

Western Kentucky University

TopSCHOLAR®

---

WKU Archives Records

WKU Archives

---

1912

## UA3/1/3 Education & Politics Scrapbook

WKU President's Office - Cherry

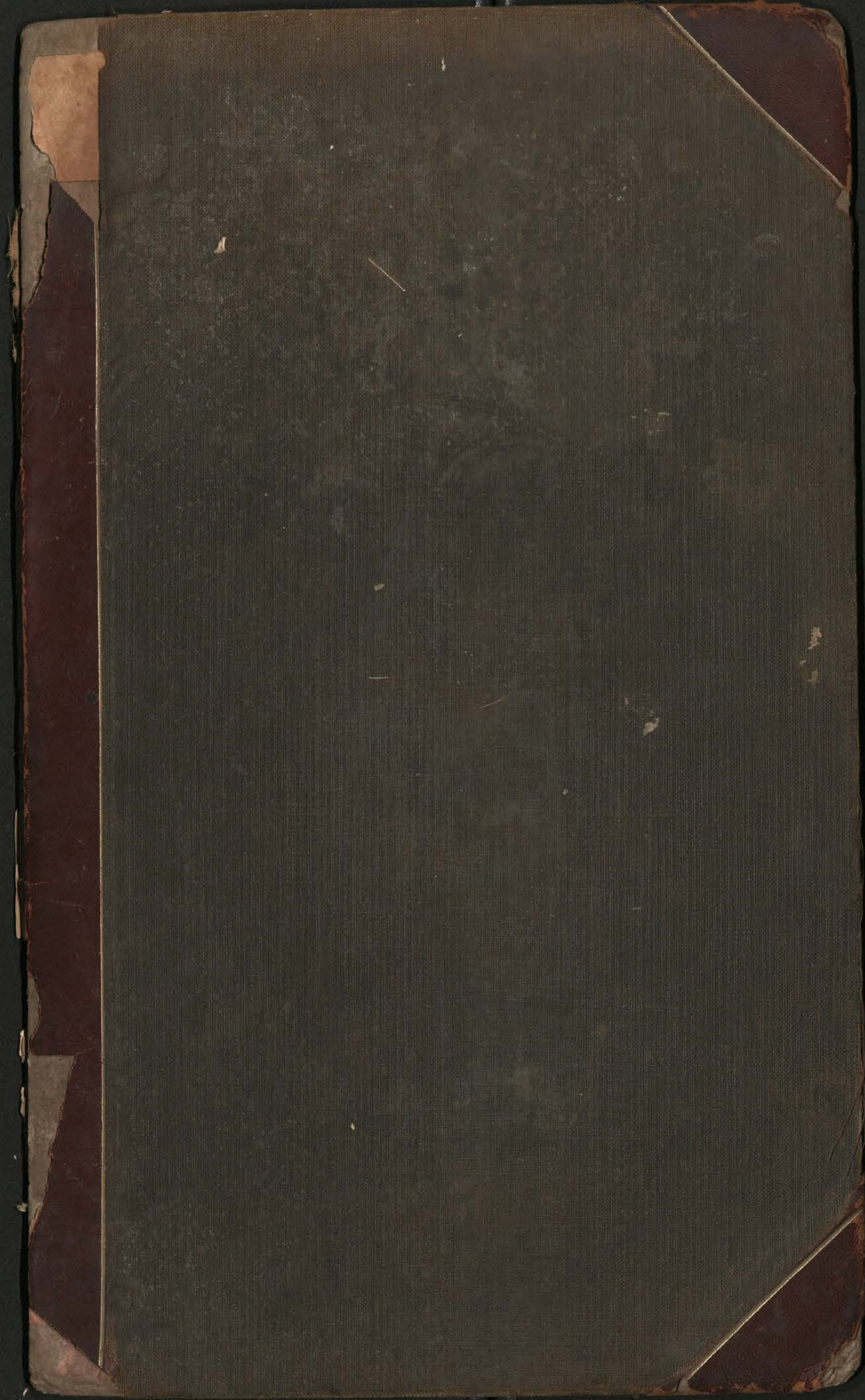
Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/dlsc\\_ua\\_records](https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/dlsc_ua_records)



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [American Politics Commons](#), [Higher Education Administration Commons](#), [Journalism Studies Commons](#), [Mass Communication Commons](#), [Public Relations and Advertising Commons](#), and the [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#)

---

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in WKU Archives Records by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact [topscholar@wku.edu](mailto:topscholar@wku.edu).



# 60  
571-61  
Garr

# GOOD TEACHERS THE GREAT NEED

Dr. H. H. Cherry's Strong  
Paper on "Our Govern-  
ment and Education."

## MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Behind Efficient Common-  
wealth, Citizenship and  
Public School System  
Is Efficient Teacher.

## THE PRODUCT OF SPIRIT

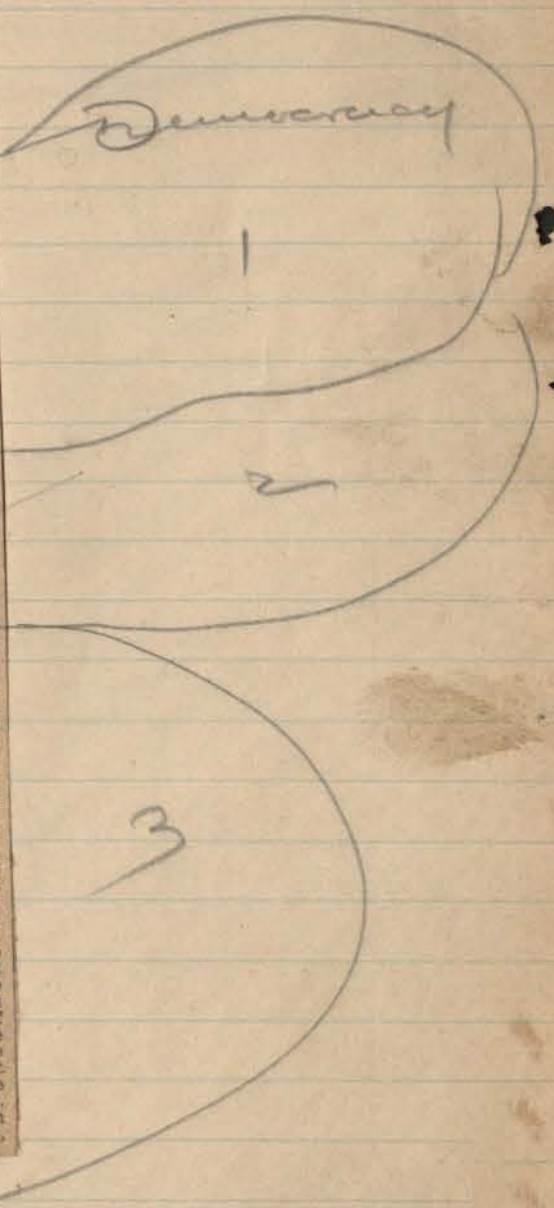
One of the most interesting papers read before the Middle Tennessee Educational Association yesterday was that read by Dr. H. H. Cherry, President of the State Normal at Bowling Green, Ky., on "Our Government and Education," to the Grammar School Section. It was as follows:

"The true cradle of democracy was the manger at Bethlehem. When the Son of the carpenter of Nazareth brought to the world the gospel of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, he ennobled the individual, destroyed the spirit of caste, and made democracy in its broadest sense inevitable. Democracy belongs to no one political party or social organization. It is a spirit, an inalienable and universal energy that belongs to the individual. It is a concept, an ideal, a spiritual leaven, a vision implanted by God and cultivated by man in the human breast. It is a masculine, positive, rational and sympathetic life. It is a pioneer in constructive thought that persuades, illuminates, and challenges as it goes forward in the search of truth. Its life being one of love and duty, it becomes at once a relentless foe to all forms of caste and industrial tyranny. Democracy sees the world no longer as a divided fragment—a disconnected series of spheres, but as a single world, a single sphere, in which is no higher or lower, no academic aristocracy or detached group of the learned—but an inter-dependent associated common life. The citizen pursuing any honorable business who has the power of self-control and is a master of his task, is in America our sole aristocrat. The miller's boy whose clothes are white from the meal that falls from the hopper is as high-toned in the eyes of God as the knickerbocker-suited son of fashionable society on his way to the tennis courts in June. The blacksmith, who hammers thought and conscience into his horseshoes, is as much a nobleman in the great governmental enterprise that is being developed in this country as the individual who puts conscience and thought into the performance of his daily duties while occupying the highest position in a free government. Democracy looks within before writing an epitaph. It appeared on the deck of the Olympia, saluted Dewey, declared to the world that without him there would have been no Manila victory. It did not stop there. It went down into the hold of the Olympia, saluted John Whitaker, who in a temperature of 130 degrees, shoveled coal into the engine, and then came back on the deck and announced to the world that without John Whitaker, too, there would not have been a Manila victory. That is democracy. It scorns sham and show; it exalts learning, piety, and service.

*That makes no sense at all*  
*demands*  
*a spirit for every*  
*individual*  
*in that sense*  
*an individual*  
*and universal energy made*  
*in the mind of God*  
*Democracy*

Democracy is a spirit  
It is also created in the  
image of God. It is a concept  
an ideal a spiritual leaven  
a vision implanted by God  
and cultivated by man in  
the human breast. It is a  
masculine and intellectual power  
in the unconscious of constructive  
thought that persuades illuminates  
challenges as it goes forward  
in the search of truth. It is a  
responsible individual cannot  
escape this responsibility  
without destroying its own  
ideals. It is the life force  
of the people and its treatment  
of all the people will  
determine its own strength  
through the Union justice  
dominate how widely common  
wealth citizenship and  
public school system  
and the blessings of liberty  
can be a positive point  
of reference and sympathy  
and peace and justice  
and this must come in accordance  
to the spirit of the 20th  
century for education and  
more universal education

BROOKS



### FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY.

"We hear much during this constructive, complex and strenuous century about a government that will introduce freedom and opportunity to every child in the land, and many programmes, platforms and propositions are presented to us as though applied and practical free government were a thing to be brought into existence by some magic process, as though it were a thing to be put together like a building which should be big enough to hold us all and offer a sweet repose for negative souls. We forget that our government is a spiritual life that must grow and that, if we would attain unto a full-grown government, we must attain unto a full-grown citizenship, and that, if we would attain unto a full-grown citizenship, we must educate, and that, if we would reach, train and associate with the masses, we must put at the door of every child in the land, whether he lives in hut or mansion, whether he is rich or poor, a teacher of character, personality and scholarship, a course of study that will prepare for life's work, and a modern school building with modern equipment. This must be accomplished through the development of a harmonized and articulated school system reaching from the primary grade to the university, supported by local and state taxation.

"When our brave fathers founded this government upon human expression, they embodied the thought of the public school in the organism of the republic. The Constitution of the United States contemplates universal education. It makes the public school system and other character-making forces a necessity and an implied part of its organism. The Constitution is by nature the greatest educational bill that has ever been enacted by a body of people. Its own life and perpetuity depend upon universal intelligence and righteousness. I believe the development of our school system is the most vital question before the people of this country. The world of mind is the field in which the school system works. The system exists for no other purpose except to make good citizens. The work of making men, of transmuting dollars into life, into ideals, into freedom, of giving them wings, and making them messengers of peace, is the greatest work delegated to the hands of men. The school system is a patriotic organization that seeks to make men. A better citizenship is its creed. This makes its work universal, establishing a common ground upon which all can unite in the interest of efficiency. The school system belongs to the people; it inherits patriotic unity. We stand solidly for it for the same reason that we stand solidly for the flag when it has been dishonored by a foreign foe. It calls for more life and less ignorance, for more righteousness and less sin, for more industrial thrift and less industrial devastation. I know of no patriotism that is higher than an organized effort that declares its allegiance to the child.

### SPIRITUAL EQUIPMENT.

"In the beginning of this discussion I mentioned the teacher, the course of study, the modern school building with modern equipment as necessary parts of an ideal school system. You will pardon me if I should spend a few minutes in discussing spiritual equipment, only mentioning the physical as it is related to the spiritual.

"Behind an efficient commonwealth is an efficient citizenship; behind an efficient citizenship is an efficient public school system; behind an efficient public school system is the efficient teacher. The citizen who is not for an efficient teacher is not for an efficient commonwealth.

"It is a progressive statesmanship that realizes that whatever is desired in the life of the state must be developed in the life of those teachers who train the children of the state. As is the teacher, so is the school; as is the school, so is the community; as is the community, so is the nation. Finally, as is the teacher, so is the nation. No wonder Prince Bismarck, the great

PROGRESSIVE statesman of Germany, declared, 'The nation that has the teachers has the future.' The result of all our educational efforts, the returns from all our investment of money and time for the education of our children depend finally upon the character of the teachers employed in our schools, upon their mental, moral and religious qualities, their ideals in life, their breadth

Even in these  
 days  
 of materialism  
 and  
 democracy  
 and  
 political  
 machine  
 school  
 teachers  
 and  
 parents  
 are  
 still  
 the  
 backbone  
 of  
 the  
 nation  
 and  
 the  
 future  
 of  
 the  
 world  
 depends  
 upon  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 teachers  
 and  
 the  
 schools  
 they  
 run  
 The  
 accomplishment  
 of  
 this  
 task  
 is  
 the  
 most  
 vital  
 question  
 before  
 the  
 people  
 of  
 this  
 country

4  
 our  
 Declaration  
 of  
 Independence  
 was  
 not  
 only  
 a  
 political  
 document  
 but  
 also  
 a  
 statement  
 of  
 our  
 educational  
 philosophy  
 We  
 have  
 a  
 right  
 to  
 a  
 free  
 and  
 equal  
 education  
 for  
 all  
 our  
 children  
 and  
 the  
 only  
 way  
 to  
 guarantee  
 this  
 right  
 is  
 through  
 a  
 system  
 of  
 universal  
 education  
 that  
 is  
 based  
 upon  
 the  
 principle  
 of  
 equality  
 of  
 opportunity

5  
 The  
 School  
 System  
 is  
 the  
 backbone  
 of  
 the  
 nation  
 and  
 the  
 future  
 of  
 the  
 world  
 depends  
 upon  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 teachers  
 and  
 the  
 schools  
 they  
 run  
 We  
 have  
 a  
 right  
 to  
 a  
 free  
 and  
 equal  
 education  
 for  
 all  
 our  
 children  
 and  
 the  
 only  
 way  
 to  
 guarantee  
 this  
 right  
 is  
 through  
 a  
 system  
 of  
 universal  
 education  
 that  
 is  
 based  
 upon  
 the  
 principle  
 of  
 equality  
 of  
 opportunity

6  
 These  
 things  
 being  
 stated  
 I  
 am  
 ready  
 to  
 declare  
 that  
 the  
 public  
 school  
 system  
 is  
 the  
 backbone  
 of  
 the  
 nation  
 and  
 the  
 future  
 of  
 the  
 world  
 depends  
 upon  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 teachers  
 and  
 the  
 schools  
 they  
 run

Finally  
 as  
 we  
 in  
 the  
 teacher's  
 union  
 in  
 the  
 South  
 so  
 is  
 the  
 South

There  
 is  
 no  
 doubt  
 that  
 the  
 teacher  
 is  
 the  
 backbone  
 of  
 the  
 nation  
 and  
 the  
 future  
 of  
 the  
 world  
 depends  
 upon  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 teachers  
 and  
 the  
 schools  
 they  
 run  
 We  
 have  
 a  
 right  
 to  
 a  
 free  
 and  
 equal  
 education  
 for  
 all  
 our  
 children  
 and  
 the  
 only  
 way  
 to  
 guarantee  
 this  
 right  
 is  
 through  
 a  
 system  
 of  
 universal  
 education  
 that  
 is  
 based  
 upon  
 the  
 principle  
 of  
 equality  
 of  
 opportunity

If  
 we  
 pursue  
 this  
 policy  
 we  
 shall  
 be  
 faced  
 with  
 the  
 opportunity  
 of  
 self  
 control  
 the  
 power  
 to  
 come  
 a  
 master  
 of  
 our  
 own  
 fate  
 This  
 is  
 our  
 duty  
 as  
 citizens  
 of  
 this  
 great  
 Republic  
 to  
 support  
 by  
 all  
 our  
 means  
 the  
 public  
 school  
 system  
 and  
 to  
 see  
 that  
 every  
 child  
 has  
 the  
 opportunity  
 to  
 receive  
 the  
 best  
 education  
 possible

an  
 efficient  
 teacher  
 is  
 the  
 backbone  
 of  
 the  
 nation  
 and  
 the  
 future  
 of  
 the  
 world  
 depends  
 upon  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 teachers  
 and  
 the  
 schools  
 they  
 run

Quality  
 of  
 work  
 is  
 determined  
 by  
 the  
 quality  
 of  
 the  
 workers  
 and  
 the  
 only  
 way  
 to  
 guarantee  
 this  
 right  
 is  
 through  
 a  
 system  
 of  
 universal  
 education  
 that  
 is  
 based  
 upon  
 the  
 principle  
 of  
 equality  
 of  
 opportunity

and depth, their fullness and fineness, their culture, and their skill in teaching. A great school is in one sense what is in the mind of teacher, pupil, layman. It follows, however, that what will appear in the life of pupil and layman depends largely upon what is in the life of the teacher. The school is largely in the spirit of the teacher. In its last analysis the teacher is the school.

"Behold, a king reigns in righteousness and princes rule in judgment, and a man shall be as a hiding place from the wind and as a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." I read these two verses of the thirty-second chapter of Isaiah in another way. Behold, a teacher shall reign in righteousness and rule in judgment and teachers shall be hiding places from the wind, coverts from the tempest, and rivers in dry places. Behold a great teacher shall be as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. The prophet did not refer to political kings, but to teachers and other persons who rule in righteousness and who are princes in judgment. A strong teacher is compared to a great boulder standing erect in a parched and sterile land, offering shelter from the burning sun. People hide behind him from the changing winds of opinion, the fierce gusts of temporary passion. They know where to find him and they lean on him for strength. He is unmoved and firm like a great rock.

When we turn to the school districts, what becomes of this power of personality, this spiritual boulder in the centre of the school district? It seems at first thought that there may be less need for the individual, less need for the rule of self, less need for the teacher's personality, and greater dependency upon school management, patrons, pupils, school entertainments, school organizations, and masses of men.

**BEHIND THE SCHOOL, THE TEACHER.**

"I affirm that behind every great school lies a great soul, the personality of a great teacher. Our national progress is summed up in a few great names—Washington and Lincoln, Hamilton, Jefferson and Lee, Emerson and Lowell, and others. Never was the effect of personality upon masses so obvious as it is to-day. The crying need of our country is for the spirit of a Washington, Jefferson or Lee in every school district in our land, that will be to the life of the school community what these great men were to the life of the nation.

"We may have modern school houses, longer school terms, local taxation, consolidation and all other things that enter into a well-ordered school and school community, but without the vitalizing touch of properly qualified teachers school houses will become dead matter, school terms will be too long, local taxation unprofitable and consolidation a failure. Behind the efficient school community, behind the efficient school system, is the efficient teacher. Wherever we find educational efficiency we find the commanding personality of the teacher. Put a poor teacher in a modern school house with its modern equipment and attractive grounds, and you will still have a poor school; put a good teacher in a poor school house with poor equipment, and you will have a pretty good school; not a good school, and, as a result, the influence of the teacher, you in a short time have a modern school building, modern equipment and local educational interest. A good teacher in a community where there is an educational paralysis, a mutilated school house and a small attendance will, as a rule, accomplish an educational awakening, a good school house and a large attendance. A good teacher may open school in a poor school house, but he is likely to close in a good school house. A road traveled by a poor teacher is strewn with wrecked human lives.

*Some by going to school has the power of a summer.*

*8*

*He is an... subject...  
Largest...  
I believe...  
At a...  
The...  
I suppose...  
is democracy...  
He...  
Nature...  
organic...  
inherited...  
Consequence...  
of leadership...  
We...  
are...  
who we...  
of the... whole*

*Develop...  
and...  
succeed...  
problems...  
trained...  
for...  
difficult...  
Communities*

*a*

*it*

The Teachers Colleges of Ky were established in the interest of teaching efficiency. They were established in order to aid the teachers of Ky to have more life to give to the children of Ky.

74

our departments of education

Educational

is the need of the

superiority of the

They are the south

They

they are

they

polytechnic In other words the qualified teacher the progressive course of study the course of the field the sharp the pulpit and other points and Modern school buildings with modern equipment and sanitation

Continuing my remarks to the teacher, I desire to say that I can think of but one thing that is of more value to our school system than a physical piece of equipment and that is a spiritual piece of equipment, a spiritual boulder in the center of the school community, a teacher whose life will be a river, a dry place, in other words, a teacher's vision, a teacher's preparation, a teacher's conscience, a teacher's missionary intensity. You will pardon me if I should, in this connection, speak of your Normal Schools (established as the state in the interest of teaching efficiency. The interests of the Normal Schools are too sacred to be misunderstood or treated indifferently. The Normal is inseparably linked with all public schools of the state. They live and breathe together. I challenge the statesmanship of men who claim they help the public schools by opposing the Normal Schools. The efficient teacher is the most important item in an efficient school system. The Normal Schools were established in order that the teachers of Tennessee might have more life to give to the children of Tennessee. They were established in order that the children of Tennessee may have life and have it more abundantly. The Normal School, therefore, is an organic part of the school system. Any man who is against them is against the public schools. The Normal School is not the exclusive agent for the training of teachers, but it is the state's chief agent and as such it must build up the professional spirit, establish the standards, create the ideals, and send out the men and women whose call is to educational leadership.

ALL ROUND EFFICIENCY.

I would emphasize that our educational ideal includes moral, spiritual, intellectual and spiritual efficiency. I am not detracting from any of those things that enter into an efficient school system. I am only trying to emphasize the great opportunity and responsibility of the teacher. Give us teachers of scholarship who possess contagion of personality, magnetism of soul, and we will experience a new spiritual and material birth. Our educational troubles will vanish before teachers who learn, who love, who serve.

After all, the great army of peace composed of 550,000 teachers of this country engaged in teaching the sixteen and one-half millions of pupils is in the time of peace fighting and winning America's battles. Count von Moltke, the Field Marshal of Germany who led her armies upon the battlefield of the Franco-Prussian war, said in a public speech not long after the war: "It is simple truth: it is simple justice, to declare that the victories of the Franco-Prussian war were won by the schoolmasters of Germany." When the teachers stop discrediting their own profession by incompetency, by apologizing for being a teacher, by acting as a hireling instead of a servant of God, the public school will cease to be an outcast and the teaching profession will rise to that dignity and exert that influence that will command the esteem of the people. I walked up to a leading educator recently and said: "You are nothing but a teacher; just a teacher. You can't do anything except teach a little, and you can't do that very well. Your services are not needed outside the school room, because you are nothing more than a school teacher. You look to me like an impersonal it." In speaking to my friend in this way, I fear I was illustrating what sometimes seems to be the attitude of the public mind toward the average teacher. I have never apologized for being a teacher. The privilege of being a teacher is enough honor for all time. If the profession will forgive me for the feeble efforts I have made, I will try to do better; yet I fully realize that I can never contribute as much honor to the teaching profession as this noble and beautiful professional life has contributed to me in permitting me to enter its wide domain of opportunity and service. I have, however, gone far enough into the teaching profession to regard the teacher who does not make a reasonable effort to exalt the thought of teaching in his own life and who is ashamed to own that he is a teacher as a professional hypocrite, a traitor to a cause that is high as heaven.

air

A teacher's

These are the departments of education

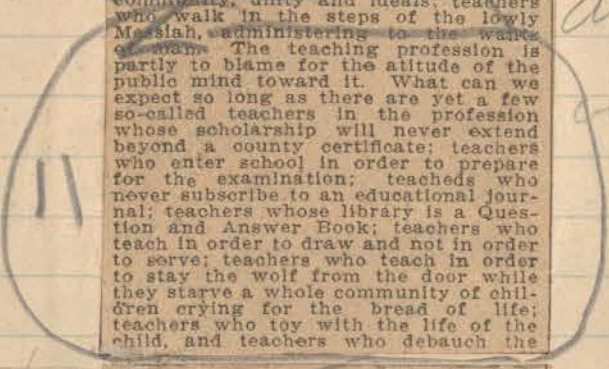
are

They are

B

10

"We need teachers who are leaders, teachers who wear the whole professional helmet; teachers whose voice is the voice of preparation and conscience; teachers whose knock at the door is a consecrated love; teachers who carry the child life in their own lives; teachers whose lives prompt community, unity and ideals; teachers who walk in the steps of the lowly Messiah, administering to the wants of man. The teaching profession is partly to blame for the attitude of the public mind toward it. What can we expect so long as there are yet a few so-called teachers in the profession whose scholarship will never extend beyond a county certificate; teachers who enter school in order to prepare for the examination; teachers who never subscribe to an educational journal; teachers whose library is a Question and Answer Book; teachers who teach in order to draw and not in order to serve; teachers who teach in order to stay the wolf from the door while they starve a whole community of children crying for the bread of life; teachers who toy with the life of the child, and teachers who debauch the



*aut*  
*aut*

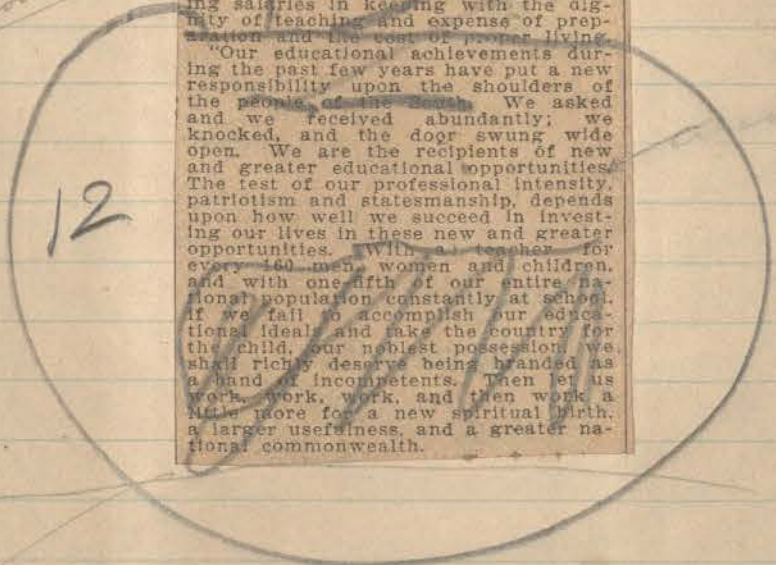
noblest profession known in the experience of man.

**NEED OF THE BEST**

"There are many noble teachers who are giving prepared and inspired life to the performance of their daily duties who realize that before teachers can succeed in the great work of leading the people into freedom they must be free themselves and that in order to enjoy professional freedom, they must experience an intellectual and spiritual birth, a professional baptism. These teachers believe that the time has come when the South should demand educated teachers—teachers of well-tested abilities. They believe that this should be declared the judgment day for the non-progressive teacher. They are willing to assist in kindling a fire under the feet and in digging a grave before every professional scalawag. However, these teachers have a right to expect that, if they concentrate and consecrate their lives upon the altar of teaching and make liberal expenditure of time and money for preparation, the generous citizenship of Kentucky will recognize the work of the true teacher in a free government and will show its appreciation by paying salaries in keeping with the dignity of teaching and expense of preparation and the cost of proper living.

*this country*

*Teachers and Ed leaders*



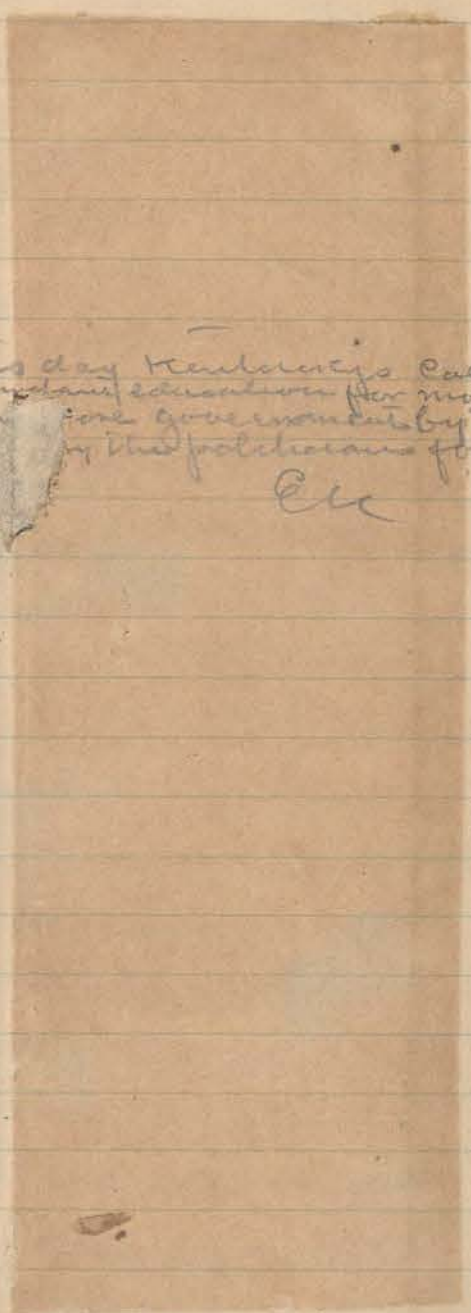
*responsibilities*

"Our educational achievements during the past few years have put a new responsibility upon the shoulders of the people of the South. We asked and we received abundantly; we knocked, and the door swung wide open. We are the recipients of new and greater educational opportunities. The test of our professional intensity, patriotism and statesmanship, depends upon how well we succeed in investing our lives in these new and greater opportunities. With a teacher for every 100 men, women and children, and with one-fifth of our entire national population constantly at school, if we fail to accomplish our educational ideals and take the country for the child, our noblest possession, we shall richly deserve being branded as a band of incompetents. Then let us work, work, work, and then work a little more for a new spiritual birth, a larger usefulness, and a greater national commonwealth.



6

We recognize today Harding's call for education  
 and more abundant education for more ideas and more  
 noble ideas for more government by the people and  
 less government by the politicians for more government  
 etc



THE GREATER SOUTH.

"A greater commonwealth cannot be bestowed; it must be achieved through education. There must be great souls before there can be a great democratic commonwealth. The greater South is coming; it is coming in obedience to the law of democracy; not through the mechanical assent of man to certain platforms and artificial methods of reform, but through a spiritual growth; through the ascent of man to the stature of the Great Teacher, to the pinnacle of harmonized thought. Democracy's idealization of education is the result of the law of self-preservation. It recognizes its own being as an organism composed of spiritual atoms that are capable of anarchy. It is natural for our government to idealize an intelligent, active, rational citizen. In fact, it takes a full-grown mind to reach and a full-grown heart to form a full-grown democracy. I am trying to say that it will take full-grown citizens to make a full-grown Tennessee and a full-grown public school system to make a full-grown citizen. Noble boys and girls stand by your side, armed with ability and nerve, ready to accomplish the larger Tennessee. If we will only give them an opportunity, I greet Tennessee and recognize her patriotic call for education and more abundant education; ideas and more noble ideas; more government by the people and less government by the politician; more government by the teacher and less government by the policeman; more government by the school house and less government by the military camp; more and better schools and fewer jails and penitentiaries; more scholars and fewer criminals; more freemen and fewer slaves; more life, more life and more life. Nature abhors a government by brute force. The best administered government is the one that seeks to govern the masses by aiding the individual in governing himself. The moral, intellectual, spiritual and physical health of the people of Tennessee is regarded by the progressive citizen as the most vital question now before the citizenship of your commonwealth. The harmonious and universal vitalization of human units will solve every question. If there is a peril that threatens Kentucky, Tennessee or any other state, it is the peril of superstition, incompetency, penny ideas—the peril of ignorance. Ruskin said: 'There is but one cure for public distress, and that is education directed to make men more thoughtful, merciful and just.' Garfield said: 'True liberty can be safe only when suffrage is illuminated by education.' Lord Macaulay said: 'For every pound you save in education you will spill in prosecutions, in prisons, in penal settlements.' Thomas Jefferson said: 'If the children are untaught, their ignorance and vices will in the future cost us much dearer in their consequences than it would have done in their correction by a good education.'

of growth or degeneration  
paternalism or law  
becomes a political order and serv  
intellectual and Christian  
South and coming closer to this personal responsibility  
of the South  
Southern Commonwealth  
to constructive life and constructive life is a free democracy  
a part of our government but it is the government that it must be  
not a mere habit to live in the center of the South  
South

Our

of the South  
you  
today

the

of our

our country

five pounds

of the South  
to the South

write

"Education means life; and universal Education - universal not merely in the persons admitted to it, but in the vital topics with which it deals - means universal life - a vitalizing of the farm and the factory, the street. Recognition recognition of the truth that all toil can be intelligent, and, therefore, all toil can be itself Educational." Outlook

8

The established  
 A diversified and  
 diversified  
 school of  
 thought  
 and  
 action  
 is  
 needed  
 to  
 improve  
 the  
 human  
 condition  
 and  
 to  
 bring  
 about  
 a  
 more  
 just  
 and  
 equitable  
 distribution  
 of  
 the  
 world's  
 wealth.  
 It  
 will  
 be  
 a  
 more  
 efficient  
 and  
 secure  
 system  
 of  
 production  
 and  
 distribution  
 of  
 goods  
 and  
 services.  
 It  
 will  
 be  
 a  
 more  
 equitable  
 and  
 just  
 system  
 of  
 distribution  
 of  
 the  
 world's  
 wealth.  
 It  
 will  
 be  
 a  
 more  
 efficient  
 and  
 secure  
 system  
 of  
 production  
 and  
 distribution  
 of  
 goods  
 and  
 services.  
 It  
 will  
 be  
 a  
 more  
 equitable  
 and  
 just  
 system  
 of  
 distribution  
 of  
 the  
 world's  
 wealth.

An education that reaches the head the heart the hand and the body of all the people in the interest of a developed intellect a universal sympathy and respect and that the best days work and good health be a permanent reform and perpetuate a democracy

Of the varied and necessary human pursuits

in this education of the child

SPRIT, THE ENDOWMENT.

"Spirit is the endowment fund of our government. The soul is the energy that is behind commerce and every other great achievement that enlarges and ennobles life. It is the dynamo that turns the complex machinery of human action. It is the great central power-house somewhere in the center of the universe that turns the wheels of progress. In fact, nothing has ever been accomplished by human hands in the outward world that did not begin as a concept in the world of mind. Wherever our eyes go they behold the product of spirit. Tobacco barns were burned and John Hollowell of Kentucky was shot before the blaze was witnessed by the physical eye and the report of the gun was heard by the physical ear. Capt. Rankin of Reelfoot Lake, Tenn., was hanged before the rope was put around his neck. That riot appeared on the fields of the soul before it appeared upon the streets of Springfield, Ill. I am trying to say that the commonwealth's house will be in bad order until the soul's house is put in good order by Christian education."

"The genius of America makes it the duty of every member of a democracy to secure an education, to make an ideal, a selfhood, and to be a righteous and aggressive factor in society. When God opened space and threw millions of worlds into it, He made no two alike. When He swung into existence a young democracy, He made no two of its spiritual atoms the same. He did more than this; He made it impossible for the moral, intellectual, spiritual, physical, and industrial niche intended for one atom to be filled by another. It was a grand thought of God that in the creation of human souls no two personalities should be the same. It has been ordained that there shall be a multiplicity of ideas in order to secure the highest development of thought, justice and progress in society. After all, there is no music in America so sweet as the singing of the spiritual idea as it passes through the spiritual universe; no chorus like the rattle of spiritual artillery; no solo that equals the boom of a moral galling gun; no fleet so strong and stately as a fleet of white ideas sailing the sea of life. Battles between ideas, duels between personalities are the natural products of a republic. The only thing that can vanquish an idea is a superior idea. Democracy calls on you, and you, to create a superior idea and send it on its course of liberating slaves and making freemen."

"Democracy salutes the little red school house on the hill as the temple of liberty. It salutes the teacher of character and scholarship who rings the bell and calls the children to books as a nobleman who gives his life for the Stars and Stripes. It salutes the layman of patriotic vision who goes behind the school, America's temple of liberty, as a hero in the time of peace who plants the American flag upon the heaven kissed hills of liberty. I challenge the patriotism of any citizen who is not interested in things spiritual and who is not willing to make moral and material contributions to those agencies that seek to develop a righteous citizenship. Our government calls for more life; the public school system seeks to create more; let us then resolve to have a public school system in the South the superior of any in the land. Let us develop a system that will enable the South to keep step with the onward march of democracy."

but in a broader sense the word no longer as a divided fragment of an unconnected series of actions but as a single unit a single sphere of activity as no longer or lower than an academic asterisk or detached group of the learned but an interdependent associated living life. Further passing any lower than an American our sole ideal is the same who are to be the best of men and women before the block with who are to be the best of men and women in the great governmental enterprise that is being developed in the country as the intellectual who puts conscience and strength into the performance of his daily duties while occupying the highest position in a free government. Our government is to permit them and allow it to exist leading, freely, and service whether an farmer or in the white house

infused in the mud they give us a new life and burned in the fire and burned in the fire and burned in the fire

allegory to a story of the messengers and the messengers and the messengers and the messengers

of an educated and... The education of all the people for their chosen work is not a question of choice or consensus design or a deliberate mental act but an inevitable and inherent relation from which and cannot be escaped

At this time when public education is fighting for its life when selfish groups are willing to put the dollar above the child the education of the child is being called for... in the spirit of action

Churches by their losses have more than money

Issued October 10, 1911.

# United States Department of Agriculture,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.—Circular No. 38.

## CONSERVATION OF THE SOIL.

[Address of President Taft before the National Conservation Congress, at Kansas City, Mo., September 25, 1911.]

*Members of the National Conservation Congress:*

At last year's convention of this congress I had the honor and pleasure of delivering an address on the subject of conservation of our national resources, and therein attempted to state what the term "conservation" of our national resources meant, what were the statutes affecting and enforcing such conservation, classified the different public lands to which it would apply, and suggested what I thought was the proper method of disposing of each class of lands. Nothing has been done on this subject by Congress since that time, but it is hoped that the present Congress at its regular session will take up the question of the conservation of Government land containing coal and phosphates or furnishing water power, adopt some laws that will permit the use and development of these lands in Alaska and in continental United States, and evolve a system by which the Government shall retain proper ultimate control of the lands, and at the same time offer to private investment sufficient returns to induce the outlay of capital needed to make the lands useful to the public. The discussion did not invoke the consideration of any question which directly concerned the production of food.

To-night, however, I wish to consider in a summary way another aspect of conservation far more important than that of preserving for the public interests public lands; that is, the conservation of the soil, with a view to the continued production of food in this country sufficient to feed our growing population.

We have in continental United States about 1,900,000,000 acres. Of this, the Agricultural Department, through its correspondents, estimates that 950,000,000 acres are capable of cultivation. Of this, 873,729,000 acres are now in farms. The remainder, about 1,000,000,000 acres, is land which is untillable. It is reasonably

certain that substantially all the virgin soil of a character to produce crops has been taken up. It is doubtful how much of the part not included in farms can be brought into a condition in which tillage will be profitable.

The total acreage of farms in the last ten years, although the pressure for increased acreage by reason of high farm prices was great, was increased only about 4 per cent, or about 35,000,000 acres. There are upward of 25,000,000 acres that will be brought in under our irrigation system, and perhaps more, and the amount of lands which can be drained and made useful for agriculture will amount to about 70,000,000 acres.

The total improved farm lands in the United States amount to 477,448,000 acres, which is an increase in the last 10 years of 62,949,000, or 15.2 per cent. The product per acre actually cultivated increased in the last 10 years 1 per cent a year, or 10 per cent. The total product increased in 10 years nearly 20 per cent.

The population in this same time increased 21 per cent. If the population continues to increase at its present rate, we shall have in 50 years double the number of people we now have. It is necessary, then, that not only our acreage but also our product per acre must increase proportionately so that our people may be fed. We must realize that the best land and the land easiest to cultivate has been taken up and cultivated, and that the additions to improved lands and to total acreage in the future must be of land much more expensive to prepare for tillage. The increase per acre of the product, too, must be steady each year, yet each year an increase becomes more difficult. Still, even in the face of these facts, there is no occasion for discouragement. We are going to remain a self-supporting country and raise food enough within our borders to feed our people. When we consider that in Germany and Great Britain crops are raised from land which has been in cultivation for 1,000 years, and that these lands are made to produce more than two and three times per acre what the comparatively fresh lands in this country produce in the best States, it becomes very apparent that we shall be able to meet the exigency by better systems of farming and more intense and careful and industrious cultivation. The theory seems to have been in times past that soils become exhausted by constant cultivation; but the result in Europe, where acres under constant use for producing crops for 10 centuries are made now to produce crops three times those of this country, shows that there is nothing in this theory, and that successful farming can be continued on land long in use, and that great crops can be raised and garnered from it if only it be treated scientifically and in accordance with its necessity. There is nothing peculiar about soils in Europe that gives the great yield per

accrue there and prevents its possibility in the United States. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the application of the same methods would produce just as large crops here as abroad.

One of the great reasons for discouragement felt by many who have written on this subject is found in the movement of the population from farm to city. This has reached such a point that the urban population is now 46 per cent of the total, while the rural population is but 54 per cent, counting as urban all who live in cities exceeding 2,500 inhabitants. This movement has been persistent, and has made it very difficult for the farmers to secure adequate agricultural labor, with an increase in the price of labor which naturally follows such a condition. Still we ought to realize that enormous advance in the machinery used on the farm has reduced the necessity for a great number of farm hands on each farm.

Mr. Holmes, of the Department of Agriculture, in the Yearbook of that department for 1899, points out that between the years 1855 and 1894 the time of human labor required to produce 1 bushel of corn on an average declined from 4 hours and 34 minutes to 41 minutes, and the cost of the human labor required to produce this bushel declined from 35 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents. Between 1830 and 1896 the time of human labor required for the production of a bushel of wheat was reduced from 3 hours to 10 minutes, while the price of the labor required for this purpose declined from 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents. Between 1860 and 1894 the time of human labor required for the production of a ton of hay was reduced from 35 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours to 11 hours and 34 minutes, and the cost of labor per ton was reduced from \$3.06 to \$1.29.

In 1899 the calculation made with respect to the reduction in the cost of labor for the production of seven crops of that year over the old-time manner of production in the fifties and sixties shows it to have been \$681,000,000 for one year. But while it is possible to say that there may be in the future improvements in machinery which will reduce the number of necessary hands on the farm, it is quite certain that in this regard the prospect of economy in labor for the future is not to be compared with that which has been effected in the last 30 years. Hence we must regard the question of available population and available labor in that population for the cultivation of the fields as an important consideration. My impression from an examination of the figures is that the change in this last decade from farm to city has not been as great in its percentage as it was in previous decades, and, if this be true, it indicates that there is in the present situation an element that will help to cure the difficulty. Farm prices are increasing rapidly, and the profits of farming are becoming apparently much more certain and substantial. While the

acreage of the improved land only increased 65,000,000, or 15 per cent, and the total acreage only 4 per cent, the value of the farms in money increased from \$17,000,000,000 to \$35,000,000,000 in 10 years, an enormous advance. This of course was due somewhat to the investment of additional money in the improvement of land and somewhat to the increase in the supply of gold, which had the effect of advancing all prices; but the chief cause for the advance is in the increase in the price of farm products at the farm. So great is this increase that the value of the average farm has now gone from \$2,895 to \$5,470, while the average value per acre has increased from \$19.81 to \$39.69. In addition to this, comforts of farm life have been so greatly added to in the last 10 years by the rural free delivery, the suburban electric railway, the telephone, and the automobile, that there is likely in the next 10 years to be a halt in this change toward the city, and more people in proportion are likely to engage in gainful occupation on the farm than has heretofore been the case. Such an effect would be the natural result of the actual economic operation of the increase in the value of the farm product, and the increase in the certainty of farming profits.

It is the business of the country, in so far as it can direct the matter, to furnish the means by which this economic force shall exert itself along the lines of easiest and best increase of production. Of course the Government, by furnishing assistance in irrigation, increases the amount of tillable land, and the States, if they undertake the drainage of swamp lands, will do the same thing. The cost of such improvements will be considerable, and will affect the farming profit, but the result generally in such cases is to yield such great crops per acre that the farmer can well afford to pay interest on the increased investment. Increased acreage from any other source is likely to be, however, in more stubborn land, calling for greater effort in tillage and producing less per acre. We may reasonably infer from the high prices of the decade immediately past that everything was done by those who owned land to enlarge the acreage where that was easy or practical, and that what is yet to be brought in as tillable land presents greater difficulties and greater expense. The way in which the States can help to meet future increased demand is by investigation and research into the science of agriculture, and by giving to the farming community a knowledge which shall enable them better to develop the soil, and by educating those who are coming into the profession of farming. It is now almost a learned profession.

The first great step that has to be taken in reformed agriculture is the conservation of the soil. Under our present system the loss to the farms in this country by the erosion of the soil is hardly to be calculated. Engineers have shown how much is carried down the



great rivers of the country and is deposited as silt each year at their mouths. The number of cubic yards staggers the imagination. The question is how this can be prevented, as it must be, because the soil which is carried off by this erosion is generally the richest and the best soil of the farms which are thus denuded.

Of the rain or snow which falls on the land, a part evaporates into the air; a second part flows down the slopes to the streams, and is called the run-off. The third part soaks into the soil and sub-soil, and thence into underlying rocks, perhaps to reappear in springs or seepage into streams. This is called ground water. The fourth part is absorbed by organisms, chiefly by trees, grasses, and crop plants, either directly through the tissues or indirectly through the roots penetrating the moistened soil. Erosion is due to the run-off, and its quantity is dependent on the slope of the farm and also the nature of the soil and its products. Any reasonable slope, and any full cover of forest or grass with an abundant mulch, or a close crop on a deeply broken soil, or a friable furrow slice kept loose by suitable cultivation, will absorb rain and curtail the run-off, or even reduce it to slow seepage through the surface soil, which is the ideal condition. Now, the ground water is the most essential constituent of the soil, because solution, circulation, and organic assimilation are dependent on water. All the organisms and tissues are made up of this solvent of water, and it constitutes a large percentage of the bodies and food of men and animals. The question of the amount or ratio of ground water in the soil is a vital one. If it is excessive it makes a sodden mass, sticky when wet, but baked when dry, so that there is no possible absorption further into it, and it sends on the water that falls on it to erode easy slopes.

The erosion begins on the farm and should be remedied there. Deep cultivation tends to absorb the product of each rainfall and to reduce the run-off. Deep cultivation brings up fresh earth salts to the shorter rootlets, but carries down the humus and mulch to thicken the soil and feed the deepest roots. In flat-lying fields and tenacious soils tile drainage is the best method of relieving the farm from the danger of too great run-off. Deep drainage permits both soil and sub-soil to crumble and disintegrate and through mechanical and chemical changes to become friable and capable of taking on and holding the right amount of moisture for plant growth, while the water which runs out through the drain is clear without carrying the soil with it, and therefore without erosion. Of course, different farms require different treatments. Certain farms require what is called contour cultivation, by which each furrow is to be run in such a way as to level and to hold the water. On hilly lands strips of grass land are grown, called balks or breaks, separating zones of plow land, and

they should curve with the slopes; and the soil being carried by the water will be caught by them and constitute them a kind of terrace without effort. The use of forests, of course, in foothills and deeply broken country is essential and should be combined with grazing. They will prevent the formation of torrents by making the mulch and soil deep and spongy. Of course, over all mountain divides the retention of forests greatly helps to prevent the carrying off of the good soil to the valleys below. The proper selection of crops has much to do with the stopping of erosion.

I gather these facts from the reports of the Secretary of Agriculture as to the best method of preventing erosion. They are simple and easily understood, but they need to be impressed upon the farmers by education and by reiteration. Then the productivity of the soils might very well be increased by more careful use of commercial fertilizers. In 1907 \$100,000,000 was expended in fertilizers, but the Agricultural Department is of opinion that one-third of this was wasted for lack of knowledge as to how to use it.

Careful crop rotation is essential because it has been found that the remains of one crop have a poisonous effect upon the next crop if it is of the same plant, but such remains do not interfere with the normal production of a different plant. Then a kind of crop may and should be selected to follow which will renew that element in the soil which the first crop exhausted.

Then there is the organization of the farm on plain business principles by which the buildings and the machinery are so arranged as to make the movement of crops and food and animals as easy and economical as possible. A study as to the character of the soil and the crops best adapted to the soil; the crops to be used in rotation for the purpose of strengthening the soil—all these are questions that address themselves to a scientific and professional agriculturist, and which all farmers are bound to know if the product per acre is to be properly increased. We have every reason to hope, from the forces now making toward the education and information of the farmer, as to the latest results in scientific agriculture, that the country will have the advantage of improvement in our farming along the proper lines. Further agricultural development is to be found in the breeding of proper plants for the making of the best crops, while the growth of live stock is made much more profitable both to the owner and to the public by improving the breed and the infusion of the blood of the best stock.

The improvement in agricultural education goes on apace. All the States are engaged in spending money to educate the coming farmer, and this system is being extended so that now we have the consolidated rural school, the farmers' high school, and the agricultural col-

lege, and one who intends to become a farmer is introduced to his profession soon after he learns to read and write; and he continues his study of it until he graduates from his college and applies for a place upon the farm.

The land-grant colleges and the Federal Government have vindicated the position of the land-grant. Now the department employs 11,000 persons, of whom are engaged in conducting experiment stations, spreading information all over the country. The cooperation between the State agricultural school system and the Federal Government's publicity bureau and experimental work is as close and fine as we could ask. It is difficult to justify the expenditure of money for agricultural purposes in the Agricultural Department with a view to its publication for use of the farmers, or to make grants to schools for farmers, on any constitutional theory that will not justify the Government in spending money for any kind of education the country over; but the welfare of the people is so dependent on improved agricultural conditions that it seems wise to use the welfare clause of the Constitution to authorize the expenditure of money for improvement in agricultural education, and leave to the States and to private enterprise general and other vocational education. The attitude of the Government in all this matter must be merely advisory. It owns no land of sufficient importance to justify its maintenance of so large a department or of its sending into all States agents to carry the news of recent discoveries in the science of agriculture. The \$50,000,000 which has been spent for research work in the department, however, has come back many fold to the people of the United States, and all parties unite in the necessity for maintaining those appropriations and increasing them as the demand shall increase.

It is now proposed to organize a force of 3,000 men, one to every county in the United States, who shall conduct experiments within the county for the edification and education of the present farmers and of the embryo farmers who are being educated. It is proposed that these men shall be paid partly by the county, partly by the State, and partly by the Federal Government, and it is hoped that the actual demonstration on farms in the county—not at agricultural stations or schools somewhere in the State, but in the county itself—will bring home to the farmers what it is possible to do with the very soil that they themselves are cultivating. I understand this to be the object of an association organized for the improvement of agriculture in the country, and I do not think we could have a more practical method than this. It is ordinarily not wise to unite administration between the county and State and Federal Governments, but this subject is one so all-compelling, it is one in which all people are so much inter-

ested, that cooperation seems easy and the expenditure of money for good purpose so free from difficulty, that we may properly welcome the plan and try it.

On the whole, therefore, I think our agricultural future is hopeful. I do not share the pessimistic views of many gentlemen whose statistics differ somewhat from mine, and who look forward to a strong probability of failure of self-support in food within the lives of persons now living. It is true that we shall have to continue the improvement in agriculture so as to make our addition to the product per acre 1 per cent of the crop each year, or 10 per cent each decade; but considering what is done in Europe, this is not either impossible or improbable. The addition to the acreage in drainage and in irrigable lands will go on—must go on. The profit to the State or to the enterprise which irrigates or drains these lands will become sufficient to make it not only profitable but necessary to carry through the project, and we may look forward to the middle of this century, when 200,000,000 of people shall swear fealty to the starry flag, as a time when America will still continue to feed her millions and feed them well out of her own soil.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1911.

There is no reason, for example, why a child should be expected to sing Christian songs in the public schools, and treated as a sort of bigot or outcast if he refuses to do so. There is no reason why Jewish teachers employed in our public schools should be expected to teach such things to Christian children—and it can easily be seen that not much permanent good can result from, nor great religious enthusiasm be engendered by, a Jewish teacher teaching Christian children things she herself does not believe. All this goes to show, among other things, that that sort of religious instruction in the schools does more mischief than good. For it creates misunderstanding, hypocrisy and sham, and causes pupils and teachers to do mechanically, tasks into which they cannot really put their heart, and if mechanicalness is the bane of every subject and duty, it certainly is the bane, and the very negation, of true religion.

The sort of religious instruction, which I characterize by calling formal religious instruction, by all means ought to be kept out of the common schools of Louisville and every other American city.

Now, that is where the misunderstanding often arises. How can you take up such a position, one is asked, and yet assert that you believe in the value of the religious ideal in education? How can you argue in favor of driving prayer and Bible reading and Christian song from the schools, and still pretend that you believe with the ancient sages that the chief part of knowledge is the fear of the Lord? The difficulty arises from the fact that a great many people fail to see the difference between formal religious education and the infusion of the religious ideal into all education.

#### Draws Distinction.

Formal training in religion involves the teaching of certain dogmas and certain religious rites and forms of worship—the kind of forms and ideas of which there is as great a variety among us as there are different creeds and denominations in our citizenship. On the other hand, to infuse the religious ideal into education means quite another thing; it means to say not a word about any particular religious forms or rites, but to permeate every subject taught with that spirit and that aim which it is the purpose of every civilized religion to promote. When one opposes formal religious training in our schools, one does not antagonize this latter object. On the contrary, one favors the latter so much the more, because one realizes that that is the only way in which really to give religious value to our common education and thus to render it more useful and profitable both for the individual and society.

You may ask, what is meant by the religious ideal, the infusion of which into our education is so desirable? The ancient sage called it the fear of the Lord—but that was a very big and meaningful term, and it rings to our ears as indefinite as it was wide. What do we of to-day mean by the religious ideal used in this connection? It so happens that President Eliot, surely as great an authority as we have on the subject, has just published an article on this very topic—an article I have read since preaching last Sunday's sermon and conceiving the theme of its sequel, this morning's address. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Eliot takes the position I have here defended in the matter of formal religious training in our public schools, that he is altogether opposed to it and bases his argument also on the principle of the separation of Church and State. But what interests us here particularly is his definition of the religious ideal in connection with education.

#### Definition of Ideal.

"The ideal," he says, "is the combination of three ideals which are the supreme result of the best human thinking and feeling through all recorded time. Those ideals are truth, beauty or loveliness, and goodness." If we accept this as a modern definition of the religious ideal, to seek to infuse it into our education would mean to carry on all our education in such a manner as to make it productive of truth, beauty and goodness in the life of the individual man and woman and of society at large. I believe this is just what the old biblical teachers meant when they insisted on the religious and ethical element in education, and that is what all Jewish teachers have held to be true throughout the ages.

