52 for the beef they had paid $82 for.

THE RETAILER'S FAIR PROFIT

"Then I went to the retail butcher. I got him to cut up the carcass into the different classes of beef. Figuring each of these classes at the highest obtainable retail price, I found the retailer was getting a fraction more than twelve cents a pound for the whole carcass. He was getting from twenty-five to thirty cents a pound for the 26 per cent. in the loin and ribs; the round and rump brought him from fifteen to twenty cents a pound, but the 49 per cent. of the carcass included in the cheap cuts, he had to sell at from three to ten cents a pound, or not sell it at all. At the prices which prevailed at that time the retailer could get $91.50 for the steer that I had sold for $82 and that Swift & Company had then sold to the retailer for $68.40. The retailer's profit figured out very close to 25 per cent. gross on sales if he bought an entire carcass, and round 20 per cent. if he bought the commercial cuts.

"On the face of these figures Swift & Company lost money on every one of those fifteen steers they bought from me at $82 a head. But though Swift & Company are not philanthropists and though they do not lose any money in their business, I satisfied myself that the 13⅔ per cent. profit on their capital stock of $60,000,000 which they made that year was not made from selling beef. Where they made their profits on a steer, I discovered, was in the by-products — the hide, the various animal oils that are extracted from the fats and offal, oleomargarine, stearin, tallow, soap, fertilizers, medical extracts, dye stuffs, buttons, glue, bone charcoal—the hundreds of by-products which the big packing houses are compelled to utilize to make profits from their business. And the big packers can utilize for canning the cheap cuts and the poor stock which the city butcher can hardly sell over his counter. Besides, a good share of the packer's profits are made on hogs and sheep."

THE DEMAND AHEAD OF THE SUPPLY

"Well, if you are not making too much, and the packer is losing money, and the retailer is only making a fair profit, why am I paying thirty-two cents a pound for the porterhouse steak that cost me only twenty cents ten years ago?" I insisted.

"It all comes back," replied Colonel Power, "to the one law that Congress has so far been unable to repeal — the law of supply and demand. There are not as many cattle as there were and there are more people demanding beef. And long before there are enough cattle being raised to supply the demand for beef there will be millions more people in the cities demanding beef. You will probably not live long enough to buy porterhouse steaks again for less than thirty-two cents a pound."

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WOMEN

THE LARGER HOUSEKEEPING

THE WIDENING RANGE OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES AS EXEMPLIFIED IN BOSTON—SWEEPING OUT THE CITY'S INSANITARY SPOTS, RENOVATING BAKERIES AND SWEATSHOPS, AND PROTECTING THE PUBLIC'S INTEREST IN MOTHERHOOD

BY

MABEL POTTER DAGGETT

THE housekeeper is abroad in her city. There isn't so much to do at home as once there was. The spinning wheel had long been silent, the sewing machine was beginning to gather dust, the architects were drawing kitchenettes in their blue-print plans, when, in the dawn of the twentieth century, the more well-to-do women of Boston arose in their drawing rooms and, with skirts gathered in one hand, stepped firmly over their thresholds to find new duties.

The streets were filled with working-people on whom they looked with awakened interest. For science had recently confirmed our democracy by the revelation that, when Boston had 1,200 deaths a year from tuberculosis and 1,600 cases of typhoid, the Back Bay would have to have some of them. Beacon Street and Commonwealth Avenue might no longer live to themselves alone. Through this moving throng they were close linked to all the "ends" of Boston. Here were the tailors who fashioned the suits for the most exclusive Colonial Dame. Here were the seamstresses who sewed her lingerie. Here were the bakers who baked her bread.

The housewifely mind paused to ponder. Mary, the cook, who used to bake the bread in the kitchen, had to be carefully watched to see that she always wore a clean apron and washed her hands. Did the Superfine Baking Company wash its hands?

The committee a few years ago sent out to see, and came back with a shocked note in their report: "My dears, my dears," they said, "there are flies in the molasses and rats in the flour and there are weary, perspiring men who drop on the very moulding boards to sleep."

So the Consumers' League went to the legislature to ask for a law that should forbid the Superfine and other bakeries to make bread in a cellar and that should require medical inspection for employees as a guarantee against disease mixed in the dough. It is a woman's notion that has not yet been dignified by legal enactment.

But lacking a law, feminine ingenuity is using a "white list." It directs a discriminating purchaser to about twenty bakeries in Boston that have been investigated and found clean enough to meet the housewifely standard. There is likewise an "approved list" of fifty-six tailor shops that are light enough and airy enough so that the workers are not liable to disease. And once a month in two of the leading newspapers there is published the "Shopping Guide" to such department stores as are selling "white label" lingerie of sanitary manufacture to insure that it is not a menace alike to those who make it and to those who wear it.

Four years ago, in the season when the feminine mind turns energetically to thoughts of spring cleaning, the woman who cares looked across Boston Common with a friendly nod to Everywoman: "Come," she said, "let us join hands in a Woman's Municipal League." A platform of wide welcome was arranged to include alike Gentile and Jew, Syrian and Greek and Italian. This ideal was

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being explained at a parlor meeting in one of the ends of Boston. The wife of Guiseppe Bacigalupo, a prosperous Italian contractor, was present in the front row. Complacently stroking her velvet dress, she looked up in a sudden glow of comprehension: "Why, after all," she exclaimed, "we're all of us just foreigners together, aren't we? For, really, one never sees any red Indian natives about."

Madame Back Bay, in the chair, caught her breath. Then she smiled bravely back, "foreigners together," with the wife of Guiseppe Bacigalupo. And the Italian woman went out to bring one hundred of her neighbors into the League that now has a membership list of nearly two thousand.

These are a Council of City Mothers of which Mrs. T. J. Bowlker is president. It is true that they are without the power of political action. But they have woman's influence organized to work for what they want. Within the League have been set up departments corresponding to every phase of the city's activities that affect the home. The office headquarters, at 79 Chandler Street, serves as the clearing house through which the Boston housewives' complaints or suggestions reach the City Hall. The officers of the League are working in cordial coöperation with the city officers.

The Department of Streets and Alleys first awakened Boston to the League's existence. They started a city cleaning crusade that swept from Jamaica Plain to East Boston, and from the Charles River Bank to South Bay. Committees were sent out to hang in Boston kitchens a neatly printed "Notice to Housekeepers," that cited city ordinances for the disposal of refuse and the penalty for throwing it into the street. They pasted the alleys with stickers that said, "Help keep the city clean!" They put advertising placards in the street cars that read: "Warning! The Health Laws demand that your premises shall be kept free from rubbish. Dirty air is death! You have no more right to poison the air that your neighbor breathes than the water he drinks!" Then they held meetings in every section of the city to urge that every housewife see how it was with her own back yard.

"What is all this fuss about?" demanded a Commonwealth Avenue matron. "I'm sure I haven't looked into my back yard in thirty years."

"Your neighbors have!" was the significant retort in a Beacon Street drawing room that sent her home for a private domestic survey. She found out the truth of what Genevieve Johnson, a little colored girl at a South Boston school, said in an essay on "Clean Back Yards": "Some of us live in houses that are like paper dolls with all fronts and no backs."

WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS

Boston was set in order. Then the League employed a salaried inspector to keep it so. She is a Wellesley College graduate, Miss Mabel Frost, and she daily patrols the streets and the alleys, especially the alleys. A garbage can uncovered or an alley littered with debris, brings from her a prompt notification to the householder that it is a violation of city ordinances. If anybody doubts the authority of this fashionably attired feminine person to speak her mind about garbage, she has only to flash the neat little nickel badge that is concealed beneath her coat lapel, and he realizes that what she says will go with the law. Not only private householders are thus regulated, some of the leading Tremont Street store keepers have come out into their alleys with shovels and hoes when she called. The North Station tidied up when she pointed out the debris that littered the pavement before it. The city increased its collections of refuse to three times a week and placed two hundred of the red metal "rubbish" boxes through the business district when the League laid her report of these needs before the Board of Health.

Then the officers of the City Park Department, when it was shown that the trees in some of the children's playgrounds had been planted, as it were, "man fashion," with the shade falling on the sidewalk outside instead of on the children, politely planted the trees right side about. And when they were told that the Prince Street playground, which they had surfaced with refuse from a nearby factory so that the children came home as black as

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little coal heavers, wasn't helping the mothers of the neighborhood much, they paved it neatly with brick and surrounded it with a colonnade topped with boxes that are filled with flowers in the summer time and with little Christmas trees in the winter. Next, the attention of the city officials was directed to the Fenway Dump, where employees of one city department busily deposited refuse to be blown across the way, so that the laborers from another department found continuous employment in picking it up. Did that seem like effectual municipal housekeeping, the women wanted to know. And the Boston City Council, after thinking it over, recently made a new contract for the disposal of waste, that abolishes inland dumps.

The League's Department of Housing sent a second inspector, Miss M. E. Clarke, to the tenements where, day by day, she patiently interprets American civilization to the ignorant housekeepers who do not understand: for example, why they must not throw their ashes into the hopper that connects with the drain. They are usually quick to respond with "Scuzee! Scuzee!" It is harder to make them understand that dirt is dangerous. But by pointing to the little white hearses that are always going up and down their street, the "Clean Lady" at length makes them comprehend a connection between dirt and death that sends them to their knees, scrubbing brush in hand. The landlord is more difficult to deal with. Mr. Murphy in the West End was compelled to cut a window in a dark room, to whitewash the dirty walls, to put in a new sink, and to repair a dangerous stairway. When he had finished his labors, he announced: "I've lived in the West End twenty-five years, an' it's only lately these wimmin been nosin' 'roun'. Now a man inspector just puts his head in the door an' says, 'Board uv Health,' an' goes out again. But these wimmin, they know too much an' they see too much. No, sir, I don't believe in the idea uv wimmin inspectors."

The League does. The woman inspector is one of its "demonstrations." It hopes that some time the city fathers will take her on their own pay roll. For the present the city fathers only lend her the little nickel badge of the real man inspector, while the city mothers find her salary. And as fast as the treasury permits, the League adds another inspector to its staff. The Market Department inspector, Miss Therese Norton, is a Radcliffe College graduate. Regularly she makes her morning trip through Faneuil Hall and Quincy markets, where a long line of dealers, bowing in white aprons beside polished glass show cases, are ready for her critical survey. In lesser districts, among poorer shops, the proprietor who sees her coming hastily shoos his flies and pulls a bit of mosquito netting over his meat or fish. Perhaps he even has time to raise a crate of vegetables to the top of an empty cracker box.

To get food stuff raised out of reach of dogs and covered out of range of typhoid flies has been the long persistent campaign of the League. After much effort they got a city ordinance, but it wobbled and wouldn't work when a shrewd dealer carried his case to court. Then they sent the market inspector out to make a map of three hundred provision stores, with red tacks put in to indicate the clean stores and black tacks to indicate the dirty stores. This map, laid before the last legislature, secured the law the women wanted. But while they waited for it, they had managed to get matters pretty well regulated in their own way.

League members all over Boston simply refused to buy of market men who did not meet their standards. One groceryman on Boylston Street, when he was requested by the market inspector "to raise and cover," answered that he was "just tired of having women come around telling him what to do," and he wouldn't. Immediately thereafter, twenty of his wealthy Back Bay clientele notified him that he need not serve them any longer. He used some strong language to the clerk who was weighing sugar. But he also got out a neat little printed circular and mailed it to every customer with the announcement that "Jones and Co. have 'raised and covered,' and will be glad of your continued patronage."

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Nor are the Back Bay dealers the only dealers who have felt the force of feminine public opinion. Housewives in the tenement districts the League have organized in "Market Tens." The Market Ten is a neighborhood group of ten women pledged to exercise watchful supervision over the sanitary condition of the stores in which they make their daily household purchases. Is the food protected from dust and flies? Would the floor soil your dress? are some of the questions answered on the report cards they turn in to Chandler Street. When the record indicates that a store is persistently violating hygienic requirements, the market inspector visits it. She tells the proprietor why he ought to have screens. She gets his ice box cleaned. She puts the covers on his garbage pails. She is not even above handling a broom to show how it should be done. But if then he does not profit by the instruction, she makes a formal complaint to the Board of Health and they proceed against the shop as a menace to the health of the community.

HOW THE "MARKET TENS" WORK

The Market Ten, however, exercises a salutary influence all its own. One of its especial functions is to look sharply after those thrifty storekeepers in the poorer quarters who economize on wrapping paper by using old newspapers purchased from the rag men at a cent a hundred. Mrs. Levinsky in Salem Street opens a neat brown paper parcel to show her new neighbor a fish just purchased from Silverstein on the corner. "Such a nice fish," both women agree. And the new neighbor goes out to get one too. Lo, when it is done up and passed to her, it is wrapped in an old newspaper! With the withering glance of the woman who knows what she can do, when all the city statutes can't, she spurns the package.

"The Market Ten," murmurs Silverstein as one might mention the Mafia. "But I did not know you belonged! Pardon! Pardon!" And he would have wasted a dozen brown papers to rewrap the package. But already his customer has departed for the Model Market down the street.

What will the Market Ten do to him for this delinquency? Awful thought! Suppose they put him in the moving picture show. On Saturday night he is here at North and Blackstone Streets, where the Woman's Municipal League is displaying stereopticon pictures that are thrown against a building to instruct the moving throngs that are making Sunday purchases in the open market. How the typhoid fly carries disease germs from filth to food is told in pictures that take the fly from the stable to the baby's milk bottle. The clean alley and the dirty alley appear in succession; the clean street and the dirty street; and then the clean market and the dirty market flash into view. And Silverstein breathes easier. It is not his store that is labelled, for the city to see, "Dirty market! Don't buy here!"

CHILDREN AS GUARDIANS OF HEALTH

By such novel means the League is educating the public that grasps truth most readily when it is graphically presented. A drama, "The Play Shop," written and acted in the settlements by the children of the Junior Municipal League, is another potent hygienic influence. The stage "properties" of this play are a toy screen store, five feet square, with a window and a real awning that moves up and down, detachable shelves, and a complete equipment of flyless, dustless food packages. The principles of a sanitary shop are earnestly impressed on the audience by the play actors. Scornfully the leading lady comments on the store on which the first curtain rises, "All these flies, they spread so much germs, they give me the headache." And the dirty store is driven out of business while the neighborhood patronage makes prosperous the proprietor of the germ-proof store of the last act.

Off the stage and in a real shop, you could not get a Junior League little girl to buy so much as an ice cream cone in a place that does not come up to her standards. With her coin clasped tightly in her hand, she frankly says to the proprietor's face, "Why, you have a dirty store!" and takes her trade elsewhere as promptly as a member of a Market Ten.

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The children are active missionary workers. They bring their mothers and their fathers and their sisters and their brothers to see the Model Flat that is rented and furnished and kept as a permanent exhibit in the vicinity of South End House. On the wall hang inscriptions such as "Notice that this tenement has thorough ventilation. It smells sweet," and "This bedroom opens on a court. The law requires that such a court shall be kept free from dirt and refuse." The simple mission furniture, every article of which is tagged with the price it cost, has been carefully selected as an object lesson to influence neighborhood taste in house furnishing. "I s'pose it's nice," said a factory girl looking it over with her fiancée, "but," in a wistful tone, "I've just got to have my plush stage first. Me and Jim, though," she added, "are going to save up for our parlor set instead of buying it on the instalment plan," which was a concession to one of the Model Flat teachings.

The woman who cares is interested in this factory girl. She believes that she ought to have some preparation for the business of conducting the home with the plush parlor set. The League has talked over the possibility of sex instruction in the public schools. The question is being gradually approached. Meanwhile this year for the first time a new subject is to be introduced in the curriculum — the girls of the seventh and eighth grades of the Boston grammar schools are to be given lectures on "How to Care for a Baby."

TEACHING CHILDREN SKILL AND JOY

But before the factory girl reaches her home-making task, industry claims her for a time. For this, too, she must be made ready. Boston has 56,000 girls and boys between fourteen and eighteen years of age who work for a living. Many of them have been going out untrained to struggle for a foothold in the great army of labor, where more and more the battle is to be to the skilled. So the League's Department of Education, under the leadership of Mrs. Richard C. Cabot and later Mrs. B. B. Glenny, set out to make a complete survey of the opportunities for vocational training in Boston. Students from Wellesley and Radcliffe have volunteered as assistants. And the work has attained such proportions that the department is now permanently installed in an office of its own at No. 6 Beacon Street. The exhaustive information which it has compiled has been listed in the seven charts that have thus far been completed. The results are so highly esteemed that the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington has incorporated in its 25th Annual Report an account of the chart plan and system of construction. And the seven charts, with all the facts as to location, length of the course, free tuition, etc., of several hundred classes and institutions, hang in every public school of Boston to direct pupils to training for a vocation.

But girls and boys are looking for more than work. They are looking also for the joy of life. At night they stream through the city streets in search of it, and the bright lights of the saloon and the dance hall beckon, "It is here."