"Education is worthless, they have all held, unless it leads to the increase of righteousness in the life of the individual and the world—unless it makes for more truth and beauty and goodness among men.

"Consider the matter carefully and you will agree with those modern pedagogues who hold that there is a way of infusing this ideal into our education without

## CHARACTER

### Not Knowledge, Chief Qualification of Teacher.

SO DECLARES DR. H. G. ENELOW  
IN HIS SERMON.

DISCUSSES ELEMENT OF RELIGION  
IN EDUCATION.

URGES INFUSION OF IDEALS

As a sequel to his sermon the preceding Sunday Dr. H. G. Enelow, in his sermon at the Sunday morning services at Temple Adath Israel discussed "The Religious Element in Education." Education is without value, he declared, unless it "makes for more truth and beauty and goodness among men." This end must be obtained, he asserted, not through actual religious training in the public schools, but by the infusion of religious ideals into all education. The chief qualification of a teacher, therefore, he declared, is character and not knowledge.

In his sermon the preceding Sunday Rabbi Enelow brought out the need of more ethical education, a larger measure of moral enlightenment, a deeper religious training for all the people and especially the children. He cited statistics to show that there is more crime in America than anywhere else, and this condition he attributed to a lack of more ethical education. An amazing amount of vice and unhappiness is found in this country, he said, although this nation is considered as wealthy, as powerful and as enlightened, as any that ever existed, if not more so.

#### Remedy For Condition.

In the sequel to this sermon Rabbi Enelow gave what he considers a remedy for this condition, speaking as follows:

"One cannot read the Bible, even superficially, without realizing that it attaches very great importance to knowledge, and particularly to wisdom, which is the highest fruitage of knowledge. Many passages might be adduced from the utterances of prophet and sage to substantiate this statement. Knowledge they extolled as the most precious treasure of life. There is nothing finer in the whole Bible—and indeed in any literature—than the twenty-eighth chapter of Job, and what it contains is an ardent and poetic eulogy of wisdom. But great as is the biblical insistence on the value of knowledge (or as we should say, education) to the development of human dignity and power, particular stress is laid on the importance of the religious element in wisdom, of the religious ideal in education. Without that element and ideal, the masters of the Bible held, all knowledge is worthless and wisdom futile. The fear of the Lord is the chief part of wisdom."

"I would draw attention to this idea this morning, because what I said last Sunday may have created a wrong impression. I argued in favor of the exclusion of formal religious instruction from our common schools, because I believe that our most important duty toward our public schools is to maintain as far as they are concerned the principle of separation of Church and State. Rather than put more religion into the public schools I would like to see removed from them whatever is carried on now by way of formal religious teaching and divine service. I hold that Bible readings and prayers and all other liturgic acts, as well as the teaching of songs and recitations of a strictly sectarian character, are altogether out of place in our public schools; that they do no good, but on the contrary a great deal of harm.

#### Religion In Schools.

treading on the dangerous ground of formal religious instruction. This reform, first of all, to the method of instruction. If the right method is applied, there is no subject in the course that cannot be made a vehicle of training in the principles of truth, beauty and goodness. There is not a child that will not ultimately respond to such a method.

#### Beauty In All Subjects.

"Suppose you teach language; I have always found that children are easily interested in finding out the origin and true meaning of a word. It means a splendid training in accuracy and mental honesty for the child to be taught to understand the exact meaning of words and the precise use of language. Suppose you teach elements of botany; what a fine opportunity for impressive lessons in beauty and loveliness. Or suppose you teach history; what better way is there for inculcating the ideas of heroism and goodness? Nor is there any of these and all the other subjects of the curriculum of the modern school but might serve as a means of training in all the three ideals which Dr. Eliot regards as constituting the sum and substance of the religious ideal. And more can be done in this indirect way than by formal religious instruction, just as you can impart a moral lesson to a child more effectively by a well-told story than by direct moral precepts.

"But the effectiveness and the application of such a method depend on the personality of the teacher. The chief qualification of a teacher is not knowledge, but character. Let a teacher be never so learned, if there is want of enthusiasm and real devotion to the ultimate objects of education, the result is going to be meager. The most beneficent teachers are those who kindle within the soul of the pupil the desire for truth and beauty and goodness, and unless you have such teachers all the formal religious training in the world is going to have but little effect. But insist on such teachers for your schools, and your children will absorb the religious ideal from day to day, and through the medium of every subject they are taught, by the very methods and example and inspiration of their instructors.

#### Must Extend Method.

"This application of the religious ideal to education, however, must not stop at the common school. It must be extended to our higher schools and colleges, and also to the men of education out in the world. I have often felt that an unethical educated man is more dangerous to society than an unethical ignoramus. If there is anything that serves to discredit education, it is when it is found to be of no effect on the moral and spiritual character of the man possessing it.

"You may have noted how invariably in the case of a criminal or pauper who had a college education, stress is laid on this particular fact in the newspapers. In the notorious "bread-line" in New York, I read every now and then, so many college graduates may be seen. Such and such a criminal was educated at such and such a college! Why is such emphasis laid on this fact?

#### More Is Expected.

"Because the world expects a man of education to live up to a higher moral and social standard than the uneducated, and one brings the whole cause of education into disrepute if one has failed to do so. It is precisely the view the tamable teachers held on the subject. Noblesse oblige—this principle they applied particularly to the man of education, the intellectual elite, and a man of education who fell below the highest moral and social standards was considered a disgrace not only to himself, but the entire cause of education.

"It is unfortunate that we have so many nowadays, who though men of education—college graduates and such like—fail to realize the moral implications of education. If such a person comes back to his community and settles down to a selfish life, shut up in the ivory tower of egotism and conceit, doing nothing for the good of his fellows, or engages in iniquitous practices, as so often is the case, he is a discredit to education. He may have gotten learning at his college, and all the diplomas in the world, and he may secure wealth, but his education is ineffectual, because it is unallowed by the religious ideal—it has failed to make of him a servant of truth, beauty and goodness.

"Let us beware against such degradation of education. From beginning to end—from the primary school to the college, and in the school of the world, too—let us make sure that our wisdom is suffused with the glow of godliness, that our education is an agency of truth and goodness and beauty. That is the sort of education we need for our own good and the weal of our fellows."

# ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS TO BE PRESENTED TO STATE WIDE RURAL SCHOOL CONFERENCE

LOUISVILLE, KY., MARCH 29, 1911

### To the People of Kentucky.

This conference of many of your fellow citizens has had under consideration the condition of the rural schools throughout the State and the ways and means for their improvement. We have met to confer with each other in the hope that we may find the quickest, most effective and most practicable methods of relief from the difficulties which lie immediately in the way of improvement.

Indifference due to a failure to appreciate the real value of education is one of the very serious obstacles which has confronted every movement towards a higher standard of educational work. In the last few years greater interest has been exhibited generally over the State, indicating in a decided manner, that our people were shaking off the lethargy of the past and were aspiring to place the State on a sound progressive educational basis. Every citizen must rejoice over this awakening and all should now unite in a continuous, earnest effort to atone for the neglect of the past. It would be a useless task, in view of this growing appreciation of the importance and value of education to make any argument or submit any extended report in its behalf. Of all the efforts the State can make for its advancement, the mental and moral training of the children of the State is the one of most supreme importance. Knowledge is power. It builds up while ignorance pulls down. It is a great constructive force which will become irresistible if wisely developed and properly directed.

Kentucky is an agricultural State. The great majority of her people are engaged in agricultural pursuits. These people are spread out over the country living separate and apart in their many homes. This condition of life presents problems dissimilar in many ways from those to be considered by the cities and towns. Chief among these problems is the education of the children. In providing school houses and in sending the children to these houses, the cities and towns have a much simpler task than the counties. The former enjoy the advantages of a more efficient and comprehensive co-operation. They act as units. They move as one body. They impose taxes and distribute the revenue throughout their corporate limits. In this way and through this co-operation, school houses are more readily constructed and maintained. The children have shorter distances to go and generally have smooth roads and in the larger places street-cars.

These questions now come up for solution—how should school houses be constructed to meet the requirements of established sanitary laws in order to protect and promote the health of the children, and how can the money be obtained for building these houses in the various counties of the State? This is not the time or place to go into detailed description of a sanitary schoolhouse. It is sufficient now to state that every schoolroom should be large enough to give each pupil not less than 250 cubic feet of fresh air; should be properly lighted, ventilated and heated; should be supplied with all necessary toilet arrangements and should have ample playgrounds and pure water.

The people of our State do not yet sufficiently realize the imminent danger to the health and lives of their children from the vast majority of the schoolhouses throughout the country districts. They do not realize the fact that much of the expense that results from sickness among children, to say nothing of the mental anxiety and suffering, could be avoided by building sanitary schoolhouses. In truth, the school house is the place and the only place to meet and destroy tuberculosis and many other fatal diseases.

How can the country people obtain the money to

build sanitary school houses? We answer, by greater concerted action, greatest co-operation, which can be secured only by the counties acting as a unit. While many school districts in the wealthier counties may raise the necessary amount by taxation, the vast majority of our school districts are unable to pay in one or two years the money required to build satisfactory school houses. If the counties would act as units, they could borrow the money by the issue of long time bonds at moderate rates of interest, and could in the next few years have sanitary school houses. The bonds could be carried and retired at their maturity by a small annual tax not to exceed 10 or 15 cents on the \$100 of taxable property. The children as beneficiaries would pay a large part of the bonds when as men and women they would bring into use the training they received through this expenditure.

In many localities, several districts would consolidate and provide vehicles for sending the children to and from school. Around these modern school houses, the people would build their future homes as the land holdings are subdivided and thus escape much of the loneliness and isolation which exert such a depressing and deterring influence on country life. Mankind delights in social intercourse and the children take in inspiration and encouragement from the beautiful display they make when congregated in large numbers around a clean, wholesome, well kept school house and playgrounds. Academic instruction and more or less technical training in the various vocations of country life would bring increased happiness into their lives and be productive of thrift and success in their daily trials.

We can conceive of no effort so full of gratification, pleasure and profit as the building of these school houses. Concede that to do this involves increased labor; and possibly greater self denial, can any struggle be too severe or any sacrifice too irksome if our children can be protected in their tender years against exposure to diseases which may cripple their energies during life if it does not consign many to untimely graves? Not only is health at stake, but education as well, for no teacher, however efficient and industrious, can make satisfactory progress with children enfeebled by bad air, by disease germs and by the many ills caused by neglect of sanitary laws.

With the hope that we may awaken renewed interest in the great educational work of our State and especially that we may appeal to our country people to put into actual practice the views hereinbefore set out, we condense them into the following resolutions.

RESOLVED, That we most earnestly ask and petition the next General Assembly of our beloved Commonwealth to enact a law authorizing the counties to issue bonds for building school houses. The bonds to be placed in the hands of the County Boards of Education or a special commission as the General Assembly may designate, who shall sell same and apply proceeds to the buying of suitable sites, to the building of school houses and equipment and for no other purpose.

RESOLVED, That in our judgment all moneys raised under existing laws and available for school purposes are needed and will be needed for the maintenance and conduct of the schools and that these moneys should be kept intact for these purposes.

RESOLVED, That in the expenditure of the proceeds of the bonds the County Boards of Education should be authorized to consolidate districts when in their judgment the conditions are favorable, but shall provide school houses available for every section of the county that all the children of the county shall receive the benefit to be derived from the expenditure of a common county fund.

### The Ideal Teacher

The ideal teacher is the one whose character and intellect are the only forces needed; whose precept is impressed by example; whose demeanor proclaims his mastery of himself and of his pupils; whose personality compels confidence; whose friendliness begets friendliness; who wins respect by being respectful, and love by loving; whose devotion to duty inspires the children to work; whose patience develops perseverance; whose serenity makes permanent peace; who causes the children to love school and everything that is for their good; who leads and does not drive; who sympathizes and does not complain; who teaches that the aim of education is right living, that right living is righteousness, and righteousness is Godliness; who strives that his pupils may be prepared for success in this life while remaining true to the principle that it is better to inspire noble thoughts than vain ambitions, and wiser to go only a short distance and go right than to go to the end of the world and go wrong.—Bruce Craven

### Sunshine in Teaching

The most wonderful little woman I know has taught in country school-houses in the west thru difficulties unheard of in the East, sometimes having taken her baby and lived in a school-house, of an "off year," while her husband fed the stock at home. But she is the happiest little sunbeam of a woman the wind ever hurried over the prairies. She feels the majesty of the plains, and sees the beauty and poetry of everything from a crocus to a prairie sunflower. Along with this, she *sees the funny side*. Her laugh is like that of a girl, and she really seems not so much older than her daughter-companion. And what do you think this wonderful little woman said to me one day? She said, said she, "I am *so sorry* for any one who has *never taught school*. Just see what a nice lot of boys and girls I have growing up over these prairies, and they love me next to their own mothers."

She had just been to spend the day with one of her old pupils. As I looked into her face, I felt sure that

she had never felt obliged to drive the iron into a soul by requiring an impossible task. I sighed as I thought of some awful mistakes I had made in offending these little ones in order to have my reports read right. One of the bitter fruits of teaching, to the really well meaning teacher, is the knowledge that there are some among her former pupils who will always, *always* think of her with a bitter taste in the mouth.

Among the clouds of witnesses that rise up and call their teacher blessed, I do not remember ever to have heard one say, "I love her for the way she taught me mathematics or grammar." Her methods are forgotten—her machinery is old iron. She lives in their affections for what she gave them of herself. In the light of retrospect, I have reached the conclusion that our technical work is very insignificant compared to the soul-help we give—or withhold.—S. G.

# GOVERNOR'S SPEECH ACCEPTING STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Spirit of the Dead Will Not Perish Until Manhood and Womanhood, Honor and Humanity Are Gone Forever.

Frankfort, Ky., Nov. 8.—(Special.)—The address of Gov. A. E. Willson at the dedication of the Lincoln statue was as follows:

"To the people of Kentucky here assembled; to the President of the United States and our distinguished guests; to James Breckinridge Speed and Henry Watterson; Ladies and gentlemen:

"In the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth, as Governor of Kentucky, with the agreement of every member of the Capitol Commission, appointed to finish and furnish this Statehouse, I accept this statue of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, to stand in this place in the center of our Capitol, through all the ages as the central figure, the type and image of the pioneers of Kentucky and of all American pioneers, the best figure and representative of the spirit of our people, an inspiration to Kentucky and Kentuckians for all time, a guardian spirit standing, for eternity, in sleepless vigil over our liberties and our hopes, over this cradle of our rights and of our government of the people, by the people and for the people.

"The strongest human feature of Kentucky history is the period of the pioneers, the founding of this Commonwealth by the original people of English, Scotch and Irish stock. The Indian is but one of the accessories to the picture. The center of it is the type of our forefathers, the pioneers, and in planning to furnish this great hall, our thoughts turned naturally to the choice of a statue of a man of their type. Gov. Shelby, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Clay and other great examples of our pioneers were in our thoughts. Henry Clay, born in another State, spending his life in Kentucky; Abraham Lincoln, son of Kentucky, who spent his life in another State, both perfect types of our stock, both noble, great in soul, in spirit, in deeds and history, both known to the whole world as great Americans and both nobly useful to their State, their country and the world.

"The choice of either would be most fit, better than the choice of any other. Neither won his place merely as the result of human choice. Both were inspired and chosen of the Lord of Hosts. There is no rivalry nor conflict between them. Each holds his own place that no other man ever born could fill. They stand in history side by side with the motto, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall" as their sentiment.

"And up there, where the spirits of just men are made perfect, we can think of them to-day standing side by side, both rejoicing in this great host of the people of freedom's land, their country, gathered here in the name of Kentucky, in their union, that both lived and died for.

### Came From the Heart.

"It came into the heart of a direct descendant of the earliest settlers, Mr. James Breckinridge Speed, to present to his native State this statue of her great son, Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Speed has been a busy, useful and hard-working man all his life. He has always taken an earnest interest in the welfare of the people. The splendid gift which he has made to-day to the people of his native State came naturally from the spirit which is the fruit of the family traditions. It is made without a thought of personal distinction or note and solely from a reverent wish to honor the memory of Abraham Lincoln and to pay this tribute of devotion to his native State. It seemed to the commissioners that the gift was inspired, and that the genius of the sculptor, Adolph Weinman, has given it the spirit of Lincoln. We believe solemnly that this immortal statue is of more than mortal inspiration; that it will be looked upon by all people for all time as typical of Kentucky and of American institutions, inspirations and hopes and of the noblest traits of humanity.

"This is one of the most impressive events in the history of the Commonwealth if not of the whole country. This great audience representing the feelings of every man, woman and child in Kentucky, the President of the United States and our distinguished guests, the soldiers of the union and the soldiers of the Confederacy, the men and women who were slaves and who were freed by the President whose statue we unveil here to-day, have all come together to do honor to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States at the time of the great Civil War. Men most earnest, who risked their lives on opposite sides of that great struggle, come here to-day together, all equally earnest in paying the tribute of love and respect to this great Kentuckian, all coming here with but a single thought with hearts that beat as one.

"The art, science and cleverness of the sculptor could mold and shape the clay in the resemblance of a man, and mechanical science could transform the fragile, crumbling model into lasting bronze in the fiery furnace, but the God of Hosts alone could give life to the man-child of the pioneers and fill that life with the great soul which should forever and forever make that body so shine in living, human features before all mankind for all time, as one made and inspired of God, one who should quicken the gladness of living and renew the sometimes despairing hopes.

Not Enemies, But Friends.

"We might have had a President who was a great soldier or a conquering genius, or we might have had a President who was a wise and astute statesman, or we might have had a President of such fearful power of leadership that he could com-

pel men to do his will, but neither one of these could have brought the people together after such a war between opposing factions of people of a race like ours. We did have a President whose wisdom, patience, courage, fortitude and human love inspired him to say in his first inaugural:

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely as they will be by the better angels of our nature."

"Mr. Hamilton Busby, in the Forum, states that he gained the impression from two talks with Gen. John M. Palmer that President Lincoln was more anxious to preserve Kentucky to the Union than any other of the border States, for the reason that it was the birthplace of himself and of the mother of his children.

Joshua Speed's Lecture.

"Mr. Joshua Speed, in his lecture on Lincoln, said:

"Thus he pleaded for peace on the very threshold of his administration. But war came—he kept his oath to preserve, protect and defend, and in his last inaugural when he could almost see the end of the rebellion, he says, 'With charity for all with malice toward none, let us pursue the right as God has given us the light to see the right.'"

"And is not it significant to-day that in that lecture Mr. Joshua Speed said:

"No better evidence of the affection of the American people could be given than has been shown in the erection of the monument to his memory at Springfield at a cost of \$200,000. \* \* \* It was my good fortune to witness the unveiling of the statue. It was draped with the American flag. \* \* \* As Gov. Oglesby (a Kentuckian) closed his oration, he turned and, pointing to the statue, said: 'Behold the image of the man.'"

"The declaration of the great Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, when the heart of Lincoln ceased to beat, 'Now he belongs to the ages,' has been verified by the lapse of time. The greatness and the goodness, the nobility and the sweetness of this man is recognized as earnestly by those who wore the gray as those who wore the blue.

"And to-day Mr. Speed, who was a Union soldier, has wisely chosen Mr. Waterson, who was a Confederate soldier, to present this image of the great President and this monument to his memory to the people of his native State, and this statue and the ceremonies of this day make a living picture of the fruit of his brave, wise and true spirit and the realization of his prayers more forcibly than any words of any person can present.

"We are all trained and inspired to cling to the traditions of our fathers and to hold fast to that which is good. It is part of the faith of our countrymen to be proud of the great souls who founded our Government. We know that the real power then and now and forever was and is and shall be the total sum of the souls, wills and sense, the knowledge and the strength, the property and the gifts of all the people, and that all these, incalculably great as they are, would be of no avail but for the inspiration which arranged them in a nation governed by the Constitution, which is a covenant of

each person with all the rest.

"Ideas must at last govern all human action, and in turn must first be born in some person's mind, and must be spread over the land by leaders of thought, who thus become movers of action and progress. It is natural, it is human, to keep in memory the personality, the humanity, the soul and the worth of our great leaders. It is the highest reward that we can give to those who do most, give most and endure most for us. It is a spirit which honors us as greatly as it rewards them. It has been the spirit of the human race of all countries and all times since organized government succeeded barbarism.

The Spirit of the Dead.

"It is too late to ask, Why keep statues and portraits of the dead? The spirit and the features of these leaders of men are not dead and will not die until manhood and womanhood, honor and humanity are gone forever.

"In all hearts are ideals, in all minds, thoughts and recollections, in many, many places are statues in bronze and stone of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln and a noble host of other great leaders whose names are associated with noble works.

"To-morrow we shall meet in a great assembly at the farm on which Lincoln was born to dedicate and consecrate to the spirit and genius of the American people their memorial building, inclosing in a granite temple the lowly log cabin in which he was born.

"The President of the United States, the Judges of the Court of Appeals, the Governor and his associate officers of the State here join with the people, the men and women of Kentucky and our honored and welcome guests to thankfully accept and solemnly dedicate this noble gift to the State, the nation and the world of this statue of Abraham Lincoln, whose closest friend was Joshua F. Speed, and in whose Cabinet James Speed was Attorney General, both uncles of the great-hearted giver of this statue, who himself was a modest, faithful Kentucky soldier in the armies which the great son of Kentucky raised to save the Union for us all and for all humanity, and, we pray, for all eternity."



# LINCOLN'S GREAT PATIENCE ONE OF CHIEF VIRTUES

President Taft Pays High Tribute To Great Emancipator at Frankfort Dedication Exercises.

Frankfort, Ky., Nov. 8.—(Special.)—President Taft's speech at the dedication of the Speed memorial to-day was brief and follows in full: "We are met to dedicate in this, the capital of Kentucky, a monument to her son, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's parents were lowly people from Virginia, and their course was like that of many others who migrated from the Old Dominion into Kentucky, and thence across the river to Indiana and Illinois. Though Lincoln lived here but eight years he knew Kentucky well, and it is most fitting that it should have a memorial of him.

Those who were closest to Lincoln have said that he was a many-sided man, and that he gave different impressions of himself to different people; that there were things unexplained about him, a continual sadness and gloom that pervaded all his waking hours; and they describe him in tones of mysticism, as if to make him greater by removing the lines of his character.

"I don't think it is too much to say that Lincoln had the most judicial temperament of any man in history. He considered the arguments of his opponents with all the fairness of John Stuart Mill, and preserved that calm judicial consideration of the views of everyone that became important, and in his disagreement with them he left nothing more than the application of an apt story or a clear Euclid-like demonstration of error without sting. With his love of the truth, the supreme trait of his intellect, accompanied by a conscience that insisted on the right as he knew it, with a great heart full of tenderness, we have the com-

bination that made Lincoln one of the two greatest Americans. He hated slavery because he had reasoned out its injustice, and its demoralizing effect upon country and community in which it was a legal institution. He did not hate the slaveholders; and there is not the slightest evidence he ever had a feeling of bitterness toward them as a class. He knew how the institution had grown, how it had become a part of society, how closely imbedded it was in the economy of the South, and from the time when he entered Congress until he died his mind was bent on problems for the solution of the difficulty by which the cancer could be excised and no injustice done to those whose constitutional rights had become intertwined with this hated system, and interdependent upon it.

"The South knows, as the North knows now, that there is no soul that unites them in perfect amity like that of Abraham Lincoln; the South knows, as the North knows, that every Administration that removes another cause of misunderstanding between the sections, that brings them closer together in any way, is acting under the inspiration of him who could love his entire country with undiminished ardor when nearly one-half was seeking to destroy its integrity.

"Here, then, at a place which knew battle, that knew family dissension, that knew bloody conflict, that represented in the sharpest and cruellest way a division of the sections here, now that perfect peace and amity and harmony prevail, let this memorial be dedicated as typical of the love which he, in whose memory it is reared, maintained for all Americans, with a kindly fatherly patience that has no counterpart since Bethlehem."

# MR. WATTERSON'S ADDRESS PRESENTING SPEED STATUE

Tells the Story of the Great American From the Cradle To  
the Grave—"His Mission Was From On High."

Frankfort, Ky., Nov. 8.—(Special.)  
—Henry Watterson, in presenting the  
Speed statue of Lincoln to the State  
and nation, said:

I can the more intelligently say what  
I have to say on this occasion by re-  
calling and repeating some lines from  
a letter written by me to Mr. James  
Breckinridge Speed, in answer to his  
request that I would serve as his inter-  
mediary in conveying this tribute of a  
Kentuckian to Kentucky, this offering  
of a patriot to his country and his coun-  
trymen.

Mr. James Breckinridge Speed is a  
fine example of the modern Ameri-  
can sprung from the pioneer American;  
a vivid reproduction of that Scotch-Irish  
type to which America owes so much  
of all that makes us as a people te-  
naculous and frugal, simple, acquisitive  
and home-loving?

In the community where he lives and  
has passed his life, he is recognized  
as a successful and important man of  
affairs who, obeying the bard's injunc-  
tion to "gather gear by every wile  
that's justified by honor," has remained  
a private citizen, declining preferment  
of every sort. To his familiars he is  
known as a lover of books, of pictures  
and of music. It was the sense of the  
divine of art within him, not less than  
that of deep affection and recollection,  
which influenced and lead him to a  
benefaction at once so apposite and  
congenial. Fully comprehending this,  
with some misgiving and many heart-  
beats, I wrote in response to his sum-  
mons:

"Historically, it will awaken a sense of  
poetic justice to reflect that a Speed is  
to pay this signal tribute to the greatest  
of native-born Kentuckians, whilst to me  
it is the source of infinite happiness that  
I am deemed fit to utter the words that  
are to convey it from the Speeds to the  
people of the Nation and the State.

"I have always regretted that my full  
knowledge of Abraham Lincoln, derived  
from a brief season of casual intercourse  
in the early days of 1861, but later from a  
close study of the documentary record of  
his Administration, did not antedate the  
exit from the scenes of this world of the  
late Joshua Fry Speed and his distin-  
guished brother, the late James Speed,  
the one Mr. Lincoln's nearest friend, the  
other his Attorney General.

"The spirit of each may look down upon  
us when the noble gift of their relative—  
at once a memorial to Lincoln and to  
them—is dedicated in the Rotunda of the  
Capitol at Frankfort. That will give me  
the right to feel that my regret was not  
wholly vain. It will inspire me to believe  
that in speaking for you I am also speak-  
ing for them, and thus paying the hom-  
age of affection from the living to the  
dead."

\* \* \*

### The Romance of Two Friends.

Of the public life, the historic career,  
of Abraham Lincoln enough has been  
written and spoken. I purpose to dwell  
here upon his personality, his mental  
and spiritual character. It is of record  
that he stood closer to Joshua Fry Speed  
than to any other. The ties of early  
manhood between the two were never  
broken. To the end Lincoln could turn  
to Speed certain to get the truth, equal-  
ly sure of sound counsel and unselfish  
fidelity.

"He was one of those men," says  
John Hay, "who seem to have to a sur-  
passing degree the genius of friend-  
ship, the Pythias, the Pylades, the Ho-  
ratios of the world. \* \* \* It is hard-  
ly too much to say that he was the  
only, as he certainly was the last, inti-  
mate friend that Lincoln ever had. \* \*  
They knew the inmost thoughts of  
each other's hearts and each depended  
upon the honesty and loyalty of the  
other."

The story of the way their intimacy  
began and how they came to abide to-  
gether relates that, entering Speed's  
store in Springfield, saddle-bags on arm,  
the just-arrived Lincoln ascertained  
that the domestic outfit he required  
would cost the enormous sum of seven-  
teen dollars. "I had no idea it would  
cost the half of that," said he, "and I  
haven't the money to pay for it; but,  
if you'll wait on me till Christmas, and  
I make anything I'll pay; and, if I  
don't, I can't." Then said Speed: "I  
can do better for you than that. I have  
all the things you want and I sleep on  
a bed that's big enough for two. You  
just come and bunk with me and it  
shall cost you nothing." He pointed  
the way around a pile of boxes and  
barrels and up a flight of stairs. Lin-  
coln went as directed and quickly re-  
turned but without the saddle-bags.  
"Speed" said he, "I've moved."

times primitive and gentle! Souls crystal and ungrudging! A twain of Kentucky birth transplanted in the Far West of the Illinois country achieved by Virginia! Conscience and Destiny had joined their hands to write a drama such as may not be found elsewhere outside the pages of romance; as compact and unified as a Greek tragedy; mystical and weird, but real. Speed was short, of stocky build, not given to loquacity, a little abrupt in speech to the end of his days. Lincoln was very tall and angular, conciliatory, patient, not ever wanting the persuasive word. He might have described himself and his friend as he once described himself and his wife, as "the long and the short of it."

The first and most serious affair of life to them was marriage. The amatory matters which engaged and engrossed them were not many, but they cut deep. Lincoln had already had what he thought was his finishing stroke in the death of Ann Rutledge, when he met Mary Todd. Speed's love passage with Fanny Henning was to come later. Each as the sequel showed suffered the common lot of heartache, as each in turn and in the hour of trouble delivered to the other youthful wisdom and fraternal comfort.

"In the year 1840," I am reading from the Hay-Nicolay Life, "Abraham Lincoln became engaged to be married to Miss Mary Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky. \* \* \* \* \* The engagement was not in all respects a happy one, as both parties doubted their compatibility. \* \* \* \* \* His affection for his betrothed, which he feared was not strong enough to make happiness with her secure; his doubts which yet were not convincing enough to induce him to break off all relations with her; his sense of honor which was wounded in his own eyes by his own act; his sense of duty which condemned him in one course and did not sustain him in the opposite course, combined to make him profoundly and passionately wretched. To his friends who were unused to such finely wrought, and even such fantastic sorrows, his trouble seemed so exaggerated that they could only account for it on the ground of insanity."

But he was not mad. Speed picked him up bodily, as it were, and carried him off to Kentucky and into the bosom of his own happy and pious family circle, where he quickly recovered his equanimity, returning to Springfield himself again. It was Speed, who on this home visit, met his fate, and, in perturbation of spirit, exchanged places with Lincoln, Lincoln who became the physician of his friend, and, out of his own experience administered the needed medicine of thoughtful and tender sympathy.

The correspondence is yet extant revealing the innermost throes of two natures exquisitely strung and stretched to their tension, neither Hamlet, nor Werther, closer upon the edge of the precipice, which happily was withheld from them. Their period of travail endured for nearly two years, from 1840 to 1842. The close of the latter year, however, found each of them safely married. Just eighteen years thereafter, Lincoln, elected President of the United States, wrote to Speed: "It is like a dream, isn't it?"

They were altogether prosperous and happy marriages. Speed's continued into

the old age of both, his wife surviving him. The Lincoln tragedy came to pass two years before the time to celebrate a silver wedding, leaving the stricken wife, as Nicolay and Hay tell us, "a prey to melancholy and madness."

### The Parentage of Lincoln.

Where did Lincoln get his wondrous sensibility? He has told us himself, "All that I am," said he, "all that I hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

Let me pause here that I may speak with some particularity and the authority of fact, tardily but conclusively ascertained, touching the parentage and especially the maternity of Abraham Lincoln. Few passages of history have been so greatly misrepresented and misconceived. Some confusion was made by his own mistake as to the marriage of his father and mother, which had not been celebrated in Hardin County, but in Washington County, Kentucky, the absence of any marriage papers in the old Court House at Elizabethtown, the County seat of Hardin County, leading to the notion that there had never been any marriage at all. It is easy to conceive how such a discrepancy might give occasion for any amount and all sorts of partisan falsification, the distorted stories winning popular belief among the credulous and inflamed. Lincoln himself died without surely knowing that he was born in honest wedlock and came from an ancestry upon both sides of which he had no reason to be ashamed.

For a long time a cloud hung over the name of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln. Persistent and intelligent research has brought about a vindication in every way complete. It has been clearly established that the ward of a decent family, she lived, a happy and industrious girl, until she was twenty-three years of age, when Thomas Lincoln, who had learned his carpenter's trade of one of her uncles, married her June 12, 1806.

The entire record is in existence and intact. The marriage bond, to the amount of 50 pounds, required by the laws of Kentucky at that time, subscribed to by Thomas Lincoln and Richard Berry, was duly recorded seven days before the wedding, which was solemnized as became well-to-do folk in those days. The Uncle and Aunt gave an "infare," to which the neighboring countryside was invited. Dr. Christopher Columbus Graham, one of the best known and most highly respected of Kentuckians, before his death in 1885 wrote at my request his remembrances of that festival and testified to this before a notary in the ninety-sixth year of his age. He said:

"I know Nancy Hanks to have been virtuous, respectable, and of good parentage, and I knew Jesse Head, Methodist preacher of Springfield, who performed the ceremony. The house in which the ceremony was performed was a large one for those days. At the 'infare' there were bear meat, venison, wild turkey, duck, and a sheep that the two families had barbecued over the coals of wood burned in a pit and covered with green boughs to keep the juices in. Nancy's disposition and habits were considered a dowry. She was an adept at spinning flax, and at parties, to which the countrywomen usually brought their wheels, she generally bore away the palm, her spools yielding the longest and finest thread. Nancy had sprightliness and grace and was above the average in education. She became a great reader, especially of 'Aesop's Fables,' the Bible and Watts' Hymns, possessing a sweet voice, and fond of singing."

Old people still living a few years ago spoke of her as having a "gentle and trusting nature." A grandson of Joseph Hanks, Nancy's brother, said to Joshua Fry Speed, from whom it came to me: "My grandfather always spoke of his angel sister Nancy with emotion. She taught him to read. He often told us children stories of their life together."

The first child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was a daughter, Sarah. Three years after marriage arrived the boy Abraham. Another son, named Thomas was born; he lived only a few months, though long enough indelibly and tenderly to touch the heart of the elder brother. Just before the Lincolns started to seek a new home in Indiana he remembered his mother taking him and his sister by the hand, walking across the hills, and sitting down and weeping over the grave of the little babe she was to leave behind them forever.

The last recorded words of Nancy Lincoln were words of cheer. A few days before her death she went to visit an ailing neighbor. This neighbor, exceedingly despondent, thought that she was about to die. Said Nancy Lincoln: "Oh, you will live longer than I cheer up." And so it proved. The dread illness stalked abroad, smiting equally human beings with the beasts of the field. Uncle Thomas and Aunt Betsy Sparrow both died within a few days of each other. Soon the frail but heroic Nancy was taken to bed. She struggled on day by day, but on the seventh day she died, says the brief chronicle. There was not a physician within thirty-five miles; no minister within a hundred miles. Placing her hand on the head of the little boy, nine years old, "I am going away from you, Abraham," she said, "and I shall not return. I know that you will be a good boy, that you will be kind to Sarah and to your father. I want you to live as I have taught you and to love your Heavenly Father."

Thomas Lincoln shaped the boards with his whip-saw from the trees he felled, and with his own hands made the three coffins for the Sparrows and his wife. Pitiable story; one cannot read it with dry eyes. But it lifts the veil forever from the cruel slander which so long smirched the memory of Nancy Hanks. I here dwell upon it and give the details, because it ought to be known to every American who would have the truth of history fulfilled. It tells its own tale of the character and temperament of Abraham Lincoln, and throws a flood of light upon his subsequent career:

\*\*\*  
**Homage to Nancy Hanks Lincoln.**

To-morrow there will assemble in a little clearing of the wildwood of Kentucky a goodly company. It will embrace the greatest and the best of our time and land. The President and the rest will gather about a lowly cabin, whose unheavened logs like the serried battlements of Elsinore gave prelude to the swelling act of a theme yet more imperial, to consecrate a shrine. Of him that was born there the final earthly word was spoken long ago; but shall that throng pass down the hillside and away without looking into the Heaven above in unutterable love and homage with the thought of a spirit there which knew in this world nought of splendor and power and fame; whose sad lot it was to live and die in obscurity, struggle, almost in penury and squalor; whose tragic fate it was after she had lain half a lifetime in her humble, unmarked grave, to be pursued by the deepest, darkest, calumny that can attach itself to the name of woman; the hapless, the fair-haired Nancy Hanks?

No falsier, fouler story ever gained currency than that which impeaches the character of the mother of Abraham Lincoln. It had never any foundation whatsoever. Every known fact flatly contradicts it. Every aspect of circumstantial evidence stamps it a posthumous lie.

It was a period of heroic achievement tempered by religious fervor. It was a pious, God-fearing neighborhood of simple hard-working men and women. Debauchery was unheard of. Double-living was impossible. Thomas Lincoln

and Nancy Hanks, as the record shows, came of good people. Historically, it would not matter who were the parents of Abraham Lincoln any more than it matters that he whom the English monarch is proud to call the founder of his line, was a bastard; but it offends the soul of a brave and just manhood, it should arouse the heart of every true woman, a sense of wrong that so much as a shadow should rest upon the little cabin in which Nancy Lincoln gave to the world an immortal son, born in clean, unquestioned wedlock, nor thought of taint or shame anywhere.

Let no one of those that gather there go thence without a heart salute to the gentle spirit of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, that, mayhap, somewhere beyond the stars among the angels of the choir invisible, will look upon the scene, serene and safe at last in the bosom of her Father and her God!

\*\*\*  
**Lincoln's First Inauguration.**

I was engaged by the Manager of the Associated Press to assist with the report of the Inaugural ceremonies of the 4th of March, 1861. The newly elected President had arrived in Washington ten days before—to be exact, the morning of the 23d of February. It was a Saturday. That same afternoon he came to the Capitol escorted by Mr. Seward, and being on the floor of the House I saw him for the first time, and was, indeed, presented to him.

"You are not a member," said he kindly, observing my extreme youth. "No, sir," I answered, "I only hope to be." He said, "I hope you will not be disappointed," and passed on.

Early in the morning of the 4th of March I discovered, thrust into the key-hole of my bedroom a slip of paper which read, "For Inaugural Address see Colonel Ward H. Lamon." Who was "Colonel Ward H. Lamon?" I had never heard of him. The city was crowded with strangers. To find one of them was to look for a needle in a haystack. I went directly to Willard's Hotel. As I passed through the long corridor of the second floor, spliced with little dark entry-ways to the apartments facing on Pennsylvania Avenue, I saw through a half-opened door Mr. Lincoln himself pacing to and fro, apparently reading a manuscript. I went straight in. He was alone, and, as he turned and saw me, he extended his hand, called my name, and said: "What can I do for you?" I told him my errand and dilemma, showing him the brief memorandum. "Why," said he, "you have come to the right shop. Lamon is in the next room. I will take you to him, and he will fix you all right." No sooner said than done and, supplied with the press copy of the Inaugural Address, I gratefully took my leave.

Two hours later I found myself in the Senate chamber, witnessing there the oath of office administered to Vice President-elect Hannibal Hamlin. Thence I followed the cortege through the winding vestibule and across the Rotunda to the East portico, where a temporary wooden platform had been erected, keeping close to Mr. Lincoln. He was tall and ungainly, wearing a black suit, a black tie and a black silk hat. He carried a gold or silver-headed walking cane. As we came out into the open and upon the provisional stand, where there was a table containing a Bible, a pitcher and a glass of water, he drew from his breast pocket the manuscript I had seen him reading at the hotel, laid this before him, placing the cane upon it as a paperweight, removed from their leathern case his steel-rimmed spectacles, and raised his hand—he was exceedingly deliberate and composed—to remove his hat. As he did so, I lifted my hand to receive it, but Judge Douglas, who stood at my side, reached over my arm, took the hat, and held it during the delivery of the Inaugural Address which followed.

\*\*\*  
**A Heaven-Born Leader at Home.**

His self-possession was perfect. His voice was a little high-pitched, but resonant, quite reaching the outer fringes of the vast crowd in front; his expression serious to the point of gravity; not a scintillation of humor. I was prepared to expect much. Judge Douglas had said to me, upon his return to Washington after the famous campaign of 1858 for the Illinois Senatorship, from which the Little Giant had come off victor: "He is the greatest debater I have ever met, either here or anywhere else."

It is only true to say he delivered that inaugural address as though he had been delivering inaugural addresses all his life. To me it meant war. As the crowd upon the portico dispersed back into the Capitol I found myself wedged in between John Bell of Tennessee, and Reverdy Johnson, of Mary-

land. Each took me by an arm and we sat down upon a bench just inside the Rotunda. They were very optimistic. No, there would be no war, no fight; all the troubles would be tided over; the Union still was safe. I was but a boy, just one and twenty. They were the two most intellectual and renowned of the surviving Whig leaders of the school of Clay and Webster, one of them just defeated for President in the preceding election. Their talk marveled me greatly, for to my mind there seemed no escape from the armed collision of the Sections—Secession already accomplished and a Confederate Government actually established.

The next three months I saw and heard Mr. Lincoln often in public, and on several occasions was thrown with him in private companies. He looked the picture of health. Serenity, however, not levity, was the prevailing mood with him. To me he seemed a wholly resolute man. There was in his kindness an unflinching and a very firm note. I do not believe that at any turning he hoped for a reconciliation between the leaders of the North and South, who were already stripped for action. He had carefully measured the forces of combat and made up his mind both as to his duty and the situation.

On either side it was a play for time and advantage. The signal-gun was fired at length by the South in Charleston harbor. Promptly upon the attack upon Sumter came the Proclamation for troops from the White House at Washington. Extremism was destined to have its way. At last it had won. Blood was sprinkled in the faces of the people, Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis perhaps the only two living men who understood what was about to happen.

\*\*\*

#### The Hand of God.

I have said, and I truly believe, that God, of whose actuality the mind of man is not able to conceive but whom we prefigure as an all-wise Deity, that, from the founding of an empire to the fall of a sparrow, concerns Himself with mortal affairs, has from the Declaration of Independence even to this day, had the American Union in His especial keeping. Nor am I able to see how any man who has read its history can believe anything else. All the incidents and accidents of the Revolutionary War made for the Colonials and against the British; all the incidents and accidents of the War of Sections made for the Union and against the Confederacy.

The mysterious law of good and ill fortune extended itself even to the leaders in each instance. Why was George Washington, the modest Vir-

ginia Colonel of Militia, preferred to Charles Lee, the accomplished English Veteran, having a European reputation to commend him? Why, under his heavy handicaps, did Grant, the greatest of modern fighters, forge to the front ahead of McClellan and Burnside and Meade, accomplished officers, but somehow unequal to the final issue, and why were Albert Sidney Johnston, the rose and expectancy of the young Confederacy, and Stonewall Jackson, Napoleon of the Sword and Soldier of the Cross, struck down at the decisive moment? How happened Ericsson's little "oigar box" to crawl into Hampton Roads just in the nick of time, to do its work and then go to the bottom of the sea, and how was it possible, except through the direct help of some power divine, that Cushing was able to creep up Roanoke River, both its banks studded with Confederate batteries, to destroy the second and last of the Southern iron-clads? And finally, why Lincoln, the rustic lawyer, the so-called rail-splitter, instead of Seward, the matchless party leader, or Chase, the magnificent?

By all the rules of political calculation, Lincoln should have been the Illinois Senator in 1855. If he had been there is every reason to conjecture that he would never have reached the Presidency. Had he defeated Douglas in 1858, it is possible that the nomination of 1860 might still have come to him; but it would have put him face to face with many rivals at Washington and have brought him into dangerous proximities and prominence. Seward aside, McLean too old, made it easier for the Convention managers finally to choose Lincoln.

The way ahead was made for him. The Democratic party had committed harikari betimes. Through the breach effected by Douglas, his life-long rival, in the wall of Democracy, Lincoln, at the head of the Republicans, marched in triumph. How else; yet in the light of after events, his destiny, and the destiny of the Republic; for nothing seems surer than that he was the one and only man who could have stood through the dark days succeeding Bull Run and the Trent affair, as Washington was the one and only man who could have survived the blighting Winter of Valley Forge.

Happily, there remain no more hidden chapters, not even any more disputed passages, in Lincoln's life. He was as transparent as the day. His was the genius of common sense. He possessed all the distinguishing characteristics of the politicians of the mid-period of the last Century; their craft, plausibility and cleanliness; their inclination toward doctrinal and dogmatic discussion; their loyalty to political organization and engagement; their vital love of their country and their pride

in its institutions. A "conscience Whig" he began and a "conscience Whig" he continued to the end.

\*\*\*  
**The Education Of a Chieftain.**

He excelled Douglas in his devotion to an idea, its probable consequences and all that it implied. Thus, in the famous debate, he gained the advantage which the whole-hearted logician must always gain over the hair-splitting opportunist. He was less of an egoist than Douglas, and therefore less ambitious. Douglas would never have yielded to Trumbull as Lincoln did. He would have taken the Senatorship to lose the Presidency. Yet Douglas was as great a party leader as the country has ever had—not incapable of sacrifices—inferior to Lincoln only on the moral side. When the final test came their fortunes fell apart. Douglas' bark rode an ebbing tide. Lincoln's bark rode a flowing tide.

His intellectual dignity was paramount. It shone through the uncouth youth who studied law by the firelight and told stories to the rude hangers-on about the country store. His first public address reveals it as plainly as his last. There is extant a letter, written when he was not yet five and twenty, which is a model of simple manhood and at the same time of astute argument and elevated style. He was a tamer of women no less than a master of men; as all-too-late the puissant Jesse Benton Fremont found to her cost; as in spite of the gaucheries and angularities, the refined, aspiring Mary Todd very early discovered.

The sums in single-rule-of-three he had painfully worked out upon a white pine shingle taught him as much of patience as arithmetic. The mysteries of the savage-haunted backwoods and the sublimity of the ocean-like prairie awakened and kept alive in him the reverence for God and Nature which goes to the better making equally of the seer, the poet and the statesman. His dreams came to express themselves in deeds. He learned his humanities, as he had learned his philosophies and his efficiencies, out of the every-day book of experience and the lives of men. Hence was he ripe and ready for his part when the prompter's bell rang for the curtain to rise. Having obeyed humbly, he commanded nobly. To him, politics was not a play of ten-pins, nor Government a game of chance; as a matter of fact, both in the field and in the council he towered intellectually as physically above the rest, a fact which Seward, Chase and Stanton came, each in his order and his way, perfectly to understand.

Nor is it mere panegyric to say so. In many instances, page and line may be cited; the gentle but consummate answer to Seward, when Seward proposed as a favor to Lincoln to take upon himself the whole management of affairs; the easy but canny disposition of Chase before heaping coals of fire upon him in the Chief Justice appointment; his whimsical but not mistaken complacency under the surly, and sometimes trying virtues, which made Stanton so necessary to his peace and so fitted him to the alternating duties of upper-servant, army-mule and watchdog of the Treasury. No man, indeed, knew better than Lincoln, in the trivialities of personal intercourse as well as the larger concerns of official conduct, how to draw the line, and where to draw it, to suit the word to the act, the act to the word, seeking only, and always seeking, results.

\*\*\*

**His Mission From On High.**

The duty he had been commissioned to do was to save the Union. With an overwhelming majority of the people the institution of African slavery was not an issue. In his homely, enlightening way, Lincoln declared that if he could preserve the Union, with slavery, he would do it, or, without slavery, he would do it, or, with some free and others slaves, he would do that. The Proclamation of Emancipation was a war measure purely. He knew he had no Constitutional warrant, and, true to his oath of office, he held back as long as he could; but so clear-sighted was his sense of justice, so empty his heart of rancor, that he wished and sought to qualify the rigor of the act, by some measure of restitution, and so prepared the Joint Resolution to be passed by Congress appropriating four hundred million dollars as payment for the slaves, which still stands in his own handwriting.

He was himself a Southern man. All his people were Southerners. "If slavery be not wrong," he said, "nothing is wrong," echoing in this the opinion of most of the Virginia gentlemen of the Eighteenth Century and voicing the sentiments of thousands of brave men who wore the Confederate gray. Not less than the North, therefore, has the South reason to canonize Lincoln; for he was the one friend we had at court—aside from Grant and Sherman—when friends were most in need. If Lincoln had lived there would have been no Era of Reconstruction, with its mistaken theories, repressive agencies and oppressive legislation. If Lincoln had lived there would have been wanting to the extremism of the time the bloody cue of his assassination to mount the steeds and spur the flanks of vengeance. For Lincoln entertained, with respect to the rehabilitation of the Union, the single wish that the Southern States—to use his homely phraseology—"should come back home and behave themselves," and if he had lived he would have made this wish effectual as he made everything effectual to which he seriously addressed himself. Poor, insane John Wilkes Booth! Was he, too, an instrument in the hands of God to put a still deeper damnation upon the taking off of the Confederacy and to sink the Southern people yet lower in the abyss of affliction and humiliation the living Lincoln had spared us?

\*\*\*

**His Example and Teaching.**

Tragedy walks hand-in-hand with History and the eyes of Glory are wet

with tears—"With malice toward none, with Charity for all"—since Christ said "blessed are the peace-makers for they shall be called the children of God," has heart of man, stirred to its depths by human exigency, delivered a message so sublime? Irresistably the mind recurs to that other martyr of the ages, whom not alone in the circumstances of obscure birth and tragic death, but in those of simple living and childlike faith, Lincoln so closely resembled. Yon lowly cabin which is to be officially dedicated on the morrow may well be likened to the manger of Bethlehem, the boy that went thence to a God-like destiny, to the Son of God, the Father Almighty, of him and of us all. For, whence his prompting except from God?

There are utterances of his which read like rescripts from the Sermon on the Mount. Reviled, even as Him of Galilee, slain, even as Him of Galilee, yet as gentle and as unoffending, a man who died for men! Roll the stone from the grave and what shall we see? Just an American. The Declaration of Independence his Confession of Faith. The Constitution of the United States his Arc and Covenant of Liberty. The Union his redoubt, the flag his shibboleth. Called like one of old, within a handful of years he rose at a supreme moment to supreme command, fulfilled the law of his being, and passed from the scene an exhalation of the dawn of freedom. We may still hear his cheery voice, bidding us be of good heart, sure that "right makes might," entreating us to pursue "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

The problems he met and solved are problems no longer. Other, it may be greater problems, rise before us. Shall there arise another Lincoln?

May God gird round and guard his successor in the great office of Chief Magistrate whom we have here with us this day; give him the soul of Lincoln to feel, Lincoln's wisdom to see and know; to the end that whichever of the parties prevail and to whatever group of men are committed the powers of Administration, whole-hearted devotion to the public service and large-minded fidelity to American institutions may continue to glorify the teaching and example of Abraham Lincoln.

"Let us here highly resolve," the words still ring like a trumpet-call from that green-grown hillside of Gettysburgh dotted with the graves of heroes, "that these men shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Repeat we the declaration. As we gather about this effigy in bronze and marble in this the Capitol of Kentucky—of Kentucky the most world-famous among the States of America, whose

birth-right carries with it a universal and unchallenged badge of honor; of Kentucky, which gave to the longest and bloodiest of modern wars both its Chieftains, Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and to each of the contending armies a quota of fighting men equal to that contributed by any other State singly to either army; of that Kentucky whose Clay, antedating Lincoln in the arts of conciliation and eloquence, tried to effect and did for a time effect by compromise what Lincoln could only compass by the sword, and whose Crittenden was last seriously to invoke the spirit of fraternity and peace; of our own Kentucky, dark and bloody ground of the savage, beloved home of all that we hold generous and valiant in man, graceful and lovely in woman, wherein when the battle was ended the war was over, and, once a Kentuckian always a Kentuckian, the Federal and the Confederate were brothers again—let us here, whether we call ourselves Democrats or Republicans, renew our allegiance to the Constitution of the Republic and the perpetuity of the Union!

### THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

(To the Editor of the Courier-Journal.)

Believing as I do that the initiative, referendum and recall are in the interest of the people, I beg that you will give space in your valuable columns for this answer to the very able article from the Hon. C. M. Clay attacking these measures, which was published in your issue of last Sunday.

Mr. Clay contends for the representative form of government as it was established by the fathers, and sets his face strenuously against that reform of this system which is sweeping from the West, and which is designed to direct and control representative government by direct action of the voters.

By this reform the voters exercise the power (1) to compel their Representatives to adopt any law desired by them (the initiative); (2) to veto any law adopted by their Representatives (the referendum); (3) to demand of their elected officers that they resubmit their right to hold office to another election (the recall); these powers to be invoked only after a considerable percentage of the voters shall by petition demand such action.

The purpose is not to destroy, but to perfect representative government by making it responsive to the public will.

The objection urged by Mr. Clay to these measures is that their adoption would give us "unlimited democracy," which he denounces as "anarchy and as no better than a one-man despotism" and "the despotism of the mob," tending to "instability and uncertainty in government."

It is to be observed that this is precisely the objection urged by Alexander Hamilton to the democratic government for which Thomas Jefferson contended. From Mr. Clay's article it might well be inferred that the author is a Hamiltonian Republican and not a Jeffersonian Democrat.

To all that he says of the theoretical superior ability and knowledge of the legislator over the average voter I might well assent. The fallacy in this phase of his argument is in the assumption that the initiative, referendum and recall will destroy representative government. They do not destroy, but improve the representative system. So long as the officeholders are really representative of the people and act in accordance with the public will there is no occasion to invoke the initiative, referendum or recall, but when these officers betray their trust and act contrary to public interest, then these measures may be found both useful and handy.

Public officials are but public agents. The people are the principals. Why should the principal not be allowed to control his agent in politics as well as in other business? Why should the servant in office be above his master?

In a democracy the public officials do not rule by divine right. Their authority springs from the people. To say that the people are unfit to make laws is to deny the sovereignty of the people and to sap the very foundations of democracy. It is to impeach the declaration that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

To contend, as Mr. Clay does, that the people would "destroy liberty" or "property" or inaugurate "anarchy" is to charge that they would injure themselves and are incapable of self-government. To hold that they would act "hastily" or "ignorantly" is to ignore the restraints with which the measures attacked are necessarily hedged about. Before either the initiative, referendum or recall can be applied there must first be a petition circulated and signed by the required number of voters and then the action proposed cannot become effective until ample time has been afforded for public investigation and discussion.



It has been said that "everybody is wiser than anybody," and the experiences of mankind teach that the common sense of all the people is sounder and safer than the sense of any one class. In our jury system the judgment of twelve men has been found to be better than that of a judge, however "trained" he may be. Large bodies are hard to move, and nothing short of grievous wrong would suffice to incite the people to invoke either the initiative, referendum or recall. Neither of these measures are likely ever to be resorted to, except in cases where the "trained" officials fail of their duty, and no officer need be embarrassed by fear of recall so long as he is a true public servant. The masses of the people are not the dangerous "mob" they are charged with being, but the rightful sovereigns who in this country have been deemed worthy to elect legislators, judges and Presidents.

Mr. Clay's argument is purely academic. He reasons as well as he can in such a cause; but his reasoning is deductive, not inductive, and he utterly ignores the inductive facts which set aside his conclusions.