"Hang beacon lights in the school houses of Boston," the city mothers cried, "and we shall be able to lead them from temptation." But the city fathers thought that they could not afford it. So the League Committee on the Extended Use of School Buildings, with Miss Mary P. Follett as chairman, last year financed the $5,000 experiment of opening one high school in East Boston for evening social centre purposes. There are games and dancing and basket ball and the "Opportunity Clubs." The lighted school house had gathered 700 young people within two weeks after it was opened. The Mayor and the City Council of Boston, hearing of it, came up to see about it. And this year the Board of Education has taken over the work and will expand it by opening four schools as social centres.

The League Committee on Open Air Schools, under the direction of Miss Rose Lamb, presents another object lesson in the Castle Island School, an industry in citizenship that the city is almost ready to adopt. Throughout the summer, 250 anemic children from the crowded districts

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were taken daily to Castle Island to eat and sleep and play in the sunshine. At the end of the season they had gained an average of two and a half pounds, which is one and a half pounds more than is recorded for children of the same group remaining in the city slums. Incidentally, they were lined up at Castle Island for instruction in Clean Clubs. And Angelina Ristorini's mother reports: "That girl, now, she wanta mek a bath evera day, an' she have to have a clean shirt evera week."

PRENATAL CARE OF INFANTS

You cannot begin too early about the health of a child, the League agreed as they sat in council. Let us begin before it is born, urged the Committee on Social Welfare from the Department of Public Improvement. And what the League calls another "initiatory experiment of civic interest" was launched. Any expectant mother in Boston may have expert guidance through the nine months of preparation that lead to her travail and triumph. A trained nurse takes her under supervision and, at any variation from a normal condition, the services of a physician are promptly secured. Though the nurse's visits are made regularly every ten days, three dollars covers the cost for the entire period. The patient who is able may pay this nominal fee, but it is never required. All over Boston are humble homes where this professional care has averted disaster that hovered near. The nurse's route has been extended even out into the suburbs. In the little front parlors, where New England thrift has turned the Brussels rug right side down not to fade, and where a pink flowered china lamp on the centre table keeps sentinel guard in the best room, she sits down with the woman in a gingham apron and draws from a satchel all the appliances for scientific tests that a woman with a million of money might buy. There is advice about diet and rest and a warning nod toward the wash on the line, with a last injunction, "Don't work too hard."

The League shows the results of this Department of Public Improvement in statistics. Prenatal care has so lessened the dangers of pregnancy that, with 1,111 cases in three years, not a death has occurred, only one case of Bright's disease has developed, and the average weight of the babies is from eight to fifteen ounces more than that which is cited by the medical books. When the city fathers were presented with these figures, they went out to hire a city nurse. And Boston is now undertaking prenatal care as a regular part of its Board of Health programme.

Three thousand children are dying in Massachusetts every year because the law requiring that milk be clean is delayed. With this fact held up to the public, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, the chairman of the Committee on Milk from the Woman's Municipal League, has gone out and formed the Milk Consumers' League, of 2,000 members. And there are 2,000 men with a ballot behind them, whose enlistment is giving the politicians pause. But No. 49 Beacon Street, Mrs. Putnam's private residence, is the office address printed on their stationery. And this year, as last, when the milk bill reaches the senate, it will be she, sitting high in the woman's gallery, note book in hand and an attorney at her elbow, who will be giving the instructions that direct its progress on the floor below.

BUILDING BULWARKS OF THE HOME

A housekeeper, you see, shall lead them. Massachusetts does not yet seat her with its citizens elect. Nevertheless, she has followed the housekeeping that has gone from the kitchen to the legislative hall. And the woman behind the bill is a familiar figure at the Capitol. Up at the State House now is the representative sent by the Massachusetts Congress of Mothers, who believe that, with all the civic care-taking to-day, the home needs one more bulwark. Mrs. Clara Cahill Parks is a member of the state commission that was appointed by the Governor to consider the question of motherhood pensions. House Bill No. 478, in regard to such state support for homes that need it, bears her name as the petitioner. "But you are neither a scientist nor a sociologist," objected a learned child specialist who is opposing her. "I am a mother," she

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rejoined quietly, little flames leaping in her bright brown eyes. "And he never will be," laughed several senators, turning the tide in favor of the one specialist in motherhood whom the Legislature of Massachusetts is disposed to recognize.

It is this same brooding motherhood, that knows so well how to take a little child to its breast, that is enfolding the city. The work that God specialized a woman for cannot well be done without her. And the home-making sex, with a capacity for detail that is the inheritance of generations, is at last solving the knotty problems that man alone may only fumble at. So the old occupation that was lost is found again.

I sat in a Beacon Street drawing room that is rich in ancestral mahogany. A woman who underwrites the work of the Boston Woman's Municipal League in checks of four figures was saying: "There is no more a woman of leisure in Boston. We have all been draughted for civic service."

And I thought, might not even Solomon praise her along with his historic housekeeper: "She eateth not the bread of idleness; she looketh well to the ways of her city."

Whether she be the old woman of limited sphere or the new woman of larger vision, it is the same world force that works within her and will not be stayed. City keeping is only the wider housekeeping that calls to-day for the hands that best know how. And civilization, responding to that transforming touch, commits its cities to the safe keeping of the woman who cares.

For all the fragrance of life flowers in the heart of her!

THE GOOD OLD TIMES?

POLITICAL AND BUSINESS MORALS THEN AND NOW — ARE WE LOSING THE HARDIER VIRTUES? — THE COMFORTS OF LIFE

BY

LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

WE HAVE all heard much of "the good old days." Old men delight to tell of the days of their youth — how different things were then from now, and the difference is always in favor of the past. Then were people frugal, courageous, industrious, and hearty. There were no enervating luxuries, no pitiless corporations, no soul searing worship of the almighty dollar, no hatred-engendering chasm between rich and poor, no divorce scandals, no race suicide, and no unchurched and godless — among substantial folk at least. It is in many respects fortunate that the memories of men retain the high lights of the past and not the shadows. The average man remembers the oasis, and forgets the desert. Is this memory fair? In the complexity and convenience of modern life, have we lost the sturdier virtues of our ancestors?

Stevenson, in his essay on the English Admirals, tells this story as showing the valor of unnamed heroes in former days.

"It was by a hazard that we learned the conduct of the four marines of the *Wager*. There was no room for these brave fellows in the boat, and they were left behind upon the island to a certain death. They were soldiers, they said, and knew well enough it was their business to die; and as their comrades pulled away, they stood upon the beach, gave three cheers, and cried, 'God bless the King!' Now, one or two of those who were in the boat escaped, against all likelihood, to tell the story. That was a great thing for us; but surely it cannot, by any possible twisting of human speech, be construed into anything great for the marines. You

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may suppose, if you like, that they died hoping their behavior would not be forgotten; or you may suppose they thought nothing on the subject, which is much more likely. What can be the signification of the word 'fame' to a private of marines, who cannot read and knows nothing of past history beyond the reminiscences of his grandmother? But, whichever supposition you make, the fact is unchanged. . . . Indeed, I believe this is the lesson: if it is for fame that men do brave actions, they are only silly fellows after all."

There was a man in the water after the *Titanic* sank who was told by the officer on the overturned lifeboat that he could not be saved, for the boat would upset if another person tried to get upon her. The man in the water answered as cheerfully as the marines, said good-bye to those who were to be saved, and died. There is nothing finer in the good old times.

Let us look into the claim that the heartless corporation is an invention of the present.

In Green's History of England we find this mention of the trusts created under Charles I between 1630 and 1640:

"The companies who undertook them (the monopolies) payed a fixed duty on their profits as well as a large sum for the original concession of the monopoly. Wine, soap, salt, and almost every article of domestic consumption fell into the hands of monopolists, and rose in price out of all proportion to the profit gained by the Crown. 'They sup in our cup,' Colepepper said afterward in the Long Parliament, 'they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye fat, the wash bowls, and the powdering tub. They share with the cutter in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot.'"

A GOOD OLD-TIME ELECTION

Colonel Roosevelt and his adherents vigorously complained of political manipulation and chicanery in the recent Presidential primaries in New York. They claimed that Tammany Hall had never been guilty of worse practices. Let us test this assertion by referring to an account of a Tammany dominated primary of sixty years ago given in Meyer's History of Tammany Hall. It runs:

"At the primaries of August, 1852, fraud and violence occurred at nearly every voting place. In some instances one faction took possession of the polls and prevented the other from voting; in others, both had control by turns, and fighting was desperate. One party ran away with a ballot box and carried it off to the police station. Many ballot boxes, it was alleged, were half filled with votes before the election was opened. Wards containing less than 1,000 legal Democratic voters yielded 2,000 votes, and a ticket which not a hundred voters of the ward had seen was elected by 600 or 700 majority. Whigs, boys, and paupers voted; the purchasable who flocked to either party according to the price, came out in force and ruffianism dominated the whole.

"The police dared not interfere. Their appointment was made by the Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, with the nominal consent of the Mayor, exclusively on political grounds and for one year. The policeman's livelihood depended upon the whims of those most concerned in the ward turmoils."

Such practices to-day are inconceivable. Should they be tried they would merely serve to sweep into office upon a wave of righteous indignation the very men against whom they were directed. The morals of old time politics — or of old time business — would not be tolerated to-day.

THE PLAIN PEOPLE IN 1776

In his book, "The New Democracy," Walter E. Weyl gives us this illuminating glimpse into the "good old times" in this country. He says:

"Of the 'free and equal' men of 1776, one sixth were chattel slaves. These poor blacks, largely native Americans, were speechless and voteless, were bought and sold, were mortgaged and flogged. Many whites, under the names 'redemptioners' and 'indentured servants,' were also limited in their civil rights, being bound to service and liable to harsh and cruel treatment. A large proportion of adult,

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white, free males were disfranchised. New Hampshire limited the suffrage to Protestant taxpayers; South Carolina, to free white men, believing in God, Heaven, and Hell, with a freehold of fifty acres, or a town lot, or who had paid a considerable tax. . . . A governor of South Carolina had to be possessed of ten thousand pounds, a property qualification comparable with that of a million dollars or more for the present-day governors of New York or Illinois. . . .

"The will of the people, aborted by a restricted suffrage, was completely nullified by the 'rotten politics' of the time. The founders of the Republic, be it remembered, were not quiet old gentlemen in stocks, living honorable and prophetic lives for the uplifting of us, their putative descendants. They were a very human lot of people who, liking to win, were not overnice as to means."

And here is the tribute of the historian, Professor McMaster, to these same revered forefathers who have from our schoolhood days been so constantly held up to us as shining examples of civic virtue and lofty patriotism.

He writes: "In filibustering and gerrymandering, in stealing governorships and legislatures, in using force at the polls, in colonizing and in distributing patronage to whom patronage is due, in all the frauds and tricks that go to make up the worst form of practical politics, the men who founded our state and national governments were always our equals, and often our masters."

To continue to quote from Mr. Weyl, here is some account of the lot of the under dog in the early days of this Republic:

"To keep the poor among our free and equal forefathers in their place, a barbarous criminal law, inherited from seventeenth century England was invoked. Not only was imprisonment for debt universal, but attacks upon property were repelled with savage severity. In Maryland a thief was branded with a T on his left hand, and the rogue or vagabond — the unemployed man — with an R on his shoulder. The sovereign commonwealth of New Hampshire branded burglars on the hand, or, if the crime was committed on Sunday, on the forehead while in Virginia all 'deceitful bakers, dishonest cooks, cheating fishermen, careless fish dressers,' were ordered to lose their ears. In Virginia it was a capital crime to obtain goods or money under false pretenses. Branding, whipping, ducking, cropping of the ears, the pillory, and the stock were ordinary punishments for vulgar rogues. A man could be hanged in Pennsylvania in 1776 on a first conviction for any of twenty crimes; in Virginia twenty-seven crimes were punishable by death. The law fell with special severity upon the unrepresented, voiceless, and often uneducated 'simple men' (as John Adams called them), who feared the debtor's prison as they feared the omnipresent pillory and lash, or the cloth P which the unfortunate pauper and his wife and children were obliged to wear upon the sleeve." These "simple men" were those who are now called "the plain people." Then they were unrepresented and voiceless, while now they are the final arbiters between opposing candidates and policies.

THE COMFORTS OF LIFE

In the comforts of life we have done likewise. The streets of New York were not laid out and paved to any appreciable extent until 1750. Philadelphia lagged 'way behind her rivals in these respects and won the title of the "Filthy-Dirty." These first pavements consisted of a strip of stone blocks down the middle of the streets, with no sidewalks. Up to 1840, or thereabouts, goats and pigs wandered at will about the public streets and acted as scavengers. They were the only street cleaners, barring the sporadic efforts of private citizens with a taste for cleanliness.

Except for the occasional houses of the rich, surrounded by their spacious grounds, Colonial houses were small — rarely exceeding two stories in height. As families of seventeen persons were then common, one can imagine that congested living conditions are not peculiar to our present slum districts. In another respect, ordinary Colonial houses were like modern tenements. They were workshops as well as homes. Trades were commonly con-

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ducted at home instead of in shops and factories. The ordinary houses were built of wood; and, surrounded as they were with outhouses and woodsheds, were naturally highly inflammable. The frequent fires, with of course no adequate means of fighting them, kept the inhabitants in a constant state of uneasiness. When the fire bells rang, the citizens of the neighborhood turned out pell mell, day or night, even from public meetings and church services, and ran to fight the flames. Before the Revolution, even the chimneys were of logs plastered over with clay and were of necessity constantly taking fire. When, however, these wooden chimneys were finally prohibited by law, there was a great outcry against this infringement of individual liberty. There were no parks or public squares artistically laid out, but only commons and village greens.

OLD TIME SINGING

Until after the Revolution, there were but two hospitals in this country — one in New York and one in Philadelphia. Possibly this was fortunate, as hospitals were then almost as dangerous as battlefields and operations — nearly always fatal. There was a great scarcity of trained doctors, but an abundance of quacks who carried on their iniquities without the annoyance of a Pure Food and Drugs Act. Surgeons were so few, in the South particularly, that it was a common occurence for a crushed leg or arm to be amputated by a friend of the victim with an ordinary knife or carpenter's saw and with red hot tongs to staunch the blood. Sick people were confined to their rooms with all the doors and windows tightly closed. Fresh air was for those only who were well enough to go out of doors. Invalids were vigorously and almost indiscriminately cupped, bled, and blistered.

Heavy drinking was practically universal and carried with it no social stigma. On the contrary, the test of a successful party was for the host to drink his male guests under the table. Ministers drank as heavily as their parishioners. At ministers' meetings, it was customary for the wife of the clergyman who was acting as host to brew a strong toddy for the refreshment of the clergymen before they took up their business. Not infrequently by the time the hour for business arrived, not enough of the brethren were sober to make up a quorum. An enterprising clergyman in Hartford, Conn., in the early part of the last century, handsomely supplemented his slender salary by running a distillery. He did this openly and without protest on the part of his church.

The truth is that neither in the heroic virtues nor in other ways were the good old times anything to which we should like to return — they held the seeds of modern progress, but the world is a much better place in which to live than it was a century ago — and this is especially true for the man of little income or influence.

DR. BERLINER, MASTER INVENTOR

A SKETCH OF THE MAN WHO DEVISED THE TELEPHONE TRANSMITTER AND WHO PERFECTED THE MODERN TALKING MACHINE

BY

WELLS F. HARVEY

DR. EMILE BERLINER is the inventor of the telephone transmitter and of the chief essentials of the modern talking machine. While other investigators were seeking to develop a telephone transmitter by making and breaking an electric current, or by the varying of surfaces, Dr. Berliner found the principle of constant contact with loose and varying pressure. While earlier talking machines tired to reproduce sound by straight roads through valleys of wax and over waxen hills and plateaus, Dr. Ber-

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liner etched crooked roads upon a level metal plain. While early aeroplane makers depended upon water-cooled engines equipped with a fly wheel, Dr. Berliner, as far back as 1907, developed and began the manufacture of an air-cooled engine with revolving cylinders.

Born in Germany and reared in an orthodox Jewish home, he approached religion from an independent viewpoint and early cast aside all faith. He believes that happiness comes best through fighting for it. Hence he devotes himself to the campaign in Washington against tuberculosis and for safe milk. He believes that sanitary knowledge will ultimately banish early death and that thus one of the greatest causes of unhappiness will be removed.

At the beginning of his scientific career Dr. Berliner overworked. During the day he was a clerk in a store in Washington. At night he delved into the mysteries of science. His telephone transmitter came in 1877 as the result of persistent over-time labor. When victory was assured, Dr. Berliner, then only twenty-six years of age, was nervously prostrated by his double load and by the excitement of an epoch-making discovery.

But even the telephone transmitter, though built upon the foundation of hard labor, came almost like a flash. Having learned telegraphy as an aid to his investigations, he tried the key one evening in Washington's central fire alarm station. The skilled operator there told him to strike harder. The operator explained that with greater pressure the current was more intense and the sending distance was increased. The operator did not know why, but the inquiring mind of Berliner demanded the reason and found it. Instantly it came to him that this was the solution of the telephone problem. He experimented with the varying pressure and found that it succeeded. In hardly more than one year thereafter the transmitter had been acquired by the newly-organized Bell company and the young inventor was assured both of reward and of scientific employment.

In subsequent work Dr. Berliner profited by this early experience. He has trusted to logic and to an untrammeled viewpoint. His experimenting has been undertaken with definite purpose and after mature thought. Conscious of the need to repair the results of early overwork, he has labored prudently. By variety of labors, many of them philanthropic and educational, he has both made himself a good citizen and relieved his mind. At sixty-one he is now robust and strong. In many striking respects he is the exact opposite of the once popular conception of the inventor. His hair is kept cut short. He is neat in dress. He looks and talks much like a successful lawyer or banker. His eye is clear and bright, suggesting none of the vagueness of the dreamer. He is not over-absorbed in research. The pictures and decorations of his home bespeak an interest in art. He loves music and has time for it, this taste giving him the greater delight that he has been the means of putting fine music within the reach of those far away from the opera and the concert.

Dr. Berliner's friends speak of his intuition as one of his most remarkable characteristics. He has been able to foresee the demand for inventions and to place his work where it has become of almost immediate practical use. In 1888 he delivered a lecture in which he first announced his method of reproducing sound through a disc talking machine. He had not yet developed the present method for pressing duplicates. Yet Dr. Berliner prophesied in detail how singers and speakers would some day make their voices heard around the world. "Prominent singers, speakers, or performers," he said, "may derive an income from royalties on the sale of their phonautograms, and valuable plates may be printed and registered to protect against unauthorized publication." In this sentence one may almost catch a glimpse of Caruso, whose royalties from records will keep him independent even if his voice utterly forsakes him.

With this keen intuitive foresight, backed by calm judgment and early commercial training, Dr. Berliner has been able to make his inventions provide liberally for his needs and has for many years been able

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to prosecute his investigations without fear of coming to the traditional misfortunes of the impecunious inventor. But if he has gained wealth, his associates have gained perhaps even greater wealth, for he has preferred to avoid business worries rather than to get the greatest possible profit.

The Berliner inventions in connection with the talking machine consist in recording sounds by a stylus vibrating laterally and in reproducing them by means of a stylus which is guided only by the groove through which it moves. Other inventors had developed the reproduction of sound by means of a vertically vibrating stylus, which made a straight path through a wax record, but abounded in hills, valleys, and plateaus. The intensity and quality of the sound was determined by the depth of the groove. The difficulty with this method, so Dr. Berliner believed, was that the greater the depth of the groove which was being made, the greater the comparative resistance which the wax offered to the stylus. Consequently the recording could not be exact. His problem was to develop a method of recording wherein the pressure on the stylus would be constant. So he eventually worked out the method of recording by lateral vibrations, the groove remaining of the same depth. With the other style of talking machines it had been found necessary to guide the reproducing stylus by means of a mechanical screw. This was necessary because the stylus would slip out of the groove at its shallow points. The constant depth of the groove in the Berliner records made it possible for him to trust the groove itself to guide the stylus. Hence accuracy of reproduction was always assured and the mechanism was simplified.

Dr. Berliner's fame as an inventor depends upon the importance of his contributions to two or three fields of development, rather than to a multitude of minor inventions. The letters patent issued to him will not exceed fifty. Yet the Bell Telephone Company has spent fully one million dollars to sustain the Berliner patents on the telephone transmitter, while the Victor Talking Machine Company has spent half a million in sustaining the basic patents of the disc talking machine.

THE PROFIT OF GOOD ROADS

HOW THEY INCREASE LAND VALUES BY $10 AN ACRE — THE WORK OF THE STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENTS AND OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT TO CORRECT THE INCOMPETENCY OF PRESENT ROAD MANAGEMENT AND TO PROVIDE NOT ONLY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION BUT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF GOOD ROADS

BY

LOGAN WALLER PAGE

DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC ROADS, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

EIGHTY-THREE bills and resolutions have been introduced at the present session of Congress to provide, in one way or another, for Federal participation in road building. Of these, thirty-five are comprehensive measures providing for general, permanent participation of the Government in the improving of our public roads. This activity of Congress reflects the strength of the movement for better roads throughout the country. The one striking point is that, whereas Congress is not yet beyond the introduction and discussion of these bills and resolutions, the individual states and counties are building thousands of miles of excellent roads.

Back in the early 'nineties, when New Jersey and Massachusetts introduced the plan for state aid in the construction of

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roads, it was generally looked upon with skepticism. Very few people realized then that in less than two decades the movement for Government improved roads would sweep over the whole land and even beyond our borders to Canada and England.

The enthusiasm for good roads is now widespread among all classes of society. The farmer knows that they will decrease his cost of transportation, increase the value of his farm, and add much to the comfort and convenience of his home. His wife and family can reach the church, the school, and their neighbors at all times, and in consequence will be content to remain on the farm. The resident of the city realizes that improved roads will give him a better and more uniform supply of farm products, open up to him a formerly closed pleasure ground, and will lead to a closer relation between town and farm and to greater business activity everywhere. In short, the whole country is awake.

NATIONAL AID NOT THE SOLUTION

The feverish desire, however, of nearly every one to obtain the roads by national aid shows a lack of careful consideration of the probable consequences. The clamor arises partly because certain of our states and many of our counties have borrowed large sums of money on long term bonds for the construction of roads, without provision for their maintenance. In other words they have built roads on bond issues of from thirty to fifty years' duration, only to allow them to fall into disuse from neglect at the end of four or five years. Such a course is obviously unfair to future generations, who must help to pay for these roads without receiving any benefit from them. Moreover, most counties in all the states have the road supervisor system, which places the care of the road and the expenditure of road funds in the hands of unskilled men, who are selected every year or two solely for their political affiliations. Such conditions, of course, discourage the local construction of roads, but the taxpayer has nevertheless no right to try to shift the burden of expense to the national revenue. If he would but realize that this revenue is annually only about $600,000,000, that merely to sprinkle with water our 2,250,000 miles of road for one summer season would cost approximately $178,000,000, that to construct this mileage properly would require at least $22,500,000,000, and that to maintain these roads after construction would cost about $1,125,000,000 yearly — it would then be evident to him that any distribution of Federal funds among the states for road work would necessarily be inadequate unless the Government resorts to new sources of revenue. Before experimenting with Federal aid in any form, it would be wiser to reform and modernize our present state, county, and township systems. We have approximately 2,250,000 miles of public roads, more than 90 per cent. of which are nothing more than ways, unsurfaced, bad at all times, and during certain portions of the year impassable. On this great mileage, we are expending, during the present year, from state and county appropriations, from statute labor, and from bond issues, about $150,000,000 — little more than the United Kingdom is expending to keep in repair its 150,000 miles of well constructed road. Of this sum, New York state will spend more than twenty millions this year, and Pennsylvania about $4,000,000. California has $18,000,000 available. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, are each contemplating bond issues of $50,000,000, and Colorado and Maine will probably issue bonds for $10,000,000 and $2,000,000, respectively.

OUR FOLLIES IN ROAD MANAGEMENT

Experience has shown that money spent under state auspices has produced far better results and that roads have been much better maintained than under the county or township system. The state work, however, has been very much hampered by its connection with politics. On account of the general change in the political situation two years ago, the highway departments of the following states were interfered with: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, and Washington. We may not hope that state road building can progress

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very satisfactorily until the work is removed from politics and apportioned according to the merit system.

In the counties and townships, the system is even worse. It consists in the appointment, every year or two, of about 140,000 petty officials without knowledge and without experience. The qualification for the appointment to the position of road supervisor is almost entirely political. The position is not sought after by competent men because so little compensation goes with it. This method of administration was introduced during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but was abolished by Cromwell. We, however, have maintained it ever since throughout the greater portion of the country, with the result that not a county in the United States has obtained a good road system under this obsolete plan.

In most of the Western states the county road supervisor is supplemented by the township road supervisor, a complication that leads to further distribution of authority and consequently to endless confusion. It can readily be seen that, with this great number of officials, changing every few years and working when, where, and how they please, no adequate road system of any kind can be evolved. The New England township system, which consists of three "selectmen," elected annually for each town, works satisfactorily in thickly populated and wealthy communities, where almost a municipal government exists, but in the more sparsely settled sections it has no advantages over the county system. If, instead of employing this vast army of incompetent officials, one or more counties or townships would secure an experienced highway engineer and would allow him to select his own laborers, a great transformation would take place in the condition of our highways.

THE HOPE OF THE HIGHWAYS

This is briefly the situation in which we find our road management to-day: The state highway departments, with skilled engineers, using in the main the best materials and methods of construction, are building roads that are unsurpassed in the world. They are gradually bringing about systematic methods of maintenance; indeed, more investigative work with new materials and methods is being carried on by the state highway departments in the United States than is being done in other countries. It is to these departments, therefore, that we must look for real progress, and the scope of their work should be enlarged and their appropriations should be increased. All important highways should be placed under the jurisdiction of the state departments, for otherwise they are not likely to be improved, certainly not in a uniform manner. We can never look for any general betterment in our county and township administration until the work is placed under one responsible administrative head.

THE PATROL SYSTEM OF MAINTENANCE

The actual difficulties of building and construction also are very serious. The old broken stone and gravel roads, suited to horse-drawn traffic, rapidly disintegrate under swiftly moving motor traffic. The dust, worn from stone and gravel by horse vehicles (so essential for binding the surface), is violently thrown into the air by the propelling thrust of the driving wheels of motor vehicles and is carried away by the wind. The soft pneumatic tire wears off no dust from the stones of the road-bed to take the place of that which is produced by horse traffic, and in consequence the road surface loosens and disintegrates. To meet this situation, highway engineers throughout the world are experimenting with every known binding material. Of these there are already in use: stone blocks, wood blocks, vitrified brick, sheet asphalt, portland cement, concrete, macadam cemented with asphalt, oil asphalt, the various residual oils, coal tar, water gas tar, waste sulphite liquor from the paper pulp mills, molasses and lime, and numerous other combinations. Although most of these materials are serviceable, their expensiveness either entirely precludes their use on country highways, or greatly adds to the cost of construction.

More important than the actual cost of building roads is a provision for their continuous maintenance. In Europe, a road once built is kept in a constant state

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of perfection. In our country, however, it is rarely touched after it is built. This neglect with us is not due to any lack of knowledge in our engineers, but to the ignorance of the public, which prompts them to limit their appropriations to construction only. If we would only adopt a patrol system such as France has, by which every five or six miles of road is under the care of one man who is held responsible for its condition at all times, probably not more than 20 per cent. of our roads would require actual construction.

We should, therefore, begin our reform with maintenance, and resort to construction only when investigation shows that a harder surface is necessary. We can never hope to have all our roads surfaced with hard materials; such a step would not only require more money than we can afford to spend, but would be unnecessary. For about 20 per cent. of the roads of any district carry about 90 per cent. of the traffic. If then we could construct the 20 per cent. of important roads as rapidly as funds would permit, and maintain all roads by the patrol system, every requirement would be met. And this is not a fanciful idea. There are few counties in this country where the patrol system of maintenance could not be adopted at the present annual expenditure and give vastly better results. The Office of Public Roads of the United States Department of Agriculture is willing at all times to demonstrate this fact to any reasonable number of counties for the asking.

THE MONEY VALUE OF GOOD ROADS

It is rather difficult to demonstrate in dollars and cents just how valuable improved roads are to a community. The United States Office of Public Roads is just now engaged in studying a number of counties where the roads are undergoing improvement, with a prospect of obtaining soon some interesting figures. For the present, however, a few general illustrations must suffice. Prior to 1890, the value of agricultural lands in Massachusetts was steadily decreasing. In 1900, Massachusetts led all the states in the percentage of increase in land values; the gain began about the time that state aid in road construction became effective. The rate of increase in this interval has been estimated at from $2 to $10 per acre, but numerous examples could be shown of far greater rises occurring. Take the typically northern state of Ohio for illustration: Forty-five agricultural counties have more than 10 per cent. of the roads improved, and sixteen counties have less than 10 per cent. of the roads improved. The average value of land in the forty-five counties is $65.79 per acre, whereas in the sixteen counties the average value per acre is $45.50 — 35 per cent. cheaper than in the counties with good roads. In the typically southern state of North Carolina, seventeen counties have more than 10 per cent. of the roads improved, and seventy-four have less than 10 per cent. improved. The average value in the seventeen counties is $15.62 per acre, and in the seventy-four counties it is $10.57 per acre. This means nearly 50 per cent. increase caused by the good roads.

Nothing speaks better for a community, or draws people to it more irresistibly, than well kept roadsides and attractive home surroundings. These things probably enhance the value of property as much as the excellence of the road itself. This work of beautification can rarely be done with public funds, and it rightly belongs to abutting property owners. It is a task that should interest all self-respecting and public-spirited citizens, particularly the women, who could be of great service in this way.

What is being done to bring before the public the reforms so necessary to give us a better road system? Until November, 1910, nothing had been done. There had never been in this country a national organization having for its sole object the betterment of the public highways. There have been organizations for dealing with the technical side of the subject — the American Automobile Association has done much good work, there are some good state associations, and there is a so-called "national organization," run for the profit of individuals. Not, however, until the formation, in 1910, of the American As-

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sociation for Highway Improvement, was the long felt need of a truly national association satisfied. In the councils of this organization are the foremost engineers of the country, railroad presidents, editors, professional and business men. It is to experts like Mr. Alfred Noble, the dean of American civil engineers; Mr. B. F. Yoakum, Chairman of the 'Frisco lines; Mr. W. W. Finley, President of the Southern Railroad; Mr. W. C. Brown, President of the New York Central Road; Mr. James S. Harlan of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and numerous others. With it are affiliated all the state and other road organizations of any consequence.

This Association and the American Automobile Association and the Association of American Road Machinery and Material Manufacturers will hold a joint Congress at Atlantic City from September 30th to October 5th of this year, which will be the most important road meeting ever held in America. The largest pier at Atlantic City has been secured, where a great exhibit of road machinery and materials will be displayed. The Congress will be opened by Governor Woodrow Wilson. The first two days will be held under the auspices of the American Automobile Association and will be devoted to road users. The next two days will be taken up with the economic and legislative side of the subject and will be opened by President Taft. The last two days will be given over to engineering and technical work which will be discussed by the leading experts of the country.

Meanwhile the United States Office of Public Roads and the American Association for Highway Improvement have gained the coöperation of the railroads, a number of which have run improvement trains over their lines, equipped with every facility for teaching local officials how to improve and maintain roads. A great deal of credit must be given such a broad and public spirited policy.

THE BEST ROADS AT LEAST COST

HOW THE GOVERNMENT FURNISHES EXPERT ADVICE FREE—THE NEED OF MAINTENANCE

BY

J. E. PENNYBACKER, Jr.

(SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT)

SO SHREWD a judge of investments as General Du Pont of Delaware believes in the paying qualities of a good road. He plans to build a highway the length of Delaware and earn the interest on it by exploiting the 160 feet of the right of way not actually used by the road. He believes that the increased earning power of the 80-foot strips on both sides of the road will pay the interest on the cost of its construction.

So much for a business man's judgment on the value of a good road. And notwithstanding that he is right, many and many a community that builds good roads is disappointed in the results. The reason is a lack of knowledge of how to build and the lack of a system of maintenance. Even a good road gone to ruin is a burden to the taxpayer. A good road well maintained is a great benefit — in some cases it actually lowers the tax rate.

Can the public improve, maintain, and administer its huge system of highways, 2,250,000 miles (about ten times the mileage of all our railroads) so that it may refute the claim so often made that public ownership means wastefulness and incompetence? Intrinsically, the road is of far greater potential value as a public property than as a private property, but it is only by good management that the potential value may become real. How

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close is the wrong way to the right way, and how widely they diverge after the start has been made is best shown by cases.

SAVING A COUNTY THOUSANDS

Pike County, Ala., in 1904, came to a realization that its bad roads could no longer be endured. The first thought of the people was of the macadam road and they had visions of "smooth ribbons of stone stretching from the county seat to the boundaries of the county." Road building rock was not available in the county and they expected to haul it by rail. The bond issue had already been arranged for on this basis when it occurred to Judge A. C. Edmonson that it might be well to seek the advice of an engineer from the United States Office of Public Roads before beginning construction. He knew that the Government maintained a corps of the best informed highway engineers in the United States whose services are given free to counties and communities to help in solving their road problems. The request was made and Mr. W. L. Spoon, a trained specialist on road conditions in the South, was sent to Pike County. He carefully inspected the roads, the materials at hand, and specimens of the materials proposed to be used. He studied transportation rates, weather conditions, traffic both actual and possible, and the finances of the county. His report was substantially as follows: "Your roads should cost you from $800 to $1,000 a mile instead of from $5,000 to $6,000 a mile which will be the cost if you undertake to build macadam roads. You have in unlimited quantities along your roadsides an ideal mixture of sand and clay for road building; the sand clay road under the conditions which exist in this county would be equal to or better than a macadam road, while the materials for maintenance of your sand clay road will always be at hand and ready to be applied at slight cost."

Mr. Spoon's advice was taken. On July 13, 1907, Judge Edmonson wrote to him that $143,000 in bonds had been authorized, of which $100,000 had been sold. With the proceeds one hundred and fifteen miles of splendid road had been built at a cost of about $868 per mile. If the county had made the mistake of building macadam roads it would have paid for the mistake about $500,000 in the beginning, representing the difference in cost, and from $10,000 to $15,000 a year thereafter, representing the difference in cost of maintenance.