Gov. Woodrow Wilson was for a long time of the same mind as Mr. Clay, but he has learned better. He learned that an ounce of fact is better than a pound of theory. Reason as we may a priori, the stern facts of human experience stare us in the face, and those facts prove that the initiative and referendum do not destroy, but conserve, liberty, prosperity and human rights; and, instead of destroying representative government, make it wiser and better.

\*\*\*

These measures are no longer a mere theory; they have justified the faith of their advocates by their works.

Switzerland is the pioneer in the field of initiative, referendum and recall, and is the freest and best governed republic in the world, with the most equitable distribution of wealth. (See closing paragraph in Prof. A. Lawrence Lowell's work on "Government and Parties in Continental Europe.") An able and honest investigator, in a late issue of an American magazine, declares: "It is the initiative and referendum that has made Switzerland a democracy. By reason of it the boss has disappeared; there is no bribery and there is no corruption." In Australia and New Zealand this reform has worked wonders. In Oregon it has purified the political atmosphere and pushed that State on to an exceptional career of prosperity. The people rule in Oregon. It has been adopted in more than a half-dozen other States with like results.

The world does not stand still. Human government is an evolution. The first step was monarchy; the second, representative government; the third, democracy (rule of the people).

This last form of government has never yet been perfected. The evolution is still going on. The advocates of the initiative and referendum, do not aim at "unbridled democracy," but at a real democracy through a controlled representative government. In large societies such control can come only through the initiative, referendum and recall. This reform is the next step in the evolution, and it is coming, and coming fast. The voters approve of it whenever they get the opportunity.

At the last election both parties in Illinois pledged themselves to this reform, and the popular vote in its favor was 447,908, as opposed to 128,398 against it. The vote in its favor was 71 per cent. of the vote in the last presidential election. Even in Pennsylvania the Judiciary Committees of both houses, after full consideration and hearings, favorably reported resolutions providing for the submission of an initiative and referendum amendment, practically in the Oregon form.

Mills said, "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," and it is more democracy of which we now have need and which we will get through the initiative and referendum.

\*\*\*

The law of the higher civilization may be stated as follows: The progressive civilization of a people increases the power of the people and increase of the power of the people increases progressive civilization.

Let us not be too prone to condemn this law or dread it as a social danger. Rather let us welcome it and learn to interpret it rightly and to apply it with careful discernment to the Government of free States.

Thus and thus only will we avoid the very anarchy which the holders of wealth apprehend from the initiative and referendum.

\*\*\*

The "representative" system held in such reverence, has been tried by the United States for more than a century and has resulted in the rise of monopoly and the growth of trusts, which threaten not only honest business and honest property, but the republic itself.

Mr. Moody, the author of "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities," informs us that the aggregate capitalization of our big business is \$43,000,000,000, of which 53 billions is under the control of one group of powerful Wall-street inter-

ests, controlled by some twelve men. This is 80 per cent. of all the vital corporate capital of the country.

These combinations are fast drawing to themselves all the wealth of the country. Present high prices are but the index to the tribute which is being levied on the people.

Wealth is power and the big corporations have come to control our government.

How have they climbed to such dizzy heights of wealth and power? By and through the very representative system which Mr. Clay would leave untouched. These representatives are chosen by political conventions and every convention has its ruler and that ruler is the political "boss" who is the creature of the political machine, and back of the machine stands the corporation.

\*\*\*

Thus it is that some twelve men have come to not only control our business and our government, but to revolutionize the Constitution of which Mr. Clay is such a warm advocate. Under the Constitution our representatives are supposed to represent the public. They have come to represent "big business" and misrepresent the people.

Such concentration of power and wealth and subversion of democracy, if allowed to continue, will lead to the empire, and we will go the way Rome went. It is evident that something must be done to reform our present representative system.

To Mr. Clay's warning that we must be protected against the "anarchy of the mob," I must answer that we must also be protected against the "despotism of wealth" and that we must trust the people to do both. Over against the cry, "Down with unbridled democracy!" I set up the cry, "Away with the despotism of unbridled wealth!" To the demand for "trained bodies of men of ability, knowledge and experience," I add the demand for such men free from the domination of the corporations. To the contention that the "average" voter is incapable of meeting the responsibility of passing upon the wisdom of laws, I answer that by assuming such responsibility he will rise to the occasion and that out of the campaigns of public discussion will come that education which will not only fit him for this public duty, but bring that enlightenment which is the only guaranty of a free State.

\*\*\*

We have already reached the practice of referring our organic laws to the electorate for adoption or rejection, and Mr. Clay was president of our last constitutional convention, which submitted its work to the voters, and I think Mr. Clay voted for such referendum. If the "average" voter is capable of passing upon a Constitution is he not capable of passing upon an act of a Legislature?

When the voter finds that his voice is potent; that his vote counts, and that the weal or woe of society depends on his political action, the necessity of the occasion will arouse him to such thoughtful consideration and such active interest in the questions before him as will guarantee enlightened action.

In an enlightened electorate is the only hope of the republic, and the initiative and referendum offers the best possible opportunity for such enlightenment. We may not learn to swim without going into the water.

The only way to secure the other reforms necessary to save the republic is first to make our representatives truly representative—that is, representative of all the people. To do this we must restore the people to power and to this end the initiative and referendum are advocated by the progressives of both political parties and by the progressive, independent statesmen of the country.

\*\*\*

No other adequate method has been suggested. Mr. Clay hopes to control the trusts by the methods already adopted by Mr. Taft; but there is little foundation for such hope. President Roosevelt was regarded by many as the great monopoly iconoclast, yet the trusts flourished under him as never before. No trust was ever put out of business by him, nor was the snake even scotched.

The hands of the States have been tied tight and fast by the decisions in the Minnesota and other like cases. The prosecution of the "Meat Trust" has been going on for nine years, and the case has not yet been brought to judgment.

The Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust cases are a roaring farce. The lawyers for the independent tobacco manufacturers say that the reorganization allowed by the Supreme Court will result "in legalizing monopoly instead of restoring competition" and that "the effect will be more injurious than the old combine." The late Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, came to a like conclusion and further declared that the Supreme Court was revolutionizing the government and had repealed the criminal clause of the anti-trust act. Confirming this is the fact that immediately after these decisions, the price of the Standard Oil stock, as well as oil itself, materially advanced on the market, and the other fact that the lawyers for the defense in the Meat Trust case have entered a motion to dismiss the indictment upon the ground that the penal clause of the act has been annulled.

President Taft himself, in his message to Congress of January, 1910, declared that by making the Sherman law prohibit only "unreasonable" restraint of trade, instead of all restraint, as written in the act—a change the Supreme Court has itself since made—"would be to give them (the corporations) a power approaching the arbitrary, the abuse of which might involve our whole judiciary system in destruction."

The Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, former United States Senator from Indiana, in the Saturday Evening Post of January, 1912, states "that under the last interpretation of the law and the course pursued under it, they (the trusts) can now proceed with the express written approval of our judiciary tribunals," and that the "mighty corporations," which had been under the ban of the anti-trust act, are now practically immune.

If these eminent authorities are correct no other argument is needed to justify not only the initiative and referendum but even the recall of the Judges themselves.

It is manifest that Mr. Clay must find some other idol than the present form of representative government and blind faith in the present order if he would rid the country of the evils of monopoly.

Let us hope that, after more careful study of the subject, so intelligent and eminent a citizen as Mr. Clay will, as other eminent citizens have done, experience a change of heart as to the great reform measure of the times, and become an able advocate of it as he now is against it.

W. B. FLEMING.

# GOV. McCREARY'S

## Heartily Recommends Every Plank in the Democratic Platform and Expects Co-operation of State's Lawmakers

### Question of Regulating or Suppressing the Liquor Traffic Should Be Settled on Its Own Merits, and Wisdom Demands It Be Taken Out of Politics.

## DEFICIT IN FINANCES OF THE STATE.

Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 2.—(Special.)—The message of Gov. James B. McCreary to the General Assembly of Kentucky is as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:  
"The Constitution of Kentucky declares that the Governor shall from time to time give to the General Assembly information of the state of the Commonwealth and recommend to their consideration such measures as he may deem expedient."

"In performing this duty as Governor, after being elected a second time by a generous and patriotic people, I, with much pleasure, extend to each of you a cordial greeting and hearty welcome to the State Capitol and the halls of legislation.

"You come from every part of the State, invested with power and authority by more than two millions of people, to serve them as Senators and Representatives. I believe you will perform your duties with minds untaunted by party prejudice and unswayed by selfish or interested motives; that harmony and wise counsel will prevail in your sessions, and your efforts will so develop the material interests of the State and the general welfare as to make you merit the blessings of God and the gratitude of the people."

### Confronted With Many Problems.

"The General Assembly of Kentucky was never before confronted with problems of greater importance or of more vital interest than those which should be considered at the present session, and Senators and Representatives have opportunities for achievements in legislation which, if performed promptly, will reflect honor and credit upon themselves and bring progress, improvement and development to the State.

"Our political system is so constituted that we have a government by parties. When a party comes into power upon a platform it is thus made clear that the crystallization into law of the principles therein set forth are desired by the people.

"The platform upon which the Democratic party won a great victory at the last election places important responsibilities upon our party, and the duty of complying fully with the platform pledges rests upon every Democrat on the State ticket and every Democrat of the General Assembly, as well upon every Democrat in the State, and all the people are interested in a faithful, prompt compliance with the platform; and the members of the General Assembly should feel empowered and compelled to carry out the pledges of the platform.

"I heartily recommend every declaration of the Democratic platform adopted at the last State convention, and to those who are charged with the sovereign function of legislation I look with confidence and satisfaction for prompt co-operation in the enactment of laws required by the platform.

"Kentucky is fortunate in having worthy, intelligent and well-equipped Senators and Representatives composing the General Assembly, and I believe they will make a record which will be regarded by all as satisfactory and honorable."

### Important Measures Indorsed.

"Among the important measures indorsed by the Democratic platform and supported by the candidates for office at the last election, and to which both State officers and members of the General Assembly are pledged, are the following:

"A more efficient and more practicable common school system and educational institutions of the State, wisely and economically administered, and woman suffrage in school elections.

"Wise and conservative laws, such as will encourage road and bridge building in Kentucky, and reasonable State aid on condition that each county first does its part.

"Submission to a vote of the people whether or not they desire to adopt an amendment of our State Constitution broadening the powers of the General Assembly so that it may classify property for the purpose of taxation; but the burden of taxation on the wealthy and corporations should not be lightened at the expense of the poor, the farmer or the laboring man.

"Change in the present method of electing Prison Commissioners of the State, and the removal of all politics from the management of our penal institutions.

"The creation of a Department of Banking, providing for competent inspection of all of our State institutions, and similar to the system now existing for national banks.

"The nomination and election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

"Organization and co-operation among the farmers of the State, and also among laboring men; and the enactment of such constitutional laws as will protect them from the greed and repression of the trusts and monopolies of the country, which are the direct fruit of Republican legislation.

"Such laws as will, under appropriate penalties, destroy all corrupt lobbying, seeking to influence any legislative body in the Commonwealth on the subject of legislation or the election of officers by it.

"Extension of the present local option law as applied to the sale of liquors, which has been upheld by our highest court as valid and constitutional, so that the citizens of each and every county in the State may determine for themselves whether spirituous, vinous or malt liquors may be sold therein.

"Direct primary election law providing that primary elections shall be conducted under lawful authority and at public expense.

"Explicit and effective corrupt practice act, which shall determine what campaign expenses shall be legitimate and which shall provide for the compulsory publication, in detail, under heavy penalties, of the campaign expenses of every candidate for public office.

"The creation of a Utilities Commission, under wise and proper restrictions, having ample powers to discharge its duties.

"A law requiring that a uniform system of accounting be installed and conducted in all public offices, charged with the collection and disbursement of public money."

# MESSAGE TO THE

"The enactment of wise laws for the protection from accident and injury of all laborers engaged in hazardous employment, and wise, conservative laws regulating the arbitration of labor strikes and disputes.

"A law prohibiting peonage and female slave trade, regardless of color.

"Opposition to all mobs and lynchings, and imposition of the severest penalty possible under our Constitution upon all officers who fail to protect prisoners entrusted to their keeping.

"Religious as well as civil liberty in Kentucky and in the republic, and opposition to raising any religious test as a qualification for holding any office in the State or nation.

### Financial Condition of State.

"I have received from the Auditor of Public Accounts the following statement of the financial condition of the State:

"I herewith submit to you, as required by law, my biennial report as Auditor of Public Accounts for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1911.

General statement of receipts and expenditures:	
Total receipts for year ending June 30, 1910 .....	\$6,796,535.79
Total expenditures for year ending June 30, 1910.....	7,578,735.92
Deficit for year ending June 30, 1910 .....	\$ 782,200.13
Total receipts for year ending June 30, 1911.....	7,394,595.65
Total expenditures for year ending June 30, 1911.....	7,477,789.33
Deficit for year ending June 30, 1911 .....	\$ 83,193.73
Add deficit for year ending June 30, 1910 .....	782,200.13
Total deficit for two years.	\$ 865,393.86

### Steady Increase in Deficit.

"The law requires me to estimate the receipts and expenditures for the succeeding year; that is, the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1911, and ending June 30, 1912. I see no reason to anticipate that either will be less than for the year ending June 30, 1911. The general receipts for the latter are the largest in the history of the State, and I am not aware of any cause for an increase. The expenditures for the two years embraced in this report are about the same, and as the records show a steady increase in the general deficit, the probability is that at the close of the next fiscal year it will be still larger, and will, in my judgment, be more than one million dollars. This administration will leave on January 1, 1912, a general deficit of only about two hundred thousand dollars. But I have no desire to mislead the General Assembly nor the people of Kentucky. The Sheriffs pay into the Treasury during the closing months of the calendar year much the larger part of the taxes collected by them, which will reduce, apparently, the general deficit, and during the last six months of the fiscal year the expenditures are largely in excess of the receipts.

"Under date of December 28, 1911, the Auditor sends me the following communication:

"Dear Sir: I beg to submit to your excellency the following statement for your information:

"The receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, were \$7,394,595.65.

"The expenditures for the same time, \$7,477,789.33.

"Should the general receipts continue to be as large as those of the last fiscal year the State will still continue to carry a debt for years to come, unless the General Assembly shall reapportion the taxes collected. I desire to impress upon you the fact that, notwithstanding the receipts may be large, only 2 1/4 cents of the fifty cents tax upon the \$100 valuation, is set apart to the General Expenditure Fund, out of which the current expenses of the State, including all specific and annual appropriations are paid. The School Fund, Sinking Fund and State University are apportioned the remaining twenty-eight and one-half cents—they receiving 57 per cent. of the revenue and the General Expenditure Fund only 43 per cent.

"The general financial condition at the close of business on December 27, is as follows:

Outstanding warrants .....	\$392,225.30
Cash on hand.....	282,840.31
General deficit .....	\$309,384.59

"It is impossible to give your excellency a similar statement for the close of this month until next Monday. The figures, however, will not be materially altered, as there will be some receipts and some expenditures in the meantime. This can be relied upon, however, as correct for all practical purposes. The distribution of the receipts for the month into the several funds, to-wit, School Fund, Sinking Fund and General Expenditure Fund will not be made until the close of business at the end of the month, so that the detail of the exact condition of each of these funds can not now be furnished you. I take it, however, that for the purpose for which you desire this information the above statement of outstanding warrants, etc., is the one which you are particularly desirous of receiving.

"It is proper that I should say, after presenting the financial condition of the State, as furnished by the Auditor of Public Accounts, that Senators and Representatives should be careful in making appropriations, and be sure that there is money available to pay such appropriations as may be authorized by law."

### Education.

"There is no subject of more importance than education. Washington spoke with prophetic voice when he said: 'Perpetuity of our Republican institutions depends upon the intelligence and virtue of our people.'

"The framers of our Constitution showed that they believed the general dissemination of knowledge of fundamental importance when they made provision for sustaining a system of common schools.

"The promotion of education is also an economic measure, for it is cheaper to build schoolhouses and maintain schools, and thus reduce crime that always attends indolence and ignorance, than it is to build poorhouses and prisons and support paupers and criminals.

"There has been a noted improvement in the educational system of our State in the last few years. This has come largely as an educational propaganda emanating from public-spirited persons, school interests and well-equipped legislators.

Number of new schoolhouses built since June 30, 1908 .....	1,178
Total cost of such houses .....	\$331,631.00
Number of houses repaired since June 30, 1908 .....	3,341
Total cost of such repairs .....	\$206,424.00
Total spent for furniture and equipment since June 30, 1908 .....	\$203,782.00
Number of County High Schools now in operation .....	159
Number of pupils enrolled in County High Schools, 1910-1911 .....	4,400
Total cost of operating County High Schools, 1910-1911 .....	\$156,838.00
Total number of graded schools, January 1, 1909 .....	178
Total number of graded schools at present (estimated) .....	450

### AMOUNT OF STATE PER CAPITA FOR PAST FIVE YEARS.

1907 .....	\$3.40
1908 .....	3.60
1909 .....	4.00
1910 .....	4.00
1911 .....	4.40

### TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY EXPENDED FOR THE LAST SCHOOL YEAR BY STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION FOR THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Amount by State taxation .....	\$3,095,452.56
Amount by State taxation, rural .....	2,450,716.78
Amount by State taxation, city .....	644,735.78
Amount by local taxation .....	3,228,602.12
Amount by local taxation, rural .....	1,247,887.41
Amount by local taxation, city .....	1,980,714.71

Total amount .....	\$6,323,544.68
Amount expended in cities .....	2,615,792.39
Amount expended in rural .....	3,707,752.29

### SCHOOL CENSUS OF 1911.

City .....	145,723
Rural .....	592,961
Total .....	739,684

### General Uplift.

"The State Board of Education, as constituted at the present time, are the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General. Their powers and duties are so limited as to preclude them from having proper supervision and inspection of the public schools of the State and such as to prevent them from putting into operation all progressive measures looking to the general uplift of the public school system.

# LEGISLATURE

"It is now proposed and recommended by the Kentucky Educational Association by the Greater Kentucky Development Convention and Association, by the commercial bodies of the cities of the State and by all those interested in educational development at this time in the State either to abolish the old board or amend the old law as to add to the number of this board four or six more members, representing the best business men of the State and the most expert professional educators of the State, who are to be given general supervision and inspection of the public schools of the State, in such a way as to see that the school funds are properly used; that the County Superintendent's office be properly managed and the department of the public school system of the State so supervised and conducted as to make Kentucky a foremost State educationally.

"I present these recommendations for the careful consideration of Senators and Representatives.

"The State University at Lexington, Ky., the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School, at Richmond, and the Western Kentucky State Normal School at Bowling Green, have greatly promoted education. The educational campaigns conducted by State Superintendent of Public Instruction J. G. Crabbe, and the bulletins which he scattered throughout the State, were the means by which a new era was begun in the history of our school system.

"The appointment by the Southern Educational Board at Washington, D. C., of a Rural Supervisor of Schools in the person of T. J. Coates, and the appointment by the General Educational Board of New York City, of Professor McHenry Rhoades to occupy the position of High School Supervisor, also benefited our schools and increased educational facilities.

"If there is a continuation of the splendid movement that has been fostered in the past by appreciative legislators, and which is now being encouraged by patriotic men and women in all parts of the Commonwealth, Kentucky will in a short time rank in all that promotes education as one of the first States of the Union.

## The State University.

"The State University at Lexington is the outgrowth of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky, the name having been changed by the Legislature at a former session. It is situated in the city of Lexington and is wholly undenominational, and invites the youth of the State desiring an education, without regard to creed or faith, to partake of the munificence of the United States and the Commonwealth of Kentucky, by whom it is wholly supported. It is composed of the following colleges, each presided over by a dean, who is responsible for the due administration of the affairs of his respective college: The College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Law, the College of Agriculture (and the Experiment Station), the College of Mining and Metallurgy, the College of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, the College of Civil Engineering, and the College of Education (or the Art of Teaching).

"In addition to these there are special departments in the schools, such as the military department, department of physical education for young men and women, and the department of domestic science. Each of these various divisions is presided over by a competent and faithful dean, professor or teacher, and in the university everything is taught necessary to give to the student a good, moral character, a sound body and a well disciplined and cultivated mind. It is believed by those who have the institution in charge that no young man or young woman need leave the State of Kentucky to secure a university education equal to that afforded by any similar institution in the country.

"It is not within the compass of this message to discuss all of the departments of the university with minute particularity. I, therefore, confine myself to a notice of those departments which seem to bear most directly upon the material interests of the State.

## Age of Vocational Education.

"This is an age of vocational education, and the young man who succeeds must be able to do, at least, some one useful thing well. The State University provides a professional course in mechanical and electrical engineering of

great thoroughness, the purpose of which is to train students for careers of usefulness in the great industrial plants of this country. It gives the young men as advanced a training in the science of mechanical and electrical engineering as is offered by any other American institution of learning. No graduate of this school has ever had to wait for employment, and generally offers for the employment of the whole graduating class have been waiting in advance, conditioned alone upon the student's receiving a diploma.

"The College of Civil Engineering teaches everything necessary to make the student an accomplished civil engineer, and it is rendering the State special aid by offering its services and advice in the erection of public bridges and the building of public roads. If, as it is hoped and believed, the General Assembly will inaugurate a general system of good roads throughout the Commonwealth, this department holds itself ready to give the State special aid both in formulating the system and in actually building the highways.

"The Agricultural College has lately been placed under the control of Prof. M. A. Scovell, superintendent of the experiment station, who is now dean of the College of Agriculture. The experiment station is engaged in general research work in the realms of agricultural science, and in solving the many problems of the farmer and stock raiser and horticulturist. Students in the College of Agriculture are taught the science of soil physics, soil fertility and crop production, which are the foundation of all agricultural industries. And this being true, it follows that the work of the department bears a very intimate relation to all the activities of the business and professional life, for every business goes back to the soil in its ultimate analysis. The agronomist has shown that by the proper selection and breeding of good seed and by proper cultivation the yield of most of our field crops may easily be doubled. The department is establishing soil experiment fields on various soil types of the State to determine the best methods of keeping up the fertility of productive soils and of restoring worn soil to a state of profitable production. A large part of the lands of the State is farmed at a loss because of its worn and unproductive condition.

"The department of animal husbandry is peculiarly useful to the people of Kentucky. Its aim is to teach the student every useful fact concerning the breeding, raising, feeding and curing of domestic animals of every kind. Kentucky is the natural home of fine stock, and the business of rearing and selling such animals constitutes one of the great industries of its people. This department not only teaches the student all that science knows concerning the successful and profitable raising of stock, but the professors hold themselves ready and willing to give to the farmers generally any and all information necessary to solving the many problems which arise in connection with this department of agriculture in everyday life.

## Department of Horticulture.

"The Department of Horticulture concerns itself with the discovery and the introduction of more successful systems of the growing of orchard, vineyard and small fruits adapted to the State of Kentucky, keeping in view its varied conditions of soil, elevation, market and domestic requirements, etc. It extends to the market gardener, the green-house owner and to every cultivator of the private garden, however small, in the selection of varieties, in the method of growing, in overcoming vicissitudes of climate, and combating insect pests and fungus diseases of their plants. It endeavors to promote the proper interest in and love for the development of the natural beauty of our State through the ornamentation of our countryside, our towns and cities, with beautiful roads, streets, parks and cemeteries, and especially in making the homes of Kentucky—both of rich and poor alike—more beautiful through a more generous planting of flowers, shrubbery, grass and trees.

"The Experiment Station has in charge the enforcement of the pure food and drug laws of the State. This work is organized into a division of the station consisting of fourteen people, together with several post-graduate students engaged in the work of inspecting, analyzing and bacteriological examinations, and in studying the technical, sanitary and other problems connected with the production and sale of meats, milk, bread

and other foods and drugs.

In the College of Arts and Sciences is taught everything which is necessary to give the student a thorough college education and to equip him for the battle of life.

To epitomize the advantages of the State University to the Commonwealth, it fits the youth of the State for the actual business of life. It gives him a vocation which insures him a livelihood if he is industrious. It undertakes to give him a cultivated mind, a sound, vigorous body and a good moral character.

The university was under the superintendence of that able educator and accomplished scholar, President James K. Patterson, from its beginning until January 15, 1910, when he voluntarily resigned and assumed the title created for him of President Emeritus. For one year thereafter Vice President James G. White was in active control. On January 1, 1911, Judge Henry S. Barker, formerly a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, took charge as president, and has been in active charge of the institution since then. It gives me great pleasure to say that the number of the student body has largely increased during the last year. In order to make this plain I give the total of the roster roll for the last four years:

Total number enrolled in session 1908-1909, 772; total number enrolled in session 1909-1910, 721; total number enrolled in session 1910-1911, 808; total number enrolled for first term session 1911-1912, 1,117.

This last, it will be observed, is only for one-half the year. It is believed by those in charge that from 100 to 200 additional students will be enrolled between January 1 and June 1, 1912, making a total enrollment of from 1,250 to 1,350 students, an increase of more than 50 per cent. over the preceding session.

The value of the university to the State cannot be overestimated, whether it be viewed from the standpoint of the development of the material resources of the Commonwealth or its influence on the intellectual development and uplift of the youth of the State.

#### Great Need For Teachers.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky stands in great need of competent teachers for its high schools, which are now being organized and developed; the College of Education in the university is year by year turning out especially educated young men and young women who are competent to teach in the various high schools throughout the Commonwealth. The College of Civil Engineering is paying especial attention to the making and developing of the system of good roads throughout the Commonwealth, and its usefulness in this regard is too obvious to need comment. The College of Mining and Metallurgy is engaged in developing the mineral resources of the Commonwealth, especially its coal mining interests, and great good is to be expected from the efforts of the learned men connected with this college. The College of Agriculture is deeply concerned in everything interesting to the farmer, the stock raiser and the horticulturist of the State. The learned men in this college are busy solving the problems of agriculture, and I confidently believe that through their efforts all farm values will be greatly increased.

I commend the university to the General Assembly, and hope they will be able to see their way clear to give it a revenue, as far as the condition of the Treasury will permit, commensurate with its needs and its useful services.

#### Eastern Kentucky Normal School.

J. G. Crabbe is president of the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School. This great educational institution is a strong and effective factor in the work of training teachers. It was established in 1906 at Richmond, Ky., but it was not until after two years of troublesome litigation, difficulty and discouragement that the school received sufficient funds from the State to do real valuable service in the training of teachers. Then, hundreds of teachers flocked to the school, some with appointments secured under the law, others by the payment of tuition, until during the school year 1910-11, more than eleven hundred young men and women were enrolled. From the opening of the school to date more than five thousand enrollments are recorded in the register; twenty-five hundred different teachers have attended at various times.

Practically every student who has attended the school (except those attending at Richmond now) is now teaching in Kentucky; and 75 per cent.

of those are teaching in rural communities. Kentucky's great awakening in public education is marked with pride. There is an insistent demand for agriculture, household economics and mental training in the public schools, especially in the rural schools. This is right, but while hundreds of school teachers of the Commonwealth remain without special training for their work, the new lines of vocational and industrial education will go forward at a snail's pace. Kentucky's teachers must be trained if our boys and girls are to be educated, and the Normal Schools are peculiar among all educational institutions, in that they are to prepare young men and women for teaching. This is their special function.

The Eastern Kentucky State Normal School has had a wide influence upon the public schools of the eastern district and upon its communities, but the school needs farm land, buildings, equipment and adequate maintenance. The next term opens in January (after the rural schools have closed for the year), and I find that at this writing every room (two and three in a room) in both dormitories and in the cottage-dormitories is reserved in advance. The president informed me that, on Dec. 22, fifty-five young ladies were refused accommodations on the campus for the coming term for lack of room; December 23 sixteen young men and women asked for admission, and could be referred only to rooming places out in the city; each succeeding day repeats the story of these two days, while scores write the president declining to come to school unless they can secure quarters on the campus. In the "big terms" (January-June) hundreds of students, both young men and women, must room out in the city at some distance from the campus.

I commend to your favorable notice these pertinent facts about the school, and the needs that seem imperative, all of which have come under my personal observation. Richmond gave to the State for the home of this institution the buildings and campus of old Central University, property worth nearly \$150,000; for buildings and equipment the State gave about \$150,000; the annual appropriation is \$40,000. The sister Normal at Bowling Green receives \$50,000 annual appropriation. I recommend that necessary appropriations for buildings and grounds be made, and that the Eastern and Western Kentucky State Normal Schools hereafter receive the same regular maintenance.

#### Western State Normal School.

President H. H. Cherry has furnished me a report which shows that the Western Kentucky State Normal School has been eminently successful in doing much good and making great educational achievements.

Between 1,800 and 2,000 former students of the Western Normal are teaching in Kentucky during the present scholastic year. Seventy-nine per cent. of all these student-teachers who have attended the Normal are teaching in the rural schools of the State; 17 per cent. are teaching in graded schools, and 4 per cent. in high schools.

A conservative estimate shows that 250,000 different children of Kentucky have been taught or are now being taught by the student-teachers who have attended the Western Normal during the past four years and seven months.

Practically all of the students of the institution remain in the State and instruct the children of the State after having attended the institution.

The attendance at the schools taught by the teachers who have attended the institution averages higher than those taught by teachers who have not attended the institution.

A general educational interest, the establishment of school libraries, the construction of new school buildings, the improvement of old school buildings, beautifying the grounds, improving the sanitary conditions and a vitalization of the courses of study and more efficient teaching have almost universally characterized the work of the former student of the institution.

An appreciation of rural opportunities and a distinct effort on the part of the community to improve the home, the farm and general rural life have followed the efforts of the teachers who have attended the institution.

Trustees and Boards of Education have seen the value of a trained teacher and are demanding a qualified profession and, at the same time, are offering to pay for an efficient teaching service.

The institution ranks at the top among the normal schools of the United States in attendance and influence, but at the

bottom in the cost of teaching each student, value of apparatus, etc.

"Reports from fifty-one superintendents give the names of the former students who are teaching in the different counties at this time, and speak in a definite way of the great work that is being done by the institution for the public schools of the State.

Number of students enrolled from Sept., 1909, to Sept., 1910.....1,400  
Number of students enrolled from Sept., 1910, to Sept., 1911.....1,323

Total number for the two years...2,723  
Of the 2,723 students enrolled during the two years, 2,056 were different individuals. A large number of the students are now teaching, others are in the normal now, and others will return at an early date.

Number of students enrolled in biennial period.....2,723  
Number of students enrolled in model school.....475

Total for the two years.....3,198  
Of the 2,723 regular students who entered the Normal during the biennial period, 2,416 were appointees who signed a statement agreeing to teach in Kentucky following attendance at the Normal. Those who did not sign the agreement paid regular tuition.

A large number of promising young men and women who have not begun teaching, and some of whom are not old enough to teach, are attending the Normal and getting ready to enter the teaching profession. They are doing a high-grade work.

### Appropriations Recommended.

"I recommend that necessary appropriations for buildings and grounds be made for the Western Kentucky State Normal School.

"President Cherry closes his report as follows:

"The Deficit—The Board of Regents of the Western Normal School was forced to make an indebtedness in order to hold the institution together and keep it from being permanently and seriously injured. The institution would have been forced to temporarily suspend its work or else close its doors to incoming teachers who desired a broader preparation for their chosen work. If the management had not provided for some of its imperative needs through the making of a deficit or liability. The indebtedness of the Western Normal is \$20,695. The debt is past due, and it is earnestly hoped that the General Assembly will provide for its payment. The State Inspector, in speaking of this indebtedness, said: "There is no possible chance of this excess being met except by an additional allowance by the State, which it is hoped will be provided for by the coming session of the Legislature in January next."

"Additional Annual Appropriation—It is utterly impossible to successfully conduct the Normal on the present annual appropriation. Notwithstanding that the greatest economy is exercised in the use of the present appropriation, the school has suffered for the want of additional funds to meet the current expenses. An additional appropriation of \$25,000 is needed for this purpose. The State Inspector, in speaking of this system, says: "The continual growth of the school attendance has reached a point where the present annual allowance of \$50,000 is insufficient to meet the yearly expenses, and it will be necessary for the State to grant an additional yearly allowance, and it seems apparent that at least \$75,000 yearly will be allowed from now on. This would mean an additional allowance of \$25,000. It does not seem possible for the institution to proceed further on the present allowance, and unless more funds are available the work must be curtailed or else the liability will be largely increased."

"The Model Rural School—There is a constant and urgent demand that the Normal School exemplify, as soon as possible, the ways and means of conducting a rural school. We, therefore, desire to build on the campus of the Normal School a Model Rural School, a model that would be suitable for almost any community in Kentucky. In this model school it is proposed to conduct a school composed of rural children transported from the rural sections, with the different grades just as they would be found in the ordinary rural schools. It is proposed to offer a course of study that will meet the demands of the rural community, and to have school gardens and grounds as they should be in every community in Kentucky. It is also the purpose of the institution to secure a teacher who has been reared upon the farm and who is familiar with and in sympathy with the needs of the farm life, who has enjoyed the best facilities for education, and who will instruct a school that will be worthy of the observation and study of teachers

far and wide. The hundreds of rural teachers who attend the Normal annually will observe the work done in this school, study its organization and be required, from time to time, to take charge of the children in the school and instruct them in the presence of an expert rural supervisor and instructor. This plan is considered by educational experts to be one of the most effective means of reaching and training the rural teacher. It will take about \$4,000 to construct this building and provide for other necessary equipment.

"I recommend that necessary appropriation for buildings and grounds be made.

### Education of the Negro.

"The Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons was established by an act of the General Assembly, approved May 18, 1888. It was originally styled 'the State Normal School for Colored Persons,' and continued under that name until March 18, 1902, when, by act of the General Assembly, the name was changed to 'Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons.' The change in name was made because of the fact that the school had decided on including departments for the teaching of agriculture, mechanical art and industrial trades, and thereby be allowed a portion of the Federal appropriations for these purposes.

"It appears from the recent biennial report of the president of the institution, and from the report of the State Inspector and Examiner, that the school is doing a creditable and important work. The annual enrollment of students numbers about three hundred, from all parts of the Commonwealth. A large proportion of the teachers of the colored schools of the State are graduates or former students of this school. The president of the State Teachers' Association at this time, and for some time past, is a graduate of this school. Many of the graduates and former students are engaged in farming, carpentry, cooking, sewing, etc., and are successful. The school is productive of good and useful citizens. Many letters are on file from employers speaking in high praise of services rendered by students as well as respect shown; these indicate also that care and attention are given in the instruction of students upon the importance of satisfactory service, and the proper relations between the employed and the employer.

"This is the State's only institution for preparing teachers for colored schools, and for teaching trades. It is controlled by a Board of Trustees appointed by the Governor, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction being ex-officio chairman. The trustees have been compelled recently to make expenditures beyond the school's income. While the school's income for the training of teachers is ample, the State has never made an appropriation to the school for teaching trades or industrial training.

"The president of the school closes his report as follows:

"This appropriation of \$25,000 will not place us in extraordinary circumstances, but it will materially help us in the distress that we now experience, owing to our indebtedness and needed improvements. The \$5,000 annually will enable us to establish some homely trades for our girls and boys, and provide us instructors therefor, all to the end of a negro citizenship intelligent, industrious and good."

### The State Geological Survey.

"The value of a State Geological Survey to the citizens of Kentucky cannot be overestimated. When completed, it will present to the world such mineral wealth, fertility of soil, magnificence of forests and immensity of natural resources as cannot be surpassed by any other State in the Union, there being 15,680 square miles of coal-bearing area.

"A geological survey of Kentucky was commenced in 1854 and continued until 1859 by Prof. David Dale Owen. This distinguished geologist and his able assistants prosecuted their work with commendable zeal and skill, and the result of their labors is embraced in two reports.

"In 1859 the geological survey ceased in Kentucky, and was not resumed until 1873. In a few years it again ceased, and was not resumed until 1904.

"The State of Kentucky needs and demands a complete and detailed geological survey that will ascertain the correct geography of the State, describe its various geological formations, describe its immense coal and iron fields, analyze the varied soils and minerals, locate its inexhaustible saline deposits, describe its varieties of timber and building stone and clays, tell of the fauna and the flora, of vast regions furnishing a mineralogical collection, including specimens illustrative of the mineralogy of the State, and indi-



cate routes by which all this natural wealth may be made accessible so as to stimulate industry and skill, advertise our hidden wealth and increase our capital.

"The geological survey of the State was re-established and diligently conducted under the direction of Prof. N. S. Shaler, who was commissioned by me for four years, during my administration from 1875 to 1879, and he made four reports which have been of incalculable benefit to Kentucky.

"The Geological Survey ceased in Kentucky until the year 1904, when an act was passed providing for and authorizing the Curator of the Kentucky Geological Department to resume the geological, topographical and agricultural survey of the State of Kentucky, and Prof. C. J. Norwood was appointed Director.

"The appropriation for the survey, which is annual and continuous, is by law divided into two allotments, namely:

"For mapping in co-operation with the United States Geological Survey ..... \$10,000.00  
 "For geological, chemical, technological and all other investigations and expenses of the survey ..... 15,000.00

\$25,000.00  
 "For the \$10,000.00 allotted for co-operation in mapping, the State receives more than \$20,000.00 in the way of results, since the United States Geological Survey not only meets the State with an equal amount for field and office work, but engraves and prints the maps without cost to the State. The allotment for geological and other investigations is not large, when the vast amount of work that there is to be done is considered, and the fact that competent geologists and other technical men command higher salaries now than in the past is also considered; but every effort is made to accomplish the utmost that is possible with it each year.

\*\*\*  
**Balance In December.**

"Of the appropriation for the current fiscal year (ending June 30, 1912) there was on December 11 a balance of about \$8,298.26. Against this is to be charged \$1,762.69 of accounts of the co-operation mapping parties for November that have only recently been received, leaving an available balance of \$6,535.57 after said accounts are paid.

"By provision of the survey law, the Curator of the Geological Department is director of the Survey. The character of work that has been carried on so far has been determined not alone by personal knowledge on the part of the Director of the needs of the State, but also by conclusions reached from the tenor of inquiries of correspondents seeking information concerning the resources of the State (this correspondence is quite large), by conferences with men interested in the development of the State, and by suggestions received from the late Director of the Survey, Nathaniel S. Shaler, under whom so much was accomplished during my first administration.

"It was manifest to all who were acquainted with the State and the general trend of immediate interest in its development that the coal fields, possible stores of petroleum and natural gas, ore fields, spar deposits (fluor spar, calc spar and barytes), and clay deposits demanded first attention. The first work of the survey upon its resumption was, therefore, devoted chiefly to those subjects, and a large share of our attention is necessarily still given to the coal fields.

"Preliminary reports have been issued by C. J. Norwood, Director, on the coals of the Big Sandy Valley, on those of the region drained by the Three Forks of the Kentucky River, on those of the Licking Valley and some contiguous regions, and on those along the western margin of the eastern coal field. Reports on the coals of the Poor and Clover Forks of the Upper Cumberland River (in Harlan and Letcher counties), and on those of the Pineville Gap and Log Mountain regions (in Bell and Knox counties) have long been ready for publication, and have been in the hands of the present contractor for public printing since July 31 last. Similar reports have been prepared on a large part of the western coal fields, but still await printing; they include reports on the coals drained by the Treadwater River (about 600 square miles), on those in the region covered by the Central City, Madisonville, Calhoun and Newberg quadrangles, on those within the Hartford quadrangle and some of the adjacent region, and in the area (typical of the disturbed regions within the field) covered by Webster county. (These reports, with the exception of that on the Webster area, have been submitted for publication, and their printing has been ordered.) Preliminary reports have been

issued also on our oil and gas horizons, on some of our clay areas, on the lead and zinc rocks of Central Kentucky, on fluor spar deposits, and on some of the lower formations of the State. An elaborate report on the Cincinnati formation and its economic values was prepared, but (with three others) was lost while in the hands of a former contractor for the public printing. A geological map of the State has also been issued; sufficient data have subsequently been gathered to warrant a revised edition. As indicated, most of the reports named are largely preliminary in character; they were issued to meet emergencies and must be followed by detailed work, which, however, can be undertaken only as we get more accurate maps (of the sort now being made by the State and Federal surveys in co-operation).

\*\*\*  
**Head Should Be At Frankfort.**

"Prof. Norwood is a professor in the State University and he is also Director of the Geological Survey and the State Inspector of Mines, and has offices in Lexington, Ky. The office of the Director of the Geological Survey should be at Frankfort, which is a common point where the geologist could be consulted, and his office should be separated from the Inspector of Mines.

"I recommend that legislation be enacted by the General Assembly authorizing the appointment by the Governor of a Curator of the Kentucky State Geological Department, as was done under the law for many years; that the office of the Curator be located at Frankfort, Ky., and that he be allowed the same salary, the same assistants with the same salary, and the same annual appropriations now allowed under the existing law.

\*\*\*  
**Inspector of Mines.**

From the chief inspector of mines, C. J. Norwood, I have obtained the following important information:

"The mine inspection work has been diligently kept up. The assistant inspectors are all industrious, capable, discreet men. All were required to pass an examination as to their qualifications before appointment, all made good grades and all, having themselves had considerable practical experience in coal mining, realize the responsibilities that rest upon them.

"Monthly statistical reports received from the coal companies to date indicate an output of coal for the calendar year of about 13,170,227 tons. This approximation includes 11,941,227 tons actually reported, and 3,129,000 tons estimated. This indicates a decrease of about 1,550,000 tons when comparison is made with the production for 1910; when compared with that for 1909, however, it shows a gain of over 2,800,000 tons. The year 1909 showed a considerable gain over 1908. A probable falling off in production was indicated by conditions early in the year and conditions in the latter part of the year have not been such as to call for much production.

"The loss in production occurred chiefly in the Western district, for which a decrease of over 1,500,000 tons is indicated, to which a loss of about 225,000 tons for the Southeastern district is to be added. The net loss is kept within the figures named by an indicated increase of 312,000 tons in the Northeastern district.

"To date there have been no large disasters during the year such as marked the year 1910. But despite the most diligent supervision disasters are liable to occur and the inspectors are not prone to feel satisfied with 'what has not yet happened' at any time during the year. So long as shooting on the solid is allowed, and so long as large quantities of 'black' powder—more than what is actually needed each day—are allowed to be carried into the mines, the menace of an explosion is ever present. The methods of blasting and the amount of powder that may be carried into a mine daily ought to be regulated by law. The utmost vigilance is required at this time of the year to prevent explosions, and the assistant inspectors have been instructed to give special attention to their more dangerous mines at this time.

"The fatal accidents so far reported for the year, compared with those for 1910 and omitting the fifty deaths due to explosions in that year, indicate a decrease for 1911. Deaths due to falls of top, however, still constitute a vexatious problem. Efforts are being made to determine what part the use of explosives as require to be braced by a 'jack' and against the roof play in causing the roof falls. It is a noteworthy fact that deaths from falls of top are much greater in the Southeastern and Northeastern districts than in the Western one. The following table showing deaths from roof falls in 1900 and 1910, compared with the number reported so far for 1911, tells the story:

	1909.	1910.	1911.
Western district .....	2	5	1
Southeastern district .....	14	9	10
Northeastern district .....	4	6	6
Totals .....	20	20	17

The Legislature of 1910 made an appropriation for the purchase of six sets of oxygen-helmet apparatus for the inspectors to use in case of explosions or fires at mines. They have more than justified the action of the Legislature. Several fires have been quietly gotten under control and extinguished through the use of the helmets, and in one instance (an explosion in 1910) they were at the mine ready for use in event the rescue work should be interfered with by noxious gases. Each assistant inspector and the chief has two helmets; it would be well were the number doubled.

\*\*\*  
**Development Increasing.**

"The development of mines in the Eastern field is increasing rapidly, especially in the upper portion of the Big Sandy Valley and on the North fork of the Kentucky River; also in Harlan county and upper portion of Bell. Harlan county entered the list of commercial producers in October and may be expected, with favorable trade conditions, to become an important producer in 1912. Letcher county will enter the list within the coming year and will become a large producer. The Western field is also receiving much attention from mining capital, but the tendency there just at present seems to be toward consolidation and the reduction of production.

\*\*\*  
**Direct Primary Elections.**

"If we wish voters to take an interest in the candidates and in the elections we must have methods for nominating party candidates which will insure general participation in the election, and I believe a primary election is the best plan to select the nominees for the various offices.

"Success is always greatly promoted if we have equal rights for all and special privileges for none, and opportunities given to all to assist in nominating the candidates they will support at the general election are encouraging to the voters. The humblest voter has as much right to participate in the nomination of candidates as the most prominent and influential voter, and the farmer in the country should have equal chances with the citizen in a town or city. Comparatively few persons attend courthouse conventions, and often 100 persons or a less number in a courthouse convention choose delegates or instruct for candidates, while several thousand voters of the county are absent at their homes. The government should be brought close to the people, and there can be no bosses or rings in connection with a primary election legally and honestly held. Experience has taught the people to appreciate primary elections. In a large majority of the counties of Kentucky primary elections are held to nominate county officers, and it has been but a short time since a State primary election was held in Kentucky to nominate candidates for State offices. Every State south of Kentucky holds primary elections to nominate county and State officers, and many of the Northern and Western States nominate their county and State officers in primary elections.

"One hundred and twenty-eight years of popular government have established that the people are competent to rule themselves and to appreciate candidates and great issues.

"The direct primary is in line with the advanced thought of the times, and is the hope for good men in office and clean government in administration.

"Before the Constitution of the United States was adopted there never had been a governmental instrument handed up from the people to the rulers; all governmental charters that had ever existed had been handed down by the conquerors to the people. Our Constitution is founded not on the States, not on the counties, nor on the localities, but on the individual. The preamble of the Federal Constitution is: 'We, the people of the United States do ordain and establish \* \* \* this Constitution.' And we of this generation, to maintain it, must look at it from that direction. The individual is the factor in the future of this great republic. The direct primary gives force to and makes potent the power of the individual in government.

"I recommend the enactment of a direct primary election law, providing that primary elections shall be conducted under lawful authority and at public expense, and to be regulated in the same manner and subject to the same penalties and violations as in case of regular elections.

\*\*\*

**The County Unit.**

"So much has been spoken and written about extending the present local option law as applied to the sale of liquors so that the citizens of each and every county in the State may determine for themselves whether spirituous, vinous or malt liquors may be sold therein that I do not deem it necessary to discuss this important question at length. The State Democratic platform declared in favor of it in strong and unmistakable terms, and I have already, in this message, declared for it and for legislation to carry out the pledge. I want to say, however, with emphasis, that the question of regulating or suppressing the liquor traffic should be settled on its own merits without regard to other questions that may come before you, and wisdom, as well as harmony, demand that you should settle it and take it out of politics.

\*\*\*  
**Prison Commissioners.**

"The State Democratic platform was no stronger or more emphatic on any subject than it was in declaring:

"We favor a change in the present method of selecting the Prison Commissioners of the State, and the removal of all politics from the management of our penal institutions. While commending the present Board of Prison Commissioners for its successful management of the institutions under its care, we recognize that the system of election by the Legislature under which they are elected is unwise, and we, therefore, favor such a change as will place their appointment in the hands of the Governor, subject to confirmation, or some other method such as the General Assembly may provide."

"This declaration was adopted unanimously by the State convention and approved with practical unanimity by the people and by the press of Kentucky, and Chapter 97, Article I, Section 375 of the Kentucky Statutes, which provides for a Board of Commissioners to govern the penitentiaries of the Commonwealth, is in part as follows:

"The General Assembly may, at any time, remove any or all of the members of said Board of Commissioners, with or without cause."

"In accordance with the platform, I recommend that so much of the law as requires three Prison Commissioners to be elected by the General Assembly be repealed, and their respective terms of office be terminated, and that a bi-partisan board, consisting of four members, be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of four years, and that two members of the said board should be selected from the political party which polled the highest number of votes in the last preceding State election, and two members from the political party casting the next highest number of votes.

"No personal reflection on the present Prison Commissioners is intended by my statements or recommendations. They are serving under a system which has caused condemnation and criticism.

"Important questions are suggested for consideration by the existing law. If the Legislature has the right to name the Prison Commissioners, and they have large patronage, will it not follow that the Prison Commissioners will be interested in electing the members of the Legislature and thus perpetuate power and their tenure of office? And if they can control their election, will they not seek, also, to control legislation?

"Many newspapers of our State have commented on the existing system and advocated a change in the present method of selecting the Prison Commissioners of the State and the removal of all politics from the management of our penal institutions.

"I quote from one newspaper which declares:

"The vast patronage of the prisons is a powerful weapon in the hands of the commissioners. \* \* \* They can give themselves a life tenure in office. \* \* \* The evil of the present system is even more far reaching. It makes the Legislature an appendage of the Prison Commissioners. It creates a vacillation that is foreign to our Democratic institutions, and takes away from the people the right to govern themselves through their chosen representatives. Such a condition will work irreparable harm to the democracy, to the prisons and to the moral well-being of the whole State. The Democratic party is pledged to the destruction of this system, root and branch."

\*\*\*  
**Reports of Our Insane Asylums.**

"The reports of the Eastern Kentucky Asylum for the Insane at Lexington, the Central Kentucky Asylum for the Insane at Lakeland and the Western Kentucky Asylum for the Insane at Hopkinsville, are herewith submitted. They all appear to be in a satisfactory condition.

both in their general management and in the manner in which the unfortunate inmates are treated.

State Board of Control.

"The General Assembly, at its regular session of 1906, passed a law creating the Kentucky State Board of Control for Charitable Institutions, to manage and govern the three asylums for the insane and the Feeble-Minded Institute. It was provided in said act that the board should consist of three members, to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, for a term of four years.

"The General Assembly of 1906 passed an act amending the original Board of Control law of 1906, which provided that said board should consist of four members, to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice of the Senate, for a term of four years, and providing further that two members of the said board should be selected from the political party which polled the highest number of votes in the last preceding State election, and two members from the political party casting the next highest number of votes. The purpose of the change in the law was declared in the act, itself, to be to make said Board of Control bi-partisan. To carry into effect the purpose of the change in the statute, the Governor was empowered to appoint one additional member, and in pursuance thereof, he, on March 24, 1908, appointed Mr. Stanley Milward, of Lexington, Ky., the fourth member of said board, at which time the bi-partisan board was organized. On January 4, 1909, Judge A. J. G. Wells, of Murray, Ky., succeeded Dr. Milton Board; on January 5, 1910, Judge Garrett S. Wall, of Maysville, Ky., succeeded Gen. Percy Haley, and on May 28, 1910, Stanley Milward resigned and was succeeded by Dr. Thomas W. Gardiner, of Madisonville, Ky., who having filled out Mr. Milward's unexpired term, was re-appointed on January 12, 1911.

"The plan of a central board for the management of these institutions, instead of local boards, as the law previous to 1906 provided, has met with general approval. A brief reference taken from the second report of the Board of Control, September 30, 1907, indicates that the good effects of the creation of a central board were immediate and material. The quotation is as follows: 'The installing of the uniform business system, improvement in discipline, economy in running expenses, all pay tribute to the wisdom of the last Legislature in creating a central board of charities, the entire cost of maintenance of same being paid for in the saving made by the board in the purchase of meats alone.'

"It is not difficult to understand why a central board, appointed by the Governor, and responsible to him for their acts, should be able to provide a more economic and efficient government for these institutions, and the bi-partisan feature of the law is but an additional safeguard against possible abuse of power, which time and trial for the past few years have commended to favor in the management of our charitable institutions.

"From October 1, 1907, to June 30, 1911, the present Board of Control have expended the total sum of \$178,945.46 on new improvement and new equipment, out of the per capita allowance of \$150 and have left at present a surplus of \$52,995.37.

Decrease of Restraint.

"Since the creation of the Board of Control there has been almost a complete abolition of all mechanical and medical restraints. The last report for the biennial period ending June 30, 1911, shows only 3,809 hours of restraint, as against 142,922 hours for a like period immediately preceding.

"The engorgement and perfection of a uniform system of accounting, the introduction of a uniform wage scale, a practical working plan for the collection of claims, the establishing of training schools for nurses, the segregation and isolation of tubercular patients, the increased results from farms and gardens, the increased comforts and happiness that have come to the patients through well-directed exercise, simple work and new forms of entertainment, the introduction of manual training, industrial and domestic science at the Institution for Feeble-minded Children, are cited in the report of the present board as evidence of activity and progress in the management of these institutions.

"It seems best for the Commonwealth and best for the unfortunate inmates of our charitable institutions that this law remain as it is, so far, at least, as the governing power is placed in a central and bi-partisan board. Neither party in the late campaign for State officers, in their party platforms or otherwise, declared in favor of any change in the governing power of these institutions.

Feeble-Minded Children.

"Fifty-one years ago the State of Kentucky erected for her feeble-minded children a commodious building near the site upon which the present building now stands. Fire has twice completely destroyed the homes erected for the care of her feeble-minded; but no time was lost in making ready to care for the care of fortunates, as in the years 1906 and 1907 new homes were ready to receive and care for these children. During the last two years a new dormitory has been erected, which is an excellent three-story building, well ventilated, splendidly arranged, commodious and modern in every respect. The erection of this building has done away with the crowded condition that existed previous to its construction. A modern kitchen, cold storage plant and bakery are being built, which, when completed, will make Kentucky's institution for the care of the feeble-minded one of the best-equipped institutions of this character in the entire country.

"During the last few years domestic science and manual training have been added to the course of instruction and training, and more and more each year proves the practical importance of this character of training.

"At the close of the year ending June 30, 1909, the total number of patients in the keeping of this institution was 195. At the present time 156 boys and 116 girls are under our care, making a total of 172 pupils. During the past two years ten pupils have been dismissed, and six have been transferred to the various asylums of the State. Two escaped from the institution during this period. Between the dates June 30, 1909, and June 30, 1911, twenty-one deaths occurred, and 120 were treated for various diseases. In the last two years there have been completed three new buildings, the boys' dormitory, the power plant and the laundry. The dormitory is an excellent three-story brick building, well ventilated, splendidly arranged, commodious and modern in every respect. The erection of this building has completely done away with the crowded condition that existed previous to its construction. The power plant is complete in every detail, at all times furnishing the institution with hot and cold water, heat and light. The laundry has so far afforded entire satisfaction. Recently a system of electric lights has been installed throughout the beautiful lawn, and this proves not alone of practical advantage, but also serves to greatly enhance the appearance of the grounds at night time.

"The superintendent of the Kentucky Institute for Feeble-minded Children, in closing his statement to me, says:

"Along lines of training the past two years have been exceptionally encouraging and profitable. As we look over these grounds to-day, we are conscious of a feeling of gratification at what is being accomplished by this home. The seed sown many years ago has grown into a mighty tree, sheltering from the storms of life these helpless and incapable children. Under its friendly protection they dwell in joy and gladness to their highest capacity. More than this, our school contributes to the needs of the State by taking from the Commonwealth those who, through their weakness, become a drag upon the wheels of progress.

"Possibly the most practical and essential departments of our school are those of domestic science and manual training. These departments, which were introduced two years ago, have been conducted by young ladies especially trained in this sort of work, and the practical results derived have exceeded our most sanguine expectations.

"The superintendent's last report will be laid before the General Assembly.

School For the Deaf.

"The Kentucky School for the Deaf, located at Danville, was established in 1823. More than two thousand pupils have been enrolled in past years. While only a small per cent. of this number remain in school to complete their education, the majority of them are in school long enough to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of life, and, upon leaving the institution, take their places among the people as good and honest citizens. The number of new pupils admitted this session of school was thirty-eight.

"The establishment of the industrial department is not only an interesting feature of this institution, but it seems very beneficial, both to the boys and the girls, and opens the way for them to make a support after they leave the school. In the carpenter's shop twenty-three boys are being instructed in wood work and joinery. Thirty boys are in the tailoring department. Twenty-five boys are now being instructed in the art of printing. Thirteen boys are being instructed in the shoe shop. A small number of boys work in the garden in the spring and fall months. The older girls receive instruction in needle work and dressmaking, and also alternate this with laundry work.

ironing all of the wash clothes for pupils of the entire school.

"This institution is under the control of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Governor, and is a school for the education of the deaf. Every deaf person in this Commonwealth, between the ages of 10 and 20, who is sound in body and mind, is entitled to the benefits of the institution free of charge, with board and tuition for a term of seven years. It is in a most prosperous condition, and annually sends out males and females whose intelligence and accomplishments attest the remarkable success of the school.

"The annual report of the superintendent of the Kentucky School for the Deaf will be laid before you.

\*\*\*  
**Institution For the Blind.**

"The Kentucky Institution for the Blind, located at Louisville, which is intended to furnish facilities for education of children of the State, free of charge, whose sight is so defective as to prevent them from getting an education in the ordinary schools, is well attended. The improvement and general accomplishments of the scholars are such as to be very surprising to persons not familiar with the remarkable success of such institutions.

"The annual report of the superintendent of this institution will be laid before you, and I commend it to your careful consideration.

\*\*\*  
**State Board of Health.**

"The State Board of Health of Kentucky was created by the General Assembly in 1878, during an epidemic of yellow fever then devastating the whole South, which invaded Kentucky before the defenses against it could be organized. It was wisely endowed with ample powers to combat pestilence, without, and to study the still more important domestic and ever present endemic diseases which are constant menaces to the lives, health and happiness of our people, as well as the most wasteful expense of our time in dollars and cents. Five epidemics of yellow fever have devastated the South since the creation of the board, but the disease has not only not obtained a foothold in our Commonwealth, but under wise precautions, we have been able to open our doors with characteristic hospitality to thousands of refugees from our afflicted sister States of the South.

"For the first twenty-two years the total annual appropriation for the whole work of the board was only \$2,500, and for the last decade has only been \$5,000 annually. During this thirty years wonderful progress in the study and prevention of such diseases as tuberculosis, typhoid fever and the diseases of childhood have only been possible because of the devotion and work of the 3,600 practicing physicians who have performed their function as guardians of the public health, furnishing offices and equipment for life-saving work, with but small compensation.

"The educational work and splendid health organization built up through the various years were given a new impetus by the last General Assembly, which created a new department of vital statistics, sanitary engineering and bacteriology, with ample appropriations for inaugurating these activities. These appropriations did not become available until January 1, 1911, but public and professional sentiment were so ripe for the work, that, at the end of the first eleven months, and for the first time in the history of Kentucky, the board was able to make a full, official record of 55,307 births, and 27,955 deaths, and what caused each of the latter, and to be able to state definitely that with the practice by the people of methods now well known to sanitarians, almost 40 per cent of these deaths were preventable; to begin to map the water supply of the entire State and to plot the sources of pollution of streams with the view to wise, far-reaching plans looking to the protection of this vital interest; and to take up in the laboratory the examination of sputum, blood and all such similar matters for physicians and citizens in such a way as to bring the benefactions of modern scientific methods for the prevention of sickness within reach of every hearthstone in Kentucky, free of cost.

"The press, teachers, physicians, women's clubs and other leaders of public opinion are encouraging and co-operating with the Board of Health to an extent which promises to mark this as an era, not only in life-saving work, but in the economic history of the State.

"I believe the members of the State Board of Health merit commendation for services now being performed, and for services rendered during a third of a century with ability, energy and efficiency.

\*\*\*

**Department of Banking.**

"The last State Democratic platform declared in favor of a Department of Banking, removed from politics, and providing for competent inspection of all of our State financial institutions, similar to the system now existing for national banks.

"Under the national banking system, which has existed in the United States for about fifty years, we have always had a system of inspection of national banks and it has been so wise and resulted in so much good that we have heard of no one anywhere desiring the repeal of such a salutary law.

"We also find that all the States and Territories of the American Union but six have an inspection of State financial institutions. Kentucky is one of the six which has none. In the forty States providing for such inspection, thirty-five of them have a Department of Banking, not under the Auditor, Secretary of State or any other officer, but a separate and distinct department, and there is not a State in the Union in which the Secretary of State is at the head of the banking department.

"In Kentucky we should have a Department of Banking, removed as far as possible from politics. The law should provide qualifications for the head of that department and of every examiner in that department, so as to secure intelligent, efficient and reliable management by every officer connected with the department.

"Every Banking Commissioner, Deputy Banking Commissioner and State Bank Examiner should be a resident and citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, should be a practical bookkeeper and accountant and should have not less than four years actual experience as an officer or clerk in a bank. They should take the oath required of officers by the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and execute bend with good security for the faithful performance of duty.

"It would not be fair or just to the banking institutions of this Commonwealth, which will pay all the expenses of maintaining the Department of Banking, including the salaries of its officers, that an inexperienced person should be at the head of the department or that his assistants and inspectors should not be experienced, capable and efficient.

"There are now in Kentucky four hundred and seventy-two State banks and trust companies. Of that number two hundred and twenty-seven have a capital stock of \$15,000 or less; over \$15,000 and up to \$50,000 there are one hundred and fifty-one banks; \$50,000 to \$100,000 forty-eight banks; over \$100,000 forty-six banks. Of the four hundred and seventy-two banks in the State there were closed during the past year thirty-three; some on account of irregularities and some because they were organized in communities and cities where they were not needed.

"It is interesting to consider the condition of State banks and trust companies in Kentucky as compared with national banks.

"According to the tabulation made in the Secretary of State's office on June 30, 1910, the State banks and trust companies' capital stock amounted to \$20,935,457.

"The national banks' capital stock at the same time amounted to \$17,405,300.

"The surplus in the State banks at the same time amounted to \$5,684,704.83, while that in the national banks amounted to \$7,190,631.

"The deposits in the State banks and institutions of Kentucky at the same time amounted to \$79,000,735; in national banks they amounted to \$57,705,494.57.

"The total liabilities of the State institutions amounted to \$104,265,254.72, and of the national banks \$113,711,218.01.

\*\*\*  
**Need For State Law.**

"It appears, therefore, that in Kentucky State banks and trust companies have a larger capital stock than national banks, and that the deposits in State banks and institutions are larger than in the national banks, and that the liabilities of State institutions and national banks are about the same; yet there has been a national bank law for about fifty years in Kentucky to regulate national banks, but there has been no Department of Banking providing for competent inspection of all of our State financial institutions as now proposed.

"It seems conclusive, therefore, that we should not only now have a banking law, but we should have had such a law in Kentucky for many years.

"Experience, as I am informed, has shown that depositors in national banks have lost only the sum of \$38,000, while depositors in State banks and trust companies, in one city alone, lost over \$1,000,000, and that is exclusive of the losses to the stockholders in other State banks and trust companies.

"I, therefore, recommend the passage of an act to establish a Department of Banking, providing for the appointment of a commissioner, deputy commissioner and examiners thereof, and prescribing their duties, and for examination of all financial institutions organized and doing business under the laws of this Commonwealth."

#### Tuberculosis.

"Medical men who have donated much time to the study now agree that tuberculosis is a preventable disease, and that a large part of the sickness and fatality incident thereto can and should be avoided. They assert that the disease would be greatly ameliorated, and in time exterminated if preventive measures were universally practiced, and if all persons thoroughly understood the importance of combating tuberculosis in every possible way. The ravages of consumption represent terrible destruction of life, and it is the duty of humanity to support every movement which gives reasonable hope of reducing the annual death roll."

"According to the returns of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, during the first seven months of 1911, 6,085 cases of tuberculosis were under treatment by physicians in Kentucky. In the same period 3,325 deaths were reported. It is probable that the actual number of deaths were larger than these figures show, owing to delay in reporting. It is certainly a grave and serious showing, and the State Board of Health says 'consumption is the most common and fatal disease with which the people of Kentucky are afflicted.'"

"During the past year wonderful progress has been made against tuberculosis; its progress has been checked with great vigor and intelligence. Kentucky should lose no ground that has been gained, but there should be earnest efforts for more gratifying achievements."

"I recommend that the campaign which is being waged against tuberculosis be encouraged, so as to diminish the ravages of this awful plague, and in the end, if it is possible, stamp it out."

#### Corrupt Practices Act.

"I recommend the enactment of a law which shall, under heavy penalties, compel publicity of campaign contributions, both as to source and disbursement, before primary and general elections, both for campaign committees and for individuals, and which shall limit campaign expenditures to that which is legitimate and necessary."

#### Labor.

"Labor is the greatest wealth-producing power in the world. It cultivates the soil, constructs and operates railroads, builds homes and ships, produces all we use, wear or eat, and develops forests and mines."

"The laborer is worthy of his hire," was spoken nearly two thousand years ago, but it is as true and applicable to man now as it was then."

"It may be said, also, that labor is the foundation of man's success in every sphere and in every avocation, and, as such, its just demands must be met, its rights guarded and protected."

"The Democratic doctrine is that 'we favor the enactment of wise laws for the protection from accident and injury of all laborers engaged in hazardous employments, and we favor wise and conservative laws regulating the arbitration of labor strikes and disputes.' And there should be also an employers' liability law."

"I recommend that the General Assembly do full justice to the cause of labor in Kentucky, and recognize, through wise and equitable laws, the rights advocated by Jefferson, that the rights of man are superior to the rights of property."

#### Agriculture.

"I cannot call your attention to anything that is more important or more interesting than agriculture. Agriculture is the mainspring which keeps the business of the world in motion. The wheels of commerce and trade and manufactures would cease if the products of the soil were withdrawn from the markets of the world. Banks would close, industries would cease, manufactories would suspend and everything would seem to be palsied. Agriculture is the life of the nation, the sustenance of the people, and there can be no more interesting slogan now to our young men than the slogan, 'Back to the farm.'"

"More than half the people of our State live on farms, and more than half the State taxes are paid by farmers. Farmers have always been in the advance guard of the march of civilization, and their progress, energy and success are

shown when it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the exports from our country to foreign ports come from the farms."

"Kentucky is an agricultural State, and you cannot foster and encourage our farm interests too much. By regulating our labor system; by establishing fair rates for the transportation of our stock and farm products to market; by resisting monopolies and opposing ruinous taxes or exorbitant rates of interest; by encouraging farmers to come together for consultation and for comparison of opinions, and by stimulating the growth and expansion of our agricultural interests in every way, you will confer inestimable blessings upon the Commonwealth and the people. The wealth of Kentucky comes primarily from the farms and farming is the basis of prosperity."

"The opportunities in our States for diversified agriculture surpasses those of any similar section."

"Farming is every year being more and more specialized, and calls for more modern, practical and efficient methods. Each successive year places a higher premium on intelligent farming, and requires a more complete understanding with reference to the details of farm management, crop rotation, preparation of the soil, selection of seed, rearing of livestock and the use of farm machinery. In order to have successful farming universities, colleges and normal schools should teach agriculture, so that the young men, when they finish their collegiate education, can, if they wish to, conduct their farms in an up-to-date manner, and so that teachers who are trained at normal schools can impart to their pupils knowledge in regard to modern farming."

"I believe that more attention should be given to arousing an interest among the young men in all that pertains to agriculture. Farmers' clubs and industrial clubs should be encouraged. Publications should be prepared and distributed, giving definite information on topics in which farmers and farmer boys are interested. Encouragement should be given to boys on the farms in such manner as will arouse rivalry. Improved strains of corn, wheat and other farm products should be distributed."

"The Department of Agriculture in Kentucky, the Farmers' Institutes and the State Fair are doing much good work, and should be encouraged in every proper way."

"Our platform declares in favor of organization and co-operation of farmers, and there is always strength and benefit in organization and co-operation."

#### Needs of Department.

"I have received from the Hon. J. W. Newman, Commissioner of Agriculture, a report showing the essential needs of that department. I agree with Mr. Newman, and make the following recommendation:

"Placing the selection of the seven members of the State Board of Agriculture, Forestry and Immigration that are now selected at the Farmers' Institutes in the hands of the Governor. The method of selection now is splendid in theory, but poor in practice, as politics have crept into these meetings and there is a constant fight for the places."

"Not more than four of these seven members should belong to the same political party, and they should be removable at the pleasure of the Governor."

"The Department of Agriculture should be completely reorganized by the incoming General Assembly."

#### The State Fair.

"The State Fair has grown by leaps and bounds within the last few years, and Kentucky is now one of the ten great Fair States. Other States are providing, however, thousands of dollars where Kentucky is providing hundreds, for State Fair purposes. Texas this year broke all records, when 135,000 paid admissions were recorded in one day at the State Fair. Other fairs, such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio and Illinois, have more than a million dollars invested in State Fair buildings and grounds, and find that they are getting splendid returns on the investment."

"Kentucky has paid but \$40,000 in buildings and grounds at the present State Fair. The city of Louisville and county of Jefferson and private citizens, and profits from previous fairs, have added to this amount, until the State now has practically \$300,000 invested in this plant. It is accomplishing a great deal for the livestock and agricultural resources of the State, and high-class flocks and herds are beginning to dot the surface of the State, which promises to put Kentucky back in the front rank of livestock States, where she stood forty years ago, instead of eighteenth place, which she occupies to-day. More accommodations must be provided for the Kentucky

State Fair, if it is to continue to grow. The Livestock Sanitary Board should be made a bureau of this department, and its powers enlarged so that it can use means to eradicate tuberculosis from dairy cattle, hog cholera, pleuropneumonia, glanders, sheep scabies, the foot and mouth disease, and other contagious ones of livestock of the State. This would mean protection for the agricultural interests from a financial standpoint, and also to our citizens, as some of these diseases can be contracted by human beings. There are many conflicts between the health authorities and farmers in various sections of the State on account of the lack of understanding, more than anything else; and I have been informed that the State Board of Health will gladly co-operate in placing this authority in the hands of a State Board of Agriculture appointed by the Governor.

\*\*\*  
Fish and Game.

"A Fish and Game Bureau, providing for the protection and conservation of bird life that is so essential to the farmer in the destruction of the injurious insects and the consumption of obnoxious weed seed.

"The farmers are spending money and time, and often suffering, at that untold injury to their crops as a result of the gradual extermination of bird life in this State. Our many streams that should furnish a great amount of food to our people, practically without cost, are being rapidly cleared of any fish life as the result of pollution, dynamiting, etc.

"We now have the opportunity of securing from the Government a fish hatchery adjoining the State Fair Grounds at Louisville that will be maintained by the Government, and used as a great educational feature of the Kentucky State Fair, as well as a convenient point from which to obtain a fish supply for our streams and ponds, at an outlay of about \$6,000 to the State. This should unquestionably be done, as we only have until the first of February to consummate this arrangement.

"The Forestry Department should be placed in the Department of Agriculture with such powers and with such funds as will enable the authorities to conserve our forest interest.

"There should be an Immigration Bureau created, where there is a total fund of about \$5,000 annually, to be used in encouraging desirable laborers and settlers to locate in Kentucky. With an expenditure of \$2,000 annually by the Immigration agent, some 900 persons a year are being placed for those desiring to employ labor, and are creating wealth for the State. About 500 of these are from without the State. Many of the Southern States have provided ample funds for this work, and people are being taken right through Kentucky to become citizens of States south of us. Kentucky has only one-fourth of her lands in cultivation. There are great opportunities here for the man who is willing to live in the country, but nothing is being done to advise the public where these opportunities can be found.

"The last census shows plainly that our people are leaving the country, and either going into the cities or emigrating to other States. A little money expended here would return good results on the investment.

"The Labor Bureau should be enlarged so as to provide for at least two lady inspectors, whose duties would be to look to the protection of the thousands of women and children now employed in our cities. This same bill should enlarge the powers of our present labor inspectors, so that they may safeguard the lives of persons now laboring at the factories, shops, etc., in unsanitary condition, and without fire escapes.

\*\*\*  
Forestry.

"The study of forestry conditions in Kentucky, made by the forest service in co-operation with the State Board of Agriculture, Forestry and Immigration, began in the summer of 1907 and extended through three field seasons. The third report shows, in condensed form, the statistical side of the timber situation in the entire State. It is shown by a table in that report that 9,373,000 acres, or 37 per cent. of the State, is now in forest, with a total estimated stand of 22,955,000,000 board feet.

"The report says, 'assuming that the output of the last three years is maintained, and that growth is balanced by local consumption and damage, the timber supply of Kentucky will last fifteen years. If the rate of growth per acre were increased 100 board feet per year the supply would last thirty-seven years, and if increased to 200 board feet it would supply the present demand perpetually.' This

shows the great demand for education of the public in forest management, which can be accomplished only through the General Assembly.

"I do not think the entire stock of timber in Kentucky will be out in fifteen years, nor will timber be exhausted in that time. The information, however, is important in showing the relation between the output and the total amount of standing timber. Timber production must be considered, and steps should be taken so that the production will eventually equal the output.

"I believe it is imperative that the General Assembly adopt a proper and adequate policy of forest protection, not only with the purpose of saving the timber now standing, but of reforesting the cut-over, the burnt-over and unforested districts of the State. A majority of the States are maintaining bureaus of forestry.

"I recommend:  
"First—A State Forester, to be appointed by the Governor, who, by training and experience, is thoroughly qualified to handle technical forestry problems, as well as forestry educational work.

"Second—A campaign of education should be inaugurated and the State Forester should lecture at Farmers' Institutes and encourage elementary instruction in forestry in the public schools; also prepare and distribute appropriate bulletins.

\*\*\*  
Good Roads.

"A system of good roads is the basis of a country's progress, and upon these largely depend its material development and advance in civilization. Public roads have been compared to the veins and arteries in the human body, by which the circulation is carried on; and when they are clogged, or are not in good condition, the usual functions are impeded and vitality is diminished. Without good roads there cannot be proper development of the energies, resources and enterprise of the people, and the education of boys and girls is seriously handicapped.

"Nothing will add more to the value of property or to the welfare and profit and pleasure of the general public than will a system of well-built, well-kept public roads throughout the State. I shall not discuss the subject further, as both the leading political parties declared in their platforms in favor of good roads, and many strong articles have been presented to the people on the subject.

\*\*\*  
Tax Reform.

"One of the most important questions to be considered by the General Assembly is the question of tax reform and what steps should be taken to improve our present methods of raising the revenue necessary for the conduct of the State government.

"The tax question is a complex one, and will require intelligent, careful examination to insure its wise solution. It is said that no two of the forty-eight States of the Union have the same system throughout; they differ either in respect to constitutional restrictions or in administration or in detail. I think it may be said that Kentuckians all agree on one point, and that is that they want the best system that can be obtained.

"Both of the leading political parties adopted in their platform provisions favoring the submission to the voters of Kentucky an amendment to the Constitution, broadening the powers of the General Assembly so that it may classify property for the purpose of taxation, but opposing any law, the effect of which would be to lighten the burdens of taxation on the wealthy and on corporations at the expense of the poor, the farmer, or the laboring man. This important question has also been discussed at length by many persons, and, as both the leading political parties, in their platforms, are committed to the submission of the amendment to the voters, further discussion is not needed at present.

\*\*\*  
Attorney General's Department.

"The retiring Attorney General, Hon. James Breathitt, in his final report to me as Attorney General, makes the following recommendation:

"The Legislature should provide for one more stenographer for the department at a salary of \$100 per month. With the Attorney General and three assistants it is often impossible to have two stenographers doing the work of the four officers, and this is more especially true at times when the various courts are in session. If this is not looked upon favorably the Legislature ought to provide an appropriation of at least \$1,200 to be expended by the Attorney General as he deems proper for extra clerical help. My records show that the number of cases for the last two years of my term was about 25 per cent. greater than the num-

ber during the first two years, and there is reason to believe that hereafter the work will increase rather than decrease. "I, therefore, recommend that the General Assembly provide for one more stenographer for the Attorney General's department at a salary of \$100 per month.

\*\*\*  
**Investigation of Working Women.**

"Gov. Willson appointed in March, 1911, to investigate the condition of working women in Kentucky, and to report to the Legislature what recommendations they thought proper, the following volunteer commission:

"Chairman, Alex. G. Barret, Louisville; secretary, Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Louisville; special investigator, S. M. Hartzman, Louisville; Mrs. Pattie B. Semple, Louisville; Mrs. Eli Boone, Paducah; Dr. Julia A. Ingram, Louisville; Dr. J. M. Matthews, Louisville; Paul M. Moore, Earlinton; Mrs. Morris B. Beiknap, Louisville; Claude M. Thomas, Paris; Miss Florence Witherspoon, Louisville; Harry B. Mackey, Covington; Mrs. Emil S. Tachan, Louisville; R. C. Stoll, Lexington; Miss Stella Lowenstein, Louisville; John Speed, Taylorsville; Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville; Dr. W. E. Grant, Louisville; Lafon Allen, Louisville, and Albert S. Brandeis, Louisville.

"The report of this commission is now in the hands of the printer, and will be published next week and laid before the General Assembly. The recommendations of the commission are worthy of your careful consideration, and I call the attention of Senators and Representatives to the very interesting report submitted by the volunteer commission.

\*\*\*  
**The State Prisons.**

"The management, discipline and operations of the Kentucky penitentiary at Frankfort, and the Kentucky branch penitentiary at Eddyville, so far as I have been able to ascertain from the reports submitted to me, which were addressed, respectively, to the honorable Board of Prison Commissioners, seem to be as satisfactory as the situation and surroundings will allow. The convicts appear to be comfortably clothed and fed with substantial, wholesome food, and religious services are regularly held in each prison for the benefit of their spiritual welfare.

"There were in the Kentucky penitentiary at Frankfort, November 30, 1911, 1,343 prisoners; there were in the Kentucky branch penitentiary at Eddyville, at that date, 692 prisoners.

"The object of legal punishment is not only to deter others from crimes by punishing the offender, but suitable reform means to prepare the prisoner for his future life among his fellows. Enlightened civilization is advancing in everything, and to be in harmony with the progress of the age there should be improvement in prison management and discipline as well as on other lines. At one of the earliest International Prison Congresses, held in London, it was declared that convicts could be reformed and in that declaration the soundest and most accomplished students of penitentiary management concur.

"I do not believe that we should by our present system strive to place over the gates of the penitentiaries the words that were inscribed over Dante's Inferno: 'Let all who enter here leave hope behind.' But we should rather make the prisoner feel that, though severely punished, he is not forgotten and that the law surrounds him with incentives to repentance and reformation and that he should rejoice in hope and be patient in tribulation.

"I have not had time, since my inauguration less than one month ago, to examine carefully the management and discipline of the penitentiaries of our State, but I shall, at an early day, inspect, in person, both penitentiaries.

"There is strong sentiment and universal desire in all sections of our State, both in county and city, to improve our highways and encourage the inauguration of an intelligent system of road building and improvement of existing roads. Many of our citizens have made known to me their belief that the labor of our convicts, confined in our penitentiaries, should, under proper and humane safeguards and restrictions, be utilized in road and bridge building and repair. Under Section 253 of our Constitution our convicts must be confined to labor within the walls of our penitentiaries and cannot be employed at labor outside of the walls, except in case of pestilence or destruction of the prison buildings.

"I think the General Assembly should have power to authorize the working of our male convicts—except those confined for life—in the construction and repair of roads and bridges in the various counties of the Commonwealth; and I, therefore, recommend that the General Assembly submit to the voters of the State an amendment to our Constitution

which, if adopted, would authorize the passage of such laws.

\*\*\*  
**Public Utilities.**

"The private ownership of public utilities is continually presenting perplexing questions as to the respective rights of the interests controlling them and the people whom they serve.

"This is an outcome of the advance of civilization, the increase of population, the progress of the times, and the changed condition of living, which requires a use of the conveniences incident to the inventions and to our industrial and commercial environments.

"These public utilities are owned and operated in the State by private corporations, and these corporations are doing business under the protection of the State, by legislative permission.

"They are private in the sense that individuals, financially interested, control them, fix the cost of service, and receive profits; but, in the sense that the service they provide is indispensable to the people, they are public corporations.

"These corporations have rights under the Constitution and under the law which must be respected as fully as the rights of any individual; but they also are charged with responsibilities to the public and the Government, under whose protection and laws they exist, which must be fulfilled.

"In the platforms of both the Democratic party and the Republican party promises were made to enact a law providing for a Public Utilities Commission, having ample powers to discharge its duties.

"I think that such a commission is necessary in Kentucky, in order to insure good service at reasonable expense from our public service corporations. It should include express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, street railway companies, interurban companies and water, light and gas companies. Such a commission has been formed in all the progressive States, so far as I know, like New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and all of the most up-to-date Commonwealths, and a movement is on foot in other States to have such a law enacted.

"Section 199 of the Constitution of Kentucky, which was adopted some twenty years ago, provides:

"Any association or corporation, or the lessees or managers thereof, organized for the purpose, or any individual, shall have the right to construct and maintain lines of telegraph, within this State, and to connect the same with other lines, and said companies shall receive and transmit each other's messages without unreasonable delay or discrimination, and all such companies are hereby declared to be common carriers and subject to legislative control. Telephone companies operating exchanges in different towns or cities, or other public stations, shall receive and transmit each other's messages without unreasonable delay or discrimination. The General Assembly shall, by general laws of uniform operation, provide reasonable regulations to give full effect to this section. Nothing herein shall be construed to interfere with the rights of cities or towns to arrange and control their streets and alleys, and to designate the places at which, and the manner in which, the wires of such companies, shall be erected or laid within the limits of such city or town.

"Although the section just quoted expressly makes it the duty of the General Assembly, by general laws of uniform operation, to put into effect this section, it has failed, for the last twenty years, to obey this mandate of the Constitution.

"It would be a great convenience to the public at large if companies which are made common carriers, and especially telephone and telegraph companies, were compelled to receive and transmit each other's messages, so that a person who desired to talk over the telephone could talk over the connecting line of other companies and receive the benefit of such service.

"I call the attention of the members of the General Assembly to their duty, under their oath of office and under their platforms, to enact a wise and proper law on this subject.

\*\*\*  
**Militia.**

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, as stated in the Constitution of the United States, I call your attention especially to the organized militia or State Guard of the State of Kentucky.

"It will be the policy of my administration not to invoke military aid until civil power is exhausted; yet in every well-regulated Government I believe that civil authority can be maintained easier and with more certainty where it is manifest that there is a strong power whose aid can be commanded if the civil power should not be sufficient.

"The report of the Adjutant General, Assistant Adjutant General, Inspector Gen-

eral and Chief Quartermaster enable me to present the following facts with regard to the militia, or State Guard of Kentucky:

"December 31, 1909, the Government was furnishing the State of Kentucky supplies and money for maintaining the militia \$79,139.45. It is now paying \$76,862.42. On the allotment for the current year money and supplies amounting to \$36,000 have been received, leaving unused for the current year ending July 1, 1912, \$40,000.

"The Dick bill provides for an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for militia purposes, to be apportioned among the States according to the number of Senators and Representatives to which each State is entitled, respectively, in the Congress of the United States, and the act of Congress approved May 27, 1908, appropriated \$2,000,000 to be apportioned among the several States according to the number of enlisted strength shown at the Federal inspection next preceding the fiscal year for which the appropriation was made.

"The allotment must be used according to the requirements of the Dick bill, and orders from the War Department for camps of instruction, target practice and for every character of supplies required for the militia.

"This leaves the State appropriation of \$20,000 per annum free to be distributed by the authority of the Governor for the expense of administration, armory rental, instruction, and generally, as in his judgment may best promote the interest of the State Guard. This broad discretion lodged in the hands of such a high and responsible officer, with some knowledge of military principles, ought to make the fund more effective for the purposes for which it is appropriated, than it would be if disbursed under specific legislation. There is now to the credit of this fund \$14,275.52, with outstanding liabilities properly chargeable against it of less than \$2,000.

"The purpose of the Government under existing laws and regulations is to bring the militia of the various States under the same rules, regulations, discipline and tactics that govern the regular army, and our State has endeavored to give effect to this purpose, and has proclaimed by legislative enactment the army regulations a part of the laws of Kentucky.

\*\*\*  
**Government Property.**

"The United States Government has now in the hands of our militia property valued approximately at \$500,000, and at the arsenal property, an inventory of which has been handed to me, valued at \$200,000, a total of \$700,000, which is charged to the Governor and looked after by the Adjutant General's office, according to the requirements of the War Department.

"The State Military property on hand cost, originally, about \$40,000.

"To perform this duty and carry out the requirements of the Government as to discipline, instruction, target practice and the innumerable details of administration, it was necessary to have an expert Quartermaster and to give him a stenographer and an assistant part of the time, and Maj. Thomas D. Woodyard was appointed. An Inspector General, Lieut. Col. A. McLean Moffat, was also appointed. He also has a stenographer, and occasionally other assistance is required.

"These officers were detailed for their respective duties from the guard under the general powers of Gov. Willson.

"The Assistant Adjutant General, Col. Stairs, was appointed last April, from the Guard, because the performance of his duties as company commander indicated that he was the best available material for the place. He is making a good officer and improving all the time.

"The duties of arsenal keeper have been performed faithfully and efficiently by Lieut. Jones.

"Capt. Charles D. Clay, retired, of the United States Army, on duty with our troops, has an office in connection with the Adjutant General's Department, and has rendered valuable assistance as a careful, conservative adviser, and by his prompt military performance of all duty required of him.

"Capt. Charles H. Morrow, Eighteenth United States Infantry, has also been assigned to duty, and has an office in connection with the Adjutant General's Department. He rendered valuable services, especially at the recent officers' school.

"There are two United States army sergeants, who are used for instructors with the guard, and have been very efficient.

"The Spanish-American war records were completed, published and distributed, as required by law, by Judge W. L. Jett two years ago. He also made considerable headway in compiling the Confederate records. Maj. Joseph M. Womach succeeded to the place last winter, and is carrying the work to completion.

"The relations of the War Department to the organized militia are governed by

the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which pertain to the militia, and by the Federal laws which have been enacted by Congress pursuant to the authority conferred by the constitutional provisions.

"The most important laws affecting the organized militia are as follows: The act of Congress of January 21, 1903, commonly known as the Dick bill; this is also Section 1661, Revised Statutes, to which several amendments have been added. The act was amended by an act of Congress June 22, 1906.

"Two other important acts of Congress affecting the organized militia are those of May 27, 1906, and April 21, 1910. They provide for organizing, arming, uniforming, equipping and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part as may be employed in the service of the United States. To the States the right is reserved to appoint officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

\*\*\*  
**Preparation Necessary.**

"The organized militia, if prepared, may be called into the service of the United States by the President, or he may, on application of the Legislature, or the executive of the State when the Legislature cannot be convened, call forth the militia of any of the States to suppress insurrection in any State. It is, therefore, necessary that the organized militia be prepared at a moment's notice to take the field for either State or United States service, and in order that the States should be relieved of a portion of the burden of expense Congress has made appropriations for maintaining armed and equipped organizations.

"The Federal authorities supply the funds to the State authorities, and it is left to the latter to carry out the provisions of the laws by drawing on the United States for funds and supplies. The United States does not interfere with the performance of the State authorities unless the provisions of the laws are not being followed or the results attained unsatisfactory.

"Funds and supplies are furnished to the State on requisition of the executive only, or such officer as he may designate to act for him.

"The United States requires every cent of money and every article of public property issued for the use of the militia to be accounted for, in accordance with the accounting system in force in the United States army; also that the State has adequate and safe storage facilities for the protection and preservation of supplies. The Secretary of War, by making annual inspections of the organized militia, determines if the requirements are being complied with, and unless the reports of the United States inspectors are satisfactory to the Secretary of War he is compelled by law to withdraw Federal support, which would mean the cutting off of the allotments and amounts set aside under the several acts for the maintenance of the militia.

"The special requirement under the law is, that the militia of a State must conform to the organization, armament, equipment and discipline that is now or may be approved for the United States army.

"The State of Kentucky did not refuse the assistance of the Federal Government when the bill was passed in 1903; on the other hand it was gladly accepted, and an honest effort was made by the State authorities to bring the militia up to the standard required by law.

\*\*\*  
**Defect Remedied.**

"The guard failed to pass the Federal inspection in 1908 and 1909, but in the spring of 1910 succeeded in passing all the requirements, except as to being completely uniformed for field service; this defect was remedied, and it was with a feeling of relief and pride that we received reports of the spring inspection of this year, which showed that the Kentucky State Guard was organized, armed, uniformed and equipped for service in the field, in accordance with the laws of Congress. It should be understood, however, that the law requires the guard to pass the Federal inspection each year during the period January 1 to May 1, and it will be necessary to bend every energy, henceforward, to maintain this standard, especially since the Federal Government is demanding more and more from the militia.

"During the year 1908, 1,400 Krag-Joergensen rifles were exchanged for a like number of new Springfield rifles, model 1903; this exchange included the appendages and accessories pertaining to the new equipment. The new equipment was received and issued to the guard and the obsolete arms, etc., were returned to the United States without delay.

"The State Arsenal was built in 1850, and but few repairs are in evidence. The building is well situated and could be en-



larged and placed in first-class condition without great expense. The building should be enlarged by the addition of a third-story, which would give ample storage for present needs. Some little damage has been done property through the condition of the roof, which has leaked for the past four years, notwithstanding repairs that have been made. There seems to be something wrong with the gutters. The floor of the first story is rotten, and a considerable section of same broke through two years ago, which was replaced with a new floor. Another section of the old floor has recently sagged considerably. The window frames, which were put in some eight or ten years ago, are loose and some of them can be pushed out of the masonry by a boy. An obsolete hand-power elevator, located in the building, is considered dangerous, and should not be continued in the service. The arsenal keeper carries very light loads up and down for fear of accident. There were no artificial lights in the building until February, 1908, when incandescent lamps were installed; this, however, should be augmented by the addition of more lamps, or more powerful light should be placed, as it is extremely difficult to handle articles of property with despatch and accuracy on dark days and at night. It has been necessary for the limited force at the arsenal to work at night on a number of occasions, getting out emergency orders and checking up property for the information of this department.

\*\*\*  
**The Arsenal.**

"The section of the State law providing for the appointment of an arsenal keeper was enacted when the Guard was supplied with nothing more than a rifle, bayonet, cartridge belt, canteen, haversack and one blue uniform. The handling of these few articles was a matter of simplicity, especially as the regulations concerning the handling of the property were promulgated by the State authorities; but this condition has been changed since the Kentucky State Guard became a part of the organized militia of the United States. There are dozens of articles now issued to the soldier for every one of these mentioned above, and if they become unserviceable they must undergo survey proceedings and be returned to the State arsenal to be repaired, sold, destroyed or otherwise disposed of as may be directed by the Secretary of War. The work not only involves time and labor, but requires a man who has had experience, and must be peculiarly fitted for the work, or serious mistakes may occur. It has been found necessary to give the arsenal keeper an assistant to enable him to handle heavy boxes and stores and to assist in the work of issuing and receiving property.

"The authorized strength of the guard is 3,500, all ranks, comprising three regiments of infantry, one ambulance corps, four troops of cavalry and three batteries of field artillery.

"On December 14, 1911, the actual strength of the State Guard was 145 officers and 1,527 enlisted men, making a total of 1,686, all ranks, which is 336 more than the number required by the War Department, entitling this State to its portion of the Federal appropriation.

\*\*\*  
**Redistricting.**

"Your attention is called to Section 23 of the Constitution of Kentucky, requiring the redistricting of the State on the basis of population after each Federal census. That section is as follows:

"The first General Assembly after the adoption of this Constitution shall divide the State into thirty-eight Senatorial districts and 100 Representative districts, as nearly equal in population as may be without dividing any county, except where a county may include more than one district, which district shall constitute the Senatorial and Representative districts for ten years. Not more than two counties shall be joined together to form a Representative district: Provided, in doing so the principle requiring every district to be as nearly equal in population as may be shall not be violated. At the expiration of that time the General Assembly shall then, and every ten years thereafter, redistrict the State according to this rule and for the purposes expressed in this section. If in making said districts inequality of population should be unavoidable any advantage resulting therefrom shall be given to districts having the largest territory. No part of a county shall be added to another county to make a district, and the counties forming a district shall be contiguous."

"The Federal census of 1910 has been taken and published, and I, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be complied with.

**The Capitol.**

"As chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, I presided on Saturday, December 30, 1911, when the last claim against the State for the payment of a balance connected with the construction and completion of our magnificent building was allowed and ordered to be paid.

"This gives me an opportunity to put on record, in a public way and in this first message of my second administration, as a part of the history of Kentucky, that the new Capitol is a State house worthy of Kentucky and an honor to our people. It is a splendid achievement, one of the most beautiful, impressive and attractive of all the structures of its type in our country, and the people have a right to be proud of their Capitol and of the work done in it, and gratified that the whole history of its construction and furnishing is free from reproach, and is a testimonial of honesty, skill and capacity.

"I am thankful that I was honored by being the first Governor inaugurated in this splendid and beautiful building.

"JAMES B. McCREARY,  
Governor of Kentucky."

### "DIN'A YE HEAR THE SLOGAN?"

(To the Editor of the Courier-Journal.)

I have just read in your edition of today the report of Mr. J. McKenzie Todd with reference to our Normal Schools. It seems to me his recommendations are most timely and of the greatest importance. The sums he mentions are very modest and the needs of the institutions are great and pressing. One of them, it is stated, is in debt \$78,000. No institution or individual can do the best work hampered with debt. These institutions should be dealt with liberally; it is true economy. A strong advance educationally is opening up in Kentucky, and there is speedily to be a great demand and an urgent need for teachers of our children to be better prepared for their most important work. It is lamentably true that the physical condition and surroundings of most of our schools are deplorable and must and will be remedied. But after all, we may have adequate buildings with ample and beautiful grounds, and these are very important, but they do not make the school, they are only needful adjuncts; the real school is the well qualified and able teacher or teaching force.

I think the majority of our teachers are not sufficiently prepared for their work. They have had small chance, hitherto, to get the proper preparation. In our "happy-go-lucky" treatment of our school problem, we are expending from the State treasury annually about \$3,500,000 for teachers' salaries. I feel sure we are not getting the full benefit of this expenditure by reason of inadequate preparation of the teaching force. We have expended several hundred thousand dollars in the building of these Normal school plants, having the plants now far advanced in needful appliances. It certainly is not wise to have them hampered for lack of funds whereby they might be fully equipped for their highest work. The material they turn out, as leaders of our children, will have a deep and far-reaching effect upon the welfare, prosperity and happiness of the people of the State. I am sure the wise, practical, common sense course for us to pursue is to give them sufficient means whereby they may be put in a position to turn out the very best work, and then to see that they do it.

When the great Sepoy rebellion in India broke out all Europeans were in deadly peril. Thousands were massacred, men, women and children indiscriminately. The survivors were hastily gathered in the fortified cities. Among others, a part of a British regiment with many hundred of noncombatants gathered in the fortification of Lucknow, where they for months endured all the miseries of that dreadful siege, in imminent danger hourly of a horrible death. When reduced to the last extremity, and seemingly unable to hold out another day, suddenly a Scotch lassie cried out, "The Campbells are coming; the Campbells are coming; din'a ye hear the slogan?" They thought for a moment that the dreadful scenes through which she had passed had unhinged her mind and that the hallucination had carried her back to the home of her childhood on the blue hills of Scotland, but in a little time they also could discern the bagpipes of the Highlanders and they were rescued.

Men and women of Kentucky, if our good old State were about to be invaded by a hostile army, and the Governor sent out his proclamation calling to arms in defense of our wives, children and property, what would you do? No one doubts; the merchant would close his ledger, the lawyer would drop his briefs, the farmer would leave his plow in the furrow, and all would hasten to a determined defense. Well, the State is invaded. "Din'a ye hear the slogan?" Nearly a million pairs of little feet are marching with laughter and song. "The children are coming; the children are coming." The little feet are pattering over the farms, overrunning the villages, the towns, the cities; they will take the Capital, all the halls of legislation, conquer the State; it is inevitable; bayonets and cannon cannot be employed against them; soon they will be in full possession. This invasion must be met and dealt with wisely and effectively. It is high time serious thought be given to it. We have too long neglected it. How can we meet it? A big question indeed! One thing is certain, we cannot meet it wisely by indifference or by neglect to recognize it. These children must be educated, morally and mentally, to meet the exacting

responsibilities that face them in the near and pressing future. They must be trained and prepared for the stern duties of life. They say and truly, "We will be what you make us; you are our sponsors, our guardians, our guides."

It rests with you, fathers and mothers, citizens all, whether the State of Kentucky in future years shall take and maintain the position that is rightfully hers by inheritance and tradition, or whether she shall be "a traller" behind her sisters. But some will say, it will be costly, both in effort and money. It is a craven spirit that will, after due deliberation, repeat this cry. Let us give our money freely, joyously and so much of our time ungrudgingly, as may be needed to fulfill our God-given duty to future generations. It is a high duty to God, to home and country. Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN B. M'FERRAN,  
Chairman Education Committee of  
Louisville Commercial Club.  
October 17.

*Every Human Being on Earth Lives in a Cage, Although Many of Us Don't Know That the Cage Is There. We Flap Our Mental Wings Against the Bars, in Early Youth, Rebelling Against the Prison. As We Grow Older We Become Reconciled, Settle Down, Give Up Our Hopes and Our Longings for Freedom and Become "Model Prisoners." Once in a Century or More a Human Soul Escapes from the Cage or Does Its Wonderful Work IN SPITE of the Iron Bars.*



THE soul of man is born full of noble aspirations, with high ambi-

tion, intense longing to do something in the marvellous world that the eye reveals.

Every child in its enthusiasm, its faith and intellectual freedom, is indeed a genius, as has been said.

And every genius, retaining enthusiasm and the intellectual activity of youth, is in one sense always A CHILD.

But for the great majority of human beings childhood alone is the age of hope, thought and ambition, untrammelled by dull facts. Age brings to human beings the depressed conditions, the drooping hopelessness of the

bird that has been caged for years.



All of us are caged creatures, although few of us know it. We know that this is a wonderful world, yet few of us see it. Few move from the spot where accident has put them. And of those that travel because wealth has made them indepen-

dent, few travel in the REAL sense of the word. They are simply moved about from spot to spot in the intellectual cage in which they dwell. They are no more travellers in the real sense than the canary bird taken to the country and then back to the city by the family that holds him prisoner.

The cage of man is the body in which he dwells, the brain, more or less imperfect, through which his mind strives to reach and realize the infinite.

Inside of this body of ours, held down by the limitations of the feeble brain through which the spirit expresses itself, we are born and we live and die prisoners of our own imperfections.

Every child has studied the unfortunate animals locked in their cages, and has wondered what those animals thought of, whether they ever longed to be free, whether they remembered the days when they were free.

Does the lion remember moonlight nights when he crept along the hot desert sands?

Does the elephant recall the happy days in the jungle or in the mud of the river bed?

Does the poor, moping eagle see with his half-shut eye the mountains and the valleys that were once below him?

It is believed by some individuals that animals are capable only of emotions and are not capable of thought. Therefore, that they do not remember or form any clear idea of what has happened.

However that may be, it is certain that as the animals remain in confinement they become more and more depressed, more and more dull and reconciled to their narrow lives.

In all the big cities where animals are kept in cages to amuse human beings, men, women and children stand through the day watching the birds, the snakes, the lions and the wolves, wondering, speculating, asking themselves what the animals feel, whether they suffer under confinement, whether they have any plans for getting free.



When you look at a caged animal, does it ever occur to you that you are yourself a creature also in a cage? Every caged human being might well study himself and question himself as he studies and would like to question the caged animal.

Man in his cage of limited power and limited possibilities is more unfortunate than either the caged eagle or the caged lion.

For the caged animal may have some recollection of his life in the days of freedom.

But we human beings in the cages of civilization and restricted thought have no knowledge whatever of the past; we do not think or even try to think of the regions whence we came. We make up and believe in some little story and content ourselves with that.

And we do not know what we would do if we were free. In that respect we are more unfortunate than the caged animal.

The eagle knows that if he were out of his cage he would go back to the mountains, to the high cliffs and the clouds.

And the lion knows what his life would be, how he would live and conquer and prey if he were freed from the cage and from the men that hold him.

But the poor human being caged up, as we are all caged, does not even imagine or try to imagine what he would do if he were free.

Of our wonderfully complicated thinking machine—the brain with its many millions of active cells—we use only the smallest possible part and the rest remains idle.

We run along mentally up and down in a little rut, going back and forth, as you have seen a lion walking up and down

inside of his cage, always retracing his footsteps and following the same line.

At fifty a man and a woman should begin the real life of the mind, the real work of thinking and understanding. But at fifty, unfortunately, all human beings except perhaps one or two in a million have settled down to the dull routine, the hopeless, stagnant, monotonous life of a caged creature.

The caged lion, to whom the rising and the setting of the moon once meant so much, keeps no track of the passing hours. Only the hour of feeding brings to life some little excitement within him.



Yet he is not as dull as the ordinary caged human being. In one city in America five millions of human creatures live. How many of them ever see the sun rise, how many of them know what stars are visible, which of the outside worlds are within reach of their eyes? How many of them care for anything except the little office desk, the trivial theatre, the trashy restaurant, the poor, intellectual and physical food upon which they live?



Once in a century perhaps a human being escapes from the cage of monotony or lives a real life of the intellect while confined in that cage.

Newton, greatest of all purely intellectual geniuses, was able to do his work as an ordinary little clerk while formulating the law that governs the movements of all the celestial bodies.

Poor, ignorant Bunyan, doubly a prisoner, since his imperfect body was locked up in an English jail, did his work and wrote his "Pilgrim's Progress" as he lay in prison. His MIND at least was out of jail, wandering on the pilgrim's road, seeing the wonders and the terrors of it.

Now and again a human being is free in this prison life of ours. But it is rare.

The great majority of us drift from the hope of childhood into the dullness of maturity and the stupidity and hopelessness of age, then die and are buried, free from the cage at last, as a dead canary or a dead eagle is taken out of the cage and buried when the day comes.

Let us hope that after this death here on earth our minds and souls escape from prison and have a real life, for we haven't it here.

And let us TRY at least to fight against the prison influence here on this earth, without waiting for the end of life to set us free. We may not do much. The struggles of our minds may not carry us very far beyond our cage. But at least we need not sit like moping, discouraged, disheartened birds without the energy or the ambition to look up.

# THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, JULY, 13, 1911.

## DECLARATION

*The members of the National Education Association, assembled in its Forty-ninth Convention, present the following declaration:*

(1) *The members of this Association renew the affirmation of their belief in the fundamental importance of a system of free public education, through which all the children of the state may be trained for good citizenship and for usefulness.*

*They view with special satisfaction the policy of the National Government to extend to the newly acquired possessions of the Nation the same system of universal public education which is practiced elsewhere thruout the home territory of the United States.*

(2) *The increased cost of living, and the steadily increasing number and scope of public educational activities, have rendered it necessary that larger expenditures be made for schools than in the past; it, therefore, becomes imperative that all communities in the Nation recognize, as many have already done, that more money must be contributed and expended for schools, both locally and by the state, if our young people are to have that kind and quality of education demanded by the times.*

(3) *The Federal Bureau of Education is the only educational agency belonging to all the people, supported by all the people, and from which all the people have the right to demand service. This Association, therefore, requests the Congress of the United States to grant the Bureau such increased support as will enable it to serve all the people, by conducting educational research and disseminating educational information thruout the country. We urge that the National appropriations for studying problems involving the welfare of the Nation's school children be made comparable in amount with those annually made for studying problems involving the welfare and conservation of the material resources of the Nation.*

*We ask that Congress increase the salary of the Commissioner of Education of the United States so that it may equal the salaries paid by the states, municipalities, and private institutions, to men and women occupying educational positions of the first magnitude.*

(4) *The increasing complexity of life problems in modern society makes it imperative that our young men and women shall be well grounded in the principles of right living, so that the dignity and prosperity of the nation, as well as the integrity and success of the individual, may be properly safeguarded. It is, therefore, right that suitable ethical instruction should be introduced into the programs of even the elementary schools, to supplement the moral training given in the home.*

*In devising courses and methods for such instruction, it will be necessary to adjust the material and aims to the changing needs of the growing child in his passage thru successive developmental stages, with their varying instincts and tendencies, on ascending levels. What can be merely habituation and imitation in the primary grades, must become rational ethical conception in the adolescent age. The noble example of great lives will inspire our youth with the enthusiasm for self-improvement. To develop in our children strong moral character, without the taint of self-consciousness or pharisaical self-satisfaction, must ever remain a prime duty of the educator.*

(5) It is coming more and more to be recognized that the proper spiritual welfare and development of our children depends in a large measure upon their healthful physical growth. This Association, therefore, favors all measures which will tend to secure the health of the growing child. Among these must be reckoned proper attention to school hygiene in all of its applications; proper medical inspection, and the co-operation of boards of health in matters of sanitation and contagious disease; the extension of the use of school grounds, and, in large cities, of school roofs, as play grounds, open air gymnasia, and school gardens; the establishment of open air schools, and of forest and farm schools; and the furtherance of physical exercises in formal arrangement and in sports and games, commensurate with the powers and needs of the growing body in its successive stages.

(6) An important step in providing the best school advantages will be such study of the hygienic and other requirements of school buildings and grounds as shall make public school authorities everywhere familiar with the necessities of school houses as to size of rooms, window space, corridors, stairways, and exit necessities, ventilation, heating, play grounds, and indoor and outdoor equipment, thus rendering possible the standardizing of school houses, rooms, and appliances; also rendering possible a general understanding of the proper cost of school houses and appurtenances, thus giving to school authorities such knowledge as shall enable them, on the one hand, to avoid meanness and inadequacy, and, on the other hand, to provide beautiful, wholesome, and convenient school facilities without wasteful expenditure.

(7) The school buildings of our land and the grounds surrounding them should be open to the pupils and to their parents and families as recreation centers outside of the regular school hours. They should become the radiating centers of social and cultural activity in the neighborhood, in a spirit of civic unity and co-operation, omitting, however, all activities and exercises tending to promote division or discord. They should give opportunity for continuation schools, vacation schools, and for industrial, horticultural, and agricultural training, as well as for the education of adults thru lectures and thru school and college extension classes.

To safeguard, however, the integrity, privacy, and hygienic security of our schools (which are, in reality, the homes of our children during a large part of their waking hours), so that the more subtle elements residing in the educational atmosphere of a well regulated school may be preserved, and the children guarded against the unsanitary conditions eventually following in the wake of promiscuous gatherings, this wider use of the school plant should be controlled exclusively by the school authorities; the buildings during such use, and the persons thus using them should be subject to medical inspection whenever, and in whatever manner required.

(8) Realizing the fact that a large percentage of children, whose physical and mental peculiarities require special methods of education, are still to a great extent outside the scope of the compulsory education laws, and that the presence of the exceptional child in our modern civilization constitutes a problem of the greatest import, it is the sense of this Association that the compulsory education laws of states and communities should be so amended, developed, and extended that they shall apply to all children of school age, without exception, and provide for their training; further, that the laws should recognize the difference between the chronological age of a child and his maturity, and that the school age limit of each individual child should be determined by requiring the child to meet physical and mental tests, even tho the child be in years above the age standard; in other words, a child's actual age should be determined by physio-psychological data corresponding to the normal standard for the age limit required by law. All children or persons failing to meet such maturity test at the extreme school age limit, should remain under public supervision and control, either until they reach maturity, or permanently.

The same principle should be the guide in determining whether a child is fit to be employed in any occupation. Not when a child is fourteen or sixteen years of age, but when he possesses the maturity of body and mind proper to a normal child of that age, should he be released from the guardianship of the state or the community. Child labor laws should be so modified as to meet this requirement.

(9) The increasing complexity of our social and economic conditions makes it constantly more difficult for young people to decide upon the vocations which are best for them to follow, and to search out the opportunities to prepare themselves for and to enter upon such vocations. Our public educational system should, therefore, make provision for instructing our youth concerning the various occupations, and the advantages which the several employments offer; and, in addition, boys and girls and their parents should, when they desire it, be able to receive such intelligent counsel as will enable the young people entering upon life's work to judge for what vocation the abilities and tastes of each best fit him, as well as to find the place and the opportunity to begin the work thus chosen.

(10) Children are recognized as the most precious natural resource of the nation. The conservation and development of this great social resource is engaging the earnest attention of all classes of thinking people. The recent Child Welfare Exhibits in New York and Chicago drew thousands of visitors from all walks of life, both people who came to receive help, and people who came to offer the assistance which religion, science, and money can contribute.

The National Education Association earnestly requests that the Panama-Pacific Exposition provide for a complete Child Welfare Exhibit, to the end that the benefits herefore enjoyed by a few favored localities may be extended to every place sufficiently fortunate to have representatives in attendance at the Exposition thru which California is planning to instruct the world.

(11) The success of women in all fields of education during the past generation has demonstrated their intellectual equality and power. The opportunities for higher technical training, however, have not been generally offered to girls and women. It is the sense of this Association that modern, progressive principles should be applied to the education of girls in the schools and women in the colleges, with complete and varied equipment and with as adequate opportunities to prepare themselves for the occupations in which they have a special interest, as are already provided for boys and men.

(12) The very material advance made in the cause of World Peace during the past year, encourages the National Education Association to urge a more wide-spread dissemination of knowledge upon this vital subject. We commend the American School Peace League as a channel thru which teachers may procure such knowledge together with suggestions for its presentation. The League has done excellent work in collecting and organizing material which appeals both to children and to adults; the accuracy of its statements are not questioned; its arguments are sound. The proposal to establish a World Tribunal to fill the place of an international court for civilized nations is worthy of commendation, and should have the earnest support of all teachers.

(13) A very general impression prevails to the effect that the teachers' remuneration is a generous reward for services rendered. The increased demands upon teachers, due to the lifting of the work of teaching to a higher professional level, adds heavily to the tax upon the teacher's time and strength; the increased cost of living affects

teachers quite as seriously as other citizens. For these reasons, this body considers highly important the initiation of an inquiry into the present conditions affecting the teaching body of the nation, to the end that these conditions may be understood and any desirable action taken.