If every county and community made sure that the type of road selected was the type best adapted to the conditions to be met, millions of dollars would be saved to the people of the United States every year. Pike County's example does not mean that the cheapest type of road should be selected regardless of other conditions. There are hundreds of examples of cheap roads constructed to withstand exceptionally heavy traffic which are rapidly going to pieces and will have to be rebuilt. In Pendleton County, W. Va., a rather droll example of false economy occurred. It was necessary to put in a long fill on a road leading to the county seat. As logs were about the most plentiful commodity at hand they were used to make the fill. The road was "a thing of beauty" but not "a joy forever" for it had scarcely begun to serve its useful purpose before a forest fire swept along and merrily licked up every vestige of the log fill.

A COSTLY EXPERIMENT

Down in Texas a few years ago a prosperous and progressive county built itself a system of macadam roads. There was no difficulty in financing it; there was no doubt that the traffic was heavy enough to justify a hard road, and there seemed to be no fault in the method of construction, but something was wrong with the roads — after a few days of traffic they were no more than stretches of loose stones. After the damage was done a specimen of the material was sent to the United States Office of Public Roads. A few tests showed that the stone was almost entirely lacking in cementing value and would not bond sufficiently to form the monolithic crust so essential to the macadam road. The county had built several miles of road with this material and had contracted for large quantities. The experience cost several thousand dollars. To save just such waste; to give expert advice to all

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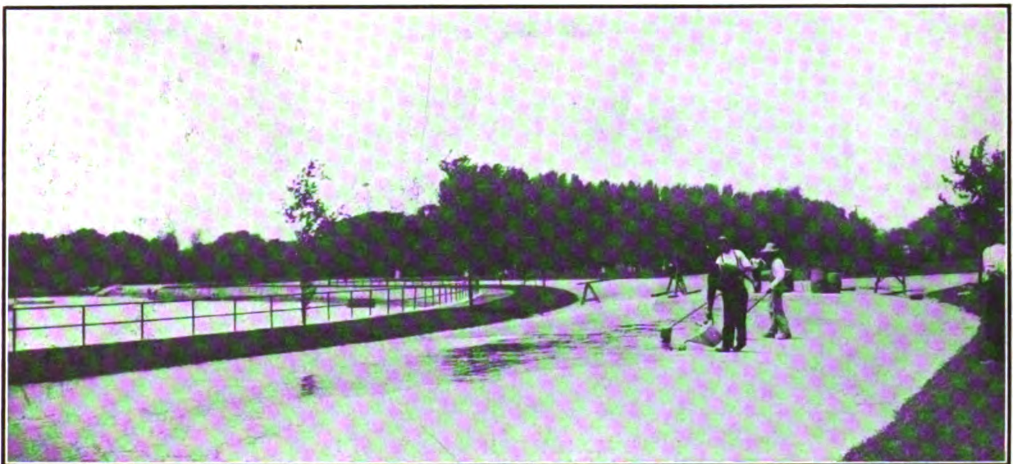
A CONCRETE ROAD NEAR DETROIT, MICH.

BUILDING THE 16-FOOT CONCRETE ROAD NEAR DETROIT



APPLYING TAR AS A "BINDER" IN GOOD-ROADS CONSTRUCTION

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THE PENALTY OF INSUFFICIENT MAINTENANCE

A $70,000 MACADAM ROAD AT UNION, S. C., GOING TO RUIN FOR LACK OF CARE. NOTE THAT THE CAMERA LYING ON THE GROUND IS HIGHER THAN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD, SHOWING THAT PROPER DRAINAGE OF RAIN WATER IS NOT PROVIDED

is the object of the Office of Public Roads. Its laboratories are recognized abroad as the foremost in the world, so eminent, indeed, that the British Government submitted to it 300 specimens of road materials from England and officially asked that they be analyzed and tested. Not only do these laboratories investigate road building rocks but they maintain special laboratories to test and analyze oils, tars, asphalts, and all other materials for road improvement. This work is done without charge.

The first reason why our improved roads do not always show the profit that they should is that they are often constructed in ignorance.

In the board room of the 'Frisco Lines at 71 Broadway hangs a map of the territory served by the railroads comprising that system. The map is of many colors and carries a bewildering collection of symbols and lettering, all, however, having a definite purpose, which is to show the products upon which the railroad must depend

ROAD MONEY GOING TO WASTE

AT MONTAGUE, CAL., WHERE AN EXPENSIVE MACADAM TRAP ROAD IS CRUMBLING INTO A MERE ROCK HEAP FOR LACK OF MAINTENANCE

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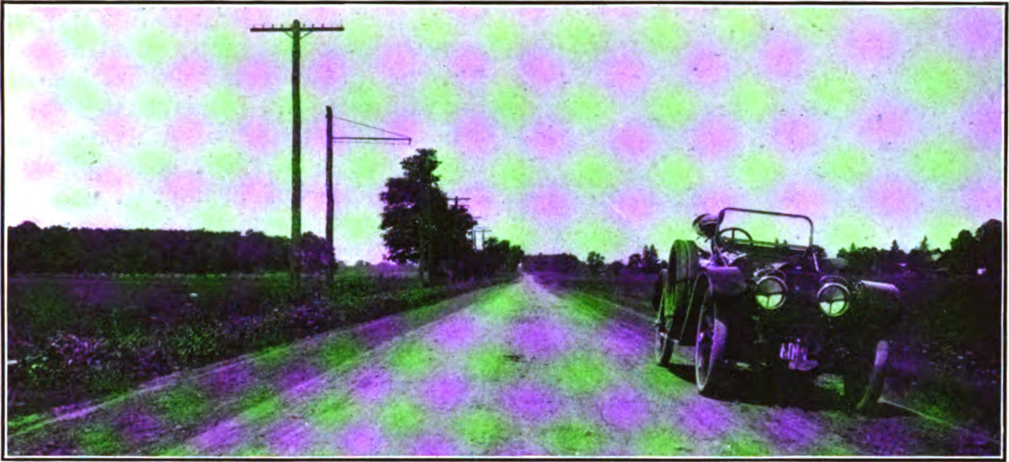

A 14-YEAR-OLD MACADAM ROAD NEAR TRENTON, N. J., RESURFACED ONCE

UTILIZING LOCAL MATERIAL (SAND CLAY) TO MAKE A GOOD ROAD IN PIKE COUNTY, ALA.

"THERE IS NOT ONE ABANDONED FARM ON A STATE ROAD IN MASSACHUSETTS"

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PATROL MAINTENANCE — BEFORE

AN EXAMPLE OF TYPICAL CONDITIONS OF EARTH ROADS AS THEY ARE KEPT UP IN MOST PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

for its freight traffic. Each section of country is studied to determine what it produces, how much it produces, and how much more it can be made to produce. In other words, the railroad considers not merely actual traffic but also potential traffic, and every extension of the road and every spur, track, and siding must first be justified by a showing of potential traffic. This is true not merely of a single railroad system but of practically all railroads. But our counties and states have not taken the hint.

In France a traffic census is taken at intervals of four years to determine the character and volume of the traffic, its distribution, and its effect upon the road. This enables improvements to be made where they are needed and in a measure suggests, the kind of improvement required. But our road officials have not followed this wise example. In this country we pay little attention to the classification of roads with reference to traffic before plunging ahead with the building programme. Such a classification would determine the roads which are entitled to first consideration as to time and type of construction. It does not occur to very many road enthusiasts that there is a necessary relation between the traffic and the financing of the road. Suppose they decide to build ten miles of road at $15,000 a mile. The annual outlay would be $750 a mile for interest, and, assuming that the road would be so durable as to require little outlay for maintenance, the maintenance over a long period of years might be estimated at $100 a mile, making a total of $850 a mile. Suppose the road ran through a corn growing country and that 60 per cent. of the land was productive and that the road was used by the farmers for one mile on each side. The territory served would be twenty square miles, of which twelve square miles, or 7,680 acres, would be productive. Corn will produce about one ton to the acre, so the traffic from that source could not exceed 7,680 tons with the maximum haul not exceeding ten miles. The annual cost of the road would be $8,500 or a little more than $1 a ton. There would of course be other uses for the road, but the point to be emphasized is the necessity for having a basis upon which to determine the justifiable outlay.

The second reason that some of our good roads are failures as community investments is that they are not adapted to their duties.

Aside from construction and traffic, the maintenance of roads seems in most cases to have been a haphazard affair. An incident reported by Mr. Curtis Hill, State Highway Engineer of Missouri, is typical of conditions prevailing in a great many of the states in the safeguarding of road funds and their expenditure. Mr. Hill says that before Missouri adopted the state and county engineer system, road overseers were required to make only annual state-

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PATROL MAINTENANCE — AFTER

A DIRT ROAD OF THE SAME KIND AS THE ROAD PICTURED ON THE FACING PAGE, AFTER A FEW MONTHS' CARE UNDER THE DAILY PATROL METHOD

ments and these need not be itemized. The following was a common example:

Received $224. Spent $224.
JOHN SMITH, Overseer,
District 15.

Since county engineers have been appointed, conditions have vastly improved. One county engineer upon assuming office found a contract for $125 worth of lumber to build a bridge over a small stream. He cancelled the contract and built a concrete culvert for $25. The present Missouri law compels every overseer to make a monthly itemized statement to the county engineer. If this systematic accounting saves Missouri 20 per cent., as it seems, the same ratio applied to the whole country would mean an annual saving of between 20 and 30 million dollars.

A year or two ago a Government engineer reported on a $70,000 road in one of the Southern States, built properly and with due regard to conditions prevailing but allowed absolutely to go to ruin for lack of maintenance. This is one of many

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE RESULTS OF PATROL MAINTENANCE

A MODEL DIRT ROAD IN NEW YORK, OILED ONCE, AND CARED FOR BY A MAN WHO WORKS ON IT EVERY DAY

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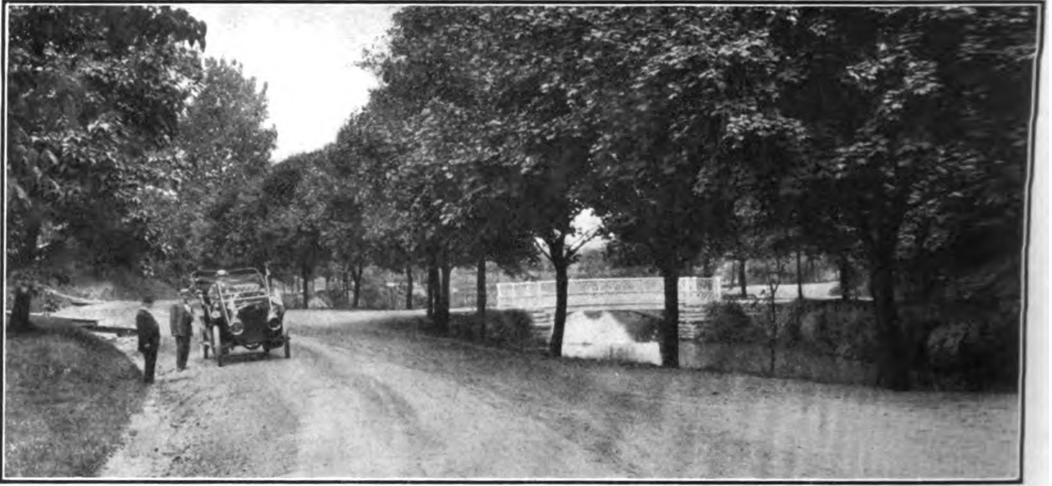

A GRAVEL ROAD IN INDIANA, PROPERLY MAINTAINED

thousand cases. American engineers are equal to any in the world. Our methods of construction are abreast of the latest and best of any land, and in labor saving machinery and equipment for the construction of roads America leads the world. The rock crusher, which has supplanted the old laborious method of breaking rock with a hammer, is the invention of an American. It is in our woful lack of maintenance that we lag behind every other civilized nation. Our county officials seem to think that a good road is everlasting and proof against the ravages of traffic and the elements. France maintains her supremacy as a good roads nation by her tireless, watchful care of her roads. Every mile of her main roads is inspected daily and every defect repaired as soon as it occurs. What is needed in every county is skilled supervision and a well trained road force which will make its whole object in life the care and betterment of the públic roads. Systematic and continuous maintenance is absolutely the key to a system of good roads.

In Alexandria County, Va., the traveler, after floundering about through heavy mud, finds himself on a smooth, well-kept 10-mile stretch of earth road, composed of the same materials as the other roads but otherwise bearing no

ONE OF THE GOOD STATE ROADS IN NEW JERSEY

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EVEN MOUNTAIN ROADS ARE CHEAP IF THEY ARE KEPT IN REPAIR

resemblance. He sees a workman steadily cleaning out the ditches, filling up depressions, cutting weeds, and, at one side, a split log drag which has just been used on the road. This is a "demonstration road" on which the United States Office of Public Roads is giving a thorough test to the patrol system of maintenance. The caretaker gives his whole time to the work and to him the road is a pet, a child, upon which he lavishes his whole attention. To him it represents his life work, for he is expected to live near the road and to give his service to it every day. Such care lengthens the life of the road and reduces the burden of taxes, for such a road is everlasting and does not have to be rebuilt.

There is no doubt that the public desires good roads. From one end of the country to the other the demand is insistent.

The knowledge of how to build a road and what kind of road to build to meet any given condition may be had for the asking from the Government.

An understanding of maintenance is the great problem — an understanding not only among road builders but among all tax payers, for once they see the saving of proper maintenance they will see that their roads are profitable.

BITUMEN MIXED WITH MACADAM TO MAKE A FINE ROAD IN NEW JERSEY

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ROADS WORTH $35,000,000 A YEAR

THAT SAVE HAULING COSTS, INCREASE FARM VALUES. AND REDUCE THE TAX RATES

BY

L. I. HEWES

(CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND MAINTENANCE OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC ROADS. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE)

JUST three years ago there was a clause in the fall election call in Spottsylvania County, Va., that began a new era for the county. It was a clause providing that the county should borrow $100,000 to improve the roads. The question had been before the people all summer. Mass meetings had been held and in July, at Fredericksburg, there was a convention which brought about the formation of a good roads association. All sides of the question were debated and when the ballots were counted on the 2nd of November, 1909, the money had been voted. The following March the first bonds, amounting to $40,000, were sold by open bids and work was commenced.

There were five roads to be improved and they are now nearly all completed. From Fredericksburg to Spottsylvania Court House — twelve miles — is the longest single stretch. It was finished last fall. Three other improved roads now run from Fredericksburg: one to Hampton's Crossing Fork, one down the Rappahannock River, and another to Five Mile Fork and Salem Church. To Massaponax is a stretch of five additional miles of branches from the Spottsylvania road. What has been the economic result of the forty miles of new road?

The United States Office of Public Roads was interested in this question and sent Mr. M. O. Eldridge and Mr. J. E. Pennybacker as economic investigators to study the situation. These men made a report in March, 1910, and each year since then an inspection has followed and the study still continues. In the two years from 1909 to 1911, the agricultural and forest products that have been handled and reported by the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad at Fredericksburg have increased from 49,000 tons to 71,000 tons or more than 45 per cent. A special form showing all the items shipped has been filled out at the freight office for each year. Some of the items of increase are especially noteworthy. For example: outgoing poultry, eggs, butter, milk, and cheese increased from 114,815 to 273,028 pounds. In other words, the dairy products which must move quickly over the highways have more than doubled with improvements from the bond issue. Shipments of wheat increased 59 per cent. and shipments of fresh tobacco 31 per cent. But the shipments of forest products show a most interesting fact:

Lumber and other forest products are hauled into Fredericksburg from considerable distances, especially over the Spottsylvania road. In 1910, when this road was only partly completed, the loads could not be much increased, but last year the county commissioners had to pass an ordinance forbidding a load of more than 1,000 feet on wide tired two-horse vehicles. The teamsters then put on trailers and loaded with four tons of lumber to every team of four horses. The forest products which the railroad received increased from 40,000 tons in 1909 to 59,000 tons in 1911 and the loads now move comfortably over the roads every month in the year. In March, 1911, the record shows 4,170 tons hauled to town against 2,250 tons for the same month in 1909.