(14) The National Education Association expresses its heartiest recognition of greetings borne to its members by Miss Kate Stevens, Head Mistress of the Montem Street Central Council School, London; from The Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland; from The National Union of Teachers; from The London Teachers' Association; from The London Head Teachers' Association; and from the Child Study Society of England.

The members of the Association return in kind these cordial professional greetings, and join with their fellow teachers of Great Britain and Ireland in the wishes expressed for the promotion of international good will and the early establishment of agencies for the settlement of international difficulties by arbitration. Further, we do, hereby, accredit Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews, of Boston, Mass., Secretary of the American School Peace League, as the delegate representative of the National Education Association to bear our return greetings to the organizations whose greetings Miss Stevens has brought to us.

(15) The members of this Association hereby express their hearty appreciation of the great progress made by the National Bureau of Education under the able leadership of Commissioner Elmer Ellsworth Brown, and pledge their enthusiastic support to his successor, Commissioner Philander P. Claxton, in his work of increasing and extending the service of the bureau.

Committee on Resolutions	{	CARROLL G. PEARSE, of Wisconsin, Chairman,
		MRS. O. SHEPARD BARNUM, of California,
		JAMES W. CRABTREE, of Nebraska,
		MAXIMILIAN P. E. GROSZMANN, of New Jersey,
		MISS GERTRUDE E. ENGLISH, of Illinois, JOHN H. PHILLIPS, of Alabama. .

Adopted by unanimous vote of  
the Active Members in Session, July 13, 1911.

IRWIN SHEPARD, Secretary.

### "A GREATER KENTUCKY"

(To the Editor of the Courier-Journal.)  
 A few days ago we had here in our city a gathering of prominent men from different parts of the State to talk over and consult over the ways and means for a "Greater Kentucky." We had many excellent speeches, the meeting was harmonious and I have no doubt will result in much good along the desired lines. We must have much talk, many consultations, and do much work before the final consummation of our desires. What I wish to say now is something that ought to and, I think, will encourage all of us.

On last Saturday I visited the Western Normal School at Bowling Green on the occasion of the Boys' Corn Show, and there I beheld what I conceive to be a practical beginning of a "Greater Kentucky." About sixty boys, the majority of them in knee pants, ranging in age from 11 to 14 years, some of the smaller of whom seemed hardly tall enough to see over the plow handles, had each cultivated from start to finish one acre of corn—and none of them had produced less than sixty bushels. The most successful one had gathered ninety-eight and seven-tenths bushels; the second—and a good second he was, too—gathered ninety-seven and three-tenths bushels, and there were several others over ninety bushels. I think this a wonderful exhibit when it is considered that this was done not on the best land of Warren county, for the boys on the best lands, so considered, did not enter the contest. Some of the good farmers had previously declared that the growth of twenty barrels (100 bushels) of corn on one acre of ground was an impossibility. Well ninety-eight and seven-tenths bushels was dangerously near the impossible according to that mode of figuring.

The most successful boy gets a free trip to Washington for one week, will shake the hand of the President and receive other rewards and attentions.

#### The Boy and the Steer.

In not the most productive part of the county lived a boy, Howard Burge by name, who raised a calf, and when old enough, broke it to harness, and with the spirit of the old Vikings determined to enter the contest, depending on himself and the muscle of his "steer." He did not get the highest prize only because he was handicapped, but he raised nearly eighty bushels of corn. His heart was set on going to Washington, because he yearned to see something of the great world of which he had heard and read. When he was not sufficiently successful, under the rules of the game, to get the coveted trip to Washington, his heart was cast down—but he will go to Washington just the same. The spirit of this boy marks the hero.

#### How About the Girls?

Right up in line are the girls. I was invited to a dinner prepared by the young ladies of the department of domestic science, and I want to say that I never sat down to a better cooked, better served, more palatable meal in my life. If it had been prepared and served by the best caterer in Louisville it would have cost \$2 and up per plate, and I much doubt if it would have been equal in quality. The cost of that meal per plate was 54¢-10 cents. There is complaint of a drift from the farm home to the follies and excesses of the city, but I am thinking if the farm homes had cooking like this the drift would soon be the other way.

The needlework of the girls was remarkable and some of it was so well done that I could hardly believe my eyes until after a most careful inspection. The lady who was showing us about, I naturally thought, was a teacher, and to my inquiry she replied: "Oh, no; I am just a pupil myself." I wondered and asked how that could be. "Well, my daughter was a pupil here," she said, "and I found she could do so many more and better things than I could that it was just up to me to learn something also."

Now, friends, is not this one of the broad and open highways that really leads to a "Greater Kentucky?"

The boys and girls of Warren county have been fortunate in having for their county superintendent Mr. Emory D. White, whose energy and wisdom have called around him an able, sympathetic and noble band of teachers. Do you suppose for a moment that these teachers and superintendent are moved to their great work by the meager salaries they draw? Nay, verily, they are moved by a high and mighty spirit of helpfulness, and they deserve our honor and gratitude in the highest degree.

The boys and girls of Warren county, and not only of Warren, but of all the counties of Western Kentucky, are to be congratulated on their good fortune in having as teachers in this great work such men as Prof. H. H. Cherry, Prof. Mutchler and others who make up an able, enthusiastic and working faculty. The presence of these men at Bowling Green is a great boon to Western Kentucky, and when I say this I am not throwing bouquets at them—I don't throw bouquets at anybody—I judge them by the work they have done and are doing.

#### An Opportunity Neglected

Now, a word to the people of Kentucky, to the men and women who do the actual work of the State, of whatever kind it may be, and to the newly-elected legislators and others. As I stood on that beautifully rounded hilltop, which seemed fashioned by nature as a suitable place to be crowned by some great and good enterprise; as I beheld in every direction the transcendently beautiful view extending for miles toward all points of the compass, I was thrilled with delight. What a spot for a great institution of learning! How blessed the army of boys and girls of the Commonwealth who shall have the opportunity to spend some of their most impressionable years there! But when I looked over the grounds and saw only two or three buildings in which to house teachers and pupils, saw the bare, bald rocks, the old stumps and red dirt outcroppings, the wilderness of sedge grass, briars and weeds, I said God, indeed, is good, but man is vile. When it is remembered that the main tracks of the great Louisville & Nashville railroad system are here, with its numerous trains passing this spot every day of every year in plain and convenient view of the hundreds of thousands of passengers they carry from all points of the United States and Europe, I could but wonder at the indifference, not to say stupidity, in neglecting this great opportunity for advertising the State favorably. What is the fate of the merchant or manufacturer who fails to advertise his wares? The very same principle applies to cities, towns and States. It is claimed by many far-seeing men that the most phenomenal development that has ever taken place in this Western hemisphere lies just before the Southern States. Of their more than six hundred millions of acres of fertile land less than 25 per cent. is under cultivation. A belt of cotton-growing land, 1,500 miles long and 500 miles wide. From the mountains sloping to the sea in that Southland, where a white man can work every day in the year out in the open, there are gushing streams estimated to furnish ten million horse-power, not one-tenth of which is at present utilized. Can any sane man see other than a phenomenal immigration to that land of promise? The begira has already started and will grow into a mighty stream in the very near future. The moving power in starting this flood of migration southward has been the railroads, the wideawake commercial bodies and other agencies which have been and are flooding the country with a knowledge of its advantages. Have you heard much of Kentucky in all this effort? This migration in large numbers must pass through Kentucky to get to that land of promise. What inducements are we offering with our deplorable tax laws, our indifferent schoolhouses, our dirt roads? As an illustration take that possibly beautiful hill in its present desolate form. What impression would that make on a man's mind who is seeking a place to put all his activities and energies to work? He would likely say to himself, "That's a dead place; go on." Whereas if it were the gem that comparatively little money would make it, its beauty would shine from afar and its tendency would be to attract and leave in the minds of those who did not stop a dream of beauty and utility combined that would remain for years. The image of it and the fine impression would be graven on the hearts and stored in the minds of thousands of our young people who go up there, and would bear fruits of inestimable value.

#### Needs of the Schools.

The Legislature at this session ought to give the Bowling Green school not less than \$125,000 per annum for the next two years. They ought to give the Eastern Normal School whatever its needs require, and the State University certainly an ample

sum to enable them to house properly and care for the students, our own boys and girls of Kentucky, who are seeking a higher and broader education, and—of the greatest importance—they should give them money to be especially applied to carrying out to the farmers of Kentucky the scientific, modern methods of farming. The State of Alabama has a demonstration farm worker in every county of the State. Georgia, North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas are following close after. It may be said we have not the money. This plea will not hold water. What successful merchant or manufacturer confines himself to the actual money he has in hand? Instead, he uses his credit to its reasonable limit. The same principle applies to cities and States. No State has better credit than Kentucky. None can borrow money at lower rates—at present this is a dead asset.

I am fully aware that many will stand aghast and cry out against going into debt. I am myself a conservative regarding debt. But a debt does no hurt if in reasonable limitations and we have the money wisely expended which will represent full value with which to discharge the debt and leave a large surplus.

The principal and strongest argument against State indebtedness is that the money borrowed will be squandered and much of it "grafted." This is a real danger, but it can be safeguarded. If our public money is wasted whose fault is it? We are crying out for a rule of the people and by the people. Then let the people show the willingness and ability to rule. There are honest and intelligent men in Kentucky. Make them State officers, legislators, county officials. No man has the right to refuse office where he can serve the people with honesty and efficiency unless he is really incapacitated. Let us emancipate ourselves once for all from the insensate thralldom of blind party politics which makes it so easy for office hunters and designing men to scheme and work for office for personal aggrandizement. This, of course, will require effort. Nothing good is gained in this world without effort, and without it we cannot have a "Greater Kentucky." Respectfully submitted,

JOHN B. McFERRAN,  
 Chairman Educational Committee Louisville Commercial Club.  
 November 23.





HE greatest crime of this age is war, its bloodshed, its frightful expenditures and the work that it does in keeping alive hatred and brutality.

The great achievement of this century, still young, should be the ending for all time of war upon this planet.

For hundreds of thousands of years man has been here, and during all that time he has been the worst, the most vicious, the vilest among the fighting animals.

He has seen among the animals many tribes living at peace, protecting each other with mutual aid, the deer, the bees, the birds.

He has bowed his head hypocritically to religious teachings that denounce war and bloodshed and cruelty.

And all of the time he has been a fighting animal, murdering, oppressing, taking advantage of the weak, spending in the horrors of war or warlike preparations money, intelligence and time that might long ere this have given real civilization to this earth.

\* \* \*

The cost of war alone, far less important and harmful to humanity than the brutality of war, is appalling.

Thousands upon thousands of millions of dollars are spent every year by nations that call themselves civilized. These thousands of millions are poured out simply because human beings cannot agree to stop fighting. Each nation fears that some foreign nation will be at its throat. Poverty is endured, heavy taxes are borne, the prime of youth is wasted and old age made miserable by this horrible drain of brutality upon the resources of mankind.

\* \* \*

If you are not familiar with the price of war and the preparation for war, consider these figures: The United States spent on its navy last year one hundred and twenty-three million dollars, which is more than double what we were spending ten years ago. The total amount spent on the United States Navy in the last ten years was one billion dollars. The amount spent last year on the United States Army was one hundred and fifty-five million dollars. The total amount spent on our

army in the last ten years was one billion three hundred million dollars. On the army and navy together the United States spent in the last ten years two billion three hundred million dollars. In times of peace the various nations of the world, including the United States, spend every year one billion two hundred million dollars on their armies, and eight hundred million dollars every year on their navies, making the amazing total of two billion dollars a year.

\* \* \*

This country now, as aftermath to one single war, pays in pensions every year a sum so great that it would soon wipe out our national debt, and all of the national debts.

We spend every year more and more for battleships, more and more for the army, for guns, for fortifications, mines laid in the sea and forts built upon the hills.

\* \* \*

The nations that thus squander their millions and their billions every year are every one of them in dire need of that very wealth and strength and intelligence which they lavish without stint upon the brutal preparation for murder.

Every year with the money we waste on war the United States could supply new homes, wealth and comfort for tens of thousands of citizens.

The cost of our army and navy would more than suffice to reclaim every acre of land in this nation now needing reclamation.

With the billions that we squander, getting ready for butchery, we could irrigate the vast tracts of the West and South needing only water to make them support tens of millions of human beings.

With the millions thus squandered we could drain our great marsh lands, eliminate the deserts, and that would be but the beginning.

For the money poured out for war would make this nation a marvel of development and monotony of sea life and the evil features of of comfort. Great roads leading from ocean to ocean could be built with the money that fear of war eats up among us.

Instead of sailors waiting for the signal to fight and meanwhile polishing brass or drilling without useful result, alternating between the

brief shore leave, we should have intelligent, trained mechanics doing work that the nation needs.

Our soldiers would be national workers, our officers of the army and navy might be well paid, nobly ambitious directors of useful work, instead of living merely waiting for the individual death of a superior or the wholesale slaughter of war to give them promotion.

It is the duty of every citizen, and of every newspaper especially, to spread the doctrine of peace and make clear the horror and stupidity of war. There is no longer need of it—for the savage peoples whom reason could not reach are no longer a menace to the educated races.

It was otherwise when men that could think were a small minority, always in danger of being overrun by devastating hordes of barbarians and compelled to lead in war as in thought.

Today war is made necessary only by the fact that men do not trust each other, by the fact that nations that are no longer willing to permit murderous fights between individuals have not the brain, conscience or character to abolish murder among nations.

\* \* \*

What is needed is the rising up of great leaders among the nations to fight and destroy the ancient horror of war.

An international police could be established among the nations as our courts now deal with questions affecting individuals.

The brutality of savage peoples, Turks or others, could be brought before the international court and the police force of the nations, an army and navy sufficient to deal with any one nation, maintained at the expense of the united civilization of the world, would readily deal with the nation refusing to recognize the fact that days of wholesale murder have passed.

\* \* \*

The important thing is that the horror and needlessness of war should be appreciated and agitated by those that have influence.

Our public schools should do less to encourage blind worship of military heroes and more to make children detest war. Every child from the beginning should be taught to despise brutality, made to understand that war is as brutal and needless as the old instruments of torture,

as out of date as human slavery, and no better than murder.

Newspapers, and especially the smaller newspapers throughout the country, are the agencies that turn the people against war in every land.

Everything is done by public opinion and public sentiment. While every child is taught to know and revere the directors of wholesale murder, such as Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon, and few are taught the greatness of the heroes of peace, there will remain the brutal admiration for battle and bloodshed.

Fathers and mothers, school teachers, clergymen and the press working in the different countries that call themselves civilized could end war absolutely within ten years—releasing for useful work the millions of men and billions of money now wasted in preparing for international slaughter that no nation wants and that every nation fears.

\* \* \*

There has been much discussion, and very able discussion, here tonight of the use of the aeroplane in war. But with all the humility and timidity which befit a civilian in the discussion of military affairs, I venture the prediction that there will be but very LITTLE use of the aeroplane in war.

I say this not because I believe there will be any scarcity of available aeroplanes, but because I believe that henceforth there will, fortunately, be a gratifying scarcity of available wars.

Every dog has his day, and the dogs of war have had theirs.

The conduct of wars belongs to the black barbarism of the past. The navigation of the air belongs to the bright civilization of the future, a civilization on the bare threshold of which we reverently tread.

War might have use for the arts and sciences of civilization, but a higher civilization can never consent to lend its agencies for the perpetration of the cruelties and barbarities of war.

I believe that a very few years will see the armies and navies of the whole world reduced to form merely disciplined forces of international police; and the duties of these forces will not be to make war, but to keep the peace.

In those happy days of universal peace and international police protection the military departments of our Government may have use for an aeroplane division, but only as a sort of aerial bicycle squad.

Gazing into the future, I can imagine one such division busily engaged in preventing the insurrectos of Terra del Fuego from shooting across the southern boundary line of our Patagonian possessions.

I can imagine another division under the

direction of Rear Admiral Peary pursuing polar college students for disturbing the sleep of our northermost citizens during the long Arctic night.

I can picture another division actively occupied in regulating transatlantic traffic, preventing blockades in the Gulf Stream and taking into custody reckless aeroplane scorchers who insist on flying from London to New York in less time than the twenty-four hours allowed by law.

Undoubtedly the Government will find the aeroplane of immense value, but in more benevolent and beneficial ways than war.

From an address delivered by W. R. Hearst at the annual dinner of the Aeronautic Society, April 28, 1911.

\* \* \*

The world is destined soon to see the end of war—and with it the dawn of real civilization.

It is the duty of those that have faith in mankind and the future of our race to work for this great forward step. Only a few years will see wholesale public murder classed with private killings if those that have the power will do the work.

## It's What We Do With the Chance That Counts in Life

By FRANCES L. GARSIDE.

A horse confined in a field looks over the fence at the field just beyond and beholds the pasture of his dreams. The clover in the distant field looks more tender, of more luxuriant growth and there seem fewer thistles than in the field in which he is compelled to graze.

In discontent with his surroundings, he jumps the fence and starts on a brisk trot along the road to find the promised land of hungry hopes. But he travels along dusty roads, with the grass on either side fenced beyond his reach, and when he finds a field that is open he realizes how much of its attractive verdure was due to the enchantment of distance, for the thistles are many and the grass and clover are scant, just as in the field he left behind.

The story of the horse that breaks away and wanders along dusty roads is the story of the man who has a steady job, and instead of staying by it and looking for the clover at his feet, cranes his neck and wastes his time to look with envious eyes at the clover in some other man's field. Like the discontented horse, he jumps the fence and starts along dusty roads with hope beating high. But the best fields are fenced in, and when he gets nearer to his neighbor's field he finds that his neighbor's thistles are many and his rewards not as great as they seemed in the distance.

### Becomes Man Without Job.

He can't go back to the field he abandoned, and he soon begins to show the effect of fruitless travel along a dusty and weary road. He becomes a man without a job because he didn't make the best of the one he had.

He is like the boy who is sent out to pick berries and comes home at night with an empty bucket. The berries were plentiful, but he passed the bushes with a slight yield in scorn, waiting to fill his bucket when he reached a patch with berries in greater abundance. The boy with the empty bucket travels farther than the one who returns with a bucket that is filled; he comes home more tired, more footsore and more discouraged, but the experience has taught him nothing

if, when he becomes a man, he doesn't make the best of the job he has. If he slights the opportunity at hand because of a greater promise afar he will always come home at night with an empty bucket. He will always be the foolish boy.

### Result of Carelessness.

The worry of today, the threat of tomorrow are the result of carelessness of yesterday. If, as every day comes, a man does his best with the berry patch nearest at hand he will never fear the empty bucket of tomorrow. The returns may be small for the effort expended, but there always will be returns for effort, and there never are returns for hopes that are inspired by envy.

The little task of today that is well done has a greater reward than dreaming of a more imposing task for tomorrow. It is what we do with the chance we have that counts, not what we might have done had we had another man's opportunity.

Say that again, and say it often: "It is what we do with the chance we have that counts; not what we might have done had we had another man's opportunity."

### \$11,000,000 FOR LEASE.

CHICAGO, Dec. 2.—A remarkable long-time lease for downtown Chicago business property has just been closed. The Bay State building, at the southwest corner of State and Randolph streets, has been leased for 198 years for an average annual rental of \$59,000. The lessees are Max Goldstone, Peter J. Schaefer and Aaron J. Jones; the lessor is Francis Bartlett, of Boston.

The property has a frontage of 106 feet on State street, the principal business street of Chicago. For the first five years the rental is to be \$50,000 a year; for the next twenty years it is to be \$55,000 and for the remaining 173 years the rental is to be \$60,000. This gives the property a value of \$13,873 a foot and \$273 a square foot. The building is a six-story store and office structure.

Bartlett sold the property in 1868 for \$60,000. He bought it back in 1887 for \$280,000.

# REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

ADOPTED AT LOUISVILLE, KY.

JULY 12, 1911

majority of the people who vote upon the same. We favor such regulation by law as will consolidate assessment and collection of taxes, so that the cost of collection may be materially reduced. We recognize the obligation the State is under to the disinterested men who have given their time and attention and of their means to the investigation and consideration of the question of the revenue laws of the State.

Sixteenth—We favor the adoption of a just and conservative law providing for the arbitration of labor disputes. X

Seventeenth—We favor the passage of laws which shall make effective the constitutional provision against the issuance of free passes to officials and their families.

Eighteenth—We favor the adoption of legislation to make effective the constitutional amendment in favor of good roads.

Nineteenth—We favor the passage of a law providing for the thorough and effective inspection of State banks.

Twentieth—We favor further legislation for the protection of miners from unnecessary bodily injury. X

Twenty-first—We demand that American citizens abroad, whether native born or naturalized and of whatever race or creed, shall be secure in the enjoyment of all rights and privileges provided by our treaties.

Twenty-second—We favor the enactment of a law to punish the white slave traffic in the State.

Twenty-third—We denounce lynchings and mobs of every character and favor the passage of a law that will punish by fine, imprisonment and summary removal from office, any peace officer who fails to protect a prisoner in his custody.

We hereby appeal to all citizens of the Commonwealth, irrespective of party affiliations, to support the principles herein enunciated.

- |                            |                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| JOHN W. LANGLEY, Chairman. | W. D. COCHRAN.     |
| FRANK M. FISHER.           | JAMES BREATHITT.   |
| J. H. GILLIAM.             | C. M. BARNETT.     |
| GEORGE DuRELLE.            | MAURICE L. GALVIN. |
| RICHARD C. STOLL.          | LOUIS L. WALKER.   |
| R. C. McCLURE.             | A. J. KIRK.        |
| CALEB POWERS.              |                    |

# Platform

The Republican party in Kentucky, in convention assembled, adopts the following platform:

First—We recognize the high character and ability and the distinguished public service of President Taft and cordially indorse his administration and unreservedly indorse him for renomination in 1912. We heartily commend our Republican Senator and our Representatives in Congress for the assistance they have given the national administration.

Second—We approve and indorse the Republican administration of the affairs of the State, and we approve and indorse all means employed by that administration for the preservation of law and order, and favor the passage of such additional laws as may be necessary for that purpose.

Third—We arraign the Democratic party of Kentucky not only for its failure to comply with, but for its flagrant violation of the laws of the United States, requiring the apportionment of Congressional districts, and of the Constitution of the State, directing the apportionment of Judicial, Senatorial and Legislative districts. We denounce the present apportionment as unjust and unconstitutional, and, in many instances, a denial of equal representation to people in different sections of the State. We demand that equal representation shall be given to all the people of the State, and that the rights of all shall be protected by a just and fair apportionment law.

Fourth—We demand the reform of the election laws for the purpose of securing fair and free elections; the repeal of the law which provides for registration certificates and makes them a commodity in the local market; the passage of a Corrupt Practices act which shall limit the size of campaign funds in both primary and regular elections and provide for complete publicity in respect thereto, both before and after elections; an effective prohibition of campaign contributions by corporations, and for bi-partisan control of elections.

Fifth—We demand the passage of a law providing for compulsory direct primary elections by the leading parties, held by the State at the expense of the State and with severe penalties for any infraction of the law.

Sixth—We favor an amendment to the State law permitting and encouraging joint nominations of the same candidate by different parties.

Seventh—The judiciary of the State, in both the Circuit and Appellate Courts, should be chosen on non-partisan grounds and a continuance in

office of faithful judicial public servants should be determined by no other qualification than fitness.

Eighth—We demand a compliance with the plain requirements of the constitution by the enactment of a uniform local option law, with the county as the governing unit.

Ninth—The first duty of the State is to provide for the education of all its children. While we favor the present law prohibiting mixed schools, we nevertheless favor the granting of equal educational privileges to the children of both races. We demand that the public schools of the State shall be taken and kept entirely out of politics and that the interest and welfare of the children shall have first consideration in all school matters. We call for better schools and school houses, for longer school terms in the country and for better pay for the teachers, and that all elections for school trustees be had on different days from other elections. We favor separate manual training schools in every county in the State for both races, and we favor compulsory attendance of children of school age.

Tenth—We unqualifiedly condemn and denounce the "Third House," all corrupt lobbying and improper methods used to influence legislation, and we demand that such a law be passed as will provide adequate punishment for such practices, and if this cannot be otherwise accomplished, we favor such measures as will place more directly in the hands of the people the power to correct this evil.

Eleventh—We favor either the creation of a competent and effective public utilities commission, or the grant to the Railroad Commission of the power to regulate such utilities.

Twelfth—We demand the enactment of a law providing for bi-partisan control of penal and charitable institutions, and for the abolition of contract convict labor; and we denounce the Board of Prison Commissioners in hiring out the children under their charge at the Reform School for the benefit of whose morals and education that institution was originally established.

Thirteenth—We favor the adoption of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.

Fourteenth—We favor a uniform system of accounting in public offices and the abolition of all useless offices.

Fifteenth—We oppose double taxation and favor a thorough revision of the tax laws which will equally distribute the burdens of taxation, reduce the rate and not only retain the capital now invested but invite the investment of other capital into the State. We favor the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment enlarging the power of the General Assembly in the matter of taxation, and when such additional law is passed, to make it effectual only when submitted to and approved by a majority of the people who vote upon the same. We favor such regulation by law as will consolidate assessment and collection of taxes, so that the cost of collection may be materially reduced. We recognize the obligation the State is under to the disinterested men who have given their time and attention and of their means to the investigation and consideration of the question of the revenue laws of the State.

Sixteenth—We favor the adoption of a just and conservative law providing for the arbitration of labor disputes.

Seventeenth—We favor the passage of laws which shall make effective the constitutional provision against the issuance of free passes to officials and their families.

Eighteenth—We favor the adoption of legislation to make effective the constitutional amendment in favor of good roads.

Nineteenth—We favor the passage of a law providing for the thorough and effective inspection of State banks.

Twentieth—We favor further legislation for the protection of miners from unnecessary bodily injury.

Twenty-first—We demand that American citizens abroad, whether native born or naturalized and of whatever race or creed, shall be secure in the enjoyment of all rights and privileges provided by our treaties.

Twenty-second—We favor the enactment of a law to punish the white slave traffic in the State.

Twenty-third—We denounce lynchings and mobs of every character and favor the passage of a law that will punish by fine, imprisonment and summary removal from office, any peace officer who fails to protect a prisoner in his custody.

We hereby appeal to all citizens of the Commonwealth, irrespective of party affiliations, to support the principles herein enunciated.

JOHN W. LANGLEY, Chairman. W. D. COCHRAN,  
FRANK M. FISHER. JAMES BREATHITT,  
J. H. GILLIAM. C. M. BARNETT,  
GEORGE DuRELLE. MAURICE L. GALVIN,  
RICHARD C. STOLL. LOUIS L. WALKER,  
R. C. McCLURE. A. J. KIRK,  
CALEB POWERS.

## Judge E. C. O'Rear's Speech on Education in Kentucky.

Judge E. C. O'Rear, the Republican candidate for Governor, in his speech at Carlisle, Ky., discussed the educational problem in Kentucky in a way that shows him to be thoroughly abreast of the non-partisan movement in the State for improvement along this line.

No one values education more than Judge O'Rear, probably because he had so little schooling in his own life. He quit school when twelve years old from necessity, but his present intellectual attainments show that he educated himself in a broad and intelligent way and among his chief desires, whether elected Governor or not, is to see Kentucky children provided with better educational facilities. It is certain that if he is elected Governor, the cause of education will receive the best impetus that he can give it by continuous and enlightened efforts. The speech follows:

Fellow Citizens. There is one provision of our platform that I want especially to talk to the people of Kentucky about and that is on the subject of Education. I want to read you what our opponents say with reference to that.

"We pledge our support to our school system and will make our entire common school system more efficient and more practical." Whatever that may mean, you will have to determine.

"We pledge our support to our schools system and the educational institutions of the State, wisely and economically administered." They want to save money, I infer. Money appropriated for the education of the people is an investment and not an expense. School trustees, school boards and all school officials should be held rigidly responsible for adequate returns on every dollar invested. We charge the Republican party with neglect of and indifference toward our school system. Recognizing that a large majority of the teachers of our common schools are women and that women are now eligible to be elected school trustees, county school superintendents, and to hold office, and are frequently so elected, we favor the extension to women of suffrage in all school elections, subject to such wise regulations as to qualifications as the General Assembly may determine."

Everything in there has a "but" or some kind of exception to it. Let me say, before I read our platform, that the provision as to women suffrage is a good one, and to that extent is an improvement on ours. That is my judgment about it. To that extent they have made one positive suggestion as to what they propose to do, but even as to that they have added "Subject to such wise regulations as to qualifications as the General Assembly may determine." I do not know why there should be any wiser regulations applied to women than there are to men. Why didn't they say "to apply the same regulations to women as men." If they are going to let women vote, let them vote because they are twenty-one years old, just like they let men vote when they get to be twenty-one years old. But laying that to one side, if the Legislature should pass such a statute as that, I am not going to veto it. I tell you now I would propose to let women vote in school elections. (Applause.)

### SPEND MONEY FOR SCHOOLS.

With that exception, what have they stated specifically? Not an item, not a thing. The point that they harp on is economy. They have their eye on the purse. My notion is to put the eye on the children. There is the distinction. (Applause.) They want to save money; I want to save these young Kentuckians. (Applause.) They say, we are going to be careful how much money is spent. I say, if you are ever going to be careless in your life about spending money, be careless right there. Waste money in education if you are going to waste it anywhere. (Applause.) Of course, we are not for wasting money at all, but I point you to this truth, that your Constitution prohibits the amount of indebtedness and the tax rate as to the State, as to the county as to the municipality, in every particular except one, and that one is the matter of education; and the Constitution says as to that "take the bridle off, and let the people appropriate as much as they will." That and the defense of the country and in case of war, are the only limitations not put upon it.

Kentuckians, we have been economically expending money for education for seventy-five years, with the result that we are so far down the line that we can't get a bottom with our specs off and can't see through a spy-glass. I am for changing that condition. It is possible to do it. Here is what

we say: "The first duty of the State is to provide for the education of all of its children,"—not some, not the bright ones, not the willing ones, not even the white ones. All of its children. Educate everybody in Kentucky, give them a chance; not only give them a chance, but make them fit citizens for the next generation of voters, and husbands and wives.

"While we favor the present law prohibiting mixed schools, we nevertheless favor the granting of equal educational privileges to the children of both races." It has been regarded by wise public men for nearly a quarter of a century or more, that one of the great problems of the day is the race question, what are you going to do with the negro. Some people say that when you educate a negro you spoil him, you spoil a good hand. Well, that is owing to what you mean by education.

Perhaps some colored citizens are of the idea that an education is in the way to live without labor. There is no such way. A man can't live usefully in this world without labor, because God made man and labor to fit and not to be apart. The idea I have of it is that education is to teach a man how to work better, how to do more work, how to do a better quality of work, so that he will get better wages for his work, thereby enabling him to provide for his family a better home, and give his own children a better chance than even he had. If education doesn't mean that, then I don't understand it. When we talk about educating all of our people, it is to give them all a chance to make the very best workmen in the country.

### NO POLITICS IN SCHOOL.

I want to read along a little further as to what kind of education we are talking about. "We demand that the public schools of the State shall be taken and kept entirely out of politics." Who can possibly object to that? Who is it wants the schools of the State mixed up in politics? "And that the interest and welfare of the children shall have first consideration in all school matters. We call for better schools and school houses, for longer school terms in the country and for better pay for the teachers, and that all elections for school trustees be had on different days from other elections." That is to keep them out of politics. "We favor separate manual training schools in every county in the State for both races, and we favor compulsory attendance of children of school age."

What is a manual training school? It is a school to teach these boys and girls of Kentucky how to make all that Kentucky needs, from the most intricate machinery to the most insignificant fabric in the home; teach them to be a self-sustaining people. Aye, my countrymen, does it never bring to you a blush of shame, or even worse, a feeling of dismay as to Kentucky, when you remember that in this wonderful age of mechanics in which we live, Kentucky is taking no part, none whatever. That is, such as the invention of a new machine that will do the work of a thousand men and supply the wants of society at a moderate cost. Kentucky is not doing it. In the evolution of the principles of science or mechanics, Kentucky's youth are not engaged.

I am reminded here to repeat to you what I think I told you before, but which is so true, I believe it will interest you again. A recora came before the Court not long ago where two young Kentuckians, convicted of the crime of manslaughter, were sentenced to the penitentiary for a term of twenty-one years. Of course, liquor was at the bottom of it. Their cases came before the court. I was impressed with this fact: Both of those boys were hopelessly and helplessly illiterate. Neither of them had ever been to school. They were not ignorant in the sense that they did not have a capacity for understanding, but they were uneducated, untrained. The first time that Kentucky placed her hand upon them was when the Sheriff arrested them and said "You are my prisoners." The first time Kentucky ever compelled them to go into a public institution of the State was when the sheriff marched them by the aid of the Jailer, into the Court House to be tried for their liberties or their lives. Th first time that twelve Kentuckians ever sat down in sober thought and judgment to consider upon their consciences what to do with these two boys of Kentucky, was when the jury sat there to determine whether to turn them loose or to hang them, and I thought to myself "Who is the criminal? Is it Kentucky or is it the two boys?"

### EDUCATION WILL SAVE BOYS.

About that time I picked up a paper and read an account of a remarkable incident in Ohio, where the Governor of the State and his staff and all of the executive officers and representatives of the legislative bodies, flying flags and flaunting colors, and gaily dressed people and glad hearts, gathered by the thousands. There was a representative of the United States Government bearing upon a cushion a gold medal struck at the behest of Congress. There were present representatives of the crowned heads of every civilized Government in the world, all met there to do honor, to pay homage to two Ohio boys no older than the two Kentucky boys whose cases I just heard. They were there to do honor to Orville and Wilbur Wright, the mechanics, who had solved the problem of the navigation of the air, and in doing so, had made all the world their debtors. I said to myself "Why couldn't something of that kind happen in Kentucky." Why is it that these Kentucky youths

stand here idly upon the threshold of a modern age in sight of the most wonderful commercial activities that the world has ever seen, the great age of constructivity, of doing things, of making things? Why do these Kentuckians stand here, idle spectators of the most wonderful pageant that ever fell to the eye of man to see this side of the Isle of Patmos? Is there no remedy?

Is Kentucky hopeless? Is she impotent? Cant we make Kentucky the equivalent of her sister states and of the youth abroad? And I reflected that the reason why these people succeed is because they have been taught how. How are you going to teach them unless you have a teacher? How are you going to have a teacher and teach them unless you have a place? Therefore we say to provide manual training schools in every county, not in some, not here and there and yonder, but manual training schools in every county where the boys shall be taught mechanics as well as literature. It is better that Kentucky should have a thousand mechanics turned out of her State University than to have a thousand politicians and statesmen turned out.

Then we say, "We favor compulsory attendance of children of school age." Do you know what that signifies? Read the statistics in your Educational Department. Fifty-eight per cent of the school children of Kentucky did not attend any school last year nor the year before, nor the year before that. Those were the three best school years in Kentucky in all of her history. That means that more than one half of the population in this next generation are growing up in illiteracy, unfitted, unequipped, unqualified in the great competition of life, and disqualified to discharge in the proper sense the duties of citizenship, whether as jurors or electors.

### FACILITIES INSUFFICIENT.

But we must have more schoolhouses, for this reason: The number of school houses in Kentucky, if they were filled to there utmost capacity, could not hold more than seventy per cent of the children of the school age in Kentucky. Therefore, if all of the children in Kentucky took a notion to go to school, two hundred and odd thousands of them would be left unhoused on the outside, and it is for that reason that we are in favor of having more school houses and better school houses.

Now, they said in that platform that the Republican party was unfriendly to the school interest in Kentucky. That was an extravagant and foundationless statement. Let me show you how friendly we have been to it. There were paid out during Governor Beckham's administration for school purposes, these appropriations.

State University .....	\$ 60,000.00
Eastern Kentucky Normal School ....	37,500.00
Western Kentucky Normal School....	37,500.00
making a total of.....	<u>\$135,000.00</u>

The amount paid out under the present administration is as follows:

State University .....	\$ 355,000.00
Eastern Kentucky Normal School..	293,049.45
Western Kentucky Normal School ..	327,500.00
Kentucky Normal & Industrial Institute, a colored school .....	40,000.00
Total .....	<u>\$1,015,549.45</u>

That does not look like we have been very unfriendly. But you may say, you are giving that to the higher institutions of Kentucky. You cant make too high the institutions of Kentucky in the matter of education. She is entitled to the equal of the best. She is entitled to as good as Virginia, as Ohio, as Indiana, as Missouri or as Texas. These boys and girls ought to be given an equal chance, a fair chance, in the competition of life. You cant make them too good.

But you may say that you did that at the expense of the graded schools. In 1907, the last year of Gov. Beckham's administration, the per capita was \$3.40; in 1908-9, the per capita was raised to \$3.60. That is the first year under Mr. Crabbe. In 1909-10 it was raised to \$4.00. 1910-11 it was \$4.00. 1911-12 has been fixed at \$4.41, the greatest ever paid in the history of the Commonwealth.

### STATE DEMANDS IMPROVEMENT.

Not only that, Kentucky has expended on this matter of schools alone \$1,300,000 in excess of the expenditures of the past administration, showing to you that Kentucky, under this administration has taken good care of her schools. I do not mean to give Mr. Crabbe or his Republican Colleagues the entire credit for that. It would not be just nor true. It is the result of the growing spirit of Kentuckians in favor of education, a spirit that is not confined to party lines. The people of Kentucky are in favor of better education, and when it is suggested that the Republican Party is unfriendly to education, I know that it is the unbottomed statement of a man that doesn't know what he is

talking about, or if he does know it, who assumes the people have not enough sense to find it out, and he is telling what is untrue. When these appropriations came to be voted for in the Legislature, they were voted by Democrats and Republicans alike, almost unanimously, be it said to their credit; and I expect similar action when my messages go before the next legislature, whether they are Democrats or Republicans, advocating longer terms in the country, advocating more school houses, advocating better pay, advocating the better equipment of the teachers, advocating compulsory education, when every child in Kentucky in the school age who is physically able, shall be required to attend some school somewhere during the whole of the school year until he has finished, until he is fitted for the best work.

The State has the same power to make a child attend school and qualify itself as it has to make a man work on the road or serve on the jury, or do any other public function; and it is infinitely better for the State to compel its children to attend school and qualify themselves for useful careers, than afterward to compel them to attend court and stand trial before a jury, and to attend the penitentiaries and to work for capitalists and contractors at from forty to eighty cents a day. (Applause.)

I have a peculiar interest in the common schools of Kentucky. The common schools of Kentucky is my alma matter. I never had the privilege of attending much of any other kind. In those days it was a very common school indeed. I was attending the common schools of Kentucky when my distinguished opponent was first elected Governor of Kentucky. At that time the common school term was three months, and I do not know of a town outside of Louisville in Kentucky at that time that owned a school building fit to put a first class horse in. I know where I attended, they had rented a little store-room upstairs over a grocery on Sycamore Street in Mt Sterling, and after that on East Main street, we had an old deserted frame house, and that is where we were housed in those days, and that was the best.

### PAST SCHOOL CONDITIONS.

Why, it was a disgrace for a child to attend the common schools then. They were called free schools; and if you want a fight let some fellow holler "Free Schools." Why it was an insult. A boy or a girl who attended the free school was socially ostracised. They were disgraced.

We had the best teachers, I suppose, that could be hired for the money, but think what they got, \$25.00 a month for three months in a year. You could not expect a great deal of work for that sum, and that is the reason we do not know any more than we do. We would have known a great deal more if we had better chances, but at that time, under Senator McCreary's administration as Governor, while I was twelve years old going to that little common school, the per capita set apart to each child was \$1.90 A dollar and ninety cents for the education of one of Kentucky's future citizens, upon whose shoulders rest all of the burdens of Government and society. Why, you couldn't keep a steer calf six months on that.

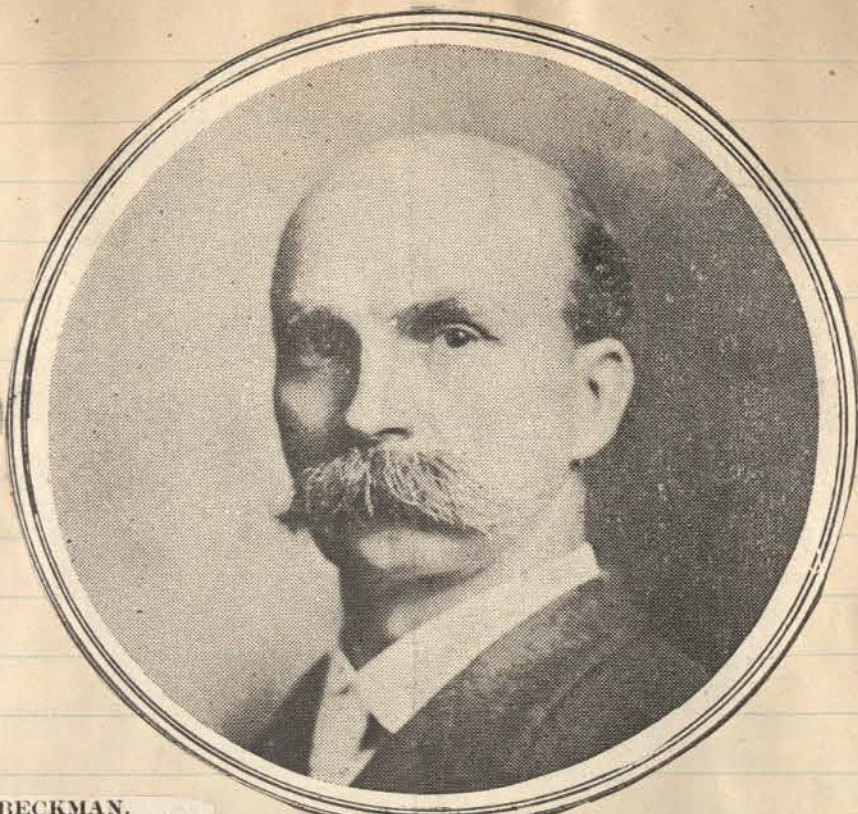
But Governor Beckham said four years ago when he was a candidate against Governor McCreary for Senator, speaking of Gov. McCreary when he left the office in 1879, that the per capita fell to \$1.25 in less than a year, and there was not a single event during his administration that advanced the cause of education. Then Senator McCreary was something like 36 years younger than he is now. Is his interest any more acute in the common schools now than it was then? My idea is, my countrymen, that the common schools of Kentucky ought to be made the best public buildings in the State in each of the counties.

I am concerned in these schools in Kentucky. I do not want to see any other boy having to start the hard roads that I had to go over. I do not want them to be denied that which I was denied. I want them to have a better chance. Open all of these schools to all of Kentucky's children, put all of the children in the schools, beginning with the kindergarden and ending with the State University. Let Kentucky educate. She must educate. Let me repeat, she must educate or she will die. Education means not merely the training of the mind in belles lettres but train the heart, train the hand. Make this next generation of Kentucky fit and equal of any generation of men and women who trod the earth. It is our duty; it is their privilege. Shall we withhold it?

You can talk about tariffs and about reciprocity treaties all you please, but that is not going to supply this great and sore need of Kentucky. We have to settle this question ourselves. We have to settle it upon our judgment and consciences as citizens and as voters of the State.

Let me repeat our slogan to you in closing, and I put it to the people of Kentucky without regard to party: "Make politics in Kentucky cleaner, and then make the people of Kentucky stronger, and to do that get away from the domination of the party machine, get away from the question that the party owns you or owns me: relegate the party boss to the junk heap where he belongs. Put the power in the hands of the people. Educate and train the youth for high intelligent citizenship. Equip them to discharge all of the duties of manhood and of womanhood upon the highest plane, and thereby make Kentucky a greater state in which to live. (Applause.)

A. V. STORM.



## BY F. W. BECKMAN.

AMES, Ia., July 22.—Every June there comes up to the Iowa State college at Ames a Macedonian cry for young men and young women to teach agriculture in high schools, academies and smaller colleges. It comes from Iowa, and it comes from states far distant from Iowa. It arose first with the great movement for the extension of agricultural education to the public schools and secondary schools, and it has become more and more insistent with the increasing redirection of education along more practical lines.

To meet this demand, the agricultural division of the college has established a department of agricultural education which will open its doors to students this fall and offer them professional training as agricultural teachers. It will be under the direction of Prof. A. V. Storms, who has had wide experience in teaching and in agricultural extension work among the schools of the state. He will have the assistance of Prof. E. C. Bishop of the extension department, who is an experienced school man. The department had its conception long ago in the minds of Dean C. F. Curtiss, Professor Storm and other men at the college. It was endorsed by the faculty more than a year ago, but circumstances were then against its inauguration. This year, however, the state board of education found conditions ripe to establish the new department and it gave authority to open it this fall. This department will blaze the way for a new venture in agricultural education. It will be the first professional course of the kind offered in this country. It is wholly a pioneer undertaking.

There is no doubt about the demand for young men and young women with scientific agricultural knowledge to teach agriculture. If last June the state college had graduated two score of students from such a course as is now to be established, it could have found splendid places for every one of them, and more besides. So great is the demand that high schools and smaller colleges are willing to pay as much as \$1,200 a year and even \$1,400 or more for young men just out of college if they show any ability at all to teach agriculture and allied sciences. School superintendents and school board officials came to the college even before the list of graduates had been announced last spring and pleaded that Dean Curtiss recommend agricultural teachers from among them. The school year had not closed when

half a dozen of the more likely young men had been engaged and within a few weeks more, the list of 1911 graduates contracted for school work numbered a dozen or more. Not one of them had had professional training for teaching, but they showed aptitude for teaching, and moreover young men who combined agricultural training with training as teachers could not be found. These young men of the state college were the best available here or elsewhere.

The demand for agricultural teachers for public schools became active about two years ago following the enactment of laws for agricultural education, notably in Minnesota. The first call probably came from school authorities at Albert Lea, Minn., where a course in agriculture had been established in the high school. Members of the school board came to the college for a teacher. They were willing to pay any price within reason, \$1,200 at least, more if necessary. They sought Theodore Sexauer, an Ankeny young man, who had been recommended to them. They offered him \$1,200, but other schools had offered him that much. Then began a spirited contest for his services, so active was the demand for agricultural graduates to teach. The Albert Lea men camped on Sexauer's trail and finally made an offer of \$1,400 for the school year. That ended the contest and Mr. Sexauer signed a contract with them. Then next year, last year, his salary was increased to \$1,800, and this year was again increased to \$2,000.

Last year one of the smaller colleges of Iowa, Lenox college at Hopkinton, called C. W. Hendricks to take charge of a newly established course in agriculture, the first of that kind to be established in the denominational or smaller colleges of Iowa. Earl Ewen of the 1910 class went to the Beardsley, Minn., agricultural high school; W. A. Wentworth to Michigan Agricultural college; Thomas McCall to the experiment station at Crookston, Minn.; Robert B. Gray to the agricultural college at Winnipeg, Manitoba, and M. G. Thornburg and A. A. Burger to the Iowa state college.

This year, however, the demand for agricultural teachers almost swept professors and students at Ames off their feet. In all, something like a dozen young men have been placed thus far, and, in election terms, all precincts have not yet been heard from. Ray Palmer was called to Wheaton, Minn., high school at a salary of \$1,475 for the first year. John Krall contracted with the Spring Valley, Minn., school board at a salary of \$1,200, and P. E. Miller to Morris; H. O. Miller to Morgan; W. W. Schmitt to Long Prairie, and E. C. Davis to St. Peter, Minn., at similar salaries. The superintendent of schools of St. Peter, Minn.,

came prepared to stay until he could induce some one of the available young men to contract with him, price no object if within reason. "We must have one of your young men," he declared, and he finally got Davis. A former high school principal, E. D. Silvers, who came to the college from Parker, S. D., last fall, for a year's special work in agriculture, went to Prescott, Ark., at a salary of \$1,500 a year to start.

In addition to these men who went into public school work several went into college work, some here at Ames, others elsewhere. H. A. Bittenbender will do work for the government at the Stillwater, Okla., experiment station. John Larson will join the Minnesota extension department staff. R. G. Jones, Charles Breadshear, E. F. Ferrin, Murl McDonald, Theo Macklin and H. L. Eichling all of this year's classes, will hold positions with the state college in Ames. W. A. Lippincott, also an 1911 graduate, is doing excellent work at the head of the college poultry work.

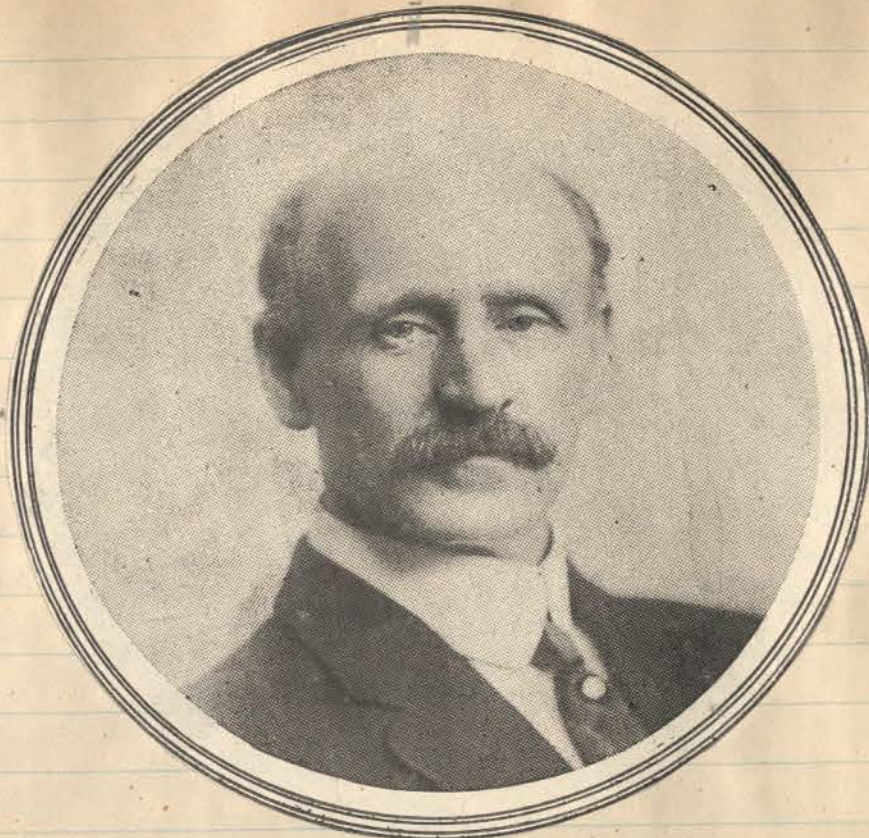
The demand for domestic science teachers from the home economic courses is just as active. Of the 1911 class, five were called to Minnesota schools, Misses Louise Ahlbrecht, Margaret Jones, Shirley Storm, Regina Brennan and May Anderson.

It may strike an Iowa man as strange that nearly all of the graduates of the Iowa state college who go to teaching should go to Minnesota. There is a good reason for that, altogether beyond the control of the college. Minnesota is in the forefront among states in redirecting the work of its public schools along practical lines. It is in the forefront of the states that are making the study of agricultural sciences a feature of public school work. Its legislature has made liberal appropriations for this new educational work, and its school authorities are able to offer young men salaries that cannot be duplicated in Iowa or elsewhere. Iowa, along with other states in the great agricultural midwest is behind Minnesota in the procession of educational progress in the public schools along agricultural lines. Iowa high schools are not establishing full fledged agricultural courses and Iowa high schools are not offering attractive positions to young men. Therein lies the explanation for Minnesota's annual raid on Iowa state college graduates. The state college authorities have tried to encourage Iowa boys to teach at home, but that is vain effort against such salary odds and against the fact that Iowa high schools are not offering such places.

Minnesota is not alone in making a demand on the state college at Ames for



E. C. BISHOP.



young men to teach. This year there were urgent letters from Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, California, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and even from Massachusetts. The supply of men was altogether inadequate to meet these calls.

Several laws have been passed by the Minnesota legislature to encourage and give financial support to agricultural education in the public schools. Three or four years ago the first of these laws, the Putnam bill, provided for the appropriation of \$2,500 annually to each of ten selected schools which were to establish courses in agricultural science. The last legislature passed two different laws providing state aid for agricultural and domestic science courses in high schools and in consolidated rural schools maintaining instruction in the upper grades. Under these laws, agricultural education in Minnesota has been given a great impetus and Minnesota's public schools are more nearly in harmony with the "back to the farm" movement than those of any other state.

"We are sorry that these fine young men have gone out of the state to take up their work after getting their education in Iowa," said Professor Storm, "but there doesn't seem to be any way to stop them. They would prefer to serve the public schools of Iowa, I know, for practically all of them are Iowa born boys. Iowa, however, is not offering them places as attractive as they are urged to take elsewhere. While Iowa schools tender them salaries of \$1,000 a year and usually less, Minnesota schools offer them not less than \$1,200. It is just human nature for these young men to take the best thing that opens up to them. We hope, however, that our young men and young women may soon be put into Iowa schools. The Iowa schools need them."

As the new course in agricultural education has been outlined and approved by the college faculty and the state board of education, it will teach young men and young women the fundamental in both agriculture or home economics and in teaching; it will undertake to give them a scientific knowledge of agriculture or home economics and a professional knowledge of teaching. Along with this education along special lines there will be a general education in history, English, literature, language and the sciences. In short, the course will be a college course shaped with a view to giving young men and young women special preparation to teach agriculture or domestic science and the usual sciences that are taught in the high school or secondary school.

The general studies of the course will

include mathematics, history, English and English literature, chemistry, botany, zoology, physics and some modern language if desired. The agricultural studies will include work in farm crops, soils, dairying, livestock judging, horticulture, including orcharding and market gardening, agricultural engineering, including farm machinery and practical shop work. The domestic science studies will include the special studies of the home economics department. The teacher's training will include work in psychology, the history of education, the general principles of teaching and special methods of teaching.

This course has been shaped so that the young man or young woman who graduates from it will be able to secure a state certificate without further examination. The entrance requirements for the course will be the same as those for the other college courses, and to young men and young women who live in Iowa no tuition fees will be charged.

Graduates of normal or other accredited colleges may enter the course and receive full credit for college work that fits in with the requirements of the course; under such an arrangement a graduate of another college may finish the course in much less than the four years prescribed.

This new department of education will not merely open up a new field of professional work for young men and young women in college, but it will enlarge the opportunities of public school and secondary school teachers who find themselves working along in a rut with little encouragement financially or otherwise.

Just what it may do for public school teachers was illustrated in the last year in the case of E. D. Stivers, an aggressive school man who had gotten along about so far in public school work and seemed unable to get much farther. He had succeeded as a principal, but because the supply of principals exceeds the demand, he found himself "stuck" at Parker, S. D., in a good enough position, better than the average, but without prospect of much better salary than the \$1,000 or so per year he had been getting for several years. The situation was a bit discouraging to an ambitious man still strong and vigorous and young, but not a bit more discouraging than the situation in which thousands of other men and women find themselves.

This school man, however, had the keenness to observe the growing demand for teachers with a special training in agriculture and allied sciences. He determined to take the movement at its increasing tide and make the most of it. He came to the state college at Ames last year and arranged for a special

training agricultural studies. He had some familiarity with farming to start with, and he made excellent progress.

That he foresaw accurately and acted wisely was evidenced last June when a demand came to the college from Arkansas for an agriculturist with public school experience.

"We want a man who can take the superintendency of our schools and give them a practical turn by introducing agriculture, domestic science, manual training and the like," they wrote. The man who wrote that letter from down in what Iowans term benighted Arkansas had a clear vision of what they owed the schools under their charge and what the schools owed the people. They had a clearer vision than a good many public school boards in Iowa seem to have.

In Stivers the college authorities immediately recognized the kind of a man the Arkansas school board wanted. Salary was no object, the Arkansas people had written. They wanted a state college man at any fair price. "We have others applying," they said, "but if you will recommend a man we will pay him \$1,500."

Mr. Stivers was consulted, he accepted, and thus in a year's time he was transformed from an average principal drawing the small average pay of a principal, into a special teacher with a special knowledge worth \$1,500 to start with and more later on. In his experience there will be probably fruitful suggestion for other school men who face the danger of getting into a rut.

"We haven't established this new department of agricultural education because we wanted another course at the state college," said Professor Storm.

"We established it because we had to do it. There seemed no other way out of it. There has been growing a great demand for teachers trained to teach agriculture. There was no instructor anywhere prepared to provide them. We bore the brunt of the demand as best we could and sent out bright young men and young women who had training in agriculture or in domestic science, but who had no training to teach. We hesitated to put them into school and college positions for that reason, but we finally depended on the trait bright young men and young women of the college have of making good wherever they go.

"But such a way of meeting the demand was unsatisfactory. Moreover, it was not right. We felt that we must give some training for the teaching of agriculture and domestic science. We felt that we owed it as a duty to the young people who wanted to engage in such teaching, and we felt that we owed it as a duty to the state and the country at large to fit teachers to get into the

great movement for the direction of education. So here we are, arranging to open this new course this fall.

"We are not trying to compete with the state teachers' college at Cedar Falls in this new work, nor with the state university at Iowa City. We are undertaking a work that they are not doing and which they cannot do. We are merely striving to supply a demand that they cannot supply.

"We hope that out of our work will come these large results:

"We hope to prepare teachers who will be able to teach agriculture or domestic science and the general science in the

high schools, who will meet the growing demand for a practical teaching of sciences. Such teachers will be able to give an intensely practical turn to their work in botany, in physics, in chemistry, in zoology. There is complaint that the science work in our high schools and secondary schools is too technical, and too little suited to the needs of the average student. We hope our teachers will be able to overcome these criticisms and interpret the sciences by their environment.

"We hope further to put out young men and young women who will be a large force in the great movement to redirect education in the public schools

and especially in the rural schools. Such a teacher ought to have influence upon the training of the girls and boys in the high schools who plan to teach in the rural schools. Such a teacher in a high school community ought to be able to give a new turn to the school work of the whole community around about, through the girls who go out from his class rooms into the rural schools as teachers.

"We hope that the department will make the college a still larger influence than it is now in the extension of agricultural education. It has been established to do good and to be of service. That is its sole aim and purpose."

## Catechism On the Public Schools of Kentucky

(By H. A. Sommers, Editor Elizabethtown News.)

Q.—What was the purpose of establishing the public or free school?  
A.—To educate the children who would otherwise not be educated.

Q.—In what way only is the State interested in the education of the children?

A.—Only that they may become self-sustaining when grown and not a burden upon society, and the boys, when they become of age, may vote with intelligence.

Q.—Would the State have established the free school if the parents of all the children had been financially able to give them an education?

A.—The State recognizes that a greater and higher obligation rests upon the parents to educate their children than upon the State, and there would have been no free school if all parents had been able to discharge this obligation to their offspring.

Q.—Why then were the children of well-to-do parents admitted to the free school?

A.—Only for the reason that the State could not constitutionally tax the whole people for free education without allowing all the people to receive the benefits of it.

Q.—If the State felt under obligation to provide public schools so that the children of poor parents might be educated and taxed the people for that purpose what limit of education fulfills the obligation of the State?

A.—An ordinary English education, consisting of the branches taught in the public school, is necessary to equip children to earn their living in all but the professional lines of life, and the State's obligation does not extend to an education which equips one for professional life or becomes an accomplishment.

Q.—Has the public school accomplished its purposes in Kentucky in educating the children of poor parents?

A.—It has not. Only a little more than half the children of school age are enrolled in the public schools and about three-fourths of those enrolled would have been educated by their parents if there had been no public schools.

Q.—Where is the illiteracy or the failure of the public schools especially noticeable?

A.—In the rural school districts, especially in the mountains and remote rural sections in the other parts of the State. There are more illiterate white children in one county in the mountains of Kentucky than in the whole Fifth congressional district.

Q.—Why is there comparatively so little illiteracy in the cities and much in the rural districts?

A.—Because in the cities the municipality and the citizen aids the State in the education, while there is no aid to the State in the rural district. There is a smaller per cent. of illiteracy in Lexington than there is in Massachusetts and less in Louisville than in Ohio.

Q.—Do you think then that local taxation helps to carry out the purposes of the public school by stamping out illiteracy?

A.—It has been demonstrated to be true everywhere in the whole United States. Where there is no local tax there is no local interest and where there is no local interest and pride in the school there is no especial effort to get the children into school.

Q.—Does not the State pay enough for public school education?

A.—Kentucky pays more than any State in the South except Texas and ranks third or fourth in the whole country in its school per capita. It also pays less in local taxation than nearly any State and here is where part of the failure comes in to meet the purposes for which it was created.

Q.—Has not the Legislature from time to time sought to meet these conditions by the enactment of new school laws?

A.—Every Legislature for a number of years has tinkered with the school laws, but in nearly every instance the new laws have only enabled the children already in school to be educated better instead of being framed to educate all of the children some.

Q.—Have we not a compulsory school law in Kentucky?

A.—What is known as the Hiles compulsory school law was passed about ten years ago. It is not an effective law because there are so many loop holes to escape its enforcement and because no one is financially or personally interested in its enforcement. As it is, it is practically a dead letter on the statute books.

Q.—Returning to the question of illiteracy, why is it that parents refuse to send their children to school?

A.—Most of those who grow up without schooling are the offspring of illiterate parents, and not having any education themselves, they do not appreciate the value of it for their children. There has been no concerted effort to get them into school and no census is even taken to locate who they are and where they live.

Q.—Why is it that the school laws have not been made to accomplish the purpose for which the public school was established to educate the poor and illiterate children of the Commonwealth?

A.—For the reason that all amendments to the school law have their inspiration from the school teachers and they have been invariably interested in the betterment of the schools from which they derive some profit and not financially interested in increasing the attendance.

Q.—Why should we be interested in those children who do not take advantage of school and grow up illiterate?

A.—First, because it is the only way to accomplish the fundamental purposes for which the public schools were established. Second, because these children have illiterate parents and they are unable to help themselves. Third, because our illiterate population (less than 10 per cent. of the whole) furnishes over half of the criminals and over half of the paupers.

Q.—Will you please summarize the principal reasons why the public school system of Kentucky fails to accomplish the primary purposes for which they were established?

A.—First, because there is no direct effort to get the children into the schools. Second, because in the sections of illiteracy there is no local school pride. Third, because the compulsory law is a failure for the reason there is no one interested in its enforcement.

Q.—How would you go about securing an interest in school attendance?

A.—By making the school teacher an evangel of education in every school so that he should work up his school, just as if it was one of tuition when the larger the school the larger would be his salary. Instead of paying him for the number of children in the school district pay him in part for the number he teaches. This will make it to his financial interest to get all the children in school.

Q.—What is wrong in the present law of paying him according to the number of children in the school district?

A.—He draws his money whether he has any scholars or not. Second, for the reason it is easier on the teacher to have one-third of the children in the school than to have two-thirds. Third, because the system is about as absurd as it would be to pay a drummer for the number of towns he makes instead of the number of merchants he sells goods to. If you would pay a man a dollar a day to plow an acre of corn and there were a hundred acres in the field you would hardly pay him for a hundred acres if he only plowed twenty.

Q.—Would your proposed change in the law make any less State money for the county or the teachers?

A.—No. I would have the State fund divided among the counties as is now the law and let the distribution be made by the County Superintendent in part according to the number of children in each school district and in part according to the attendance in the district.

Q.—How would you create a local school interest in the school districts?

A.—By the State paying a bonus to every rural district which will vote a school tax of a certain amount.

Q.—How would this help?

A.—It can be shown by investigation that the attendance in the schools which are in part supported by local taxation is double or quadruple as compared with districts which have no local tax. It can also be shown that in local tax districts there is practically no illiteracy. The local tax arouses local interest in the school and the whole community at once becomes interested in having a good school.

Q.—How about the compulsory law?

A.—I would favor a stricter and better compulsory law than we now have if public sentiment favored it, but as public sentiment has not been behind the present law I would simply change the law we now have in the matter of its enforcement. When the school teacher's pay depends in part upon the number of children he gets into the school he at once becomes interested in enforcing the law against parents who will not send their children to school after he has tried to persuade them. The law should be changed to give the School Trustees and the County Board of Education civil jurisdiction to try all cases where the compulsory law is violated. Let the teacher have the right to take out a warrant from the School Trustee in his districts where parents have refused to comply with the law by not sending their children to school and let the Trustee try the case with the right of either side to appeal to the County Board of Education. This, in my opinion, will make the law much more effective than it now is.

Q.—If the laws were amended as you suggest what do you think would be the results?

A.—Teachers would increase the attendance, if their pay somewhat depended upon it. Local tax would not only increase attendance by arousing local pride in the school, but would also result in better schools. Effective enforcement of the compulsory law would also increase attendance largely. In ten years under such conditions illiteracy among the white children of Kentucky would be practically wiped out and our public schools would be accomplishing fully the purpose for which it was organized.

# Judge E. C. O'Rear Compares the County Unit Planks in the Republican and Democratic Platforms

Glasgow, Ky.—Judge E. C. O'Rear spoke here to a large and enthusiastic crowd, and was given one of the heartiest greetings that a candidate for Governor has ever received here.

In the course of his address he said: "Last April I announced my candidacy for the office of Governor of Kentucky, at the instance of a great many people in and out of the Republican party. I announced it for the purpose of cleaning the politics of Kentucky, if the will and the power of the people be yet sufficient to that end; to make it impossible for any party to dominate in Kentucky, though it has behind it the corrupting influence of any trust proposing to exploit Kentucky at the public expense and detriment. When I announced, you remember what their slogan was: "Anything to beat O'Rear." If they wanted to beat O'Rear then, do you think they have changed their minds since? Every cause I had given them then to beat me exists yet, as I am even more dangerous to them now than then, because then it was my personal appeal to my party to take a position upon this question. What kind of position? Unequivocal, bold, meaning it, ready to die by it, if necessary. That is the kind of position I mean. But whether my party would do it or not, was the question.

#### Their Many Kicks.

"Why do the liquor interests object to the constitution prevailing in Kentucky, and object to allowing the people of a county to say whether or not liquor may be sold in that county? Why, of course, a county like Warren, which is now wet, would go dry. So would Christian, Daviess, Scott, Bourbon, Montgomery, Clark and Mason, and so would Jessamine, Franklin and Fayette. The result would be that dry territory would be very considerably increased in Kentucky, and while whisky could continue to be made in Kentucky and sold by wholesale, there would not be near so much of it drunk in Kentucky to the detriment of her name and to the disturbance of her peace and order. They want to keep that market, keep it at all hazards; keep it in defiance of the constitution as declared by the courts of the State; keep it in defiance of the public will, and keep it even if they have to deny to the public the right to even vote upon the question. That is what they propose to do.

#### The Dominant Issue.

"That, my countrymen, has been made in this campaign the dominant issue in Kentucky. Whether or not we wanted it to be made such, whether either political party desired that it should be made such, the people have made it such. In the Republican county conventions, on July 11, the dominant question before the people was whether we will vote for the man that stands for this proposition or vote against that man. It did not make any difference who they voted for if they voted against him.

"On the liquor question the two platforms declare as follows:

#### REPUBLICAN.

"We demand a compliance with the plain requirements of the constitution by the enactment of a uniform local option law, with the county as the governing unit."

#### DEMOCRATIC.

"Temperance is essentially a moral non-political and social question, and should not be made a partisan issue between political parties.

"We favor the extension of the present local option law, as applied to the sale of liquors, which has been upheld by our highest court as valid and constitutional, so that the citizens of each and every county in the State may determine for themselves whether spirituous, vinous or malt liquors may be sold therein."

#### Dominant Issue.

"The liquor question is in fact the dominant issue in this campaign. It will not down at the command of politicians or absent itself from politics at the behest of doctrinaires. The people are entitled to have it settled. They want it settled. It deserves to be settled.

"We contend that the Constitution expressly provides for a referendum to the people of each county, city, town and precinct whether they will prohibit the sale of liquor in the respective units; that each has the right for itself to deny the privilege of selling, without control of any other unit, whether larger or smaller. The opposing contention is that the Constitution provides that each precinct or other unit may for itself, exclusive of the action of any other unit, vote to either allow or prohibit such sales. They insist that the precinct is the final unit. They call their position "local option" as distinguished from "county unit." Until 1906 there was no provision made by statute, although required to do so by the Constitution, for any county's voting for itself as an exclusive unit in prohibiting the sale of liquors in such county. In that year the local option law was amended so as to allow counties containing cities or towns not larger than the fifth class, to vote as a controlling unit on the question.

"The people were not satisfied with this arrangement. They wanted the statute to be uniform as to all counties, and wanted every county to have the right of exclusion. I insist that it is their right. It was this question that has commanded first attention during the preliminary campaigns this year. Our party has declared upon it in unequivocal explicit terms, of simple meaning. Whether you approve our position or not, there is no doubt what that position is.

#### Followed the Lead.

"Our platform was first adopted and published. A month later our opponents met to write their platform. No other subject than county unit was seriously discussed by the party press. When the county conventions met they instructed, when taking position on any subject, on this question one

way or the other. In the convention it was the bone of contention. The convention was nearly equally divided. A majority of the votes in that convention was uninstructed. By that it was meant to leave the party expression to the judgment of its nominees. Yet they refused to take public position. The most they would say was that they were satisfied the people wanted the county unit, and that they, the nominees, would be 'satisfied' if the convention so declared. The Committee on Resolutions was headed by Mr. Beckham. It had some thirteen members, including Mr. Watterson. The plank as contained in the platform was the result of their joint protracted labors. It is evidently a composite expression. It was made to

not to advance. "In the haste and confusion incident to such a meeting, crudity of expression might be expected. So might oversights. But as to this plank there was no excuse for either. All attention and all talent were focused

upon it. It is a deliberately drawn and carefully-phrased expression.

#### Some History.

"There has not been a Legislature in the past fifteen years, the majority of which was not committed, either by personal pledge or party platform, to the county unit measure. It has failed of enactment because the majority of the members were induced to see that they could defeat it, yet hold true literally to their pledges. It was by voting not to vote on the main question; by suppressing it in hostile committees; by the adoption of rules which made it impossible for it to be called up except by concurrence of its enemies. Loopholes of escape have been so successfully used against the measure that their presence now is significantly dangerous to it. We therefore examine it closely.

#### Fling at Regulators.

"In the first place, you notice in the first three lines of the plank a fling at those who are attempting by law to control the sale of liquors. The chief argument of the liquor trade is used in terms proposing to eliminate the question from politics, and leave it to the influence of the churches, I presume. From this I infer the adoption by the convention of any plank on this subject was unwillingly done, and, but fear of the result of their non-action, it would not have been brought into politics. As soon as they feel they can safely sidetrack it, they will.

#### No County Unit.

"Next I call your attention to the fact that the words 'county unit' are not used anywhere in that platform. Instead they use the words 'local option.' They say they want 'the present local option law, which has been upheld by our highest courts as valid and constitutional,' extended so as to apply to every county in the State. Remember, the present 'local option law' contains exceptions, excepting certain cities.

"Is it meant to exempt all towns and cities, so that all counties shall be placed on the same footing as fourth-class city counties now are? The further expression in the resolution, 'so that the citizens of each and every county in the State may determine for themselves whether spirituous, vinous and malt liquors may be sold therein,' does not rescue the provision from ambiguity, for it might be plausibly argued that the citizens of a town are citizens also of the county, and that when the city votes for itself it also votes as an integral part of the county.

#### First Impression.

"I will admit that, at first blush, the reading of that plank makes the impression that it is a county unit declaration. But when read in the light of the surroundings under which it was adopted, in the light of the political exigency confronting its drawers, who were fearful of losing the liquor vote and influence in this election; in the light of the non-committal attitude of the nominees for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, that the resolution was framed to catch votes; not only the temperance vote, but the liquor vote also. The two propositions are incompatible. Either one or the other is to be fooled. Heretofore it has always been the temperance people who were fooled. If the purpose be to deceive either side, I submit that it makes the ticket unsafe for either. Deception before the election means deception after the election.

"Why don't they want it made a political issue? Why are the Democratic politicians assembled at Louisville, including the Democratic nominees from Governor down, afraid to have it made a political issue in Kentucky? It was a political issue in Tennessee. It was a political issue in Ohio and Indiana. It is today a political issue in Maine. It is, according to newspaper reports, being proposed now as a political issue in Illinois.

"They say 'We object to its being made a political issue in Kentucky.' Why? Does it hurt the people if it is made a political issue? The only thing it hurts is the liquor business in Kentucky if it is made a political issue, and, therefore, that political party which declares against making it a political issue wants to protect the interest that don't want it made a political issue.

#### His Position.

"My position is this: Whether my party stands for the extension of the county unit law or not, I am in favor of extending it. Because the Constitution says so, and because as a public officer I would be sworn to uphold and support that Constitution. There is no compromising with a constitutional requirement. It is not a matter of political expediency whether you will declare for it or against it. It is not a question whether the Legislature may carry it into effect or not, according as it may believe the public sentiment justifies. It is an imperative command from the source of political power in this country, the people, and they are bound to obey it or brand themselves as perjurers. That is my position on the question.

#### The Republican Convention.

"Now, what did the Republican convention say? I want to confess to you that I was concerned with what the Republican convention should say. I took an interest in what it should say, and when the Committee on Resolutions asked me what it should say, like the Committee on Resolutions asked my distinguished opponent, I told them what I thought it should say, and here is what I told them and here is what they said: 'We demand a compliance with the plain requirements of the Constitution by the enactment of a uniform local option law with the county as the governing unit.' Do you understand what that means—whether we are for it or against it? Have you any doubt about our position? Do you have to look to some other paper or somebody else's speech or inquire as to what we stand for? It is unequivocal. It is without doubt.

"The liquor interests have succeeded in this matter in a large measure because of the domination of the 'Third House.' It is called the lobby. Now, my proposition is to take that lobby out of business and, by taking them out of business, to eliminate the political power of such interests over the Legislature of Kentucky. You have got to take political power away from them, if you do not want them to use and abuse it. My notion is to take that power from them by destroying the influence of the lobby.

Gentlemen, there is but one way. If the Constitution says a thing must be carried into effect, carry it into effect or repeal the Constitution. That is the only way to do. I am committed to carrying it into effect and don't you doubt it, if I am elected Governor of Kentucky it will be carried into effect. (Applause).

## TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF THE COUNTRY SCHOOL

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSO-  
CIATION LAUNCHES PLAN.

INQUIRY WILL BE THOROUGH

CHICAGO, November 21.—A nation wide campaign to raise the standard of the rural schools to a level with those of the cities and towns is the latest plan of the National Educational Association, the organization of educators and teachers which is the largest body of the kind in the world. The first step in the movement, an investigation of school conditions throughout the United States and supplemental inquiry into the subject of teachers' salaries, state and county appropriations, and teaching methods, has been delegated to a committee of eleven which is now meeting in Chicago. The committee was authorized at the San

If when reading or sewing by lamp light a sheet of white paper is placed under the lamp it will be found that a far stronger light is shed all over the room.

Francisco convention of the National Educational Association in July, and a fund

of \$10,000 was voted to defray the expenses of the inquiry for the next three years.

### Some Fundamentals.

Among the important phases which the investigation will undertake are:

Rational basis for the distribution of state school funds, which the various states may be led to adopt.

Careful study of the several units of school organization, with a view to urging the adoption of the most efficient unit.

Strong presentment of the advantages of centralization or consolidation of rural schools.

Study of compulsory school laws in the different states should be made and a plan devised for a uniform law.

System of standardization for rural schools and a small financial recognition or bonus on the part of the state to such schools as shall reach the standard.

Closer supervision of the rural schools. The Oregon plan of providing supervisors for each twenty schools is worthy of consideration.

### Legislative Campaign.

The general plan of the investigation also includes a legislative campaign to raise the standard of courses of study and to obtain better trained teachers. These ideals are set forth as follows:

Appointment of one or more rural school instructors under the direction of the state superintendent in each state.

Adoption of a course of study for all elementary schools and the compulsory use of such courses.

Adoption of a law in every state fixing the minimum length of the yearly school period and giving state aid to weak districts.

More adequate preliminary training on the part of applicants for teachers' certificates, in order to obtain a better grade of teachers in the rural schools.

Investigation of normal training courses in high schools in certain states to determine recommendations for the adoption generally in solving the problem of getting better trained teachers.

Study of the principle of township high schools, and the adoption of legislation providing for free high schools for all nonresident pupils.

Model school buildings, equipment, and grounds.

# Opening Speech

OF

# JUDGE O'REAR

ELIZABETHTOWN

AUGUST 14, 1911

Following is a stenographic report of Judge E. C. O'Rear's speech at Elizabethtown, August 14, 1911:

"Ladies and gentlemen, and my fellow Kentuckians:

"I feel that the first duty imposed upon me this afternoon is to express to the Republicans of Hardin county my sense of obligation to them for casting their votes for me for the Republican nomination for Governor. I had but a slight personal acquaintance here. I knew but little of you, and perhaps you knew no more of me. But I assume that your instruction and your choice in this matter was based upon the fact that what I stood for in this campaign represented what you stood for, and that you were for the policies first, and then for the man who stood for those policies.

"A man who aspires to fill the high office of the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky ought to know what he stands for; and he ought to be willing to let the people of Kentucky know what he stands for. (Applause.) That is due to the people of Kentucky, not for the purpose of begetting their suffrage; it is due to them as their right in order that they may carefully and properly weigh the merits of the man whom they are to choose as their servant in this high office.

"And so I come before the people of Hardin county to-day to state to you the propositions for which I stand, proposing them as a benefit to true Kentuckians.

#### Says Something the Matter.

"In the first place, we will have to know what is the matter before we can apply a remedy. That something is the matter in Kentucky we are all agreed. The press of the State, the pulpit, the rostrum, public speakers and people in their places of business and upon their farms and in their homes stand agreed that there is something the matter in Kentucky. Our first duty is to determine what it is. Our next duty is to apply a safe and fair remedy.

"It is my judgment and opinion that the foremost public question before the people of Kentucky is, shall the politics of Kentucky be made clean? Shall the people of Kentucky rule Kentucky? And the reason I think that the people must be appealed to in this matter is because in the people alone can be found enough of virtue and of power to restore popular government in Kentucky.

#### Must Throw Off Burden.

"If it is said that Kentucky is boss-ridden and machine-ruled and lobby-controlled, it is not to point out that Kentucky is an exception among the States of the Union. If it were otherwise Kentucky would be an exception, Kentucky will be an exception this fall if she does not seriously undertake to rid herself of the incubus that binds her to a condition of demoralization, to a status dishonoring her abroad and throttling her progress and power at home. It is not enough to assert that the State is boss-ridden and machine-ruled. It can not be established on mere assertion, nor can it be refuted by mere denial. The people are entitled to know the facts with respect to the matter. And so I say to you that our first inquiry is to learn whether it is true that Kentucky is a boss-ridden, machine-ruled and lobby-controlled Commonwealth, and if it is, is that the cause of Kentucky's backwardness and of dissatisfaction in the public mind? Is that the reason why the Constitution of Kentucky has stood suspended in half a dozen important and material particulars for twenty years unexecuted, and the people denied and deprived of its protection and of its privileges?

#### Shot For Beckham.

"No farther back than four years ago your attention was called to this in the great campaign then being conducted in Kentucky, in which the principal participants were Senator McCreary and Gov. Beckham. Senator McCreary deliberately charged that the great Democratic party of Kentucky was dominated by a political machine. He was backed in that statement by Attorney-General Hays. He was backed in that statement by a great number of the Democratic press of Kentucky. Was it true? The question was submitted finally to the people of Kentucky, the final court, the court of last resort on that matter, and the people wrote their verdict, Guilty. But was it true? Were the people mistaken? Senator McCreary may have been mistaken. Gen. Hays may have been mistaken. Yet it is true, as we all know, that for the first time in history, in Gov. Beckham's administration as Governor of Kentucky, he had the complete control of the party machinery, and of what is called the machine in the party. By it he succeeded first in retiring Senator Blackburn and in electing Judge Paynter as United States Senator from Kentucky. By it he

nominated his Auditor, Hager, for Governor of Kentucky; by it he nominated his Treasurer, Bosworth, for Auditor of Kentucky; by it he caused himself to be nominated as United States Senator from Kentucky. Senator McCreary not only charged that the machine was present and in operation, declaring that it was manned by Gov. Beckham's special friend and chief ally, Gen. Haly, who was then chairman of the Board of Control, and by his other good friend and ally, Eli Brown, chairman of the Prison Commission of Kentucky, and the response of Gov. Beckham to Senator McCreary was that Senator McCreary would be perfectly willing to be the recipient of the benefits of the machine if they would allow him to join.

#### McCreary's Position.

"The matter went before the people and the people disposed of it. After that election Gen. Hays left Kentucky; Senator McCreary stayed in Kentucky. Whether he thought it best to leave or to stay and fight the machine another fight or surrender, the people of Kentucky may feel themselves called on this year to decide. Certain it is he did not leave, and certain it is he did not continue the fight. So a year ago Senator McCreary announced himself as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Kentucky. Then Johnson announced himself as a candidate. Other candidates announced from time to time, and the papers discussed a number of names. At first it was not determined whether McCreary would make the race or not, even in his own mind, because he declared in an interview which was published that if the people wanted him for Governor and would tender him the nomination he would accept it.

#### Says Committee Obeys.

"Now, from a Democrat seeking a nomination in Kentucky, that is a polite way of withdrawing from the race. But at that critical time last summer there was an important meeting of the Democratic State Committee at Lexington. Arrangements were made that were satisfactory evidently and McCreary then began an active canvass for Governor. He had stated through the papers that he would be merely a receptive candidate, but he then became an active candidate. On the 24th of last December, the Democratic Committee met in Louisville to determine how the nomination for State offices should be made. At every meeting of that committee from that time until the last one, Senator McCreary has been present, and at the most of them Gen. Haly. The committee was in perfect and entire accord with Senator McCreary. Senator McCreary has never asked them to do a thing that they did not do, and has never objected to a thing that they did do, except that it seems to me in the matter of including the United States senatorship in the primary, Senator McCreary balked considerably. And at one particular juncture he dropped the slate and cracked it, if he didn't break it, but they picked up the pieces and put them together again and it all went through, every man the committee supported was nominated, indicating a celerity and accuracy that might possibly arouse the suspicions of the people as to whether it was not true that the machine was still working in Kentucky.

#### Platform Convention.

"The other day they called a convention of Democrats of Kentucky to declare a platform for the party. The matter had been under consideration for a long time. Thousands of Democrats in Kentucky were insisting that a declaration of the platform of the candidates should be made in advance of the people voting for them, so that the people might know for what the candidates stood; and although the State press was clamoring for a convention, and although the people were clamoring for a convention, the committee held off and never acted until after the ticket had been nominated, and then the ticket came together with the committee and they agreed that a convention should be called, and it was called; but, in that call was this provision, that the committee's tenure of office should not be disturbed by that convention, although the party law of the Democratic party provides that it may be whenever the Democrats meet in State convention in Kentucky. To-day the fate of the Democratic platform is in doubt; to-day the fate of the Democratic ticket in Kentucky is in doubt, but the tenure of the Democratic Machine Committee is not in doubt. (Applause.) They have seen to it by the consent of the nominees upon that ticket that their tenure is made secure from the Democrats of Kentucky for another three years.

#### Direct Primary Law.

"There is not going to be a convention next year in Kentucky of either party. The direct primary law is going to be substituted this winter, it makes no difference which party wins—it is dead certain if the Republican party wins. (Applause.) And if that becomes a law, then it will follow that the delegates to the National convention will be selected by the people in the primaries and not in convention, meaning that there will not be another Democratic State Convention in Kentucky for four years, and maybe not then, with no power to rid Kentucky of that committee, I don't care whether the Democrats want them or not. The point I make, Kentuckians, is, that the Democratic party in Kentucky is yet a machine-ridden party. It does not follow that a political machine is made up of corrupt men. It does not follow that the ticket that they have nominated is a corrupt ticket, or even a weak ticket. A wise political machine would not nominate the weakest men possible to be selected to run for offices for them. Put the point to the people of Kentucky is who is it that selects the candidates or nominees of the party we belong to, if we are Democrats, and not the party to which we belong, if we are Republicans, what power is it back of us? What dominates us?

#### Charges Machine Rule.

"I say to you, my countrymen, it is the experience of every party in every State in this Union, that it is not safe for the people to abdicate their power and put it into a few hands than their own hands, and when a party abdicates its power to a political machine or a political boss, they open the avenues and the doors for corruption in politics. They open the door for the manipulations of politics by these special law-protected interests which have grown so enormously in this country that their very magnitude has



become a desperate question of public concern in America. Not only that, but Congress is now consuming most of its time in investigating them and their methods to see to what extent and by what means they have oppressed the people of America, including the people of Kentucky, and I tell you that there has never yet been an interest which prevailed in any party that did not prevail through that party machinery.

#### Interests of Public.

"It may not make much difference to the people of Kentucky whether a set of gentlemen calling themselves Democrats, or another set of gentlemen calling themselves Republicans, hold the offices at Frankfort for a term of four years; but it makes a tremendous difference to the people of Kentucky as to how those men are selected, and as to whom they are indebted for their office, and as to what their obligations are. There is the question for the people. Why, a Democratic machine is no worse than a Republican machine. It would not make any difference to the people of Kentucky whether Kentucky is dominated by a Democratic machine or a Republican machine, and if the Republicans have a similar machine, and if it is running or attempting to run affairs in Kentucky it would be just as objectionable to the people of Kentucky as if it were a Democratic machine. Party bosses, lobbyists and corruptionists all look alike to honest men. (Considerable applause.)

"So the question for inquiry by you earnest Kentuckians, is this: Have the Republicans in Kentucky a machine, and if it has, what has it been doing, and did it nominate the ticket now presented to you for your suffrage, and did that machine write the platform submitted to the people of Kentucky for their approval and adoption?

"I do not like to obtrude my own personality into these discussions, but I think it is entirely pertinent for me to remind the people of Kentucky that when I announced for the Republican nomination for Governor I announced a set of principles that meant the obliteration of party machines and party bosses, and I made my campaign before the people of Kentucky upon that principle mainly.

#### Says People Named Him.

"Now, who supported me? Nobody but the people. Who were against me? The Republican State Central Committee was against me. Every officer in the State administration except one was either against me or so much engrossed in his own candidacy that he was very properly more concerned in his own race than in mine. It is supposed that the Governor was not for me. He was very properly and naturally supporting his Lieutenant-Governor, who was a candidate for Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor was himself a candidate for Governor, and his campaign was being managed by the Secretary of the State. The Attorney-General managed the campaign of another one of my opponents. The Superintendent of Public Instruction very energetically, and I will say very properly supported the candidacy of his kinsman and county-

man, Mr. Cox. The Auditor of Public Accounts, the Treasurer of the State, the Commissioner of Agriculture were all candidates for some office themselves, and they were naturally and properly more concerned in their own candidacy than in that of anybody else. Whoever may have been their preference as nominee for Governor, they at least disclaimed that they had anything to do with the making up of the ticket as nominated, leaving but one State officer at Frankfort supporting me, Mr. Adams, the Clerk of the Court of Appeals.

#### Bradley Neutral.

"The United States Senator from Kentucky claimed, and I believe it was true, that he was neutral in the contest. One of the Republican Congressmen supporting me and the other was neutral, so far as I know. I know he did not support me. There are five Collectors of Internal Revenue in Kentucky. One supported me, one supported one of my opponents, two supported another of my opponents, and another was neutral. Both of the United States Marshals were opposed to me. And in the First and Second districts, where they had what looks like a close approach to a Republican machine in Kentucky, where most of the county chairmen are also post-masters, very improperly, and I think an unlawful arrangement, every man Jack of them was against me.

"In other parts of the State I believe the officers themselves were fairly distributed between the candidates. The point I make is, if there was a Republican machine it was taken all to pieces, it was not working, at least it was not working for me. (Applause.)

"And you remember when I went before the people of the State, never having attended a committee meeting before my nomination, I went before the people of the State proclaiming propositions meaning the restoration of popular rule in Kentucky, a cleansing of politics in Kentucky, and the people responded in a way that was not only gratifying, but highly flattering.

"So it was that the head of this Republican ticket was nominated in county conventions attended more largely than ever before in the history of the State in the Republican party, more than fifty per cent of the Republicans of Kentucky participating. Twenty-four hundred delegates sat in the convention at Louisville that nominated the remainder of the ticket.

#### Says No Steam Roller.

"True, some of the Democratic papers have been trying to kick up dust by saying that I ran a steam roller over the convention. Where did I get any steam roller? They said I had become a new boss. Why, I was swept off my feet and literally carried on the crest of the wave raised by the popular storm in Kentucky. I couldn't have helped it. (Considerable applause.)

"But whatever they have said, can say, or may say against that Republican convention at Louisville, which met at Phoenix Hill, none of them have ever insinuated, nor can they, that any lobbyists of any special interests or any trusts or any corruptionists had the slightest control or the slightest interest in it. (Great applause.)

"Whatever happened there happened to them and did not happen by them.

"The Democratic papers say there are some sores in the Republican party. If there are any sores they are on a few men who may have been disappointed, who may naturally and properly have been disappointed in their personal ambitions. They have my sympathies, I am sure, and my good will and kind feeling. But if there were any sores it is upon those Republicans who happened to be, by stronger ties than party ties, united to certain interests, who felt that they could run over that convention, and for that kind of sores I make no apologies and offer no saive.

#### Quotes Blackburn.

"Senator Blackburn came back to Kentucky a few weeks ago, not more than six weeks ago, and he raised his voice in solemn warning to his fellow-

Democrats, saying to them that the same old machine is in operation in Kentucky in the Democratic party, and warning his fellow-partisans of the dangers to the party and to the State, and upon that recommending the defeat of my present distinguished opponent. Senator Blackburn's recommendation to the people was to smash the machine. That is a good thing to a party machine, to smash it, but that don't settle the trouble, because, what is there to prevent the erection of another machine just like it, or even worse, in its place, and what good will it do the people to smash one machine and set up another in its stead? My proposition to Kentucky is this: Make it impossible to have party machines. (Applause.)

"How are you going to do it? By putting all the power in politics in the hands of the people and taking it out of the hands of the politicians. (Applause.) How are you going to put it in the hands of the people? By a direct, State-wide, mandatory public primary, conducted by the State, in which every man votes and votes his own sentiments. (Applause.) In which a poor man can run. And that is not all. One of the main handles with which the machine works is its corruption fund, politely called a campaign fund. Without that the machine or committee cannot get along. Without a campaign fund the committee is as useless as a shotgun without ammunition. Therefore, I propose to the people of Kentucky that by your statutes you make it unlawful to corral these enormous campaign funds by any party. They have no use for them. They are simply gathered for the purpose of corrupting the voters and corrupting politics. You talk about the dangers of the yellow peril to America, that is nothing as compared to this infamous plague of the political corruptionist. Why, we will spend \$100,000,000 to equip a navy to protect us from the yellow races thousands of miles across the sea, and will not turn our hands as a people to save the very temples of the State that are being undermined by the most iniquitous corruptionists that ever overthrew the laws or liberties of a people. Are you going to wait until the walls begin to crack and the foundations begin to crumble and the very fabric begins to topple over before you will assert yourselves to save your own institutions? I tell you you are in danger.

#### Says 70,000 Sell Votes.

"I don't know so much about Hardin county, but I would not be surprised if in Hardin county there are 600 or 700 men who habitually sell their votes every election, if there is anybody to buy them. Take them all over Kentucky, and there are more than 70,000 men who sell their suffrage in the market. The difference between the two parties is not over 7,000. What does that mean? Do you think that wholesale corruption obtains only in Adams county, Ohio. In Adams county, Ohio, it is the exception only because she is cleaning herself from the corruptionists, and so I propose to the people of Kentucky now to prevent these corruption funds being collected together, prohibit them and disfranchise the man who participates in them. (Applause.)

"A distinguished politician of my faith said to me on the eve of the Republican Convention which met a few days after the County Convention, 'if you do not make a certain compromise on a question before the people of Kentucky to-day you can not have any campaign fund, and if you do take that position you will.' I said to him, 'My brother, we will try to run along without it.' Then he said, 'You are a crazy man and the very gates of hell will be opened against you in November.' I said, 'Why, they were opened last Saturday.' (Applause.) Maybe they were not wide open, but when I looked in they didn't look any worse opened than they did closed.

#### Waiting on Democrats.

"But somehow I have faith in these Kentuckians who are of the same blood and bone and race as I am. I have a faith that the State of Kentucky is not for sale, not yet anyhow. (Applause.) And there is hanging in the balance to-day in Louisville the problem of whether the great Democratic party in Kentucky will declare for the public choice or declare for an enormous campaign fund. And I tell you, I am deeply concerned in their decision. I am concerned as a man, and as a Kentuckian, as well as a candidate. I want to know whether it is possible to sell a whole party for a campaign fund. (Applause.) So far as I am concerned, if they have that half million that they are talking about having, if they have the vote which they say will go along with it, if they propose to buy this seventy thousand voters that they are talking about, although we won't have enough of a campaign fund on our side to pay postage, and we would not have that much, if we could get the postage on credit; notwithstanding that, so far as I am concerned, mark you, this fight is going to be a finish, whether or not Kentucky is to be bought or whether it is to be free. (Applause.)

"You ask how are you going to prevent that? Make it unlawful for candidates to contribute more than ten per cent of their own salary, make it unlawful for any public officers not a candidate to contribute anything. We don't want any officeholder's trust in this country. Make it unlawful for any public service corporation enjoying a franchise from the public to contribute any to a political campaign, and make the penalty the forfeiture of its franchise if it does do it. It has no right to enjoy immunities and privileges from the public and then turn upon that public and corrupt and

override the public. The people must protect themselves, and if you can get that campaign fund down to the point where it will only pay the cost of printing the ballots of the primary and the cost of printing the proposals and counter-proposals of the candidates and circulating them by public authority and the actual traveling expenses and advertising expenses of the candidate and nothing else, this corruption business will stop, but as it is, it is growing and we have got to stop it or it will run this country. It don't make any difference in the name of which party it runs it, it will be just as much damage to the people, whether it is run by the Republican party, or by the Democratic party, and it should be our aim to make it impossible for either of the parties to use it that way. That is one of the planks in the platform on which our ticket was nominated and upon which we are standing. (Applause.)

#### Criticises Primary.

"In the Democratic primary it seems like the warning of Senator Blackburn had a contrary effect from that which was probably anticipated. He meant to rouse the party's friends to a sense of the danger to the party and to the State, and to call out to the party with a great voice to smash the machine, but the party didn't come out. If you allow for the great padding of the returns in Louisville, and perhaps in the Big Sandy Valley, and other sections, not more than thirty per cent. of the Democrats of Kentucky participated in that primary, and if you deduct the padding, not more than twenty-five per cent participated. Now, why was that? In my judgment it was because the Democrats of Kentucky realized that a party primary, conducted by a party committee which was selecting the candidates and foreordaining the results, did not give much of a chance to the voters, so they did not come. That ticket is not the act or deed of the Democratic party of Kentucky. You can plead non est factum to that. The question is whether or not the people of Kentucky believe that that party is a machine-ridden party and whether or not they believe the way to get rid of it is not only to smash the machine, but to make the machine impossible in its operations. Now, gentlemen, a machine has to have oil to run it. The lubricant of a political machine is a campaign fund. There are two ways of getting it out in the State of Kentucky. One is by assessing those men who are dependent upon the machine for office and place and the other is by assessing special interests operating in Kentucky largely concerned with the character of government in Kentucky and having them contribute.

#### Public Patronage.

"Now let us take up the first class. The body of officeholders in Kentucky which has the largest amount of patronage is the Prison Commission. The Prison Commission appoints more men to office than all the other departments in Kentucky put together. They are removable at pleasure. They are assessed unmercifully and not overpaid to begin with. They are selected because of their political weight at home in shaping the committees and in shaping the result of primaries and in contributing to the fund. You take 200 or 300 men at

\$100 apiece and you have a pretty respectable sized corruption fund of \$20,000 or \$30,000. The point is 'you must help us to elect a Legislature because the Legislature elects the Prison Commission and then if you help to elect the Legislature and the Legislature elects us, you get your job.' That is what you call a machine in action. The Legislature, under the present law, selects the Prison Commissioners, and they are placed under obligation to the Legislature, and the Legislature is placed under obligation to the Prison Commissioners because the Prison Commissioners helped them to make the nomination by contributing the money and the machinery to help them. And after they are nominated and placed under obligation, they place their friends and kinsmen, and in some instances, the sons of the Senators, in places on these boards. A veritable machine.

"Then this intimate relation between the Prison Commissioners and the Legislature becomes reciprocal. We have heard a great deal here lately about reciprocity, and there is reciprocity and reciprocity. The Prison Commissioners say to the Legislature, 'Now this interest contributed so and so to our campaign fund, and they must be protected.' And they all protect it. 'This interest was our friend and we must be its friend.' The result is these interests are thus protected.

#### Where Lobby Comes In.

"Now, why do these interests contribute to the campaign fund? It is for immunity, and unless they get immunity they would quit contributing. There comes in your lobby. So that the Prison Commissioners are induced to become professional lobbyists along with other gentlemen plying that lucrative calling, and the result is that the public servants of Kentucky elected to conduct one of its principal penal institutions, which ought to be conducted along the line of decency and for the improvement of the inmates of those institutions, conduct it as a political machine to corrupt Kentucky. My idea is to take that machine out of politics. Take it away from the Legislature to begin with. Let them be appointed by a responsible power. I think they ought to be appointed by the Governor of the State and appointed equally from the two parties, and appointed because of their fitness for the service to be performed, so that each should be a check upon the other in politics and make it a cause for removal if anyone should receive or solicit for any campaign fund. (Applause.) Take them out of politics.

#### Says Interests Are Busy.

"Now, a number of interests in Kentucky, particularly protected by the laws of Kentucky, are plying their calling here. I have not the time this afternoon to go into a list of them, but I say to you there is more than one, and more than two, and more than half a dozen. Before this campaign is closed I propose to name them, and name what they are doing and how they are doing it and why they are doing it. You are going to get the specifications, but this afternoon I am only going to name one, and I name it because it is the biggest offender in the bunch; it is the bell wether of the flock. It leads the raid upon the Legislature, and that is the Whisky Trust, or rather the two liquor trusts.

There are two of them; one is the Beer Trust and the other is the Whisky Trust, the oldest and the boldest of all the trusts; and, by the way, the biggest of all the trusts in this country. You have heard a great deal about investigating the trusts, but nothing about investigating these two trusts, because the people were not concerned much with the criminal side of those trusts. The people do not care much whether the price of drinks is high or low. They are different from the manufacturers of other commodities. The purpose of the people has been to regulate them as a police measure for the public protection, the protection of health and the peace and good order of society. That has been the purpose of the Government. They have not got to the point of investigating them as a commercial trust. Perhaps that may come in the fullness of time, also. I do not know and I do not care much about that.

#### After "Whisky Trust."

"But the point is that these two trusts—Mr. Watterson says their interests in Kentucky represent more than one hundred million of dollars—have you ever stopped to think how much that is?—that is more than is invested in all of the railroads in Kentucky together—I point to that as indicating the size of their interest in affairs in Kentucky.

"Kentucky has undertaken with the rest of the civilized States of this world to control the liquor traffic. The people of Kentucky have been considering this question as a police measure for nearly half a century. Twenty years ago you met through your representatives to revise your Constitution. The proposition was put then to the people of Kentucky to prohibit entirely the manufacture and the sale of whisky in Kentucky. The people said, 'No, we do not want that, that is too drastic.' That is like those other propositions, sixty-odd years ago, to abolish African slavery as an institution. It is too drastic—we are not ready for it. They proposed that they would regulate it. Regulate it how? Regulate it by law? But they were not willing to leave it to the Legislature to regulate it.

"The people said we will regulate it ourselves and by no other power than that of the people. The people reserved the right of the initiative and referendum on the question of regulating the liquor traffic in Kentucky, so that right in the Constitution, the command was put in the language employed by Dietz; they provided the means by which the people of each county, city, town, precinct and voting district shall say for themselves whether intoxicating liquor shall be sold there. That was twenty years ago. The word 'county' has been ignored these twenty years until the Cammack act was passed and it then only applied to certain counties, not all of the counties.

#### Construes Constitution.

"The Constitution makes no distinction between counties. It says each county. The enemies of the county unit proposition stated that in the true construction the emphasis should be made on the unit of the precinct. I do not propose to let the emphasis be on one unit any more than on another. I say each unit shall have its say and its own exclusive say. If

were a debatable question in Kentucky whether the county must at some time be the unit upon this much-agitated question, it would not be fair for me to assume in an argument that the county was the unit. Personally, I do not think it is an open or debatable question. It is my opinion, as a man and as a lawyer, that the Constitution means county as well as precinct, and it means that the county shall be the exclusive unit at some time as well as the precinct may be. My construction of it, as a lawyer and as a man, is that that means that each of these precincts shall be a unit in voting out liquor. There is no other construction possible under the rules of logic where you could make any one of them a dominant unit otherwise and save the others. But you should fairly and properly say that my interest as a candidate might somewhat discredit the value of my opinion as a lawyer and as a man, but have you got my opportunities even for forming a good opinion on the subject?

"I know of many lawyers in Kentucky who are far better constitutional lawyers than I am who hold to that view, and if that were all to it, it would still be a debatable question, but that is not all. I assume the construction for which I stand, the construction for which the Republican platform decides, is the right construction. I assume it because it is the construction placed upon it by the Constitution and by the Supreme Court of the State of Kentucky, the Court of Appeals, the tribunal erected by the people for the purpose of settling these identical questions. But they say I wrote the opinion. I did.

#### "Thankful To God."

"I have often felt thankful to God for the opportunities placed in my way. I return to Him to-day my thanks for that opportunity to rescue the people's Constitution. (Applause.) But I could not write an opinion of that court by myself any more than any one of you gentlemen sitting there. Six other members were on that court and five others were present, and the record shows all concurred. Since then five other Judges have followed in the footsteps of that opinion and have cited it and approved it as the law of the land. It is the unanimous declaration of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky that that is the construction to be placed on the Constitution, and if the Democratic party and its representatives assemble to-day in Louisville, appeal to the Court of Appeals of Kentucky for a partisan vote for a fair construction of the meaning of the Constitution, let them appeal, I will then be called upon to testify to it publicly, as I will, not only that the construction which I have placed upon this matter is the constitutional and legal construction, but it is the only logical construction, and even if the Constitution were silent upon the subject, it is the proper and best construction. (Applause.)

"But I have nothing more against the liquor trust than any other trust established. It is not the liquor business as a business, that the Republican party as party has any contest with to-day. It is their methods in politics that we are contesting, and it would be as bad from the wool trust, or the tobacco trust or the millers' trust. Perhaps it would be worse if they were meddling to the same extent. But this liquor trust is the only one that is dominating the lobby at Frankfort.

They are not going to submit to any construction of the law that is not their way. Those of them who are Republicans have not submitted to the construction placed upon the Constitution by the Republican State Convention. They are going to bolt me. If the Democratic party puts the same construction upon the same provision of the Constitution to-morrow, they will bolt the Democratic party. If they don't, it will only be for one thing, and that is that they believe the Democratic party don't mean it as much as I do. (Applause.)

#### As to Mob Law.

"Nothing is settled with them that is not settled their way. If you pass any provision that is allowable by the Constitution, they say it is outrageous favoritism. If you pass something that is not in the Constitution, they say it is not constitutional and they appeal to the court. If the courts decide against them, they will abuse and malign the members who decided it and beat them at the next election, if they have a chance. The trouble in my district is they never have any chance, or they would have beat me long ago. Then if they can't overrule a body of judges, they will defy the Executive, they will form mobs and hang officers in Ohio who attempt to enforce the law and shoot down in cold blood officers in Pulaski county who attempt to enforce the statute. There is no limit to which they will not go and nothing is settled until it is settled their way. Then they say to the people in Kentucky that this is right. Prohibition does not prohibit because we won't let it prohibit, and then they say you ought not to vote for that.

"I am willing to let prohibition in Kentucky take a chance to prohibit. When you are satisfied, the officers want it to prohibit, but that is not the question here, it is not the question of whether you are for or against State Wide Prohibition. It is not a question of whether you believe the county ought to vote on the question, it is not a question of whether you believe in teetotalism or not, the question is shall the Constitution of Kentucky prevail. That is the question. Is it permissible to the people of Kentucky that their Constitution shall be suspended by any special interests, I don't care what it is, much less by this one whose whole course is to corrupt and pollute the public morals? Is it permissible that any department of the State Government, the Legislature, or any other department shall say here is a provision of the Constitution that we don't like, and therefore, we will not carry this provision into effect? If they could say that, they could say as Section 198 of the Constitution is against all trusts, that that could be suspended because it is hurting trusts and hurting business. No, gentlemen, there is not but one way. If the Constitution says a thing must be carried into effect, carry it into effect or repeal the Constitution. That is the only way to do. I am committed to carrying it into effect and don't you doubt it, if I am elected Governor of Kentucky, it will be carried into effect. (Applause.)

#### Unclean Politics.

"The liquor people believe it, but a good many of the temperance people do not. There is an old saying that you can fool a temperance man three times the same day on the same trick in politics. Many times contests have been made before the people of Amer-

ica whether we should have clean politics or not. It is true that it was never presented by any party that unclean politics is better for the country. The issue is always made one of two ways. When one party declares for clean politics, the other party denies that there is unclean politics, or, if it is too plain to be denied, they raise some side issue and lead you off. They can not deny, and won't deny, in Kentucky that there are unclean conditions controlling politics in Kentucky to-day, and have been for a quarter of a century, but they will undertake to drive Democrats into line in Kentucky by a false clamor by side issues, by arousing their prejudices and appealing to their passions or beguiling or by fooling, or by bribing enough of the vulnerable vote to carry the thing across.

"No it has been thirty days since our platform policies were announced, and it has been four months since the same principles were promulgated in my announcement as a candidate. No Democratic speaker or newspaper has challenged the soundness of any proposition except the county unit proposition, nor have they had a word to say against any candidate on my ticket except your humble servant. Why? The idea is that I must be destroyed at all hazards. Because my candidacy represents the dominance of the idea of popular rule, and the smashing of the lobby and of the machine, and if they can break me down they will break the whole thing down, and therefore they assault me with the most scandalous fabrications and falsehoods.

#### Appeals To Record.

"Notwithstanding I have held the high and important office as Judge of the Court of Appeals for eleven years, passing upon your laws and your public and private rights, not one of them has said that I was not a man of enough character to fill that high position. It is only since my nomination that they have raised that question. It is too late for them to begin now, but I want to notice two things that they are saying. I have only that much time, and I merely want to show the fallacy of their positions. They say this man is not sincere, he don't mean what he says. He is a political trickster. They don't say they are sincere. They don't say their candidate has a record for standing out politically and squarely on any subject, but they simply say O'Rear is not sincere. Why? Because if they can convince the people that I am not sincere the dry Democrat's vote and the wet Republican's certainly won't vote for me, and they are going to catch them like the negro did his coon, 'a-comin' and a-gwine.' 'Why, just listen to what he says about Senator Bradley's title as a United States Senator.' And they say he don't resign his office. He has a big fat one, and he is holding to that, and he can not be sincere. Now, let us look into those two things right squarely, face to face, with all the mask and clothing off, if you please.

#### Presumes Bradley Innocent.

"My training and my profession and the habit of my mind presumes that every man is innocent of crime until there is some evidence that he is guilty. We have a habit in this country of accusing the highest public officials of the most scandalous of crimes without any evidence and without any foundation. It is not necessary for us to stop here this afternoon to make answer to the inquiry why this is so, but it is a fact. But

those who stand before the public and make the statements to them should at least be honest to the public and deal with the question upon the same plane that honest men deal with questions of that kind when sitting in the jury box or upon the bench, when making deliberations and final conclusions upon questions submitted to them. So I start out with the presumption that Senator Bradley's title to the seat of the United States Senator from Kentucky was as free from taint as that of his colleague, Senator Paynter. But I submit that that is only a presumption, that evidence to the contrary may overturn it, that enough evidence to the contrary would overturn it. There has not been made a statement by any man to the public that would be received in any tribunal that this man Bradley bribed a voter or that votes were bribed for him, not one.

#### To Beat Beckham.

"Now I am not going to stop the inquiry here, I am going further, I assume from what I have read in the paper and what you have read (you and I have read the same thing, and you know just what I know about it, and you certainly don't know less, you may know more) I assume from what I have read in the papers that the men who bolted Gov. Beckham, who was the Democratic nominee for senatorship, bolted him in order to beat Beckham, and not to elect Bradley. They didn't begin by voting for Bradley. They began by voting for Senator McCreary, Senator McNutt, Representative Lillard and Senator Charlton, all three of them whisky Democrats, bolted Beckham because they felt bitter and resentful towards Beckham. They had supported McCreary in the contest between him and Beckham for the Democratic nominee. Beckham was declared to be the Democratic nominee. They were not content, as these liquor advocates are never content with the settlement of any question that is not settled their way, so they bolted. Their purpose was to put Beckham away, because Beckham, while Governor, had advocated and secured the passage of a partial county unit measure and had advocated another county measure, and before the convention had announced that he would put them out of politics, and the liquor people applied to him that David Harum rule, 'do unto the other fellow what he would do unto you, but do it first.'