The saving to the community in hauling

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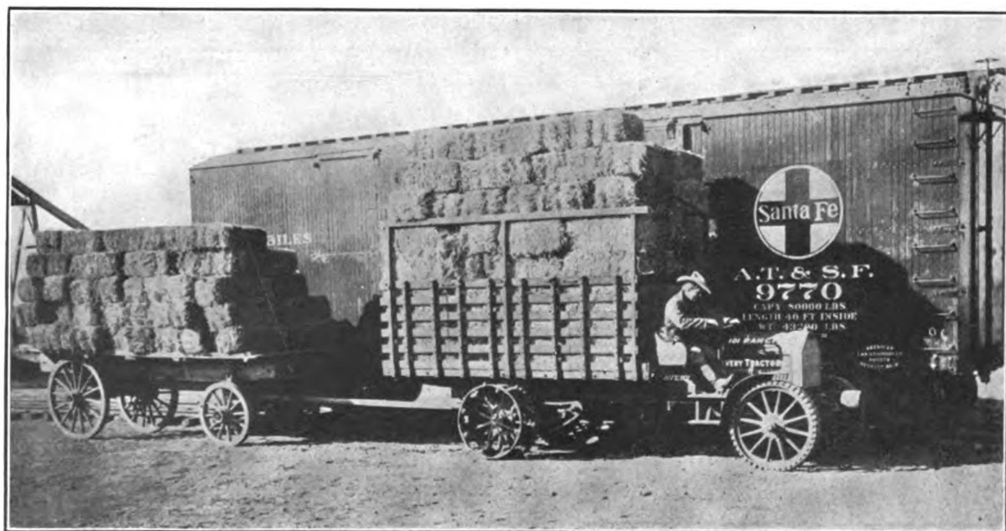
HAULING HAY TO THE RAILROAD IN A BAD-ROADS COUNTRY, AND —

costs in this Virginia county is remarkable. At least 65,000 tons moved an average of 8 miles in 1911. A conservative estimate of the saving in hauling is 8 cents per ton per mile — a reduction from 20 cents to 12 cents — this means a saving of $41,600 in one year. But the saving really was more, for in this 65,000 tons no account is taken of the shipments that left the town by water; and more lumber goes out of Fredericksburg by water than goes by rail. The cost of the Fredericksburg-Spottsylvania road was about $28,000 for the twelve miles and the annual saving in hauling on this road is more than $14,000.

Farm values in Spottsylvania County have been carefully watched, especially from actual transfers. The table on page 690 shows cases taken at random from a reliable list.

Mr. Lee J. Graves, an attorney at Fredericksburg, reported in March of this year that he had sold more farms on the improved roads in 1911 than in all the



— HAULING HAY TO THE RAILROAD IN A GOOD-ROADS COUNTRY

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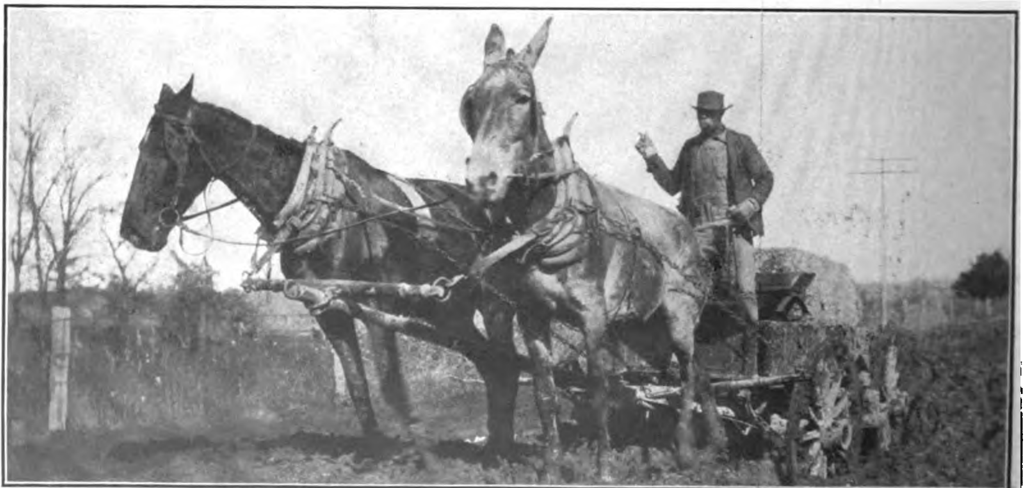
A LOAD OF LUMBER ON A BAD ROAD

rest of the county for five years. Many areas are now cultivated for the first time since the Civil War and new land is constantly being cleared.

RISING FARM PRICES

OWNER	ACRE	PRICE 1909	PRICE 1912	INCR.
Geo. B. Shay	139	$3,500	$5,000	42%
Susan M. Alsop	420	6,000	8,250	37%
Tommy Todd	110	1,500	2,000	33%
Mrs. Edgar Wallace	475	5,000	12,500	150%
Thos. J. Price	357	2,800	4,400	57%
Wm. Thorburn	126	3,000	10,000	333%

Other advantages of the good roads have appeared. Mr. James Ashley, Division Superintendent of Schools in Spottsylvania County reports the official increase in attendance at both white and colored schools at from 5 per cent. to 35 per cent. from 1909-10 to 1910-11. The greatest increase was at Lee's Hill School on the new Fredericksburg-Spottsylvania road. Mr. Ashley expects that the figures for 1911-12 will show still greater improvement. There is little doubt that when the complete record of the economic study is available the citizens will look back to the bond election in the fall of 1909 with amusement at their doubts.



ONE BALE OF COTTON A BIG LOAD ON A BAD ROAD

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A LOAD OF LUMBER ON A GOOD ROAD

Investigation work of a kind similar to that in Spottsylvania County has been undertaken in thirteen counties by the Office of Public Roads and, while it is not yet complete, it has progressed far enough to indicate that the economic benefits which accrue to the community from road improvement have, as a rule, been greatly underestimated.

Two notable points in all these studies are the rise in land values and the decrease in the cost of hauling. These two benefits are not entirely distinct, for the farm probably increases in value because the cost of hauling crops is reduced. But the reduced cost of hauling crops is not the only reason for an increase in land values where the roads have been improved. The site value and conveniences and many other things which are difficult to measure all contribute to the increase in land values.

For example, about eight years ago Mr. A. P. Redhead bought a piece of land for $400 near Federalsburg, Md. Though he did not improve the property, after a new state road was built by the farm it sold for $2,000. A mile east from the end of this same road Mr. John Rosser paid $950 for a place. He has improved it with buildings worth possibly $1,800 and has refused $5,000 for the property. Just

TEN BALES OF COTTON EASILY HAULED BY ONE TEAM ON A GOOD ROAD

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A BAD ROAD IN MISSISSIPPI

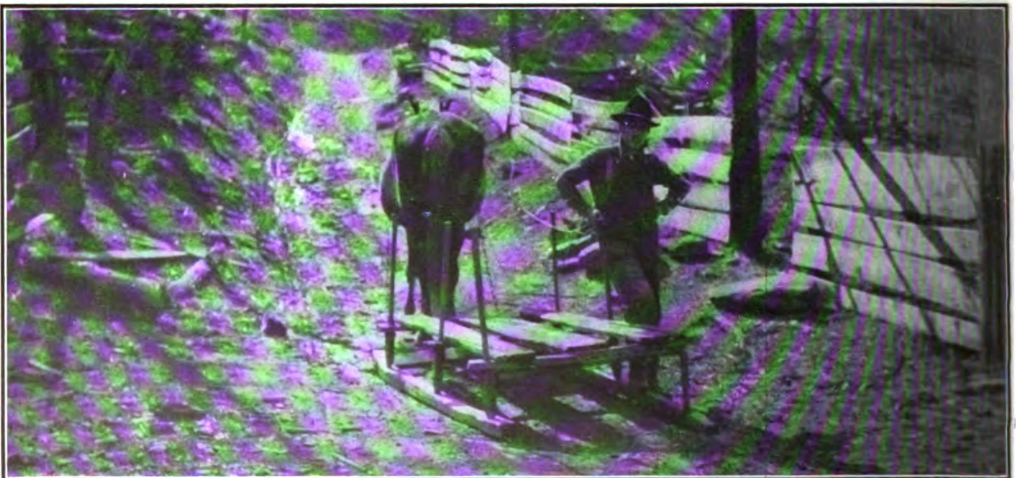
THE NUMBER OF MILES OF SUCH ROADS AND THE ECONOMIC WASTE THAT THEY CAUSE RUN INTO ENORMOUS FIGURES

opposite Mr. Rosser's was the "Buck Farm" which sold six years ago for $2,500 and recently transferred for $4,900. A mile beyond the end of the state shell road that leads from Federalsburg toward Harmony lies a farm which Mr. C. E. Nichols bought eight years ago for $490. Mr. Nichols subscribed $50 toward building the shell road just mentioned and later sold his farm for $3,600 and the buyer agreed in addition to pay the $50 road subscription. This was well worth his while, for in less than two years he sold the property again at an advance of more than $400. There are many similar instances around Federalsburg.

New Jersey has been building improved state roads since 1892. The increase in farm values in Essex County during the last decade has been 41 per cent. The tax levy has decreased from 65 cents on $100 in 1904 to 39 cents on $100 in 1911. Essex was one of the first counties to improve its roads. It began its work in 1873 but discontinued improvement until 1887. Since then, with the help of the state, it has been active in road work so that to-day there are 672 miles or 96 per cent. of improved roads in the county.

The valuation of Harris County, Tex., in 1906 was $48,000,000. It had then but a few miles of improved road. There are now 350 miles of road improved, that cost $1,500,000 to build; and in 1911 the assessed valuation for the county was $120,000,000. It is fair to say, however, that Houston is in Harris County and consequently has influenced the increase in valuation which has been simultaneous with the improvements of the road.

In Sullivan County, Tenn., a few years ago, bonds were issued for road improvement. On the road from Bristol to Blountville a 400-acre farm had long been offered for sale at $15,000 without a



SOME INEVITABLE EFFECTS OF BAD ROADS

PRIMITIVE FARM WAGONS, SMALL AND UNECONOMIC LOADS, AND POORLY-KEPT FARMS, WITH THEIR ATTENDANT EVILS OF ISOLATION AND LACK OF ENTERPRISE

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purchaser. Before the road was finished the farm sold for $25,000.

The chairman of the county commissioners in Mecklenburg County, N. C., sums up the situation in a letter as follows:

As to the increase in value of real estate, we can hardly estimate it. Before we had any macadam roads to amount to anything, say fifteen years ago, land could be bought along the old dirt road at from $5 to $10 per acre. Now the same land will cost from $50 to $75, and even higher in places. Of course, we cannot attribute all of this increase in value to our good roads, but we are satisfied that they have had more to do with it than any other one thing. They have helped to make Charlotte what it is. I have no idea that Charlotte would be anything like it is to-day if we had not improved any of our roads. It is the reputation our county has for good roads that has brought to it men of means from other counties and states, who have invested their money and become one of us to make Charlotte and the county grow.

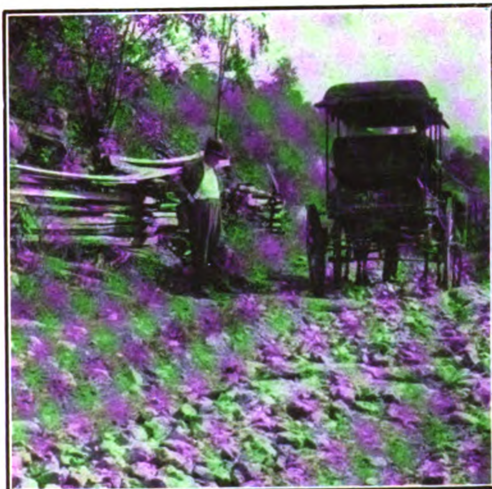
We have seen the time when two mules could hardly pull one bale of cotton. I live out four miles, and have had to leave the main road and wind around through the woods to get to Charlotte with one bale of cotton. Now I can and do haul with ease twelve bales of cotton with a team of two mules any time of the year. It is not a question of what the team will pull, but of what the wagon will hold up.

I give you this information from actual experience, and of course you can get the same from hundreds of other citizens.

IN A BAD-ROADS COUNTRY

THREE ANIMALS REQUIRED TO PULL A LIGHT SPRING WAGON WHICH COULD EASILY BE DRAWN BY TWO ON GOOD ROADS

Out in the Pacific Northwest the road movement is in progress with the same results. In 1909 the fruit growers of Goodnoe Hills on the Columbia River in Washington hauled their produce down a mountain road seven miles to the railroad at Fountain. The road wound along the side of a cañon, and some of the grades were as great as 18 per cent. Near the bottom of the grade was a turnback through pure sand, and then a ford of cobblestones and boulders. The cost of



WHERE A PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE CANNOT BE DEVELOPED

SUCH ROADS AS THESE, BY PREVENTING ADEQUATE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE FARMS AND THE TOWNS, DISCOURAGE ALL EFFORTS AT BETTER LIVING

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A ROAD IN SPOTTSYLVANIA COUNTY, VA., AS IT LOOKED IN 1910

TYPICAL OF THE ORDINARY COUNTRY ROAD AFTER A HEAVY RAIN, CUT INTO RUTS AND SINKS

hauling over this road was 20 cents per 100 pounds for outgoing shipments and 35 cents per 100 pounds for incoming freight. These rates were equivalent respectively to 57 cents and $1 per ton per mile. The farmers in this region induced the county to build a new road from the fruit bench land to another shipping point on the North Bank Railroad, with a maximum grade of 8 per cent. and an average grade of less than 6 per cent. The new road is almost exactly four miles long, and reduces the hauling cost for both outgoing and incoming shipments by more than half. It is a dirt road and cost about $1,500. With watermelons selling in Portland, Ore., at $1 per 100 pounds in carload lots, it is not difficult to compute the benefits resulting from such road improvement. The road will nearly pay for itself on the shipment of two good crops of melons.

These are definite but local instances of the value of road building. We may some day have a national road traffic census as France and other European countries have. France began counting travel in 1844; and in 1913 there will be a new census, the eleventh. The French census of 1903 showed that at ten cents a mile the

HEAVY PULLING ON AN UNGRADED SAND ROAD

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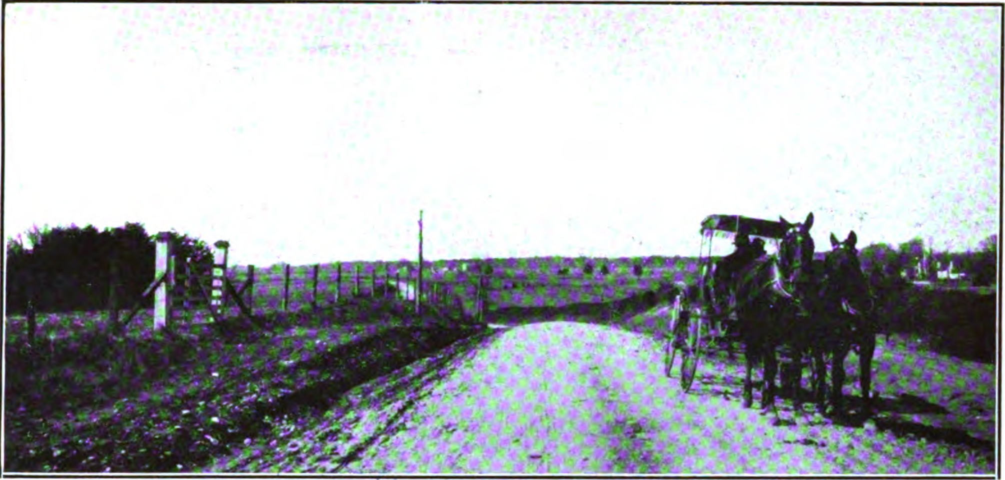

THE SAME ROAD IN SPOTTSYLVANIA COUNTY, AS IT LOOKS TO-DAY
PHOTOGRAPHED AFTER A RAIN, SHOWING THE PRESERVING EFFECT OF PROPER DRAINAGE

average annual charge for hauling on about 30,000 miles was $4,625 per mile. On the roads out of Milan, Italy, in 1909 the annual traffic charge at 5.8 cents a ton per mile was $18,000 per mile on 250 miles of radial trunk roads.

What is the annual cost of hauling in our own country? The Interstate Commerce Commission publishes carefully compiled statistics of all our railroad operations annually. In 1910 their figures showed that nearly a billion tons of freight were received and handled by our railroads. A large part of this immense tonnage passed over our highways, probably at least 250 million tons. Of highways there are in all 2,200,000 miles with less than 200,000 miles improved. We can only estimate the bill for hauling, but it is apparently a little less than $800 a mile on the 20 per cent. of our roads which do most of the work. The total would then be $352,000,000. A saving of 10 per cent. of this sum in hauling would therefore justify an outlay of $704,000,000 with interest at 5 per cent.

State-wide benefits from good roads are visible already. Mr. Harold Parker, for ten years a member of the Highway Commission of Massachusetts, declared at a

AN EASY HAUL ON A SIMILAR ROAD AFTER GRADING

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THE EFFECT OF ROADS ON COUNTRY SCHOOLS

THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE IS ALMOST INVARIABLY ON A BAD ROAD AND THE LARGE AND WELL EQUIPPED SCHOOLHOUSE IS ALMOST ALWAYS ON A GOOD ROAD

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meeting in Newark last February that there was not one abandoned farm on a state road in his state. From New York comes Bulletin 31 of the Department of Agriculture in January of this year. It lists 1,002 farms offered for sale. The report shows the acreage, soil, fruit trees, stock, etc., and gives the distance to the shipping points and market towns and the kind of roads to them. The average value of all farms located on earth roads is $35 an acre and the average value of the farms on macadam or other improved roads is $51 an acre.

Economic farm surveys have already developed valuable data which can be applied to the study of our roads. Six is the average number of main radial roads from shipping points and small cities, and these roads extend from 8 to 20 miles. Every radial road that serves 200 square miles as a market road carries annually at least 30,000 tons a distance of eight miles. Thus it performs a service worth $48,000. A saving of five cents per ton per mile by improving such roads is an exceptionally small saving, but it would mean for every mile of radial market road a total reduction of $1,000 in the annual cost of hauling.