#### Talks of Courier-Journal's Influence.

"Therefore, their purpose was to defeat Beckham, and they were advised and counseled and encouraged by the editorial department of the Courier-Journal and by its lobbyist department still at Frankfort to defeat Beckham, and to defeat him because he stood for the dry sentiment in Kentucky. They said he belonged to this class of red-nosed hypocrites and angels and things of that kind. And they beat him. I never thought the Courier-Journal had been bribed. I suppose that the Courier-Journal was actuated by nothing worse than simple malevolence against the man whom it could not control or defeat in the party, and therefore it wanted to beat him. Do you think the Courier-Journal has not any influence with the Democratic party? You go to Louisville to-morrow and look in on that platform convention and you will see two hundred and forty votes, repre-

senting two hundred Democrats to the vote, more than forty thousand Democrats in Kentucky who are standing behind the Courier-Journal platform to smash the Constitution and deny the Court of Appeals and spit upon those who differ with them and defame and slander the character of the judges who dare to differ with them. I know they did to Beckham what they are trying to do to me, and for the same reason. I know that the reason why those fellows who bolted—at least, I believe I do—those fellows have got to bolt Beckham, and the Courier-Journal would try and have the same tribe in my party bolt me, not that they would be bribed to, but they would be induced to by a fellow feeling and a kindred spirit.

"Now these four Democrats who afterward voted for Bradley and three others who subsequently joined them in the bolt against Beckham were exactly the type of Democrats of whose political teachings the Courier-Journal is a living exponent. What was it? Beat Beckham and the county unit bill, beat the 'red-nosed angel' at all hazards. That was the idea of Senator McNutt and Senator Charlton and Mr. Lillard and Mr. Klair and the rest of them. If they were bribed—and we have no evidence that they were—the Courier-Journal must have been bribed along with them. But I would not like to make such a statement as that, certainly not without some evidence, so I assume all of them acted upon the same impulse, same motives, the same purpose and having the same incentive and same objects politically and otherwise.

"In addition to these four men, who finally voted for Senator Bradley, was Mr. William F. Klair, from the city of Lexington, and Mr. L. W. Arnett, from the city of Covington. Both of them were elected as Democrats. Both of them were nominated upon the same ticket that Beckham was nominated upon, as Senator, and pledged to support that ticket. They voted for him a little while and then gave out. Then they voted for other Democrats, including McCreary. Since then Mr. Arnett has been nominated and elected as a State Senator from Kenton county, and I take that as an acquittance of any charge of bribery against him, and that it was an approval of his bolt of Beckham. Since then Mr. Klair has been nominated by the Democrats from the Second Railroad district as Railroad Commissioner, the Second district comprising one-third of Kentucky, and nominated upon the same ticket with Senator McCreary, and I take that as acquitting him of any charge of bribery. At a consolation banquet given Senator Beckham after his defeat he denounced Klair and Arnett along with the rest of the insurgents as equally guilty of his defeat, that all seven had voted against him at the behest of the liquor interest and that all of them had been corrupted to do so, although he didn't state any fact upon which to base such a statement.

#### Says No Evidence of Bribery.

"However, the Franklin grand jury was then in session. It was presided over by Judge Stout, a Democrat and gentleman of the highest integrity, a lawyer and a judge of ability, the appointee of Gov. Beckham, and his devoted personal and political friend. The Commonwealth Attorney of that district is one of the most capable and one of the most fearless prosecutors in Kentucky. I had a right to assume that what that grand jury did

was done impartially. Judge Stout impaneled his grand jury and said: 'I have heard these rumors of bribery in the election of a United States Senator. Investigate it while it is all fresh.' The grand jury did investigate it and they returned a report saying we find no evidence on which to base an indictment. After the first indignation of the Democratic press was over nothing more of bribery was suggested until this election, and what they are using it now for is simply to befuddle the water. But for three years they have been silent.

"In the meantime a Legislature, both branches of which were Democratic, was elected. That Legislature had undoubted power to investigate, had power to send for persons and papers and investigate the matter to the bottom, but they didn't do it. That is the way they did in Wisconsin, and that is the way they did in Illinois. In addition to that, as I said, Senator McCreary and Henry Waterson, Ollie James and Col. John W. Allen and Col. Frank Fehr and a number of other noted Democrats in Kentucky were voted for by those insurgents and bolters, whichever you want to call them, during the thirty days the contest was on. I assume if enough Democrats would have voted for anybody else the insurgents would have voted for them and would not have voted for Bradley, and I assume that if those four men who voted for Bradley had voted for Beckham, Beckham would have taken his seat in the United States Senate and we would have heard nothing more of it.

#### Title Is Clean.

"If therefore, I was mistaken as to whether or not there was a taint upon Senator Bradley's title I have been led into that mistake by the attitude of the Democratic press and by the Democratic Legislature and the Democratic grand jury and the Democratic voters of Covington and Kenton county and the Democratic voters of the Second Railroad District and by the actions of Senator McCreary himself, because I do not believe that Senator McCreary would have knowingly received votes of corrupted members for the United States Senate, at least I won't believe it until I have some evidence of it. I am pretty sure Senator McCreary didn't corrupt those men, but Senator McCreary never once asked them to change their votes from him, indicating that he was willing to receive the votes of those four men and I had a right to assume that what was right for Senator McCreary to do was not wrong for Senator Bradley to do. (Applause.)

#### Nice Moral Question.

"The truth about the matter, aside from any moral question involved in the situation, it looks to me like Senator McCreary committed more of a political offense according to the ethics of politics in receiving those votes than Senator Bradley did in receiving them. (Applause.) And yet these papers say I am insincere because I say there is no evidence of a taint upon this man's character. Now let me go one step further with you. If these people who want to cast suspicion upon Senator Bradley and convict him upon innuendo have any evidence, let them produce it, put up or shut up. (Applause.) I want to go one step further, and I make this statement with premeditated deliberation. If you have evidence that Senator

Bradley bribed one vote or that the liquor interests bribed one vote for him, I declare that his title is tainted. I make no preference of party upon the question of corruption. If it is true that a Senator's seat in the United States has been bought and paid for, it makes no difference who bought it or who paid for it, that man ought to be taken from that seat. (Applause.)

"I do not agree with Senator Bradley and Senator Paynter in their vote upon the Lorimer case. They are both good lawyers and honest men, and I assume that they acted upon their oaths and conscience in their vote. I do not undertake to criticize the good faith or integrity of either of them, but I merely differ from them upon the law in the case. My construction is this: That if bribery has entered into the election of a United States Senator, although he may have been elected independently of the vote known to have been bribed, that office is tainted. Make the briber's office unprofitable by depriving him of the fruits of his bribery." (Applause.)

A voice: "That is right."

#### Not Crazy.

Judge O'Rear: "No, the idea is the dry Democrats must be scared away from this man O'Rear. A good many of them have been talking. A good many of them have been thinking aloud. They must scare them off. They must say he won't do. You must say he is insincere. They must say he is crazy, that the man is office mad. He wants to hold on to one office and run for another.

"Well, the truth about the business is I don't want either one of them very much, but lay that to one side. Let us look at this thing squarely in the face. Let us see if they are treating me right about this thing. Let us see if they are sincere.

"There are four members of the Court of Appeals, not including myself, who were elected to those offices while they held other important judicial offices which they did not resign, and I think they were right about it in not resigning. No newspaper, Democratic or otherwise, suggested that they should resign.

#### Paynter's Record.

"Senator Paynter, while Judge of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, and my colleague, became a candidate for the United States Senate. He prosecuted his canvass and was elected. He not only did not resign before the election, but he did not resign for five months afterward. No newspaper criticised him for that.

"Judge William Reed, of Paducah, Ky., a Circuit Judge, a man of sensitive honor and of the very highest official and personal integrity, became a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He did not resign as Judge, nor was he asked or expected to. Then Johnson was a member of Congress from this district, and he became a candidate for Governor, and he did not resign as Congressman. Ollie James was a Democrat and has already been nominated for United States Senator, and he has more than a year yet of his term as Congressman unexpired and he has not resigned. Nobody would intimate to him that he should resign, and I don't think it would be very safe for him to do it.

"Mayor Head, of Louisville, who has several years of his term before him, became a candidate for Governor. He did not resign. A good many people would have liked to have seen him

resign for other reasons involved, but he held on until the machine looked too big and formidable for him, and he quit on that account, and nobody said anything about him resigning. (Laughter.)

#### McCreary's Dove Job.

"The truth about the business is that my distinguished opponent holds an office of some kind or other, I don't know what, but it is some peace commissionership, where all the white doves congregate and feast around the Waldorf-Astoria with Carnegie and some of those gentlemen about making peace all over the world when there is no peace. He has not resigned from that position, and nobody has asked him to resign, and I hope he won't resign. (Applause.)

"Right along here I want to say that I never knew of but two men who did resign, one of them was Judge Robert Riddle, who became a candidate for the Court of Appeals and resigned after he was nominated and then he was beaten. The other was Judge Alton B. Parker, from the Supreme Court of New York, and he resigned to be a candidate for President of the United States, and he also was beaten. It looks like the majority of precedent is against resigning, and besides, it is unlucky. (Great laughter.)

"Now, what is the concern of the people? If I am neglecting the public business, you have a right to criticize me, but I am not. The Court of Appeals is up with its docket for the first time since the Civil War. The Court of Appeals is running easy. The Court of Appeals will not convene until the latter part of September. My business for five or six weeks won't interfere with the public's business before that court. The only interference is that I will impose somewhat more of labor upon my colleagues than they would otherwise have to bear, but I am happy to believe they will not begrudge me this simple courtesy of the bench.

#### The Peroration.

"So, my fellow citizens of Kentucky, the question comes down to this: Shall Kentucky have machine politics? There are other questions of great importance, and of large magnitude that I propose to discuss from time to time, and which you will have the benefit of, but the people can neglect any of these because I do not care how important as long as the source of political power is foul and corrupt, you must first have that cleaned out. Put the power back into the hands of the people. You must wipe pollution from the temple of justice even as the Lord and Master wiped out the money changers from his chamber. Kick them out, clean up the Legislature, and then you can act on these other things. I thank you for your attention." (Applause.)



# JUDGE E. C. O'REAR'S SPEECH

ON

## Farmers' and Laborers' Organizations

Judge E. C. O'Rear, the Republican candidate for Governor, delivered a great "Labor Day" speech at Hartford, Ky., in which he told in most interesting fashion of the origin and growth of organizations among laborers, farmers and manufacturers. He touched upon contract convict labor and the corrupt lobby at Frankfort in an address that equals the best speaking he has yet done. The speech follows:

Fellow Citizens: We have met to-day in your county seat, under the shadow of your Temple of Justice, a self-governing people for the purpose of studying the problem of government—studying it, not only that you may understand what the needs of the hour are, but that being thus informed, you may know what you ought to do and prepare yourselves to do.

This day has been set apart by statute and by custom in most of the States of the Union, as Labor Day. A day commemorated to labor. A day set apart upon which the responsibilities of Labor. Does it not strike you as singular that a question like this matter of Labor, should be in such a formative state yet as to its political rights, that it is necessary that there should be set apart at least one day out of the year, when business shall be suspended, when the people shall be gathered in public assemblies, to study the problems of Labor?

Was it not said in the beginning when man was set adrift, and placed largely upon his own resources and responsibilities, that "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread"? That has been held out to the world through the centuries since, as a curse of Diety. Not so. It was a blessing from God. It is a blessing to a people, that their conditions have been so cast, that they must live by labor. It would be a fruitless and an unhappy people, conditioned as the people of this globe are, if it were possible for them to live without labor.

We are in the habit of speaking with pride and pointing with gratification to the wonderful era in which we live, to the marvelous progress that has been achieved in our day and generation, to this wonderful mechanical age, the most remarkable that has ever fallen to the lot of man to enjoy.

We speak of the constructive genius of the times that has invented machinery by which the capacity of man's arm has been multiplied by a thousand, and in which the arts have been multiplied, until those things which were at one time regarded as the rarest luxuries, have become of the commonest enjoyment.

And we are apt, I am afraid, to attribute this in the main, if not entirely, to what we call genius, the exceptional instances, where men like Edison or Fulton or Franklin have, out of their brains and of their toil and of their assiduity, produced these marvels of mechanism, by which the labors of the world have been lessened and at the same time multiplied, by which toil has been softened and the fruits of labor have been expanded. But it is not just to give praise altogether to those men, nor even, I dare say, in the largest part to them. Capital, it is true, has its just share in the great achievements which have been wrought just behind us and are being to-day worked in our midst. So also the geniuses, have contributed from their brains, the marvels to which we have alluded, but the application of these things, the execution of them has at last fallen to the lot of Labor and to Labor in the main.

Did you never stop to reflect that when it was said that man was created in the image of God, that it meant that man was created a creator and no man fulfills the purpose of his creation who is not a creator? He must make things. He must add something to the world's stock of wealth, to what the world needs, to what the world wants. Not the man alone who exchanges it, who carries it from place to place, who swaps it one for the other, but the man who takes the raw product and out of that erects, build, creates something that the world must have.

Step into any of the modern factories of to-day and examine the work they are doing there, where the hand of one man does with comparative ease the labor of a hundred men but a few decades ago. You would think that the other ninety-nine men were out of employment. Not so. The opportunities have been multiplied with each new invention, until all who want to help are not only employed, but are profitably employed, are profitably engaged. Engaged, not at toil that grinds and bends and crushes, but engaged, at labor, at work, that exercises, that is growth, that is building, that is evolution in a most practical sense. So I say it is fitting that society should set apart a day like this out of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, and dedicate it to Labor, because it is Labor that has made this world largely what it is, and it is upon Labor that its future must depend.

We are in the habit, however, of regarding this subject of Labor Day as a day set apart for those who labor as artisans in

the shops and mines and mills and factories and upon the railroads and such. This is entirely too narrow an application of the sentiment of the hour. It is for all who honorably labor. Those I have named, included? Yes. But to those who labor upon the farm as well. From the humble plow-boy to the landlord, from the maid in the kitchen to the mistress of the home. All who contribute by the toil of their hands to the amelioration of the world's condition, to making it happier and better, to making it more serviceable to themselves and dedicating it in a broader field to their progeny, this day is set apart to all such.

#### PAST WAS DIFFERENT.

It has not always been thus, my countrymen. Strange to say, singular to note, for centuries upon centuries the man who labored was despised. There was a mark set between him and those who ruled. You would think that he only who had committed the crime of fratricide should have placed upon his forehead a mark to distinguish him from his fellows, but society put a brand upon the man who labored, the man with the calloused hand and the stooped form and the sun-bent brow, he who wore the wooden shoes, who came to be dubbed clod-hoppers, afterwards hay-seeds, who are caricatured in the so-called funny papers of the country to-day as a ridiculous old fellow with boots too large, baggy breeches and an old shirt without a collar and long goat chin whiskers and a straw in his mouth. He is the type of laboring man upon the farm, in the eyes of the funny people, who do not labor. I speak of that only to point you to this truth. That there remains now a remnant of the idea prevailing away back yonder, that the men who labored, who worked, were of a different class from the men who ruled. The men who ruled claimed as a matter of right, as a matter of authority, as a matter of rightful power, the privilege of working these other men and of taking the fruits of their labor and applying it to their immediate necessities, even to their luxuries.

Upon that was built a class government. Upon that was built aristocratic government. Only in that way can an aristocratic government stand or can a dynastic government stand; only in holding the producers of wealth down, and taking from them all save their scant living, and make rich and more powerful those who rule and do not work.

Before the time of Christ and even since the rule was that the man with the strongest arm and the boldest heart, who wielded most skillfully the sharpest swords, was the most important man in the community, and when enough of them would band together in adventure, in exploits upon the field of battle, they would run down and run over this other class, taking them singly, ridding them of their property. And these with swords established authority over those with the plow and the hoe, and those with the swords having thus established authority, maintain it by force, and that they called government, and that they willed to their children and to their children's children. To make it binding, they invented the fiction that it was derived from Heaven. You have heard of the divine right of kings; that they had a right to rule their fellows, to exact a toll, and they did it in this way more frequently than not, in the latter days of such a regime, that it was by the granting of monopolies—the monopoly of one thing or another thing which the people had to buy or had to sell, and the monopolies paid the toll to the government. In that way they maintained an aristocratic class of society called government, while those who labored, those who toiled, those who created, then as now, were the people who constituted the productive of the country, and without whose toil famine would have come to all alike.

But people will learn. Thank God for that: They learn slowly sometimes and they forget easily sometimes, but as we look back down the dim vistas of the past and read its history, we find that the face of mankind has been set to the front and up—working up, pulling up. Occasionally they stumble and fall, they get down, but always get up, and when they do, they get up with their faces pointing to the front.

#### MERCHANTS ORGANIZED.

The people who first learned to throw off the power of the military, the absolute swordsmen of the centuries back, were the merchants. Merchants gathered in stores and bought and sold their wares. It was easier therefore to plunder them, that is, it was more enticing to the soldiers to plunder them, than the single individual's separated articles out yonder. So they preyed upon the merchants. The merchant then for self protection, got together. Mark the initial point, they "got together." Whether that is good grammar or not it is good sense. They called themselves a "Merchants' Guild." For moral delectation, do you suppose? No; for business protection and advancement, for safety. How did they do it? By fighting. No; there were not enough merchants to fight the soldiers, but that they might make their power felt in government, and by the multiplication of the forces in unity, they could impress upon the government arguments that would appeal to them, which no one man's argument would.

The government outlawed them—passed statutes to punish them, confiscated their property. Merchants were the first organization outlaws. They were not called "Night Riders" but it means the same thing, because the purpose was to annihilate and scatter the concentration of their power. The merchants did not quit. They continued to contend and to organize, and so history records it that away back yonder before Edward IV they were powerful enough to go to their King and say to him "If you want to carry on your wars, we will contribute a part of our stores in the way of taxes. As a gift? No; as payment for corresponding benefits to be received from you." What benefits? The recognition of the Merchants' Guild. What are you going to do? We will congregate in towns and you give us charters under the royal hand by which we will have the lawful authority, to exercise prerogatives of government in this locality. The king struck the bargain, and that is the foundation of the town charter, under which you people of Hartford live to-day. It has grown, it has developed, but it was founded upon the experience that I recite to you, and was developed out of the necessities which I have stated. From that has sprung the whole system of municipal government which we enjoy in America.

The merchants were traders. There were no manufacturers, save those who worked with the hands. There were but few and crude implements by which things could be made. But these manufacturers in time came to band together, and the men who employed them, who furnished the capital, joined the Merchants' Guilds, and joined the class of governing authority, while the man who worked, who toiled, who made things, called the artisans, was still unorganized, with the Guild of the employers upon the one hand and the power of the government upon the other, until they had a sorry enough lot indeed.

These laborers were necessarily congregated also about the towns and villages where the merchants were, that is, the manufacturers, and they saw what their employers had achieved by the formation of these guilds; therefore, they undertook to and did form the laborers' guilds, to-day called Labor Unions. They were formed upon the same principle precisely. It was in this way that they wanted to get a better

share of the fruits of their labor from their employers. They said in substance, "Your wealth and your wisdom are entitled to be paid for, but isn't our toil, our sweat, the giving of our lives, also entitled to be paid for." The employer said: "Don't we pay you enough for you to live upon, to keep your soul and body together?" But the artisan answered "I am a man. It is my duty to raise men. I am entitled to the opportunities of a man, to grow, to expand, to become broader, more useful, and to have at least some pleasure in this world." So the laborers formed their guilds, so that the multiplication by their numbers of their individual strength would be strong enough to withstand the oppression of the conscienceless men who employed them. I do not mean to say that even then, much less now all employers were conscienceless, or hard task masters. What I do mean to say is that some of them were, and some of them are today, so the laborers, that is, the artisans, followed in the foot-steps of their employers. First they got together. What they achieved since is largely because of the fact that they did get together, and were able to stick together.

#### RESTORED TO FORCE.

They were an ignorant people, ignorant so far as education went, illiterate, untaught, unchristianized. They were rough people. They were a coarse people away back yonder. It was nothing but natural that they should resort to the implement at their hands to get what they regarded as their rights. The laws gave them none. To whom they could go for protection? To the masters of the town who already owned their labor? To the king and his Council, who got their revenues from the masters of the town? That was hopeless. So they in blind fury, striking out instinctively, used force, brute force, cruel force, devastating force, wicked force, the kind of force that is always used in war. What was the result? The centuries have gone, gradually the race has grown in wisdom and goodness and christianity. Occasionally you will see bad men, wicked men, untaught men, in these so-called guilds that use force, use it because they do not know there is any other way. They haven't any better judgement. It is instinctive, for self defense, as they regard it. The result is these labor strikes and upheavals that throw the country into turmoil, bring confusion and distress, work destruction, aye, commit cruelties.

What are we to do? Disband and go back to the old conditions or endure these outbreaks? Neither one. There is a middle ground, and that is the one I want to talk to you about.

But before I come to that, let us talk about these farmers. After the discovery of steam power, the invention of the steam engine, the application of that power to machinery and particularly after the discovery of the existence of the power and utility of electricity, the work of the artisan, the laborer in the shops and the mills and the factories, has increased enormously. Their number is like wise increasing enormously. They made wealth, tremendous wealth. You might take the employes of one of these modern factories in Pennsylvania, and they have in a decade created more wealth, these nameless men of labor and of toil, than Croesus dreamed of, and put it to a thousand times better use. There has grown up in the employer class an enormously wealthy class of men, who are rich enough for all practical purposes, I should think, yet who are no more satisfied than you or I who spend half of our time thinking about the butcher and the baker. But they want more. The curse of the day isn't the love of money. It is the lust of power. And money is power. The man who has a million wants ten million, and the man who has ten million wants a hundred million. He doesn't want any more money for money's sake; he wants it for the sake of the power that it gives him. "The sword has been beaten into the pruning hook, and the spear into the plow-

share, "If I haven't got my scripture mixed, and the way they exert power in government nowadays is not in using the sword, it is in using wealth.

#### TACTICS OF TRUST.

Back yonder about the birth of our Republic, two mighty figures appeared on the European continent destined to affect all history. One was Peter, afterwards called Peter the Great of Russia, and the other was Charles XII of Sweeden. Charles was a mightier soldier than Peter, but Peter knew better than Charles. Peter went into the shipyards of the Dutch and the factories of the English and learned to produce things, to make things, to create wealth. What was he going to do with it? He had foresight and brains to know that in wealth lay all ultimate power. Charles relied upon his ranks and columns of fearless swords, upon their prowess and courage, and interpidity, and upon his own daring and skill. For years he drove Peter of Russia, but Peter finally overcame him. You say "By force of arms"? No, by force of money, by corrupting his troops and his ranks, by severing the ties that bound his allies to him—precisely the tactics used in 1907, 1908 by the American Tobacco Company in Kentucky.

People don't learn many new tricks, though they learn a good many ways of playing old ones. The artisans had formed their guilds successfully, had maintained and manipulated them in a way, until finally, although for a long time outlawed, punished, fined, bayoneted, scourged, they survived. The President of the United States, in a public address not long since, commended the labor unions, as instruments of public benefaction. His distinguished predecessor, (Roosevelt) also declared that the unions had been a boon to mankind. They had improved the conditions of the laborers. Made a better employed, better contented, better paid set of people, enabled them to do better work in a better way, aye, enabled them to build the great fabric which we now call modern commercialism, the great mechanical age in which we live. They praise them. The Statutes of the States, including the statutes of Kentucky, in explicit terms commend, approve and make lawful those organizations. So they have lived through the centuries and survived to a time when they have ceased to be scourged and outlawed as the enemies of government, until they are crowned as the friend of mankind.

During all these years the farmer has plodded along and plowed. He has reaped his harvests and taken them to market. When he got to market, he stood around and said to the man to whom he wanted to sell "What will you give me?" And the man set the price. He took his money and he went across the street to the store, to the man who wanted to sell that which the farmer wanted to buy, and he said "What will you take?" And the man set the price. The farmer didn't set it at all. He paid for it. The matter had gone along that way through all these centuries, until a great painter put upon canvas and in verse that nightmare in poetry "The Man With the Hoe?" with the receding brow, with the stooped form, his whole sky overcast with clouds, solitary, helpless, benighted. The picture of the farmer. God forbid it should ever be more than fancy. He has worked all these years, and finally he woke up and said:

"Didn't the merchants combine for their mutual protection and advancement of their interests as a class? Yes. Were they successful? Eminently so, for have they not become the princes of fortune? Have they not become Napoleons of finance. Have they not come to be those who hold the scepter of power in the world?" The farmer also said, "Didn't the artisan also pursue the same tactics as his employer? What has been his success? He has a long fight and a hard fight, many a cracked skull, many a lawless act to his credit, many a disreputable

deed set down against him, but still the sum of it all is he has succeeded, until the statute books of the country approve him, and until the President of the greatest christian country in the world applauds him, and until society sets apart a day and writes it in red letters and christens it "Labor Day."

#### FARMERS ORGANIZE.

Now, where do we come in? Trailing along behind, but nevertheless there, they said we will try this organizing business ourselves. For what purpose? The most peaceful people that the world has ever known in all of its history, are those who touch the soil with their hands. It was so in the days of Abel. It is so in this year of our Lord, 1911. It has never been otherwise. They are the people of peace. They are the people of docility. They are the most patient, long suffering people, of all of the peoples of the world. So they saw where the markets for their products have been restricted by their business competitors getting together in closer union, until competition is finally extinguished, so that those to whom they sell are combined into one or two or three purchasers, and those from whom they buy are likewise combined into one or two or three sellers, and here we stand, a great, inert, unorganized mass.

What do you say to him, and what does he say to himself. Let us imitate what others are doing under our noses and doing so successfully. What is it in our calling that should commit us to everlasting drudgery and our children to a hopeless future if they should follow our steps? Why is it that the youth turns with longing eyes to the city? Why is it that the lights flickering from the towns beckon him from the quietude, from the peace and contentment of home in the country? Because there are opportunities. Here is little or none. So these farmers said we will get gether, that is what the other fellows did.

You got together. You formed a Farmers Guild. I don't know how many you have formed. The trouble is you never stuck together long enough. You did not know how very well. You had not been working at that business so long, but you got together.

The first thing you did, was to study the law. That is commendable; that is to your credit. You went to the books of the statutes of your State, and you said, what is there in the statutes that will allow us to get together, and there you found the law. Thus saith the statutes of the people: You may organize yourselves into lawful associations, get a better price, a reasonable price, for the products of your soil and your hands. That is the limit. That is all you are entitled to.

Did your adversaries take it kindly? They never have; they never will. They said no, we will break that down. We can't break it down by law, because they are operating under the law, but we will break it down contrary to the law, in defiance of the law. Squeeze it to death, smother it, not burn it, that makes too big a light. Somebody might see. Not shoot it, that causes too much noise. They might catch us. Merely smother it, or starve it. What difference does it make, so it is dead. Or corrupt it, always by insidious means. So they went to work and they came to the man who did not have the courage to say, "Get thee behind me Satan," but who said "Come along Satan, we will weigh up this tobacco." (Applause and Laughter).

In this way and that and the other, they discouraged, and then they said to the farmer's unions we will not buy from you. Not because they did not need your products, but because you are organized. What crime is there in that? Do not the statutes of my State and the constitution of my Commonwealth authorize and permit it? Is it not true that every other class of people from sign painters to magnates in Wall Street have all combined to better their conditions, and what is there that prevents my doing it? They said you must not. We will not buy from you. We will starve you.

#### RECKLESS WERE VIOLENT.

Then it was that these reckless, lawless spirits, feeling that the law was impotent as to them, forsaken by the power of government, having nothing else to do, as they said it, except to strike blindly as their ancestors had done in the centuries back, strike ignorantly, aye, strike criminally. They struck, and the law was broken, and the press was inflamed by the outraged law. Society was shocked. They condemned them. They said "Hang them."

They asked me what I thought about it. I am going to repeat to you what I said, because I have not changed my mind. I said that lawlessness should be repressed by the power of the law. There should be no compromise with crime, but— There is where the trouble came, the "but." If I had stopped there, I would have been a good fellow, but I put in that "but," I believe it is not only the privilege but the duty of the government to go to the bottom and discover the cause underlying this great disturbance which has aroused a peaceful people to acts of violence, this cause that has made criminals of these Kentuckians, and whatever that cause is, to dig it out by the roots and destroy it.

Now, there was the trouble. I said too much to please the people who wanted to let things stay as they were. My point is, I do not want to drive an idea through their heads with a bayonet, I want to get the idea in there by peaceful means, and to prevent crime rather than to have to punish crime after it is committed. Not that we will not punish the crime already committed, but that it is better for society that it be not committed, rather than to have it committed and then have it punished. That is the doctrine, that is what I was talking about, and that, gentlemen of Kentucky, is the very basis and foundation of all criminal law.

Now, for that, there were some people who called me a "Night Rider," because, as a Kentuckian, I wanted to see a condition of peace restored in Kentucky, and the men who created the wealth in Kentucky, the men who were the very basis, who were the very foundation of the State, in supporting it and maintaining it, should be made prosperous and happy. That is what I wanted to see, and what I want to see yet. There are eighty thousand of these men in Kentucky engaged in the culture of this product, a product peculiar to Kentucky's soil, in which Kentucky has practically a monopoly of the world's supply, a market that is growing day by day and extending year by year all over the world; a product that draws heavily also upon the muscles and endurance of the men who produce it.

#### REDRESS IS IN LAW.

It has come down to this. You tried it for years and years. You found that the high cost of living that we hear so much about in the papers and at the stores is a fact. Everything else has gone up except what you have to sell. What is the matter? I think there is a cause. My idea is to get to the cause and remove it. Not to remove the cause with bayonets, remove it with judgments of the courts of the people, by executing the laws of the people under the oaths and upon the consciences of the people. Not by violence, but here in this your Temple where the people rule. I said there were enough laws in this State and enough virtue and power in those laws to punish those who oppressed the people, and to relieve the people of oppression; I DECLARED TO YOU THEN, AND I REPEAT TO YOU TO-DAY, THAT THERE IS ENOUGH POWER AND VIRTUE IN THE LAWS OF KENTUCKY TO REDRESS EVERY WRONG COMMITTED AGAINST YOU. THERE IS NO OCCASION TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE. THE ONLY THING IS TO GET HOLD OF THE LAWS AND APPLY THEM, AND APPLY THEM IN THE RIGHT SPIRIT, TOO. NOT TO MAKE THE TRUST PAY YOU TWELVE CENTS FOR YOUR SIX CENT TOBACCO. THAT WOULD NOT BE JUST. BUT TO PREVENT THE TRUST GETTING YOUR TWELVE CENT TOBACCO FOR SIX CENTS.

What is the difference to the people of Kentucky? You raise four hundred million pounds of tobacco in this State every year. At six cents a pound, it is \$24,000,000. At twelve cents you would get \$24,000,000 more. Where? In the Treasury at Frankfort? No. Belonging to the banks and merchants? No. Belonging to the farmers. \$24,000,000 made by these tobacco farmers in a lifetime? No, in a year, every year. The difference represented is what? It represents the difference between a mortgage and a new buggy. A voice: "Or an automobile?"

Judge O'Rear: Yes, or an automobile, if you want it. It represents the difference between barely getting along and thriving. But some one will suggest that when you do that, there will be more tobacco raised all over the country, and when you raise more tobacco, the price has got to come down under the law of supply and demand. Now I think I am talking to men of sense. I am assuming that these people in Kentucky have enough sense to know what their interest is. The fellow on the other side won't buy any more tobacco than he needs. Why do you want to raise any more than you can sell? But you will say that these fellows out here will raise this tobacco anyhow, we cannot regulate the matter. Maybe you can't. If they raise more tobacco than the market requires, undoubtedly it will result in a reduction in the price, and when it gets down to where it ceases to pay, some of them will quit it. But you are not raising any more now than you can dispose of.

You tried to put in a monstrous crop last year and a monstrous crop this year. How did you get along. You have not an average crop this year. You are talking about raising more tobacco. Tobacco is a thing that you can't get the worms off of except with these fellows. You know, it kind of regulates itself, about three acres to the man in the patch, not much more. It will regulate itself. What we are working for now, isn't the quantity of tobacco raised nor the quality of it, it is the marketing of it. The market conditions have been contracted unnaturally so far as the buyer is concerned, and the result of it is that the laborer who produces it is an under paid man, whether he produces on his own land or as a tenant. You, say some of them make money. Yes, there are some men who can make money on an island with nothing but a goat and an ash hopper, but I am talking about the average man. You say they make a living. I claim that the man who works in this country is entitled to more than a living. He is entitled to make that, and to make a more comfortable home for his growing family—and I believe in Teddy Roosevelt families. I believe in that kind of expansion. He is entitled to make, not only a comfortable home for his family, but to surround it with those conditions which will make it an attractive place during the childhood and during the lives of these children. He has a right to provide leisure enough for those children that they may be kept out of the tobacco patch and put in the schools where their minds and their hands and their hearts may be trained to make of them the best possible citizens of the State, and to make of them fit competitors of the generation north of yonder Ohio River. He has a right to lay up a competence for that time against which we should all lay up, the rainy day, and for old age, and for decrepit members of the family. He has a right to lay by something in the bank. He has a right to expand, he has a right to grow, he has a right to have hope, fair and just hope. He has a right to make his own conditions better and his children's conditions better still. All that the laws give him, all that the Constitution of Kentucky guarantees him is a fair reasonable price for what he raises.

**ARBITRATE DISPUTES.**

It is proposed in the platform upon which I am running to-day for the office of Governor, and which I propose to execute if elected, among other things, that in disputes arising between Capital and Labor, between

employer and employed, there shall be provided a tribunal under the law for their settlement.

There was a time in the history of the Common Law under which we live, when men had a right to settle their disputes of property or any other matter, by what was called "wages of battle;" that is to say, that the two disputants would state their differences, and the judge would say, "I can't tell which one of you is right. I will propose this way to settle whose horse it is. You two fellows get out in the square field and fight, and the one that licks, it is his horse." In those days it paid to be a stout man. Of course, that soon came to be discarded, but you will be amazed to know that was once the law. That is the law to-day in international matters. If two nations dispute as to which owns this little strip of land, or disputes as to any right, how are they going to settle it? Why, they fight it out, and the one with the biggest army and the strongest navy the fullest treasury, will win and get the judgment of the Court. I want to submit to you my hearers here to-day that this is such an incorrect and such an unworthy method of settling disputes of that character, that it is unbecoming to this enlightened age. Therefore, I take advantage of this opportunity to commend and to congratulate the President of the United States in having entered into the treaties with France and Great Britain, in which it is provided that international disputes shall be submitted to a Court of Arbitration where the differences may be settled upon intelligently and not by force of arms.

Not only ought that to be so internationally, but it ought to be so here. A tribunal created by the law, sustained by the people, in which arbitrators, that is to say impartial triers of the fact, are selected, and where they enter judgment according to the rights and upon the consciences of enlightened men. Such it ought to be. But in those conflicts between Capital and Labor, as we call it, in which there is a lock-out on one side or a strike on the other, in which the rights of Labor or the rights of the employer are supposed to have been breached by one side or the other, and in which there is a third party concerned, that is to say, the whole community, there is no tribunal now for the settlement of that kind of a dispute and so they fight it out. Strikers have no redress except to appeal to the employer. Of course, the man who has already broken his contract isn't going to give judgment against himself. Or the employer who locks the laborers out has no redress except to appeal to them, and they will probably decide their own cases in their own favor. No man is a fit man to try his own controversy. The two forces being unable to agree, they must starve out, freeze out, or fight it out. When there comes a fight, there is a breach of the laws of the State, property is destroyed, lives are sacrificed, blood is shed, the peace and quiet is disturbed. What is the remedy. Let them fight it out, you say. No. There ought to be some better remedy than that in this enlightened age, so we propose this: To provide a Court of Arbitration, to which there must be submitted compulsorily, as you are required to submit for settlement your disputes as to property or contracts to the courts, all disputes between Capital and labor, where they will be impartially tried; where, when the judgment is rendered it will be enforced, as the sheriff now enforces the judgments of this Court by the execution of the law, and in this way break up this striking and locking out and freezing out business.

**CONVICT LABOR.**

There is one other feature of our platform that I want especially to call your attention to to-day as bearing upon the Labor proposition, and that is our declaration that we are against the system of convict contract labor. Kentucky now has her penitentiaries and reform schools, I will roughly say, something like three hundred men who have been incarcerated there for a breach of the laws, or in the reform schools in some in-

stances because they are incorrigible youths. Society has to restrain these men for its own protection. It is well that they should be employed. The present system provides to hire them out, sell their labor to the highest bidder, subject to the approval of the Prison Commissioners. They will bring, say fifty or seventy-five cents a day. The money derived from the sale is applied to paying their expenses, that is, the cost of keeping them in the penitentiary, of guards and clothing and food and doctors and a little bit for a preacher. You know we pay the preacher less than anybody else. He gets his reward in Heaven. (Laughter.)

The laboring people on the outside of these penitentiaries object to this system, and justly so. They object upon the ground that these men employing convict labor in the manufacture of shoes or furniture or whatever it is, put their product in competition with free labor on the outside. The free labor on the outside as it is called, has to house itself in a pretty good house, has to feed itself under the high cost of living has to clothe itself, and has a wife and a lot of children, if it is doing its full duty in the world, to clothe and educate. These children must be put in schools and must be given a fair chance, and all that takes money. You can't do that on seventy-five or eighty cents a day. Now they have to go into competition with this prison convict labor, and the State is actually using its convicts to depress the wages of its laborers on the outside of the walls. The result of it is to produce dissatisfaction and hard times, and the State gets no benefit from it. Who does? Why, some three or four contractors.

I want to cite you to this instance. I had a clerk of one of those contractors say to me last Fall, speaking in every uncomplimentary terms of the present Governor of Kentucky, "What do you think that fellow did only to-day? Why, he is just ruining our business. He pardoned out of that penitentiary two of the very best workmen we had. They were a couple of young fellows who were put in there when about eighteen years old for manslaughter. They were bright young fellows and smart. They had been in there seven or eight years, and they had become skilled workmen, as cutters in the Shoe Department. They were actually worth seven or eight dollars a day apiece to us, but do you know that son-of-a-gun pardoned both of those fellows to-day?" (Laughter). The idea is they were getting them at eighty cents apiece, where they could not strike and could hardly get sick, and where, if they did not do a full day's work, they had a great big trapping fellow with a cat-o-nine-tails to cut their blood. That is the system in Kentucky. The labor of those two boys was worth seven or eight dollars a day in the market, and here it was sold for a pittance to the contractors, sold in slavery, as it were. You have a right to punish a man for crime, but you have no right to rob him. You have the right to take a man's life for certain capital offenses, but if he has not been convicted of that capital offense, you have no right to break his life.

#### ABOLISH UNFAIR SYSTEM.

I propose to abolish that contract system. I propose, so far as the free labor on the outside is concerned, to remove that competition which it now has to bear so unjustly. Do you ask, are you going to permit these fellows to remain idle? No, that is not good for them nor the State. I propose to keep them at work at the best work they can do and I propose to pay them for it. In other words, to let that work of theirs be sold for what it will bring upon a fair market in competition with the work outside, at the same price that the laborers outside sell theirs for. Then they will have no just cause for complaint. If a man commits a crime, he ought to be punished, but

his children have committed no crime, and why should the State punish them? If he commits a crime, he is incarcerated in the penitentiary perhaps for a term of years, maybe for his life. That does not absolve him from his obligation to support that wife and those children. It is still his duty morally and legally. Instead of selling his labor to contractors for a pittance, my idea is to cash his labor at its fair value, pay the expenses of keeping him in that institution, and remit the balance to that wife and to those children that they may live. (Applause.) It is theirs. God made it theirs. There is where the contract was sealed. He approved it. What right have we to break it, to annual it, to destroy it, to rob and punish that wife and those children? We have none, morally nor otherwise. Besides that, we would break up a nest of people who have in times past, and perhaps may in the future become a dangerous menace to the State, as a nest of lobbyists and corruptionists, corrupting the politics of Kentucky.

There is one other feature alone that I want to call your attention to as affecting the laboring people of Kentucky, and particularly those laboring who are not an organized people, and that I understand to be the condition of most of the laboring people here in this audience today. We live under a government of law, not of men, not of majorities. The law is the government in this country. Whatever the law is, that is what we appeal to. You do not appeal to the Governor, you do not appeal to the President, you do not appeal to the Judge, you appeal to the law. These other people are merely the vehicles which execute it. Therefore, whatever is the standard of the law, is the measure of your government. If the laws be wise and just, so is your government; but if the laws be unequal and unjust, so is your government, because no executive, no judge can give you other relief than the laws of the land afford. Who makes the laws? We popularly suppose it is the people. That is not true. The laws are made by the Legislative Department. We call it in Kentucky the General Assembly. The people elect the General Assembly and you send them to Frankfort to make your laws, and they never adjourn but what the people of Kentucky heave a sigh and say, "Well, thank God that bunch has gone home at last." (Applause.) What is the matter? You were hopeful when you sent them there. You are invariably disappointed when they come back. I do not mean to imply that every gentleman who has been to the Legislature or is now going or hopes to go, would fail in his measure of responsibility. What I do mean to say and charge is that a majority of them have failed, dismally failed, ignominiously failed, aye, fatally failed, to the destruction of popular government in Kentucky.

#### LEGISLATURE DISAPPOINTS.

When they left here, they left with your seal of approval and endorsement, and I refer to all of the districts of Kentucky and not Ohio County. When they left their homes, they left the approval of the majority of their fellow citizens, upon their credentials, saying this is a fit and proper man, and when they came back they were met with scowls and looks of disappointment. Something happened then while they were gone, and it didn't happen down here either. It happened up yonder. What caused them to miscarry in executing the commission that they bore. They met folks up there who were not "fitting" company for unsophisticated country people to associate with. They were always well-dressed gentlemen, always polite, always courteous, always kindly, and always corrupt. (Laughter and applause.) They are known as professional lobbyists. We call them the "Third House." You know there are two Houses to the Legislature, the Senate and the Lower

House. This is the "Third House." If you would speak of them right in many instances, you would say "The House."

They always work fervently, slyly, secretly. They never make a speech but they are powerful in whispering (Laughter.) They may not get up early in the morning, but they sit up late at night. They know ever member when he comes there, who he is and what he is. If they don't know him when he comes, they are certain to know him before he leaves. They are hired for pay, to cause the people's representatives at Frankfort in making the laws, to misrepresent the people, hired to cause the people's representatives to fail to execute the popular will and demand. Hired to block needed, desired legislation, hired to get across undesirable, needless, hurtful legislation; and when it is either blocked or gotten across, as the case may be, it affects the state of the law that is the Government of Kentucky. That is the baneful poisoning influence that has for twenty years dominated the Legislature of Kentucky has suspended section after section of the Constitution for twenty years, many of them to-day unexecuted and no attempt made to execute them—standing there empty and meaningless to the people of Kentucky, notwithstanding each of them is couched in the language of Deity, saying to each member "Thou shalt do so and so in the name and by the authority of the sovereign people of Kentucky. And for fear they won't do it, for fear the promises which they made will not bind them sufficiently, they are required to take an oath in the presence of high Heaven before taking their seats, that they will obey and execute the Constitution and laws of Kentucky. Notwithstanding the oath, and notwithstanding the Constitution and notwithstanding the public demand and the public good, they have failed in their duty. Now, the power that can do that is indeed power, and it is a dangerous power. Are you going to wait until it blasts you in scandal?"

You read in the papers of the yellow peril, and we appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars for the construction of a navy to protect our Republic from the invasion of the forces across the seas. There is no danger to be apprehended from that source, at least, there isn't much. The danger is from the corrupting peril of the briber and the corruptionist in the legislative halls and in the election booths of Kentucky. It is the bribe giver, the corruptionist and the professional lobbyist that is undermining our institutions.

DRIVE LOBBYISTS OUT.

They say that if a bill is proposed to the Legislature affecting the rights of certain interests that the people ought to be heard. All right, we will hear them, but if they can't find anybody with sense enough in their own business to represent them, and have a hire a lobbyist, write us a letter and we will see to it. (Applause.) We will try to get along without this professional lobbyist. Mark you, I say it is the professional lobbyist, the man that hires out his services as a business, that is the fellow I am after.

Although it may be true that the majority of this audience is in political sympathy with me, I have not appealed to you upon the ground that you are republicans and I a Republican nominee. I have not appealed to you upon the ground to make our party strong and impregnable. I have appealed to you solely on the ground to make the State of Kentucky strong and clean. I appeal to you, not as Republicans, but as Kentuckians; and if we can make Kentucky's politics clean and make this State strong and potent, I believe the people of Kentucky will reward the Party that can do that. And if we can do that and won't do it, we ought not to be rewarded, I don't care what our party is. (Applause.)

For eleven years I have served you in an office at Frankfort. I have been there in that Capitol. I have seen these things going on. The Courts can decide only the questions that are brought to it. I believe that I would make a mighty good hand to take some questions to court for you. I think I know what the questions are and I think I know how to get them there, and I think I know how to bring about the reforms needed for the cleansing of politics in Kentucky.

Kentucky has set before it those same progressive policies which have been adopted in every state in the Union, to which they have been presented, from New Jersey to California. In no instance have the people rejected them, whether it was a Democrat who espoused them, like Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, or a Republican like Johnson in California. The people have in nearly every instance adopted the progressive policy, and if Kentucky fails, she will be the first one to stick in the mud and refuse to go forward. And if Kentucky fails, she will fail alone because of party bias, a bias that would obscure her judgment and blind her vision. (Applause.)

# PRESIDENT TAFT'S LINCOLN FARM MEMORIAL SPEECH

## Pays Tribute To Greatness and Genius of Civil War President—Will Live In History Long After Critics Are Forgotten.

Hodgenville, Ky., Nov. 9.—(Special.)—President Taft spoke here to-day at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial Farm as follows:

"There is nothing so fascinating on the one hand and nothing so difficult on the other as the tracing by heredity of the development of genius and real greatness. Perhaps this is because there are so few instances in history that prompt the search. The explanation of Lincoln and his wonderful character from his origin and environment is almost as difficult as the explanation of Shakespeare; but the passion of the world grows for more intimate knowledge of his personality and a deeper inquiry into the circumstances of his wonderful life.

"No year passes that something more is not written of him, and testimonials of loving mercy and interest increase. The nation itself, however, has yet to embody in marble or bronze its widened appreciation of him as its savior. Nothing of his characteristics is too incidental for those who study over again his great speeches and messages and trace again the amazing story from the lowly home in Kentucky whence he sprang to the height of his glory in his martyrdom.

"It is eminently appropriate that the farm where Lincoln was born should come into public possession and should have erected on it a suitable memorial in which to preserve mementoes of his personality and biographies of his life.

"Few men have come into public prominence who came absolutely from the soil, as did Abraham Lincoln. It is difficult to imagine the lack of comfort, accommodation, and the necessities of life that there were in the cabin in which he was born. With an illiterate and shiftless father, and a mother who, though of education and force, died before he reached youth, his future was dark indeed. In the stepmother that his father found for him, however, he had a woman of strength of character and of education enough to assist him. He says he never received any education except reading and writing and arithmetic to the rule of three; but he had access to books, and, whether he kept a store or acted as a flatboatman on the Mississippi or finally came to study law, he read the books he had thoroughly, and they included the Bible and Shakespeare.

### Thinker and Reasoner.

"One of his biographers who knew him well, says that after he had finished his small library, he read some but he thought much more. He thought of what he read, and he exercised his intellect by constant practice till he made his logical processes an instrument to search truth and analyze facts that has rarely been equaled in anyone. The almost squalor in which he passed his early life made him familiar with the sufferings, thoughts and sympathies of the plain people; and when he came to great power, his understanding of their reasoning and of their views gave him an advantage in interpreting their attitude which cannot be overstated. He followed closely the popular judgment, but he did not yield to it, save when his reasoning faculties established its correctness.

"His evident sympathy for the colored race, his roused sense of justice in their behalf, his earnest passions to secure them freedom and equality of opportunity, had their inspiration in the sufferings and limitations of his own early life.

"He was not slow, but he was cautious, deliberate, attentive, as befitted one who insisted on establishing every proposition that he adhered to by original reasoning from fundamental postulates. The lucidity and clearness of his thought manifested itself in the simplicity, directness and clearness of his style. He had imagination and he loved poetry. He had the rhythm of language, and though purely self-educated, these circumstances developed a power of literary expression that the world, and especially the literary world, has come fully to recognize and enjoy.

"Humor he used in his conversation, stories of humor he told, as he said once, to enable him to deny requests or to express difference of opinion without abruptness and without hurting the feelings of his petitioner. But humor he rarely introduced into his carefully prepared speeches or his messages. A serious aspect on the subject he was discussing and his intense earnestness in framing the reasons for his conclusions so as to impress its justice on the reader or the listener, prevented him from the use of wit or humor, though it was always at his command.

### Good Pleader At the Bar.

"He was a lawyer, and a good one. He studied his cases hard, and he prepared his arguments with the force and cleverness that might have been expected from one of his mental makeup. His mind was luminous with truth. His conscience was governed by devotion to right, and the tenderness of his heart was only restrained by his intellect and his conscience. His determination to see both sides and reason out conflicting arguments to a satisfactory conclusion, made him tolerant and patient beyond conception.

"The story of his dealings with McClellan, and with others unconscious of the great genius and heart with whom they were in personal touch, exasperates the sympathetic reader and arouses a protest that vents itself in contempt toward many of those who surrounded him and yet did not measure the great nature they were privileged to know. The diary of his Cabinet officers show how under his very nose, and generally with his clear conception of it, political combinations were formed, only to be dissolved and fall harmless through the patient tact of this master of men, this greatest of diplomatists.

"When he came to the Presidency he had only the experience of two terms in the Legislature, of one term in Congress, of the political discussions and debates in the interior district, and of the great debate with Douglas. He had no training at all in administrative matters, and when they were presented to him the awful task which the threatened secession of the Southern States presented he had to feel his way.

### Conflict With Cabinet.

"Seward, having been beaten by Lincoln by accident as he conceived, and feeling himself much better qualified for the Presidency, did not hesitate to attempt to usurp Lincoln's functions as President, by distributing patronage in various departments until in that quiet, masterly but humorous way, Lincoln took the reins and held them to the end. With Seward, with Stanton, with Chase, he had his trials. Chase was a great lawyer, a sincere, courageous and consistent abolitionist, an astute politician with the highest ambition and with no delicacy or embarrassing sense of loyalty that would prevent him from organizing a combination to defeat Mr. Lincoln's political purposes, and to elect Mr. Chase. Stanton was a great, rough, able administrator, but he was rugged and honest and effective, and Lincoln crossed him only when he had to and treated his excesses of impatience with that humorous tolerance that shows himself in so many stories of encounters between them. With no knowledge of military strategy, he developed out of his own study a clearness of perception and a common sense view of the needs of the army which makes his letters models of strategic suggestion.

### Many Difficulties.

"In the outset Mr. Lincoln encountered the difficulties that fall to the lot of any responsible head of a Government; difficulties which are intensified by the greatness of the issues at hand, but which all have the same characteristics when they arise from the overzeal of moral reformers. Those who wished slavery abolished felt toward Mr. Lincoln a greater degree of hatred and contempt during the two years of his administration than even the rebels themselves. Brooking no delay,

accepting every excuse as a mere pretext, they pounced upon Mr. Lincoln with emphatic denunciation and bitter attack, but he knew better than they what was necessary before he took the step of emancipation they were suppressing.

"He knew better than they the loss of support he would suffer in the border States. He knew better than they that he must delay until the emancipation proclamation could be issued, not to break up slavery, but to effect a constitutional amendment, but only for military reasons and with military purpose, and so he bared his breast to the shafts of criticism from this most important element of the Republican party and waited. No man in public life was ever so much abused as Lincoln. The contrast between his position in history to-day and the description of him by his friendly critics

during the Civil War can hardly be credited.

"The great reason for the present memorial is the constant reminder it furnishes of the unexplained and unexplainable growth and development, from the humblest and homeliest soil, of Lincoln's genius, intellect, heart and character that have commanded the gratitude of his countrymen for the good he worked with them and awakened the love and devoted admiration of a world."

### Gov. Willson Extends Thanks.

Gov. Willson followed Mr. Folk with an address of welcome on behalf of Kentucky, taking advantage of that opportunity to extend the thanks and appreciation of all Kentuckians to those of other States who contributed in the least to the fund that made the Lincoln Memorial possible.

"After referring to the exercises held at Frankfort yesterday, when a bronze statue of Lincoln was unveiled in the rotunda of the Capitol building, Gov. Willson pointed to the rude cabin just beyond him, inclosed in the granite memorial hall, and said it pointed a lesson, showing what is possible for the youth of America, although he be born amid lowly surroundings and of humble parentage.

"Lincoln was born in poverty and rose in glory," he said. "His little home is there and enshrined in an elegant granite temple. We see it with our own eyes and it impresses upon our hearts the lesson that one does not have to be born with wealth in order to attain to the highest rung of success. All that is necessary for the success of the American youth of today is courage, good sense, integrity of purpose and honesty."

Gov. Willson said he did not believe it was possible for a man to reach his full moral stature unless he experienced some of the things that Abraham Lincoln passed through successfully. Self-denial, made necessary by poverty, is essential, he said, before a man may rightly appreciate the position of his more unfortunate brother.

Concluding with a final reference to Lincoln Memorial Hall, Gov. Willson said that the hearts of Kentuckians will never permit them to allow the temple to fall into decay.

Mr. Folk introduced President Taft following the address of Gov. Willson, calling attention to the fact that the President is a member of the board of trustees of the Lincoln Farm Association.

"He holds the office Lincoln held," he said, "and as a man we love him. As an official we honor him."

President Taft, in his address, reviewed the many obstacles that Lincoln had to overcome before he attained to greatness. He said his father was illiterate, and that his mother was uneducated. Referring to Lincoln's stepmother, he said that she had aided him materially in his early struggle for knowledge. He said that the almost squalor of the early surroundings of Lincoln had made it possible for him to better understand all men. Pointing to Lincoln Memorial Hall, he said he hoped it would ever be a reminder of the almost inexplicable rise of Lincoln against what seemed to be unsurmountable odds.

### Senator Borah Speaks.

After congratulating the President on his address, Mr. Folk said he knew the others present joined with him in extending congratulations. He then introduced Senator W. E. Borah, of Idaho, who spoke on "Lincoln the Orator."

Prefacing his remarks by the statement that his father was a native of

Kentucky, Senator Borah immediately found himself in the highest esteem of his hearers.

"Oratory has always been a factor in any great movement," he said. "Seldom has there been a time when men were not to be moved to great deeds through the power of eloquence. Lincoln was one of those who possessed that power. He came from no school, and was the pride of no university. Without wealth or family prestige, he outstripped all competitors in the race for fame. He became the unchallenged voice of one of the world's



most famous movements. It was when the blight of slavery threatened the free soil of the North that Lincoln's voice rang through the land. As one of the Presidents who were familiar with the affairs of Government he ranks among the greatest, but in this thing they call democracy he stands apart from all."