THE BUSINESS OF TOURING

And we have said nothing yet of the automobile. We probably have now more than six hundred thousand motor vehicles in this country. Mr. George C. Diehl, Chairman of the Good Roads Board of the American Automobile Association, estimates the cost of tire wear at two cents a mile. This means that every year each mile of road takes a toll of $550 from the tires of the machines which use it. Automobilists are already paying annually nearly five million dollars in license fees and they are willing to do this and everything else in their power to secure road improvement. If they could reduce the cost of tire damage one half it would doubtless pay the automobilists even if it were necessary to double their annual fees.

But the benefits to the automobilists from improved roads extend directly to the land owners and the country districts. The impetus that has been given country life since the automobile came out of the city is astonishing. The hotels in the summer resort regions have been the first to feel the improvement. Thousands of dollars are annually spent in the more remote districts by summer tourists. These expenditures create a strong market for the best grade of farm produce and create many other kinds of business. Here are some of the figures of expenditure since 1909:

MONEY SPENT ON A 1,000 MILE TOUR

YEAR	PASSENGERS	CHAUFFEURS	TOTAL
1909	$196,880	$13,790	$210,670
1910	299,160	23,430	322,590
1911	383,580	28,380	411,960

This table shows the expenditures on a 1,000-mile tour in New England between the middle of June and the first of October. Touring goes on all over the country. From the Denver Chamber of Commerce we learn that 6,000 automobilists visited Colorado in 1910 and spent more than two million seven hundred thousand dollars in that state.

No one now can set an upper limit to the use of the automobile in its various forms. During the last year the commercial truck has come into increasing use. Probably nearly fifty thousand will be operating by the new year. The possibilities of service by this new vehicle are tremendous. An interesting case occurred in the now famous Deschutes Valley in Oregon. During the summer of 1910, when the Hill and Harriman forces were rushing their surveys and construction gangs into the heart of the Oregon plateau, the home-seekers gathered by the hundreds and thousands. It was a three days' journey from The Dalles for the freight wagons to the new land. J. L. Laurendine, of Portland, Ore., and his partner purchased an automobile truck, shipped it to The Dalles, and began hauling freight. They could do in one day more than three freight wagons could do in a week. Their profits were incredible. But the advantage of the automobile truck was too obvious to the

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grim freight drivers on the dusty roads. In less than ten days it became too dangerous to operate the automobile truck and Mr. Laurendine and his partner removed to other fields.

There seems to be little doubt that the automobile truck will go wherever the roads permit it. It certainly will be economy to handle bulky material such as coal, lumber, and baled hay in large quantities from the larger market centres. One of the very recent types of road is well adapted to this new traffic. It is the concrete road which is coming into general use in the southern part of Michigan. Highway committees from many parts of the country go to Detroit constantly to see County Commissioner Hines of Wayne County and to visit his roads. So impressed are the people of Wayne County with the value of this new and massive form of road that during the present season they have entirely removed an old 9-foot concrete road on the highway from Detroit to Redford and are busily engaged in replacing it with a new 16-foot roadway of solid concrete seven inches thick. The possibilities of this new highway for heavy motor traffic and commercial truck transportation are immense. Who can say that the people of Wayne County have not taken the first step in the direction of ultimate economy in service and maintenance for the highways of the twentieth century?

THE DEVIL AND TOM WALKER

A "WHITE FOLKS' NIGGER" WHO HAS REGENERATED A WHOLE COUNTY IN TIDEWATER VIRGINIA FROM SLOTH AND CRIME TO INDUSTRY AND ENLIGHTENMENT

BY

J. W. CHURCH AND CARLYLE ELLIS

TOM WALKER'S looks hardly fulfil one's idea of a fireproof devil-baiter. Squat, thick-lipped, and kinky-haired, he would more likely be characterized by a Southern planter as a good example of a "white folks' nigger," which is a pretty high compliment from the Southern angle. But when any man, of any color, can, by thirty years of steadfast, indefatigable effort, regenerate an entire Southern county; drive drunkenness and crime beyond its borders; replace 95 per cent. of its hovels and log cabins with substantial two-story dwellings, and make successful, land-owning farmers of five thousand Negroes with a state-wide reputation for crime and shiftlessness, that man has the devil on the run.

Gloucester County, Va., one of the oldest of the cavalier settlements of the Old Dominion, was, before the Civil War, given over almost entirely to the great landed estates of the gentry of tidewater Virginia. Here, in their splendid Colonial homes, lived the Pages, the Dabneys, the Taliaferros, the Tabbs, and a score of others whose names are writ large in Virginia's early history.

No railroad has ever penetrated the county, the only entrance being by the small steamer from Baltimore and Norfolk, making the landing on Mobjack Bay, thence winding up the short backwater "rivers," the York, the Severn, and the Ware. Gloucester Courthouse, a quaint, century-old county seat, is the largest, in fact the only, village in the county. About its tiny courthouse square cluster a few houses and stores, the homes of its population of one hundred and fifty. The rest of the twelve thousand inhabitants of the county can boast only of a crossroads store, grist mill, or blacksmith shop to mark their neighborhood.

The Civil War saw the complete ruin of prosperity in Gloucester County. Estates were deserted or sold by families

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no longer able to maintain them. The slaves, turned adrift, mistook license for liberty, and sought only such work as required the least effort to sustain them in idle poverty. This they found in fishing, crabbing, and oystering during the season. As a natural sequence to idleness and whisky the little jail at the courthouse was usually filled with Negroes. Hundreds were sent yearly to the state Penitentiary, and the fertile acres lay untilled, weed-grown, and useless.

In this environment Tom Walker was born a year before the Emancipation Proclamation. His father and mother were slaves of neighboring planters, and in his early boyhood Tom was taught to till the few scant acres remaining under cultivation on the estate. At fifteen, he could not read or write, but that year a little school for Negroes was started in a dilapidated frame church near Gloucester Courthouse, where a three months' session was given by George Taylor, one of Hampton Institute's first graduates. Tom managed to get most of the three months for three years, and then, his ambition fired by his teacher's accounts of that wonderful Mecca of every Negro who seeks education for his race rather than for selfish ends, he slipped aboard the steamer one night, landed at Old Point Comfort, and the following afternoon walked to Hampton Institute, his sole possessions the ragged jeans he wore and ninety-two cents, which he had hoarded for many months.

Here something near akin to tragedy awaited Tom. He was given an examination. Sane and elementary as it was, the young Negro's few months' schooling was utterly inadequate to meet it. Another trial ended in complete failure, and he was told, kindly but firmly, to go home. Bewildered, dazed by the result, Tom couldn't offer any reason why he shouldn't go, except that he wouldn't. Touched by his earnestness, the authorities gave him a place on the floor — all the cots were filled — and enough to eat. For a week he slept on the floor and waited.

A squad of students were putting up a new building, and the boy watched them for awhile. Then he went to General Armstrong, the founder of the school.

"Ef you-all do'an mind, suh, Ah'd laik toe ca'y hod on dat buildin'," he announced. "Ah jes' got toe stay heah, suh," he added earnestly.

General Armstrong, already won by Tom's pluck, gave him the job.

Several weeks later found Tom still at Hampton, making his willing hands serve at any task any one might set him, and waiting. Finally, as there was no class he could enter, one was created for him. It began with Walker and four other backward boys, and its first teacher was Booker T. Washington. It was aptly termed the "Plucky Class," and has grown famous in the annals of Hampton.

A year later, working by day and studying by night, Tom Walker again took the examination, and jumped the junior year. What this meant of grim struggle against odds, probably no one but Walker and Washington, his teacher, have ever known. Two years later he completed his course and, imbued to the core with the Hampton spirit of service, he returned to his home in Gloucester.

His father and brothers were working for day wages, but Tom had soaked in some knowledge of farming at Hampton that he determined to apply to the soil of his native county. There was an old gentleman named Hopkins, who, like most of the white farmers in Gloucester, had more land than he could work, and to him at once went Tom. He had no money to buy land, but he offered to "crop" with the owner, giving him a fourth for the use of fifteen acres. When Hopkins recovered from the shock, Tom got the land. Walker, senior, possessed an ancient "razorback" horse, and Tom acquired it. The horse was not industrious, but the boy was, and one month later — June 25, 1883 — he had fifteen acres planted to corn. Fertilizer costs real money, so Tom pinned his faith to constant cultivation, and what the "razorback" couldn't do, the boy did by hand. He kept everlastingly at it all summer and, finally, harvested forty barrels of corn, of which his share was thirty barrels. It was a record-breaking crop for the county, but it was too much for the horse. It promptly and cheerfully died.

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His crop harvested, Walker became the teacher in the little school he had first attended. The term was lengthened to five months, and the salary twenty-five dollars a month. He opened a school with eighty pupils, and by Christmas he had increased the number to one hundred and twenty. Then he begged for an assistant, and got it, for the white men were already beginning to like this young Negro. Now he wanted a new school — the old church was crowded beyond its capacity — and he schemed out a way to get that. He proposed to the State of Virginia that, if it would contribute one half of the cost of a school building, he would raise the other half among his own people in the county. This was a brand new idea in Virginia and it took. Walker worked day and night among the Negroes. They were deadly poor, and they were shiftless, but in the end the money was raised and the school-house built — the first educational movement in which any Negro in that section had ever taken any financial part.

The first day that farming could begin in the late spring, Tom was back on the land, but he wasn't alone. He had picked from his school children a squad he could induce to work, and kept them busy at whatever there was to do. When the corn came up, he worked his squad at day wages over the county, thinning corn and cultivating.

Six years Tom Walker went his way, teaching by winter, farming by summer, studying always. When as a boy he went to Hampton, there were about four thousand Negroes in Gloucester County, and fully 90 per cent. of them lived "off the rivers," crabbing, fishing, and oystering. This meant a few months' work and many of idleness; idleness begetting drunkenness and crime, the contempt of the white man, and, finally, the penitentiary.

Now he began to speak on all occasions, in church and Sunday school, at the roadside, in the cabin. When he was not invited to speak, he talked anyway. Always the burden of his exhortation was, "Quit foolin' in de ribber and grow co'n." Incessantly he preached industry and practised it vigilantly. Later he added: "Live at home and boa'd at de same place."

He told the story of his fifteen acres and their numerous successes until every Negro in the county knew it by heart. As Walker progressed in his campaign he saw with growing clearness that his worst obstacle was drunkenness. With his pleas for farming and education taking hold, be began adding vigorous demands for temperance. This was almost the last straw, and the Negroes, even those who were persuaded to follow him in raising corn and learning the alphabet, howled and threatened at this new development, but Tom swerved not a hair from his path. Leaving the men for the time, he organized temperance societies among the women and children. He trained his pupils in tableaux depicting most horribly the curse of drink, and gave entertainments at the school-house. He traveled far and wide over the county, appearing unexpectedly at meetings where he was most emphatically not wanted, and harangued all within reach of his voice, and Tom's voice has a long reach when he lets it loose.

Ware Neck Church was the scene of one of his many narrow escapes during this period. A big meeting for other purposes was being held, when Walker entered and mounted the platform. In his speech he made the declaration that any man was a drunkard to the extent to which he drank, however little that might be. This was too much. Instantly the church was in an uproar. The Negro — rarely possessing self-control — requires but little to excite him to hysterical rage, and Walker accomplished it. The entire congregation yelled for his blood, and the elders tried to take Tom away. He stood his ground, and shouted above the din: "Ef you-all is scared of dese fool niggers, git out! Ah ain't, an' Ah'm gwine toe finish dis speech ef it takes all night an' dere's a live nigger lef' toe heah it!"

Then he stood silent and alert before them for an hour, until the tumult died for want of breath and voices. His cold nerve had saved his life, and he finished his speech. Knowing he would undoubtedly be killed in the dark if he went away

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with them, he left through a rear window after it was over.

That was the turning point in the temperance campaign. Wherever he went he told the story of that meeting, using it as an illustration of the ways of darkness. And his people were impressed.

Walker spent two years in steady campaigning among his own people. Then one day he appeared at Gloucester Courthouse.

"Mistah Cook," he said to the County Clerk, a man of ancient family and much influence, "Ah 'clare it's a shame the way you white folks let de drinkin' go on among de niggers in dis county."

This was putting it in a new light. Mr. Cook talked it over with Walker. Tom suggested a Prohibition law. "It's impossible, Tom," said Mr. Cook. "Every man in the county, white and black, would vote against it."

The white preachers heard of Tom's appeal to Mr. Cook. They sent for the Negro. What could he do?

"Ef you gentlemen can git half the white vote, Ah'll git half the black," affirmed Tom, stoutly.

At once a petition for local option was circulated and signed. The only signature Tom could deliver except his own was his old father's, who signed his mark under protest. Undaunted, he asked for time for a three months' campaign and got it. He was teaching school, but he began at once to drive out through the county after hours, visiting and speaking until far into the night, driving back in time for school the next morning.

So, when the votes were counted, three fifths of the Negroes had voted for prohibition! This was in 1889, and Gloucester County has been dry ever since. Two years later a test election was held, and the prohibition vote, both white and black, was found to have increased. Then it was let alone.

The result is convincing. In the last two years only two Negroes have been sent from the county to state prison, neither one of them having been born in the county. Out of the six thousand Negroes now in Gloucester, less than ten are tried for misdemeanors annually, and again the majority of these are outsiders. No Negro native of Gloucester has been in jail in three years!

During the last year that Walker taught school, he called on Major B. F. Bland of Gloucester Courthouse, ex-Confederate officer and lawyer, who was looking for a man to tend his horse and clean his office.

"Why, Tom," exclaimed the Major, "what the devil do you want with that job? You're farming, teaching school, and talking your fool head off to the niggers around here. You ain't got time to be waiting on me."

"Yes, suh, Ah got the time, Major," and calmly overlooking Major Bland's refusal to let "a college nigger do my chores," he went quietly about cleaning the office.

Walker lived near, but it meant his getting up pretty early in the morning, and coming again after school to care for the horse, but he got the job. When pay day came, Tom refused the proferred money but went on with the work, doing it better than ever. The second time this happened, the amazed lawyer grabbed Tom:

"Look here, you damn nigger, what's the matter with you? What are you after, anyway?" he demanded.

Tom's reply was sufficiently startling to the old Southerner.

"Yas, suh," he answered, quietly. "Ah is after somethin'. Major, Ah wants to read law."

Tom gently broke away, and industriously cleaned an already highly polished, badly cracked mahogany desk, while Major Bland sputtered out his indignant amazement. Then he deferentially argued the point with the Major. It ended by Tom taking home a law book selected from some elementary works in Major Bland's library — actually ended there, in fact, for even this was entirely beyond him.

"Well Tom," said the Major, as the young Negro stood before him, confessing his failure, his voice betraying the great disappointment he was suffering. "I'll tell you what I'll do. You come here every night, and I'll assign you a lesson, and explain it to you. And, listen! If you ever tell anybody I've been damn fool enough to do it, I'll lay that black head of yours wide open!"

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"Yes, suh, Major, yes, suh, Ah expects to see that there ain't no occasion fo' dat, suh," and the following night Tom Walker, his chores finished, listened while Major Bland grounded him in the fundamental principles of legal practice, and every succeeding night for three years.

The old lawyer grew very fond of the earnest, hardworking young Negro, but Tom knew he would never get the Major's consent to try for a bar examination.

So Walker quietly prepared for his examination without Major Bland's knowledge. When the judge who was to examine him came to Gloucester, his application became known; and when Walker presented himself at the Courthouse, a score of lawyers, who were there to try cases, were on hand to watch the proceedings and bait this "nigger who thinks he's a lawyer." All except Major Bland. He didn't find the court room attractive that morning. But the judge forestalled them, and took the pretty badly frightened Negro into the little jury room. Here Walker regained his nerve and, to the judge's surprise and his own delight, went through his examination with flying colors. He was at once given his license, and the white lawyers, once over their amazement, shook Tom by the hand and congratulated him on his success. As for Major Bland, he soon became almost absurdly proud of his black pupil.

Tom won his first case, defending a man accused of removing and destroying a survey stake, and thereafter added law to his labors, but kept his farming and educational work among the Negroes his chief endeavor.

Shortly after becoming a lawyer, Walker tackled the next obstacle in the path of prosperity for the Negroes. Looking over the county in 1889, he saw that out of a Negro population of five thousand, only about one hundred and fifty owned homes, and of these more than half were freedmen, manumitted prior to the war and given a bit of land with their freedom. This left less than seventy-five ex-slave landowners, where, Walker argued, there should be ten times that number. Clearly his people must be induced to buy homes and save money.

But how? He talked with the Negroes, and found a settled belief that the white men would not sell them land. Walker told them he would prove that they were wrong. He was still working rented land, and he went at once to Mr. Hopkins and offered to buy the original fifteen acres. Mr. Hopkins wanted a hundred dollars down. Walker didn't have the necessary hundred, but in the end he was told to "go cut off as much as you want," and he agreed to pay one hundred dollars a year on the purchase price.

That was all he needed. The news was spread broadcast among his people. He, a Negro, had bought thirty-five acres of good land from a white man with nothing but a piece of white paper, but he had "put his honor behind it." "Now, don't never tell me you can't get land from white folks," he shouted at the Negroes. "Ah've done it, an' every one of you what wants to work can do it, too."

That started the buying. The white planters wisely saw the value of giving the Negroes an opportunity to become taxpaying farmers, rather than idlers, and assisted them wherever they could. Many plots, ranging from three to twenty acres were bought by the Negroes in the following months, most of the buyers paying for them by day wages. Men who were getting only fifty cents a day, spurred by Walker's words and the spirit of emulation, became property owners, and money that had been frivoled away began to pile up in substantial assets.

Walker's next move was to organize the Gloucester Land and Brick Company. This was simply an unconscious adaptation of the building and loan association plan, with a rather humorous adjunct. The "brick" was included in the title as many of the Negroes were now anxious to imitate the whites in the ownership of brick chimneys, none of them at that time possessing anything more pretentious than the "stick" chimney of twigs and clay that rises beside every Negro cabin. The brickmaking experiment, however, was never tried.

The company started with fifteen founders, who subscribed one dollar apiece.

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Thereafter all members were required to pay in a dollar a month. A year later there were one hundred and fifty members on this basis. Walker, of course, remained the guiding spirit, and the fund was well administered.

During the second year the company purchased 126 acres of good land for $1,000 paying $700 in cash. The owner agreed to join the company in a release deed as sales were made, so that the land could be placed on the market at once; the idea being, of course, to assist the Negroes to secure small farms near together and permit a certain amount of coöperation.

The first buyer, a Hampton graduate, first built a tiny frame cabin so he could live on his land. Then, at odd times, he cut and hewed timbers for a four room house from his own bit of woodland. It took him four years to complete it, but to-day he is living in the house, using his first little home for a chicken house.

The company lent money for building purposes whenever it could. It stipulated, however, that any home built with its money should be a two-story dwelling, and contain at least four rooms. Often, more often than otherwise, the members with their own hands aided each other in clearing the land and building the new house. Money lent by the company was repaid at one dollar and fifty cents a month with 6 per cent. interest.

So efficient did this organization prove, and so thoroughly had Walker's propaganda taken root, that in ten years the company had fulfilled its appointed task, and was dissolved. There is now scarcely a Negro cabin to be found in all Gloucester County, save where one used as a storehouse or barn stands in noteworthy contrast to the modern home which supplanted it. Land values rose steadily from an average of ten dollars an acre to twenty-five and thirty. Many of the poorer class of whites, unable to withstand the pressure of progress going on about them, began, through shame, to improve their homes and farms, and give more attention to the education of their children.

Naturally, this gradual but constantly successful regeneration of Gloucester County attracted attention in the neighboring counties, and Walker's influence began to creep steadily into outlying sections. A good speaker, he had for years responded to calls from many schools and teachers' meetings to address them, and, though never mincing words over conditions, and ever ready to fight the devil, he grew rapidly in popularity with the Negro teachers and in the confidence of the educational authorities of Virginia.

The plan originated by Walker, of coöperation between the Negroes and the state in securing new school houses and extended terms, has spread over the entire state with splendid results. Last year (1911) the Negroes of twenty Virginia counties raised $15,000 among themselves for lengthened school terms and permanent school improvements. A striking feature of Walker's work outside his own county has been his organization of Negro School Improvement Leagues, of which he has twenty-four in Gloucester County, and some four hundred throughout the state. Their chief object is the beautifying of the school house and grounds and the raising of money for improvements. Walker himself lays out each year's work for the leagues, and helps them to carry it through.

A natural result of this activity has been that his recommendation is constantly sought by the various county school superintendents in selecting Negro teachers. As his recommendations virtually mean appointment, Walker is pretty close to being a benevolent despot in Negro educational affairs in Virginia. Extremely religious, he insists upon every teacher carrying her religion into her daily life, visiting the homes of the pupils, aiding them in their house work where illness or necessity calls for it, and being in all ways an industrious aide in his struggle against the poverty, shiftlessness, and unmorality of his race.

When a bank was established at Gloucester Courthouse a few years ago, Walker hailed its advent with delight, and urged his people to put their money in it. Improvident by nature, the Negroes took even less kindly to this supervision of their personal affairs than anything since

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the temperance campaign. Heedless of their sullen protests, Tom kept everlastingly at them. There was one woman in Gloucester County who had been teaching for many years, coming every month to the Courthouse and spending her salary on cheap trinkets and what Walker considered unnecessary luxuries. One pay day Tom met her as she drove into the village.

"Sistah," he said, "would you-all be so kind as to lend me five dollahs fo' a few days?"

Surprised, but unable to refuse, "sistah" forked over the five. She went into the big general store, and Tom stepped into the little bank next door. He was waiting for the teacher when she came out. As she started to drive away, he handed her a bank book, bearing her name and her five dollars deposit.

"Ah hope you kin see yore way to make it ten dollars next month," said the kindly dictator. It worked. The bank book became an object of pride, and her account now amounts to several hundred dollars.

As a result, the Negroes of Gloucester County now have on deposit in one bank more than twenty-five thousand dollars and the amount is steadily increasing. It needs no insistence to prove that the revolution wrought by this little black man in Gloucester County has a direct and lucid bearing upon a great national problem. There is little that is novel in his plan. It is simply the Hampton idea forced by one man's personality into practical application in a typical rural section of the South.

The attitude of the white men of Gloucester County toward this slave-born Negro should form an interesting and illuminating chapter to many who have drawn their knowledge of Southern conditions from fiction rather than fact. Probably no county in the entire South is more bound by tradition and provincialism than Gloucester, yet a few years ago he was elected a member of the Board of Supervisors of his county, by the votes of Southern born white Democrats, Walker himself being a Republican. The only plank in his platform was typical. The county steamboat landing was not paying. Walker investigated, and concluded that the county should receive at least $1,200 per annum from it. The "white folks" didn't care to interfere, but they elected Tom, and his first official act was to require an accounting of the income from the wharf. It proved to be $1,800, with very few charges against it, and with this and other economies that he introduced, he was able to reduce the county tax rate from forty to twenty-seven cents "during his first term."

His activities now centre about his educational work and his 150-acre farm. He drives one of the best teams in the county, not for show, but for efficiency; his home and farm buildings are substantial and adequate, but utterly lacking in pretentiousness. A few months ago he lost his wife, a Hampton graduate whom he met there thirty years ago. In her last illness color lines were forgotten in Gloucester, and white women vied with black in nursing and caring for her.

It was dark when we left his home, where we had spent hours among his papers, confirming the extraordinary things we had heard and seen. As we walked up the country road, leading to the inn, his wife was mentioned. Walker tried hard to control his emotion, but the loss was too great, and with the tears streaming down his black cheeks, he said:

"Ah couldn't have done the work without her. She read all de books an' magazines an' papers she could get, and made clippin's fo' me. When Ah come in tired at night, she had been thinkin' all day, an' had new plans and ideas fo' me to work out. Yes, suh, she was mos' generally always right, too. She knew what Ah was workin' at, an' ef evah Ah got weak, she kept me at my purpose."

Poor fellow! He couldn't say any more and we parted in silence.

Peace and a new prosperity have found this historic section of tidewater Virginia. Sixty Hampton men and women are working and teaching among the Negroes there. Schools, real and adequate, for black and white, have replaced the dilapidated makeshifts of the past. Drunkenness and crime are practically unknown, and Tom Walker has the devil licked to a frazzle in Gloucester County.

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THE MARCH OF THE CITIES

A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE THAT LENDS ITS CREDIT TO SMALL MANUFACTURERS

BELIEVING that industrial conditions are most stable, and consequently general prosperity most likely to continue unshaken through periods of business depression, in that city which has the largest proportion of small growing manufacturing establishments, the Boston Chamber of Commerce a year ago authorized its committee on industrial development to devise and put into operation some effective plan whereby such small business concerns could be encouraged and assisted.

The plan worked out by the committee, which has now been in operation for several months, was the simple one of organizing an investment company which should lend its credit to such manufacturers as were not able, in the ordinary course of banking business, to obtain credit in sums sufficient to enable them to continue or enlarge their scope of operations. In Boston, as in most cities in the Eastern United States, the small business man without influential financial connection is at a great disadvantage in the money market. Such attributes as character, manufacturing and business ability, and experience, even when coupled with a moderate amount of capital and a reasonable degree of proved success, do not weigh as heavily as assets as they do farther West, in Canada, or in Europe.

Practically a sub-committee of the parent organization, the "Industrial Development Company of the Boston Chamber of Commerce," has no capital stock, but instead has a "Fund of Guaranteed Credit" amounting to $500,000, subscribed by individual members, who underwrite the company's obligations within specified limits, no subscriber being liable for more than the amount of his personal underwriting, or its proportion of the total liabilities. In the few months that it has been in operation it has given financial aid to eleven industries, some of them already established concerns but for one reason or another outside the field of banking credit, and some of them new establishments organized by Boston enterprise. Included in the list are manufacturers of Sheffield plate, women's clothing, automobile accessories, hats, nautical instruments, gasolene engines, confectionery, boots and shoes, and lace goods. They are all typical of the class which the Chamber of Commerce is trying to serve — small manufacturers whose business is done mainly in lofts, but whose output, management, and prospects seemed to justify loans of from $1,000 to $15,000.

The method of providing funds, in most cases as additional working capital to enable the borrower to buy on the most favorable terms, was the endorsement by the Industrial Development Company of the borrowers' notes, which then became acceptable for discount at any bank. A small commission was charged for the service, to pay the salary of the secretary and other necessary expenses. By this plan, the borrowers are brought into direct contact with the banks, under conditions calculated to attract the attention of the bankers favorably and so to hasten the time when, having increased their business and output through judicious use of the borrowed funds, they may establish bank credit on their own accounts.

The education of the banks and bankers of Boston in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward local enterprises is, indeed, one of the avowed objects of the Chamber of Commerce in establishing the Development Company. And its educational efforts have already borne fruit, in one instance, at least. A large corporation, of much greater size than the enterprises contemplated in the original plan, applied to the Committee on Industrial Development for a much larger line of credit than the Committee had planned to extend to any one concern. Every bank to which the corporation had access had refused the

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loan. The Committee, which first receives and passes on all applications for loans, regarded the application as one which the banks ought to accept without endorsement. The Loan and Executive Committees of the Industrial Development Company took the same view, and the committee members set out to induce some bank or banker to agree with them. They succeeded, the needy corporation got its funds without the Development Company's endorsement, several bankers got a chance to show their civic spirit, and a line of assistance to local business not originally contemplated was opened to the Chamber of Commerce.

At present all the industries to which loans have been made employ only a few hundred people and their total product is comparatively small. Each of them is capable, however, of expansion under proper management, some of them to an indefinite extent. And it is probably safe to predict that none of them, nor of others that will be similarly aided, will ever yield to the lure of the "booster" who tries to induce them to move from Boston to some other town as soon as they grow big enough to make them worth having.

What Mr. George Howland Cox, Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Development, and Mr. James J. Storrow, President of the Industrial Development Company, and their public-spirited associates are trying to do is to prove to Boston investors that there is an opportunity for safe industrial investment in their home city, and thus eventually to make Boston the best of all cities for the small manufacturer.

FORWARD TO THE LAND

HOW TO GET SETTLERS IF YOU REALLY WANT THEM — A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE "LAND BOOMER"— TRY IT.

THIS letter has been received by the WORLD'S WORK from a citizen of Arkansas:

Did you know that Arkansas annually ships more peaches than any other state in the union? Did you know that these peaches command the best prices in the Eastern markets? Did you know that the Arkansas peachcrop is this year the biggest in the history of the state? Did you know that the total peach shipments in the Ozark region will run close to *ten thousand* cars this year?

"Did you know that Arkansas apples have taken prizes wherever they have been exhibited? Did you know that the prospects for an unprecedented apple crop in the Ozark region are remarkably good? Did you know that, for many years past, Arkansas melons have been sold by commission merchants under the name of 'Rocky Ford,' because of the fame of the latter name? Did you know that Arkansas fruit growers are just beginning to realize the immense fortune which is theirs? and that they are working out a coöperative organization for the scientific marketing of their crops, a marketing which will result in the elimination of many middlemen?

The editorials and other articles in The WORLD'S WORK bear evidence that your staff is unusually well-informed (and I say this in all sincerity), but it would not surprise me if you had to answer "No" to every question in the preceding paragraphs — indeed it would surprise me greatly were you to answer otherwise, for few people, even including those of our own state, are aware of the extent of our resources. Arkansas, and the people of the Ozark region generally, are on the eve of a great Agricultural Awakening. They are in the infancy of their development along these lines. The wonderful achievements of their past and present are merely precursors, heralds of the immense possibilities of the future, and this fact is beginning to dawn on them. But the world outside knows nothing of these things. Arkansas is still, in the minds of many, a good place to be "from".

Your Forward-to-the-Land department is one of your most interesting and, I believe, influential features, but I see little mention of Arkansas in your columns. On the other hand, I was pained to note in your last issue the inquiry of a young man who wanted to know whether or not he should take $1,500 and go to Arizona to live on a Government claim. The

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magazines of this country have not treated that young man and his thousands of brothers right in this matter or he would not have asked that question.

That same young fellow could come to this state and could buy real land for less money per acre than the Arizona land would cost him, he could build his house from timber secured on the land, he would have no worry about water rights or quarrels with his neighbor about the amount of water the latter had a right to use, could conduct his operations under the free direction of a scientific farm demonstrator, and, if he chose to do so, could quit within a few years with a bank account and with a farm readily salable for several times the purchase price. In the meantime he would have had the advantage and comfort of an equable climate and a proximity to good markets. Another question, did you know that Arkansas had more farm demonstrators than any other state in the union?

Now I want to tell the world through your magazine about such things as I have mentioned to you. I would therefore appreciate it if you would advise me as to whether or not you would consider such an article.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not want you to give Arkansas a lot of free advertising. I do not want to write a "booster" article filled with exaggerated statements. I want to go with the men to their work in the fields, to watch them harvesting their crops, to examine the records of the railroads and those of the fruit growers' associations, to carry a tape-line and a kodak to verify my observations, and to take along a knowledge of men gained through several years of travel and newspaper reporting. I want to see what these people actually are doing and then I want to tell the world not what I think, not what others think, but to tell them what I have seen and proved right on the spot.

Good! The WORLD'S WORK will welcome the article and it has no objection to giving Arkansas or any other Garden of Eden a "boost" — within the limits of the exact facts about the experience of men now on the land there. No general statements, please, but facts about the success of particular men.

In the light of such opportunities as this correspondent mentions, why is it that men are not flocking to Arkansas? Simply because they do not know how to get such exact information. If the State of Arkansas, or any county in Arkansas, or any group of reputable, public-spirited men would undertake to answer such questions as these, they would soon have a large correspondence and many visitors:

Where can I see a farm of 100 or 200 or 300 acres and find out what clear profits the neighbors have made on similar land for the last five years? Can I meet and talk with those neighbors? Can I buy the land for the same price that one of these neighbors might buy it? and directly from the owner? Who will treat me as if I were one of the neighborhood and answer all my questions frankly and not as a man from a distance who has a little money to invest?

Talk about great peach crops and apple crops and the boundless possibilities of Arkansas is all very well, but how does it help me, who have no money to waste in travel, to find a home there? If I go there and succeed I shall add something to the neighborhood. Now will any particular neighborhood that you know give me such frank and full information as to enable me to feel at home there at once?

How would it do to organize neighborhoods to do this service?

Or am I to trust only to a real estate agent? He may be an honest man, but he may not be; and at best, he has a personal financial reason for putting the best foot forward.

Come down from the high-heaven of "more peaches than any other state," and "ten thousand cars a year." Newport has more diamonds than any other summer resort, but I should hardly acquire any if I went there. Make a way to give men trustworthy and friendly information about individual experiences or particular farms and orchards. Then you'll get all the men you need in Arkansas.

Publish an advertisement of this sort:

We, John Doe, Richard Roe, and William Hoe, are peach farmers in Blank county, Arkansas. Our post office is R. F. D. No. 2, Peachborough. From our orchards we have made an average net cash profit during the last five years of more than 8 per cent. on our total outlay for land, clearing, stock, maintenance etc.; and we have, besides, made the usual food crops for man and beast. Our farms are not mortgaged. There are good schools for our children and we have friendly neighbors. Five years ago good land (uncleared) sold here

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for ten dollars an acre. It now sells for twenty-five dollars. There is land for sale which we should like to see cultivated, because every planted acre adds to the value of every other planted acre. We will help any well-introduced man to all the facts and tell him what we think any given tract of land is worth, and we will welcome him as a neighbor, and help him to get settled among us.

JOHN DOE,
RICHARD ROE,
WILLIAM HOE.

Such an advertisement or announcement would sound very silly to the professional "booster." It is very simple. But it has this merit: it would bring good settlers to any neighborhood. And states and counties and neighborhoods that really want good settlers will do some such thing and not leave them to be done by "boomers."

After all, one of the hardest things to find in the world is a good farm in a good neighborhood at a fair price. Yet there are thousands of such farms in thousands of such neighborhoods.

The business needs organization on the basis of truth and friendliness and helpfulness. It's a social service that is needed, not a bargain-making business.

THE MAN WHO WANTS FARMERS

AND this letter comes from a very earnest man at the other end of the question. He has land and he wants men to work it:

I am very much interested, personally, in your "Forward to the Land Movement." I note you say a good deal in your editorial pages about the city man getting out in the country, but do not say anything about the man who owns land and who is trying to get the city man to go on it and farm it. There are thousands of men, situated like myself, who own tracts of land of 1,000 acres or more, who are trying to get people to farm the land on a commission basis. The city man, or the man who thinks he would like to live in the country, does not seem to have the nerve to tackle the farming proposition on a share basis. The Government, I think, is helping out a great deal by installing information bureaus and sending lecturers around over the country instructing the new men on the farms as to the results.

The main reason, however, that so many thousands of acres of rich and fertile land are lying idle is because city people have been induced to purchase it for speculation, and then cannot secure tenants for the land. Can you answer that side of the question, telling us why we cannot get more people to go on the land and cultivate it? There are plenty of people who want to buy land, but so few of them want to do the real work.

I own some 1,000 acres of high grade land which I would like to rent out or put out on share basis with good men or else give them a share of the profits on the advance in value.

Probably one reason why you find it hard to get men to accept your offer is that they do not believe you. If you will say over your own signature that you will supply land and supply capital to work it to men who can give bonds and references and satisfactory reports of themselves, you will find them. But if, as a land company or as a real-estate agent, you look for them, few such men will believe what you say.

There are as honest dealers in land, of course, as in anything else; but the promoters of schemes have so long held the land stage, that personal touch is now necessary to inspire confidence.

Make public a definite proposition over your own signature and tell in detail the personal experience of men in the same region. Make some such announcement as this:

I have good farm land on which I want good farmers. It is situated at———, on the ——— railroad. Land like it in the same neighborhood has during the last five years yielded a net cash profit of $— per acre. The crops grown are——— I will advance money for stock and equipment and expenses to men who can give satisfactory references and bonds; and I will give them [here name the share] of the crop]; and I will give them an option to buy the land at any time within—years at $— per acre.

You'll find your men. Then put a good general manager over them, and you will soon have your 1,000 acres in bloom — unless its location is for some reason disadvantageous.

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ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FARM LANDS

44.—*Q.* What is your opinion of the many opportunities one reads of for investment in orchard enterprises? In most cases the company offers to manage the proposition, planting and caring for the trees until they begin to yield, the shareholders to receive a percentage of the returns.

A. Every enterprise of this kind should be studied separately for its agricultural practicability and for its financial standing. Its agricultural value is based on the location, soil, climate, available markets, roads, varieties planted, labor employed, care given, etc., as in all farm ventures. It can be measured accurately only by examination by a practical expert as well as a scientist.

Financially, these propositions are not investments but speculations. The reputation of the directors and backers is important, but no orchard or farm can prove its ability to pay dividends until crops are marketable — and with an orchard this means six years at least. The shareholder has no voice in the management at its most important stage. The company cannot vouch for weather conditions, market demands, etc., and so can hardly be held accountable even if the proposition fails. Such schemes are not for the man who wants to become a farmer, or who wants a conservative investment, but for the business man who is willing to speculate.

45.—*Q.* I want a place in the Berkshires at an elevation of at least 1,500 feet for chicken and vegetable raising. Is the section adapted to that kind of business?

A. Poultry and vegetables can be raised almost anywhere in the United States, and they are wanted wherever people are. If you are near a thriving town or can reach one promptly by railroad; if you offer first-class goods, work up a trade with regular customers, and treat them well, you will dispose of your produce at a good price in the Berkshires or elsewhere.

46.—*Q.* Where can I get information as to the agricultural prospects of Porto Rico?

A. L. H. Bailey's "Cyclopedia of American Agriculture" and T. F. Hunt's "How to Choose a Farm." The Bureau of Soils, Washington, D. C., will send you, upon request, a soil survey, "From Aricebo to Ponce," made in 1902; the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., can supply a list of all other Government publications on the subject; and Director D. W. May of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Mayaguez can give you detailed, first-hand information.

47.—*Q.* What can you tell me about the Bitter Root Valley, Montana, for apple growing?

A. The soil is excellent, the climate congenial, the shipping facilities good, and the reputation of the region for the production of high class fruit already attained. The rainfall, however, averages only about eleven inches, making irrigation essential. Now, irrigation is one of the most complex phases of all American agriculture. The ownership of water in many sections is as yet unsettled and complicated litigations are common. In locating in this section, therefore, one should not only choose good land but also make sure of a sufficient supply of water, and of an unquestioned legal right to its use.

48.—*Q.* In what parts of the country will I find rice growing most profitable? What special conditions does the crop call for? What is an average value of the yield per acre.

A. The five states leading in production in 1911, with their yields, were: Louisiana, 11,690,000 bushels, averaging 31 bushels an acre; Texas, 8,174,000 bushels, average 34 bushels; Arkansas, 2,792,000 bushels, average 39 bushels; South Carolina, 117,000 bushels, average 11 bushels; and Mississippi, 76,000 bushels, average 36 bushels an acre.

Rice requires an abundance of fresh water, the ability to supply it to the land economically in large quantities, and to rapidly drain it off when necessary. The soil must be of a type that will become solid enough for the passage of men and horses fairly soon after being drained, without baking hard. Three general types are used — the fresh water marsh lands of the southeastern states, the alluvial soils along the Mississippi, and the flat low prairies of Texas and western Louisiana. In 1911 the average yield for the United States was 32 bushels an acre; the average value was 79 cents a bushel; the average value per acre was therefore, roughly, $25 gross.

49.—*Q.* Can you give me any facts about Ware County, Georgia, bearing on its adapta-

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tion to farming and on its general rural conditions?

A. Its elevation is about 210 feet; its annual rainfall is about 44 inches; the average annual temperature is 67 degrees, the highest recorded, 107 degrees and the lowest, 4 degrees. The average dates of the first and last killing frosts are November 16th and March 11th although the extremes are October 28th and, April 15th. Ware County is in the heart of the so-called Sea Island cotton belt in which the greatest commercial watermelon raising industry of the state is found. The typical soil is a light gray loam underlaid with a yellow sand. Its adaptation for general farming is roughly indicated by the following acreages in 1910 of the more important crops: corn, 12,000; cotton, 4,000; sweet potatoes, 700; and oats, 1,031. Truck crops will of course thrive, especially if commercial fertilizers and manure are used generously; the best chances for this type of farming are near the larger towns.

The average value of the land is $5.85, but it ranges from $4 to $125 according to condition and location. Of the county's population of 22,957, the white farmers number 2,811 and the black 211. The number of farms, now 924, has increased by 250 in the last ten years. Of these 629 are operated by owners — 587 white and 52 black, and 283 are operated by tenants — 224 white and 59 black. The average value per farm is $1,875; 552 owners are free from mortgage debt and 84 are encumbered.

50.— *Q.* With a little knowledge of farming, a scientific college education, a two years' course in an agricultural college, and about $3,000, three courses would seem to be open to me: (i) intensive general farming on a medium sized farm in New England or New York, (ii) specialized truck or poultry farming on a little, high-priced land near a city, (iii) general extensive farming on cheap, virgin land in the South or Southeast. What do you suggest?

A. The accompanying tabulation contains facts on which you can base your own choice. Of course there are exceptions to these conditions everywhere. In the South there are also cheap cleared lands awaiting simply good farming; and in the North cheap farms that need reclaiming from the wilderness or the reults of neglect.

	NEW ENGLAND GENERAL FARMING	MARKET GARDENING NEAR A CITY	VIRGIN LAND FARMING IN THE SOUTH
Capital Needed	Moderate	Large	Small
Skill Needed	Moderate	Great; expert knowledge	Little at first; later moderate
Kind of Work	Varied, hard manual labor, chiefly from March to December	Intensive, detailed, exacting, all seasons	Land clearing, then general farming; a long working season
Life	Free, independent, rural	Confined, all advantages and disadvantages of proximity to a large city	Pioneering; rough but healthy and free
Returns	Limited cash; good living, moderate profits depending on industry and quality of farm	All cash, prompt and if success comes, large	A good living; fairly certain profits from some main money crop
Risk	Slow returns probable, great loss or privation very improbable	Considerable; all eggs in one basket; perishable crops	Almost nil; natural increase in land value permits selling out at any time with little or no loss
Management Needed	Building up of poor soil; modern, constructive, systematic farming	Highly developed business judgment and the study of markets	Maintaining natural fertility; choosing the right crops, solving the labor problem
Labor needed	With adequate machinery, few hands, the year round	Much hand labor summer and (indoors) winter	Unskilled at first; later fewer hands, more machinery the year round
Importance of Buildings	Considerable	Great; heaviest part of investment	Relatively slight

A SOLUTION OF THE FARM PROBLEM FOR A TRAINED MAN WITH SMALL CAPITAL

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT ON "WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE MINISTRY?" — A GOOD WORD FOR HAYTI — THE CONSTITUTION AND FREE FACTORY ZONES

To the Editor:

During the Civil War I used to hear complaints from the Army. The pay was often in arrears and always inadequate. The hardships were great. The food was sometimes bad, and often insufficient. Every ignoramus felt a call to criticise, and his criticisms were generally unjust and unreasonable.

There were sometimes cabals even among "chits of girls" that resulted in a transfer from one post to another. And money for hospital supplies and nurses was raised by "Sanitary" Fairs, at which also there were raffles, and a thousand devices to get money. After a while volunteers failed and a draft became necessary. And many an officer's son cried, "No army for me." Yet for all this we fought the war through and we won. There were officers who lost heart and resigned, and men who wrote articles for the magazines, showing that the Union cause never could win. But all the same we fought on and now the South is as well pleased with our victory as the North.

All this is the experience of the Christian Church. This is, as Matthew Arnold says, "a society for the promotion of righteousness." Its first ministers hungered and thirsted and were naked; and, being reviled, they blessed; being persecuted, they endured. St. Paul made tents and earned his living with the labor of his own hands, so as not to be chargeable to his disciples. Behold the result. The world is transformed by their teaching. There is still much evil to fight. The war is by no means over. But the world is a thousand times more humane than it was twenty centuries ago. Women are honored, children are educated and cared for, even the dumb beasts are regarded with kindness. Wars are less frequent and far less cruel.

Having gone thus far, we shall not stop. The Church is still a soul-saving institution. Millions of souls in every land prove that. It is not true that ministers "go to any length of perfidy and dishonesty to secure members." I have been a church member for more than sixty years — connected with churches in city and country, from Trinity Church, New York, which is the largest, to a little country church with twenty members, and I have never known such an instance. I do not deny that some unworthy men have done it. A minister murdered a girl last year, and was indicted, pleaded guilty, and was electrocuted. But such instances are exceptional. It is as unfair to judge the church by them as it would be to judge Washington's Army by Benedict Arnold, or the Apostles by Judas.

Notwithstanding such defections the Christian Church goes on with its good work. Its membership in this country increases more rapidly than the population. The population of the United States increased 32 per cent. between 1890 and 1906. The number of church members during the same period increased 60 per cent. The various religious bodies are becoming more alike in their service and more brotherly in their conduct. The great Protestant religious orders (for they may fairly be called that), the Young Men's Christian Association and the Salvation Army, have their branches in every nation.

What citizen of Boston counted for more than Phillips Brooks? What New Yorker had the influence of Bishop Potter? Where in Minnesota or Dakota were the citizens whose voices were listened to with more regard than Bishops Whipple and Hare? I speak of men from one religious body because I knew them personally. But ministers of power and influence might equally be named from all the churches.

May I add one leaf from my own experience? I was for sixteen years Chairman of the Executive Committee of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. For as many, I was active in the Reform Club in the cause of tariff reform and sound money. I found that the "most fearless and aggressive leaders for moral and spiritual betterment" were members of Christian churches. Many of them were ministers of religious bodies. The first president of the New York Civil Service Reform Association was a Unitarian Minister, Henry W. Bellows. The most eloquent free trade advocate was a Congregational Minister, Henry Ward Beecher. The spirit of enthusiasm and self devotion that animated these men still lives in the churches. For the young man who

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is fired by that spirit, there is no nobler calling than the Christian Ministry.

There are two kinds of men who ought not to undertake this work. One is the lover of wealth and luxury. To him the church offers no attractions. The other is the cold-blooded, pessimistic man, who is critical of faults and has no hope of correcting them. To him the ministry is a burden. But for the lover of God and man, who feels that the forces of righteousness are mighty and is glad to work with them in spite of difficulties and discouragements, there is no vocation that offers such opportunities of usefulness.

New York City. EVERETT P. WHEELER.

WHERE BLACK RULES WHITE

TO THE EDITOR:

In the WORLD'S WORK for July appears an article by Mr. William Bayard Hale, entitled "The Crisis in Central America," setting forth certain impressions gained while travelling in some of the Latin American countries during the early spring.

Mr. Hale was a member of the party headed by the Hon. Philander Chase Knox, who was dispatched by President Taft to the countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea with a message of good will from the United States Government. I had the privilege of conversing with one of that party who rubbed elbows with the natives of every country at which the American cruiser dropped anchor. He is a careful observer and in a position to pass upon the accuracy and fairness of Mr. Hale's deductions. When asked about the articles referred to, he said:

"Mr. Hale is to be congratulated upon the clearness and fairness of the major portion of his narrative. With one exception he has vindicated his enviable reputation in these regards. Unfortunately, this exception has to do with the one country whose position in the family of nations could least afford misrepresentation, even by innuendo and, in the present case, it is putting it mildly to say the picture has been overdrawn. The author disposes of the troubled countries of Central America with some praise and a measure of gentle criticism, even sparing that darkest of the group — Nicaragua — the venom of his pen. Perhaps it was this severe strain upon his conscience which drove him to revel in such a tirade of superlatives against Hayti. Europe, and Asia, and Africa, and Australia, and the islands of the sea may have no towns whose lack of progress can be compared with that of Port au Prince; upon this I am not informed, but surely the man whose footprints are not yet cold in Central America has a convenient memory when he styles this Haytian capital 'the filthiest, most dilapidated, most horrible town in the world.' Without a tax upon his imagination or a perversion of the truth, Mr. Hale could have painted a kindlier picture of his fellow creatures in the island of Hayti."

This statement, coming from a member of the party of which Mr. Hale was a part, lends different color to conditions in that Island Republic. The very extravagance of the author's language robs his statement as to Hayti of much of its force. From different sources I am informed there are many evidences of improvement in Port au Prince, Mr. Hale himself having said that since his last visit there are noticeable evidences of progress. I am indeed hopeful that the Island Republic will soon take her place among the foremost of the Latin countries.

Washington D. C. E. E. RICKS.

WHY NOT A FEW FREE PORTS?

TO THE EDITOR:

Having read with much interest your editorial, "Why not a Few Free Ports?" proposing the establishing of zones in which foreign materials could be brought under bond to be manufactured by American workmen into products for export, I would like to say that, in my opinion, the plan is one that would add much to the prosperity of the country.

But what about the Constitution? Here are two sentences from that document which knock your scheme in the head:

"All duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." — Cons. U. S., Art I, § VIII, ¶ 1.

"No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." — §. IX. ¶ 6.

On the face, these provisions seem just. Yet a very little reflection will show that they really are unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on the country. It is possible that legislation might be so written that free manufacturing zones could be provided for in every state. Everybody knows, however, that they would naturally be located on tide-water, at points to which foreign materials could easily and cheaply be brought. Surely Indiana should not begrudge Maryland the advantages of its situation on the salt water, any more than Maryland should deny the inland state the use of the natural gas with which Nature has provided her.

The Constitution cannot put an inland state on the seashore and give it ports, but it seems that it can deprive a state with a shore and with ports of some, at least, of the advantages which Nature has given her.

St. Louis. R. G. YARNALL.

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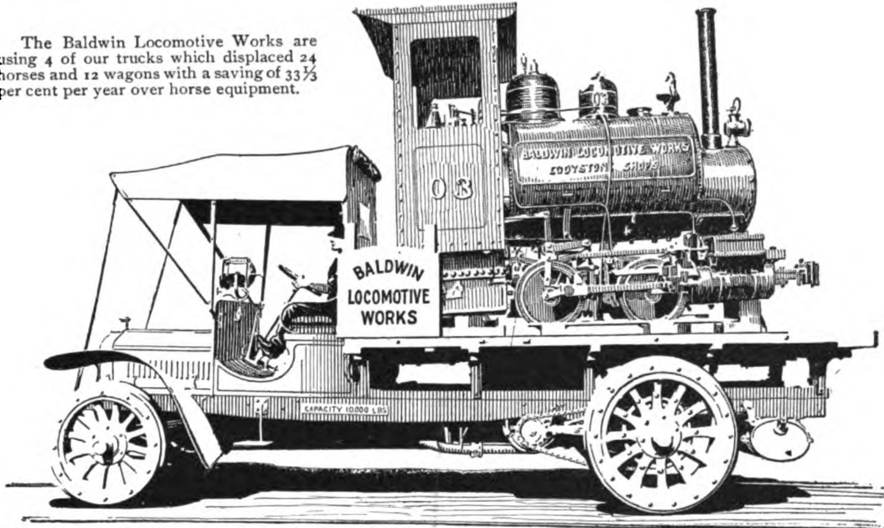

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