#### Maj. Gen. Black Speaks.

Maj. Gen. John C. Black, of Washington, ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, was introduced by Mr. Folk and spoke on "Lincoln, the Emancipator." He told of the dark days of the reconstruction period, and said that what was true of Kentucky at the close of the Civil War was true of other States.

"Behold the Union now," he said. "Think of the majesty of its power, the vastness of its consolidated resources."

He then referred to the personal side of Lincoln and said he was spoken of by the soldiers of the North as "Father Abraham."

"And we, with the rest of the world, asked then, and are asking now: Whence came this man, and what was the source of his power? We knew he was humane, for he had pardoned the boy who had been overborne by sleep. We further knew it because he had tendered to the Confederate authorities peace upon the sole condition of union. He was not only humane and just, but he was wise. He gathered all those who had been his rivals and asked them to serve in the same cause with him."

#### Gen. Castleman Speaks.

Gen. John B. Castleman delivered the final address. His subject was "Lincoln, the Forgiving Foe." Mr. Folk, in introducing Gen. Castleman, called attention to the fact that he had fought under the stars and bars during the Civil War, and, later, during the war with Spain, he had fought under the stars and stripes.

Asserting that he did not know until this morning that he was to be called upon to speak, Gen. Castleman said the occasion was too sacred for one to participate in without first having prepared himself. He said Mr. Collier had called upon him, however, and that any Kentuckian sensible of the worth of the publisher of Collier's Weekly could never refuse to comply with his request, if possible, or at least to make the effort.

"Even if Robert Collier could not induce me to attempt a thing that I feared I might not be able to carry out, the memory of his father would," Gen. Castleman said.

Getting down to his subject, Gen. Castleman, without mentioning names, related a story of how Lincoln had intervened in behalf of a young Confederate soldier who was in grave danger of execution at the hands of the "Yankees." The sister and brother-in-law of the young soldier had appealed to Lincoln, he said, and the latter, after listening to their story, wrote an order to Maj. Gen. Hovey, instructing him to suspend execution in case the Confederate youth was found guilty.

Some one among those on the speakers' platform called upon Gen. Castleman to give the name of the young soldier, but he refused. Gov. Willson then announced, so that all could hear, that the name of the soldier was John B. Castleman, and then requested President Taft to read the original order to Maj. Gen. Hovey, which Gen. Castleman held in his hand. The President complied, setting at rest all doubt as to the identity of the young Confederate soldier, whose life probably was spared by the intervention of President Lincoln.

Gen. Castleman related other instances illustrative of the forgiving spirit of Lincoln. He said the martyred President had set an example that had been followed by many of his successors in office, in support of which statement he pointed to the fact that Gen. Basil W. Duke, who fought for the South, is now a member of the Shiloh Battlefield Commission.

Instancing the good Lincoln's attitude toward those who fought against the North, coupled with that of later Presidents who followed in the "Emancipator's" footsteps, had brought about, Gen. Castleman told how Confederate soldiers all over

the South responded to McKinley's call for 200,000 volunteers when the blowing up of the Maine made the war with Spain inevitable.

"President McKinley called for 200,000 volunteers," he said, "and 1,000,000 men responded, the Confederate soldiers all over the South entering instantly the service of the country."

In this connection, Gen. Castleman said that the first regiment that offered its service to the Government was a Kentucky regiment and was commanded by a Confederate soldier. He was called upon to give the name of the commander of that regiment, and when he hesitated someone again answered for him, informing the assemblage that the commander referred to was Gen. Castleman.

#### Incident of the Exercises.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, Bishop of Nashville, concluded the exercises with a benediction, after which President Taft faced those on the speakers' stand and shook hands with all. As he was leaving the stand for his carriage he encountered several young girls and a little boy, who had fought their way to his side and were all extending their hands to him at the same time. Smiling good-naturedly upon the group, he stopped, shook hands with the girls and then with the boy, noticing for the first time that the lad's nose was bleeding.

"Who poked you in the nose, sonny?" the President inquired, giving the youth's hand a warm squeeze. The latter was too conscious of the honor being conferred upon him to reply, but his eyes were dancing with delight because of the President's recognition of him.

Upon the arrival of the President and party at Lincoln farm they joined Mr.

Collier and party, Col. Andrew Cowan and party and Gov. Willson and party, who had preceded them, and together inspected Lincoln Memorial Hall enshrining the Lincoln cabin. They spent some time in the handsome granite structure that cost \$112,000, and on which are chiseled the words:

"Here, over the log cabin where Abraham Lincoln was born, destined to preserve the union and free the slave, a grateful people have dedicated this memorial to unity, peace and brotherhood among these States."

#### Rain Keeps Down Attendance.

Leaving the hall, the President, with Gov. Willson on one side of him, and former Gov. Folk, of Missouri, on the other, closely followed by Mr. Collier, Mr. Mackay, Col. Cowan and others, and preceded by Maj. Archibald Butt, aide to the President, and several secret service men, descended the long flight of granite steps to the speakers' stand a short distance from his feet. It was drizzling rain at the time, but no member of the party carried an umbrella. The speakers' stand had a frail canvas cover, affording some protection from the drizzle, but the crowd on the sward immediately in front of the stand was without any protection whatever from the slight precipitation, except the few who chanced to have umbrellas. The carrying out of the programme consumed nearly two hours, and just before its close the rain ceased entirely.

Due probably to threatening weather conditions, the attendance from Louisville at the exercises was rather disappointing, in point of number. The Illinois Central Railroad Company had planned to run six special trains to Hodgenville from Louisville, but this number was reduced to two. The only other special train that arrived during the day was that which bore the President and his party.

The President made the trip from Louisville to Elizabethtown over the Louisville & Nashville road, where his car was switched to the Hodgenville line and taken in charge by an Illinois Central engine.

It was a little after 2 o'clock when the President and party left Lincoln farm for the station. Little time was lost in reaching it, and the President's special pulled out of Hodgenville for Nashville at 2:20 o'clock. Other visitors to the farm left Hodgenville aboard two other trains a short while later. CLAUD PERRY.

# Imperative Law Reforms

## As Advocated By

### Hon. E. J. McDermott.

(From Editorial Review, New York.)

WE have just as good or as bad a government as we deserve. If we do not advocate and demand good laws and choose good legislative, judicial and executive officers, we cannot justly complain when public matters are in a bad condition. At the present time the people everywhere in this country seem to be taking a deep and earnest interest in public affairs. Therefore, many newspapers and many candidates for public favor are confidently and loudly advocating all kinds of reforms, some good, some doubtful and some bad. In fact, there is a tendency to revolutionize our laws and to make radical alterations in the Government. That we need many reforms is clear; but many writers and speakers are advocating innumerable experiments, and are promising, by the mere passage of a few more legislative acts, to make all of us prosperous and happy. Practical men, however, know that most of these hopes and promises, however sincere, will bring little ultimate satisfaction, if not great disappointment. Herbert Spencer, in his brochure called "The Man vs. the State," shows clearly how the English-speaking people have again and again passed through these recurring periods of excessive, experimental legislation, followed by other periods in which such legislation is gradually repealed or set aside. The experiment of law reform in England and in Germany during the past thirty years, however, has made it plain enough that we ought to reform and must reform, by radical measures, our system of procedure in both civil and criminal trials. There, at least, the cause of reform is on firm ground. Though we borrowed our system of procedure from England, and though England, always ultra conservative, has long since radically changed it with great profit and satisfaction, we still are clinging tenaciously and foolishly to many of the old methods of procedure that made the common law seem absurd to philosophic students like Jeremy Bentham and Brougham, and even to broad-minded, practical lawyers.

The present demand for law reform here is imperative and widespread. Former President Roosevelt and President Taft, in public addresses and in official messages, have frequently and earnestly recommended a thoroughgoing reform of civil and criminal procedure in the Federal courts in order that similar improvements might thus be promoted in State courts. The National Economic League last fall submitted to its members a test vote to determine what subjects ought to be discussed at once by its various organ-

izations, and the result of the vote showed that the two subjects which the members wanted most to discuss were the following: (1) Delays and defects in the enforcement of law, and 2) direct legislation. These two subjects received by far the largest number of votes. The first-named subject was discussed by the Boston Economic League at its meeting in January by distinguished lawyers of Maine, Massachusetts and New York. At the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association on December 28, 1910, in St. Louis, I read a paper on the subject of "Delays and Reversals on Technical Grounds in Civil and Criminal Trials," and it will be found in the published proceedings of that Association and in the American Law Review for May, 1911, and almost complete in the May number of the Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

\*\*\*

#### English and American Justice.

Dr. Crippen's trial in London for the murder of his wife lasted four and one-half days; Thaw's trial for the murder of Stanford White lasted twelve weeks. About the same time, Whiteley, who murdered a merchant in England, was tried and convicted in five hours. The jury was selected in eight minutes. The contrast is suggestive.

In England criminals are neither coddled nor lionized. When a convicted criminal takes an appeal, he takes the risk of having a judgment against him made worse than it was in the lower court. Paul Lambeth, in a telegram from London on November 10, 1910, gives this example:

"In the Criminal Appeal Court, William Sampson, convicted at the Old Bailey for shooting with intent to murder a man in a railway tunnel, appealed against his sentence of twelve years' penal servitude.

"The Lord Chief Justice was of the opinion from the nature of the offense that the sentence was too light, and the court increased the term to fifteen years. The appeal added three years to the punishment."

It is agreed that certainty of punishment is a greater deterrent to criminals than severity of punishment; but reasonable speed of punishment is also a powerful factor in the suppression of crime. Justice delayed is often justice denied. A poor woman in this State had a case in court for many wearisome, heart-breaking years. At last a judgment in her favor was affirmed in the Court of Appeals, and she was about to receive an estate worth \$75,000; but, a few days after her final success, she died and never received any practical benefit from her victory.

\*\*\*

#### Law's Delays and Hindrances.

As some people think more of a man's clothes and style than of his principles, so some lawyers think more of the mere procedure in a trial than of the ultimate triumph of the party that ought to succeed on the merits. The quibbling of the logicians and dis-

putants of the Middle Ages has often been the subject of satire; but our present-day legal disputes over technical questions of procedure are pettier and less profitable and more indefensible than the fine-spun arguments and theories of the abused schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

The greatest hindrances to justice in our criminal courts are the following:

1. Unpunished perjury, the natural loss of witnesses by delay, and the systematic and corrupt dispersal of important witnesses;
2. The refusal of courts to compel a defendant to produce documents or other physical things that may make his guilt clear;
3. The abuse of expert testimony;
4. Reversals in Appellate Courts because of petty technical errors in mere procedure;
5. Maudlin sympathy for the accused in conspicuous cases on the part of the public or of the low or semi-criminal classes that hang about the courts during exciting trials; and the reluctance of jurors and sometimes of Judges to punish any criminal adequately, especially if he be an influential murderer or have money enough to pay for open legal aid and disguised illegal assistance. Even the press is sometimes used to create public opinion in his favor.

In most cases of murder, the accused is a lion to the vulgar and to the criminal class. The unfounded defenses most often used are: (1) self-defense; (2) insanity, and (3) the "unwritten law." These defenses are practically inconsistent with each other, and yet they are often combined in one case under the plea of "not guilty" in order to confuse the jury or to enable the jury to excuse or veil their own debasement. The flimsy testimony of corrupt or incompetent "experts" is generally used in spectacular murder cases to establish the fictitious plea of insanity. This hollow pretense is often used to uphold the "unwritten law." If that "law" were sound in reason or in morals, it should be embodied in a written statute or it should be suppressed with a stern hand. We should not let weak jurors and Judges disregard their solemn oath and render dishonest verdicts when we have not the hardihood to put such a law on the statute book. Few men with any character for ability or integrity would be willing to pass an act to make death the penalty for such acts as are supposed to justify murder under "the unwritten law." That "law" is often supported by perjury when the victim's mouth has been closed by death and when his defense to the charge against him can not be made. He is condemned and disgraced unheard. To the loss of life is added the loss of his good name, and yet he may be wholly innocent of the foul charge based, in many cases, on false or distorted facts or statements that he, if alive, might disprove or explain away.

\*\*\*

#### "Unwritten Law" and Insanity Plea.

Under the Kentucky Criminal Code, which is practically similar to the procedure in many other States, the accused, under the plea of "not guilty," may set up any defense other than a former conviction or acquittal for the same offense. The law everywhere should be so amended that the accused in his plea should be compelled to state whether his defense is: (1) that he was not guilty of the act charged, or (2) that he did the act in self-defense, or (3) that he was insane at the time he did the act. Under neither of these pleas should the court admit the sort of evidence that is usually offered to invoke the so-called "unwritten law."

The accused should not be allowed to offer any evidence of insanity unless he filed the special plea of insanity. Such a reform in procedure would prevent the abuse of this feigned defense. In such cases the officers of the State would not be taken by surprise, but would have ample time to prepare themselves with testimony as to the sanity of the accused. The law should provide that when the accused, at his arraignment, has pleaded "insanity," he shall be confined at once in some suitable, safe place where he may be observed and studied by experts appointed by the court for a reasonable time under good conditions for the observation of his conduct, at a time when he does not know that he is being observed and when his shamming may be the more easily detected. This plan, without any statute, has been successfully tried in St. Louis. The court and the jury will thus have the benefit of the examinations and observations of disinterested experts who will probably be able to detect whether the accused is really unsound or only feigning.

The law should also require that a jury shall specifically state in its verdict whether or not it has acquitted the defendant on the ground of insanity. A committee of the New York State Bar Association recommended that the defense of insanity should be abolished altogether; that the jury should be allowed to decide only whether the accused did the forbidden act; that the jury, in passing upon that question, should not pass upon the question of his sanity at all. This view was embodied in a statute of the State of Washington. The theory of that statute was that an insane man of homicidal instincts is a dangerous man and that the community must be protected against him and that he should be so imprisoned or otherwise handled, under such circumstances and for such a length of time as will make it reasonably sure that he will not take the life of any other person. On September 10, 1910) 110 Pac. Rep. 1020) that statute was held to be unconstitutional by a divided court in Washington. It seems to me that it ought to be possible, and is possible, to draft a constitutional act providing that, if an accused person be acquitted of murder on the plea of insanity, the accused shall be confined in a safe, suitable place for a reasonable time under the observation of experts to make it reasonably certain, before his discharge, that he is at last quite sound and will not again be a menace to the community. A severe penalty should be provided for any officer who negligently or corruptly permits such a murderer to escape and for any person that aids him in his escape.

In St. Louis not long ago there were four brutal murders close together. Two of the murderers had been formerly tried for murder and had escaped on the plea of insanity and had finally committed a second murder. Not long ago a murderer of Tennessee was acquitted on such a sham plea and then promptly escaped from the asylum. A similar result followed here in the case of Thomas Buford, who murdered Judge Elliott in Frankfort, Ky., in 1879 because of an adverse judicial opinion written by Judge Elliott for the Court of Appeals. An exactly similar case lately occurred here, in which a man convicted of murder escaped by the same method. Similar cases in other States can be found.

\*\*\*

#### Bad Effects of Law's Failures.

Such miscarriages of justice bring the lawyers and the courts and the law itself into disrepute. Radical reforms must be adopted to make the administration of justice more efficient and more respected. In spite of our rise in the scale of civilization—in spite of our wealth, power and prestige—we feel that property and life are not se-

cure enough; that the bomb and the pistol have too many victims; that riots and mobs occur far too often; that private vengeance is too often safely carried out; that juries acquit too many culprits, and that the machinery of the courts works badly in too many cases. Reform is imperatively demanded. To the courts the richest and the humblest must be able to turn confidently for the protection of every reasonable right and for the redress of every illegal wrong. As Brougham long ago said, "the law must not be dear, but cheap; not a sealed book, but an open letter; not the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, but the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence."

The attacks which Mr. Roosevelt and some newspapers have been making of late on the courts are based upon the theory that the Judges, who are only authorized to interpret the Constitution and the statutes, must decide, not what the law is, but what it should be. So long as we have written Constitutions and statutes which bind the courts, the Judges have no right to be governed in their opinions by what they think the people for the hour may want. Till public opinion has caused

the Constitution and the statutes to be regularly changed to conform to the wishes of the people themselves, the Judges must not yield to public clamor nor what the people may seem, for the time being, to want. A Judge who decided, not what the law now is, but what the people, without changing the letter of the law, want it to be, would be unworthy of his place. All the Judges were once practicing lawyers, and, as lawyers, they may have been biased unduly in favor of old legal theories; but the people, to get relief, must make the Constitution and the statutes so plain and imperative that no upright Judge can err as to the meaning. Then, if the Judge fails to do his duty, he should be removed, if sitting for life, or be defeated, if sitting for a term. Our Judges and lawyers have been educated in, and are accustomed to, an antiquated system of procedure. We can, and should promptly change that; but the fundamental principles of the substantive law can be safely changed only by amendments to our Constitution and statutes. The Judges cannot veer about to suit popular feeling, much less to gratify hasty, popular clamor in favor of new theories and untried experiments in socialistic legislation, even though it appeals to our sense of justice.

## LAW INDEFENSIBLE

### SAY BAPTIST TEACHERS

Association of Schools and  
Colleges Formed For Study  
and Development.

For the purpose of studying and developing denominational school work the Association of Kentucky Baptist Schools and Colleges was formed Tuesday morning at a meeting in Norton Hall. The meeting was attended by executives of ten of the fifteen Baptist schools in the State. A resolution was adopted giving it as the sense of the meeting "that the law giving teaching certificates to the pupils or graduates of any school is indefensible educationally and wrong in practice and should be repealed."

The Baptist educators declared themselves in favor of subjecting the holders of diplomas from the State University and the normal schools to periodic examinations as is required of graduates from other schools. Under the present system the holder of a certificate of graduation from the State University or one of the normal schools becomes the holder of a life certificate to teach in the common schools without having to qualify by examination at any time.

Dr. M. B. Adams, of Frankfort, was elected president of the new organization, and President H. G. Brownell, of Bethel Female College, was made secretary. It was stated that it was proposed to work in harmony with the State school system.

85

# COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT

By JAMES CAMPBELL, Jr.

The question of the benefit to be derived by the citizens of Paducah by an adoption of the commission plan of government is one of great moment just now, as this question of the adoption or rejection of the plan will be decided by a vote of the citizens at the coming November election.

Before this vote is taken it behooves every voter in Paducah, who wants to express his real citizenship, to inform himself fairly upon the question he expects to vote upon, and, as one who earnestly favors the adoption of the commission plan, an investigation from an unbiased standpoint is sincerely invited. If you do not believe, after such an investigation, the best interest of Paducah will be served by adopting the plan, it is not only your privilege but your duty as a good citizen to vote against it, but the converse is equally true—if you think it is to the best interest of the city, it is your duty as a good citizen to vote for it. For this is strictly a question of policy for the citizens, as citizens of Paducah, to decide for themselves according to the dictates of their own conscience and judgment, and not as an affiliate of any political party.

The whole scheme of commission government is based upon an abolition of politics in municipal affairs, and, by some of the wisest and greatest students of municipal economics, the existence of politics in municipal affairs has been denounced as the most pernicious of all evils the cities have to deal with. This is a broad statement and such has not been the writer's experience, for I believe Paducah has been exceptionally blessed with men who are conscientious in their efforts to work for the common good of the city, but with it all we have not progressed as we should, and many of us are getting heavy lidded and discouraged in our long vigil, watching for the first tiny rays of that new sun, to rise upon a new day, and it is high time that we should cease our groaning and complaining. We can never accomplish anything by such methods, but you can do something for yourself and your city if you will go to work and take on the spirit of progress which has always been and always will be the prime secret of business success.

The object and purposes of the commission government law of Kentucky, under which Paducah will operate if voted for in November, is, like all other commission government laws of other states, to simplify and systematize the business features of city affairs.

To accomplish this a number of radical changes from our present plan are provided for, viz:

Elimination of politics from election of city officers, and making them elective upon their merits and popularity alone. Thus any number of men, who are qualified by being citizens of Paducah and at least 25 years old, may become candidates for commissioners by each presenting a petition signed by at least one hundred citizens of Paducah to the county judge requesting that the name of such person be placed upon the ballot as a candidate for commissioner, and

thus all of the names petitioned for are placed upon the same ballot in alphabetical order. This ballot is free from any party device, nor is there any device or mark of any kind to designate the politics of any candidate. Exactly the same method is pursued in placing the names of aspirants for mayor on the ballot. Then on the third Saturday before the general election to be held in November, 1912, there will be held a primary election for the purpose of, so to speak, boiling down the candidates for commissioner and mayor, and, at this primary election, which is held under the direction of the county judge and the same officers of election who are chosen to serve at the general election in November, 1912, each voter is permitted to select eight names, by stamping opposite such names, as candidates for commissioners at the general election in November, and to select two names in like manner as candidates for mayor. Thus having eight to choose four commissioners from and two to choose one mayor from at the general election in November. Then at the November election these eight candidates for commissioner and two candidates for mayor are placed upon the ballot in alphabetical order, without any party device or mark to indicate the politics of any of them, and the voter is then permitted to choose four commissioners and one mayor by stamping opposite their names in the usual manner.

On the first Monday in the following January these four commissioners and the mayor take their seats, to serve two years for each commissioner and four years for the mayor. The mayor acts as the chairman of the board of commissioners and has a vote in such board on all matters coming before it, but does not have any veto power.

This is the method universally used in commission governed cities as the best to eliminate politics from city elections, and has proven very effective.

Another prime object is the simplification of the system of handling business affairs. The foundation of this method of simplifying matters is in the limitation placed upon the number of persons in control of the city's business and the requirement by law that the mayor and all commissioners must have fixed office hours, and must have their offices at the city hall.

Thus when the mayor and commissioners take their seats it becomes their duty to at once divide the entire business of the city into five departments, to wit: A department of public affairs, a department of public finance, a department of public safety, a department of public works, a department of public property, and to determine the functions of each department. The mayor ex-officio, becomes the commissioner of public affairs, and the general advisor for all other departments, but the commissioners and mayor select the commissioners for each of the other departments, and when so selected such commissioner has entire charge of his department, subject to orders made by the commissioners when in

session as the legislative board of the city. For these commissioners, as the legislative board of the city, also cut upon all ordinances and resolutions. They are required to meet at least once every week—the time and hour of such regular meetings to be fixed by ordinance. All other persons, except the police judge, are merely employees and are subject to discharge at any time, or may be required to perform duties in any department of the city. In this way a great stride is made towards simplifying and facilitating all sorts of public affairs. For here are five men who are for several hours each day brought face to face with the actual, practical workings and needs of all the city's affairs, and certainly they are in a better position to enact laws governing the city and taking care of its needs than men who have to get their information second handed, and, more than frequently, from persons who have "axes to grind."

As an illustration let us take a very common example, one which occurs many times each year. A man is assessed with a poll tax who is a non-resident of the city but a property owner of the city. This poll tax is placed on his tax bill and, under the present law, he must pay the entire tax bill, including the erroneously assessed poll tax, and then petition the general council to refund him the poll tax in order to protect himself against paying a ten per cent penalty on his entire tax bill. This means this small business matter has to go through the records of both boards of the general council, be referred to some officer or committee for verification, be reported back to the general council by such committee or officer, and then acted upon and again put through the records of the general council, taking in all anywhere from two weeks to an indefinite time. This is a cumbersome, useless consuming of time and trouble of city employees and officers, as well as a great annoyance to the person seeking relief. Now let's see the difference if this same proposition were to come up under a commissioned governed city. The non-resident would make his complaint to the commissioner of finance, whose office is in the city hall, and accessible by taking just a few steps. The commissioner could investigate the complaint, and, if justly made, order the erroneously assessed poll tax stricken from the tax bill and end the matter in ten minutes time, and everybody would have been fairly dealt with, and certainly better pleased than to have to go through the old tedious method of getting relief.

Another great object of commission government is the practice of economy in the management of the city's business affairs and obtaining the best results for the least money. You can understand that more can be accomplished according to the exertion and time used by simplifying and systematizing the work to be done, and how this can be done by a commission governed city has been illustrated, but, what is equally as important, how can you do this work cheaper and still get better, quicker and more satisfactory results?

The salaries paid to the mayor and commissioners, which are, mayor \$3,600, and each commissioner \$3,000 per year, aggregating \$15,600, insure competent, capable men becoming aspirants for the offices. These salaries are commensurate with the importance and responsibility of the work to be performed, and yet, divided as the city's departments are now, is a less aggregate salary account for heads of departments than is now being paid. Each department, under the present system, has its own employees, who are not called upon or expected to perform any duties in any other department, and when a department gets over pressed with business extra help has to be obtained from the outside. Under the commission plan it is specifically provided that employees of one department may be required to perform duties in any other department.

Let me give another illustration in economics which might be done each year. Under our present plan the office of the city assessor each year requires extra help for about two or three months, beginning the latter part of September, and at about the time the need for extra help in his office ceases the office of the city treasurer begins to take on the heavy burden of collecting and keeping track of the last half of city taxes and the payment of the annual license taxes and the general preparations for an arrangement of the annual city budget. This extraordinary work lasts for about two or three months, then comes the levy of the annual tax and the consequential heavy work of making out all of the tax bills of the city by the city clerk, which requires extra help for two or three months. In the meantime, the business in the assessor's office and the treasurer's office has become slack and only a few hours a day are required to attend to business, yet their salaries go on and the salaries of regular employees go on and none of the regular employees of any of these departments are required to devote any of their time to aiding the other departments to do the extra work, with the consequence that extra help has to be paid for. Now if the city was under commission government the work of the assessor's office, the work of the treasurer's office, the work of the auditor's office, and the preparation of the tax bills, which is now done by the city clerk, would all be under the department of public finance, and done under the commissioner of that department and his regular employees, and they would all be kept busy and earn their salaries the year around instead of being rushed to death for a few months each year and requiring extra paid help for that period and plenty of spare time the balance of the year. This fact, that our present cumbersome plan of the city being divided up into so many departments and not permitting a continuous, evenly balance distribution of the work of operating the city's business affairs, coupled with the other handicap of having to go to the general council for consent to do so many things, is the main reason why the city is not able to

pay better salaries and attract more efficient talent to fill its offices.

The most vital part of the city government is its business affairs. And it is this part every citizen should turn his eye and attention to. Each citizen who owns property or a business pays a revenue to the city and gets his return in protection and such private emolument as living in the city brings him. He is in the same position as if he were a stockholder in some big corporation and owes it to his investment to use his best judgment in getting results. If you needed a manager of a corporation you were a stockholder in you would not take the first applicant for the position, irrespective of his efficiency, just because you could get him cheap; no, you would get a man who could give you the desired results, that is, one who could develop your business and earn dividends even if you had to pay more salary. And such should be the spirit prompting citizens in selecting their public officers to manage city affairs. What we need and must have is efficiency and progressive methods in city affairs, and men at

the head of city affairs who will become leaders in the advancement of the city's welfare and not followers. I have always believed a city in its corporate entity, should set an example of progressiveness to its citizens instead of waiting for its individual citizens to take the lead. If we can get this accomplished you will find that many of our business men and citizens who are now content to drag along in the same old rut, year after year, will respond to the leadership of the city, and we will all be pulling together, instead of against each other, as often happens now. The adoption of the commission government plan for Paducah will be a great stride towards adopting progressive ideas and is bound to put new confidence, life and vigor in all of the city's interest, commercial and social.

There are many other reasons why Paducah should adopt the commission government plan, but time and space does not permit a discussion of them now. They will be presented, however, in further articles on the subject.

## Interesting Event.

We gladly give space to the following interesting communication:

Bowling Green, Ky. Nov. 18, 1911

Yesterday was observed as a special "Arbor Day" by the students and faculty of the Western Normal and many beautiful trees were planted. The Nelson Delegation assisted by Misses Mary and Flora Stallard of the Normal and Mr. Earl Roby of the State Board of Health, planted a sugar maple with these fitting ceremonies. Miss Cheatham gave the following:

May the tree which we plant today be a fitting type of what we, the students of Nelson Co. hope for our teachers. As its feeble rootlets and slender branches groping and reaching for food and nourishment from earth, air, and sunshine grow in strength and power till it becomes a mighty tree, a blessing to those who rest beneath its shade, so may our teachers searching here for truth, goodness, and beauty find that which will send them forth stalwart and strong leaders in a great and glorious cause the training of head, heart, and hand to know, to will, to do, that which builds for "God and home and native land."

Miss Flora Stallard next christened the tree with these words:

In the name of the students of Nelson Co. past, present and future I christen thee "The Nelson Tree." As in days gone by there floated from the Flagship of the great Admiral whose name indirectly you bear, a banner which carried this message to the waiting sailors "England expects every man to do his duty," so in generations to come may the students that stand beneath thy swaying branches catch the message from thee "Nelson expects every man to do his duty."

The delegation then joined hands about the tree singing the chorus to the air of "Old Kentucky Home."

"Live and grow, Dear Maple,  
Oh live and grow always  
We will sing one song for our  
Nelson County home,

And thy days that are to  
come far away."

It is proposed that from year to year each county delegation have charge of its tree giving it the necessary attention for its best growth thus perpetuating the idea of its life as a type of the student body of that county. Another Arbor Day will be observed in the coming spring.

# GOD'S PRESENCE

Beattie Jurors Realized It,  
Says the Rev. Dr. Powell.

COMMENTS IN SERMON ON  
PRAYER BEFORE VERDICT.

EVIL OF COVETOUSNESS SCORED  
BY METHODIST MINISTER.

MONEY AS A CAUSE OF SIN

In his morning sermon yesterday at the First Christian church the Rev. Dr. E. L. Powell, preaching on "The Realization of the Presence of God," used a striking illustration of his topic by calling attention to the action of the jurors in the case of Henry Clay Beattie, Jr., who, before bringing in the verdict condemning the young man to death, knelt in prayer and asked that they be given the power to pass judgment justly in the case.

The Rev. Dr. Powell took as his text Genesis xxviii, 16—"And Jacob awaked out of his sleep and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not." In the course of his remarks the speaker said that God can be in other places as well as in the church, and that a jury room could be made as sacred as a church. The illustration in which mention was made of the Beattie trial was as follows:

### Presence of God.

"The presence of God, according to accepted theology, is a universal presence. He is in all places at all times. That which constitutes divine revelation is the conscious realization of that presence. In the recent action of the jury that rendered a verdict in a quiet Virginia country town we had an unusual example in the administration of justice where the presence was consciously recognized by each individual juror in the discharge of a most solemn duty. It is an illustration of how the secular can glorify until it shines with the light of divinity.

"The church is not the only place. A jury room can be made as sacred as the church. It is one of the prime lessons of life for us to learn that the doing of any task, under the sense of the divine, makes that task holy, and it is thus that all of

life can become consecrated. It is really the spirit of Christianity—to permeate the secular with the divine."

### MAMMON OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS

Sermon On "Money" Preached By the  
Rev. Mr. P. B. Wells.

Taking for his subject "Money" and for his text the divine injunction against laying up treasures upon earth, contained in the nineteenth to the twenty-third verses, inclusive, of the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the Rev. Mr. Preston B. Wells, at the Broadway Methodist church, yesterday morning preached to a large congregation on the sin of covetousness.

He spoke in the following words:  
"The words of the text have a narrow and a wider meaning. Primarily they relate to laying up possessions here, to the wise use and the abuse of wealth. As money is by the general consent of society the representative of property and the key to worldly advancement, the term is used in place of those things for which it stands.

"First, notice the admonition, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth.' We must interpret these words in harmony with the whole of revelation. Christ does not condemn wealth as an evil in itself. Riches in themselves are no evil. Money is necessary to procure things we daily need. The present life has its claims upon me, subordinate to the claims of the hereafter. 'Be not slothful in business,' is a divine command. I am required to provide things honest in the sight of all men, to pay their just dues to all and to provide for my own household. The Bible places no premium on laziness. The man who will not work has no right to eat. The good things of life are included in the promise, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God.'

"Riches may be the means of doing good and may be so used as to be of eternal benefit to me. Hence Christ says, 'Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when it shall fail they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.'

### Sin of Covetousness.

"The meaning of the prohibition, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,' is this: Its teaching is to warn against covetousness, which is the inordinate and selfish regard for money. The sin of covetousness is most plausible in its pretenses and most insidious in its operations. This sin is common among those of great possessions. Large wealth is often held so as to confer no benefit on its possessor or on the world. Riches so often become the master instead of the servant. We have erred, however, in thinking of covetousness as being peculiar to the rich. We have also the covetous poor.

"The fruitage of this sin is everywhere seen in the life of to-day. The crying sin of our times is covetousness. It is more ensnaring than the wine cup or the dance hall, more far-reaching and blighting in its influence than the card table and the theater. Our Sunday theaters, our defalcations are the fruitage of covetousness.

"The crying sin of the church is worldliness. It is this sin that makes the chariot wheels to drag. The command comes to us, 'Go, preach the Gospel,' but the church replies, 'An empty missionary treasury.' The man of Macedonia still calls to the church, but she is so busy with her own selfish interests that she forgets or neglects to make answer.

"Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.' The great question is, how can I embalm my possessions and make them immortal? Paul says to Timothy, 'Charge them that are rich in this world that they may be ready to distribute, that they may lay hold on the life which is life indeed.' And then, aside from the question of present profit, God has a right to make His demands upon me, for the supreme proprietorship of our property is in the hands of God. He asks of us a gift, not because He needs it, but because of its bearing upon our life and character.

"The lamp of the body is the eye. What the eye is to the body the intention is to the soul. In every act it is the intention which determines its righteousness or unrighteousness. The great question is not whether I am rich or poor, but is it the supreme intention of my life to live for the glory of God?"



## A CURE FOR LAWLESSNESS

There were more murders in Lexington, Kentucky, last year than in London, England. This is a startling and humiliating fact. It argues poorly for our civilization, or rather the lack of it. London is the largest city in the world, with a population exceeding 6,000,000, while Lexington has a population of 30,000. If Lexington had only as many murders as London, then, according to population, it would have 200 times as many. To put it another way, if Lexington was as large as London and the murder rate was on the present basis, it would have 200 murders every time London had one. This is not a theory but a condition which confronts us, and Lexington compared with London is merely for the purpose of illustration. It could with equal force be applied to the whole State of Kentucky.

The principal reason why human life is held so sacred in London and so cheap in Lexington is the difference of public sentiment in the two cities. In London every case of murder is a case of the people against the accused, while here it is only a case of a bereaved family against the accused with the Commonwealth furnishing a lawyer for the former without fee. As the direct result of this difference in public sentiment, in London there is not one chance in a thousand of a guilty man escaping, while in Lexington (to carry out the illustration) the criminal has more than an even chance. If we would make life in even Lexington, or Kentucky, as safe as it is in London we must create the same public sentiment against the crime of murder as exists in London.

The difference in public sentiment is not the only reason for the difference in the number of murders. We have in Kentucky practically the same criminal

laws that we copied from England over 100 years ago, while England forty years ago abandoned them as obsolete.

We need to adopt in Kentucky the system of criminal jurisprudence which England now has modified to meet different conditions. A large per cent. of our murderers escape punishment by the delays permitted by our laws. Another large per cent. escape through the technicalities of our courts. Another still larger per cent. escape by the character of our juries. Instead of trying our murderers by the best citizens, we usually try them by the lowest class of our citizens. The worse the case the lower the order of men accepted as jurors. The intelligent reading men are scarcely ever accepted to serve on a jury in a murder case. The number of peremptory challenges for the accused should be reduced to the number given the Commonwealth, and no man should be excused from serving on a jury who has not formed an opinion that could not be changed by the evidence. It might be even well, until we wipe out the dark stain of blood shedding, that a verdict should be returned when nine of the twelve jurymen agree. The law should also be changed, leaving it optional with the jury in the case of murder to inflict the death penalty or a life sentence.

It should be either one or the other, and not an option between the two. The jury should really only be required to find the character of the crime committed, and the trial judge should fix the penalty.

If we want to protect our own lives, we can only do so by making punishment sure and speedy for those who take life. If we would make human life as safe in Lexington as in London we must create a different public sentiment and change our criminal laws.—Elizabethtown News.

#### Education and Good Roads.

Durham county, North Carolina, has a population of about 35,000, of which about half live in rural districts. The County School Superintendent reported recently that in all the country districts there are only forty-one white illiterates. This leads a writer in Southern Good Roads to recall the fact that Durham was one of the first counties in North Carolina to begin building permanent roads. That there are so few illiterates in the county is explained by the fact that "by every man's door and by every schoolhouse runs a good road and the attendance at these country schools is something to wonder at."

To strengthen the argument, Southern Good Roads refers to the county of Stokes, which "has not a foot of good road in it." One of the principal school districts of the county has 125 children of school age and "for the month of December the average attendance was less than thirty."

In Durham county "the country schools are elegantly housed and equipped." In Stokes the schools for the most part are "in keeping with the roads." This notwithstanding that so far as natural resources are concerned Stokes has the county of Durham "backed off the map." In every other way the contrast is all to the advantage of Durham, and it is "because her citizens had the good sense to begin building good roads many years ago."

In country school districts most of the pupils live at considerable distances from the schoolhouses. It stands to reason that school attendance is materially affected by the condition of the roads. If the roads are good the attendance will be good, and if the children are compelled to wade through mud to reach the school the attendance will be poor. Where there is an enrollment of 125 pupils and fewer than thirty answer roll-call the prospect for the educational advancement of that particular locality is anything but encouraging. Good roads and good schools are largely interdependent, and the good school is almost an impossibility in the absence of the good road.

The McLean County Teachers' Association Division No. 4, convened at Livermore, Friday, Oct., 20, 1911, at 9:30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Leiard Bunch, and "Lead Kindly Light" was sung by the association, after which Rev. J. T. Cherry conducted the devotional services.

The teachers were agreeably surprised when the Primary Department of the Livermore schools sang "Kentucky Schools."

Miss Elizabeth Cherry was then appointed secretary of the association.

Prof. Bunch welcomed the teachers here. "How Can the Standard of Teacher's Be Raised" was discussed by Rev. J. T. Cherry as Miss Bantfield was absent. He said "he hoped to see the day when every teacher will hold a state certificate or diploma, that the teacher is the school." He complimented very highly the Teachers' Association held last week at Pleasant Hope Church, near Buel.

Supt. Stroud discussed "Enforced Attendance," one of the many good things he said was, "the increase per capita does not increase the attendance of these schools, and the only evil of enforced attendance is, teachers will begin to lack interest, for the students are forced to come." If we have enforced attendance and a remedy for the latter evil, the problem of state wide education will be solved, is what he further said in substance. This topic was followed by several good talks and questions on the subject. Rev. Shultz said that the state should spend her money educating rather than on cases to be tried in courts and on prisons.

The subject, "Illiteracy in Kentucky" was passed up for the afternoon discussion on account of the absence of Miss Pearl Nave.

The Association was then called on to discuss "What Changes Should Be Made in the Present School System?" Rev. Shultz treated the topic in a way pleasing to all, he cited the German system of schools as an example of improving ours.

The next theme called was "Should Whispering Be Forbidden" but was left for afternoon as Mrs. Crowe was not present.

"How Secure the Co-operation of Parents" was ably discussed by Miss Todd Yewell, who gave many ways in which the parents could come into closer touch with the teacher and school. Her ideas were to have the teacher visit the homes, have the parents visit the schools, and to do anything else that will create greater enthusiasm in the community and school.

Miss Peffer took up the topic "School Improvement League." She said "once the men only were missionaries, then the women, finally the boys and girls, which has not proven sufficient. Thus it is with the school, but by the co-operation of parents, friends of the school and teachers, we are able to make the League a success. Supt. Stroud further discussed the subject and it was then taken up by Mrs. Larue, who said, "it is not so much what the League did for the school, as what they put in to the school."

Prof. J. S. Dickey, of the Bowling Green Business University, was asked to talk to the assembly. He kept the organization laughing for quite a while, and ended his talk by saying "he would give a lecture in the evening on Kentucky's Part in the Present School Session."

Prof. V. O. Gilbert, of the Western Kentucky State Normal, brought greetings from the school to the McLean county teachers.

The association stood adjourned until 1:30.

The association was again called to order by Prof. Bunch at 1:45.

A duett was beautifully rendered by the Misses Mary Aker and Nora Quigg.

"Our System of Grading" was introduced by Prof. J. W. Dillehay, he favors our system of grading. He said, "I think there are many more advantages than disadvantages in our present system. The present standard suits the present need, but in the future it will not be all that is necessary to have good schools."

Dr. H. J. Beard discussed "Conservation of Health." He mentioned the number of organizations for preventing the spread of disease. He said, "I think the legislature will finally require the houses screened, as flies carry all kinds of disease."

The meeting heartily enjoyed Miss Edmond's vocal solo, which was given after Dr. Beard's talk.

Prof. Bunch introduced Mrs. Larue, of Owensboro, she addressed the teachers on "The Ideal Teacher of the Future Citizen." She said, "the teacher should have physical qualifications, being able to help the child keep his body in a healthful condition." She should be qualified mentally, being posted in the current literature and and science, in order that both past and present may be pictured to the child, in other words, she said the teacher of the future citizen should be equipped, physically, mentally and morally.

An instrumental solo was played by Miss Marie Foley. This was greatly enjoyed by all.

Prof. Gilbert delivered an address on "Our Heritage." He said, Kentucky was one of the richest states in the union, and that she surpassed other states in her natural resources.

The meeting was then adjourned at 4 P. M.

## Child Labor a National Crime

WE WELCOME the presence in Louisville of the earnest men and women who are waging war against the crime of child labor. God speed their effort.

No blacker blot exists upon the page of social and industrial progress in this country than that made by the exploiters of childhood for profit and the national indifference that has permitted this exploitation to continue.

The employment of children in industrial pursuits cannot be defended. Now and again somebody has the effrontery to offer alleged argument in support of this practice; a specious sophistry is used to becloud the truth and hide the heinousness of the offense, but those who venture so brazenly, if they be not lost to every humane instinct, know in their hearts that they are urging iniquity.

Failure properly to protect and provide for childhood is an unpardonable sin against society that will bring inevitably its own nemesis. The child is the living material from which tomorrow's nation must be wrought. In the measure that physically, mentally and morally this material is nurtured and conserved may we estimate our hope to achieve those ideals upon which our hearts are set as a people. We cannot waste the nation's life at its source without paying the cost; we cannot blight and wither childhood without suffering in the adult life of the coming generation.

These things are so obvious that we feel guilty of writing the merest platitudes in repeating them. And yet they need to be iterated and reiterated until their meaning has burned itself into the country's conscience and accomplished the emancipation of infancy from the grip of a heartless industrial system.

It will be recognized by every close student of the problem that economic considerations of widest scope are involved in it. Those who venture to apologize for child labor declare that they are in reality benefactors, since by giving employment to children they are making existence possible for many who would otherwise starve. But if this be true, it is also

true as a terrible indictment against our whole industrial system. Surely it cannot be that in a land so abundantly provided with all that is essential to meet human needs, we must force upon the necks of the babies the burdensome yoke of earning a livelihood. Has it become so that the natural bread-winner can no longer by his labor produce enough for the support of his wife and family? Must he enlist the help of his prattling boy, his trowsle-headed girl, before they have learned to read, sending them to toil eight or ten hours

a day amid the noise and dirt of a cotton mill?

If such necessity exists it has been created by the greed of the exploiter that goes uncurbed of law. It figures in fattened dividends, that have waxed and flourished upon the blasted youth of ten thousand children. From one door goes the marketable commodity, for sale in the stores of the land; from the other pours out the human product—dull-eyed, heavy-footed and stoop-shouldered children, on whose faces a premature age has left its hideous marks, and in whose hearts is none of the joy that from eternity has belonged by right to innocence and infancy—only the weariness and despair of broken lives.

How long can we tolerate a system with such an output? How long can we avoid the curse that must follow on its toleration?

The crime can be ended. Law can wipe this evil from the land. But law must be written by Legislatures and Congresses, and the people must demand such action from their representatives before it will be granted. Against its enactment is the power of the dollar. It is a mighty power, but not the mightiest. It yields when justice cries aloud in the voice of the people.

The issue is profits against childhood. Can we question which will win? Doubt implies a moral cowardice to which we will not confess.

The victory has been long in coming; discreditably long, but we believe it is in sight. The workers convening in our city meet in the spirit of resolute purpose and high hope.

Their cause has enlisted ever widening sympathy; their efforts have resulted in the enlightenment of many. In approaching the problem of child-labor, with its varied angles, they do so in an intelligent understanding of the difficulties to be faced and the opposition to be grappled with.

The present conference will emphasize the importance of education as a factor in affording a complete solution. The recognition of education as an essential and fundamental equipment for efficient industrial service is now general and the tendency is strong to make the school contribute more largely to the fitness of the child for independence later in whatever vocation he may enter. When the fact becomes known widely that primary education, carried through to the years of adolescence, largely increases the earning capacity of the child, the importance of conserving the school years of childhood will become evident from an economic standpoint; and, when all has been said, it is still the economic standpoint that carries greatest weight in changing customs and laws.

#### HELPING THE BOYS TO MAKE GOOD.

The county superintendent of schools has notified the farmer boys of McCracken county that he will get them enough selected corn seed to plant an acre of corn, and if they properly tend their crop and raise sixty bushels or over to their acre, they will be given a diploma signed with the names of Governor James B. McCreary, Commissioner of Agriculture Newman, Superintendent of Instruction Barksdale Hamlett and by himself.

No entry fee of any kind is asked, nor will the seed corn cost the farmer boys a penny. The yield will be theirs to sell as they desire, and the receipts will be theirs to spend as they want. The only qualification to the offer is that the boys must promise to try hard to raise sixty bushels of corn, or over, for each acre of seed which is furnished them. The state will take as its profits a share in the boys' satisfaction of a work well done.

Sixty bushels of corn to the acre may seem like a big crop to most farmer boys of McCracken county, as the average crop of corn is about thirty bushels or some six barrels. Twelve barrels over a big field of forty or seventy acres is a whopping big corn crop, yet to thus double the corn crop of the county is easy through the method of seed selection with which the state officials desire the farmer boys to get acquainted.

In the past the farmer boys have been taught to farm as their fathers

farmed, saving seed corn over from one year to the next, and depending on the nearness of another variety of corn in some other farmer's field, to keep the germinating qualities active. Whether a kernel of corn was alive, or whether it was dead mattered little. Into the seed planter it went. An average amount of labor was given to the corn fields each year. Some years the "luck" was better, and the crop would jump ahead of the average. Other years it was below the average and the farmer boy was told that the season was wrong.

It is for the purpose of educating the boys of the farm in proper seed selection, to teach them the difference between a dead kernel and a live kernel, to convince them that through a day or so of work before the seed is planted they can double their crop when harvest time comes, that the state officials are desirous of organizing corn clubs.

A diploma from the governor and the agricultural commissioner and the state and the county school superintendents is sufficient reward for many things to the farmer boy. To get in addition the secret of growing greater corn crops than his father or his neighbor ever harvested is another reward. Double the money for the same work is another. With the lure of all these rewards before him, every boy in the county should ask the county superintendent of schools for seed corn in time to plant his acre.

#### The Method of Farmer Black.

Former Gov. Frank S. Black, of New York, a prominent member of the bar, has heard the "call of the soil." He is going to become a farmer. He has completed the task he set for himself when he began his professional and political career. He has, according to his close friends, made a million. That was all he ever wanted. He has it "salted down" in good investments.

Farmer Black can afford to be an agriculturist. It will not matter whether the beans grow well in his garden. "Beans" will accumulate in the form of stock dividends, coupons upon first mortgage bonds, interest upon land notes, rentals from city real estate. He will not have to watch the shriveling corn leaves under a blazing sun and wonder whether it will rain in time to save the crop. He will not have to get up with the lark to sit at the helm of a self-binder and steer it across a mile of rippling gold, and through a temperature of ninety-nine "in the shade" when the bob white in the adjacent woodland is the only thing on the farm that has time to sit in the shade. He will not have to get up when there aren't any birds save those that haven't sufficient sense or instinct to migrate to warmer regions, and haul frozen fodder from a wind-swept field to feed the cattle. If the cows don't come home, and nobody goes after them, Farmer Black can drink champagne for dinner if he has a taste for it. If butter goes up he can "see" the

raise of the Elgin Butter Board with perfect nonchalance and see the steaming buckwheat cakes dripping with the best there is, feeling no personal inconvenience if it is not produced upon his own broad acres. If cholera overtakes his hogs, or if they are up-to-date hogs and die of pneumonia, he will not have to give up chewing "fine cut" or patch the seat of his corduroys with the tail of a worn-out "cut-away." If the New York apple crop is killed by a late frost he can draw upon the Oregon crop or munch Albermanle pippins. Peaches from South Africa at a quarter each will serve the needs of Farmer Black when the home crop meets its customary fate. If the winter's supply of potatoes freezes in the cellar during a record-breaking cold wave, Farmer Black will have caviar and pate de foie gras enough to winter upon contentedly.

There is plain old-fashioned farming, and there is up-to-date farming. There is farming intensive, extensive, comprehensive and expensive. But of all kinds of farming that which is best calculated to bring peace to the tired business man and gladden the heart of the man who seeks freedom from corroding care in some quiet place, nestling close to the great pulsing heart of nature, sung to slumber by the babbling brooks and awakened by the mockingbirds, aloof from the maddening throng's ignoble strife, remote from the city's dust and din, the method of Farmer Black who got his million first, is best.

## KENTUCKY'S POPULATION BY COLOR FOR ALL COUNTIES IN THE STATE

Washington, Dec. 5.—A preliminary statement of the white and negro population of Kentucky, by counties and principal cities, as shown by the returns of the thirteenth decennial census, taken as of April 15, 1910, was issued to-day by Director Durand, of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor. The statistics were prepared under the direction of William C. Taft, chief statistician for population in the Census Bureau, and are subject to later revision.

The total population of Kentucky in 1910 was subdivided as to color as follows: White, 2,027,955; negro, 261,656; all other persons (Indians, Chinese and Japanese), 294. The equivalent figures for 1900 were: White, 1,862,309; negro, 284,706; all other, 159. For 1890 they were: White, 1,590,462; negro, 268,071; all other, 102.

The negro population constituted 11.4 per cent. of the total population of the State in 1910, as against 13.3 per cent. in 1900 and 14.4 per cent. in 1890.

There has been a decrease since 1900 in the negro population of 23,050, or 8.1 per cent., as compared with an increase during the preceding decade of 16,635, or 6.2 per cent. The white population increased from 1900 to 1910 at about

one-half the rate for the preceding decade, the increase being 165,646, or 8.9 per cent., as compared with 271,847, or 17.1 per cent. for the decade 1890-1900.

Louisville city had a population in 1910 of 223,928, comprising 183,390 whites, 40,522 negroes, and 16 other persons (Indians, Chinese and Japanese). The equivalent figures for 1900 were: White, 165,590; negro, 39,139; all other, 2. For 1890 they were: White, 132,457; negro, 28,651; all other, 21.

The negro population of Louisville constituted 18.1 per cent. of the total in 1910, as against 19.1 per cent. in 1900 and 17.8 in 1890. The increase during the past decade in both the whites and negroes was at a much lower rate than for the preceding decade. This is particularly the case with respect to negroes, for which there was an increase of only 1,383, or 3.5 per cent., as compared with an increase from 1890 to 1900 of 10,483, or 36.6 per cent. The whites increased during the past ten years 17,800, or 10.7 per cent., as against an increase during the preceding decade of 33,133, or 25 per cent.

The white and negro population of Kentucky in 1910 and 1900 is given for each of the counties and principal cities as follows:

	1910			1900		
	*Total Population.	White.	Negro.	*Total Population.	White.	Negro.
The State	2,289,305	2,027,955	261,355	2,147,174	1,862,308	284,706
<b>COUNTIES.</b>						
Adair	16,503	15,028	1,475	14,888	13,294	1,594
Allen	14,882	13,972	910	14,667	13,559	1,068
Anderson	10,146	9,412	734	10,051	9,067	994
Ballard	12,890	11,106	1,585	10,781	9,259	1,502
Barren	25,283	21,703	3,580	23,197	19,410	3,787
Bath	13,988	12,652	1,236	14,734	13,042	1,632
Bell	23,447	26,527	2,920	15,701	13,947	1,754
Boone	9,420	8,942	478	11,170	10,390	810
Bourbon	17,462	11,819	5,642	18,069	11,278	6,792
Boyd	23,444	22,600	822	18,834	18,051	771
Boyle	14,968	10,515	4,163	13,817	9,026	4,781
Bracken	10,308	9,969	339	12,137	11,595	572
Breathitt	17,540	17,279	260	14,232	14,023	290
Breckenridge	21,034	19,452	1,581	20,534	18,433	2,096
Bullitt	9,437	8,808	679	9,602	8,508	1,004
Butler	15,803	15,244	561	15,896	15,171	725
Butler	14,063	11,643	2,520	14,510	11,735	2,776
Caldwell	19,867	18,798	1,069	17,633	16,375	1,258
Calloway	58,269	58,627	735	54,223	53,643	580
Campbell	9,048	8,655	393	10,196	9,557	638
Carlisle	8,110	7,580	530	9,825	9,021	804
Carroll	21,956	21,856	110	20,228	20,085	143
Carter	15,475	15,201	278	15,144	14,640	504
Casey	38,845	32,888	1,100	37,962	31,365	16,597
Christian	17,987	13,519	4,462	16,094	11,517	5,177
Clark	17,789	17,295	494	15,384	14,800	564
Clay	8,153	8,059	94	7,871	7,691	178
Clinton	13,296	12,708	588	15,191	14,315	876
Crittenden	9,846	8,822	1,024	8,962	8,040	922
Cumberland	41,020	35,824	5,195	38,667	33,111	5,554
Davless	10,469	10,050	439	10,080	9,628	452
Edmonson	9,814	9,809	1	10,337	10,335	2
Elliott	12,273	12,167	106	11,669	11,446	223
Estill	47,716	32,821	14,879	42,071	26,650	15,409
Fayette	16,066	15,089	1,027	17,074	15,489	1,585
Fleming	18,623	18,478	90	15,352	15,416	136
Floyd	31,135	17,389	3,746	29,852	16,501	4,948
Franklin	14,114	10,758	3,356	11,546	8,706	2,838
Gallatin	4,697	4,423	274	5,163	4,598	565
Garrard	11,824	9,610	2,284	12,042	9,006	2,946
Garrard	10,581	10,289	292	13,239	12,812	427
Graves	33,539	30,688	2,898	33,204	29,857	3,345
Grayson	19,858	19,625	333	19,878	19,459	428
Green	11,871	10,528	1,343	12,255	10,516	1,739
Greenup	18,475	18,208	267	15,432	15,190	272
Hancock	8,512	7,946	566	8,914	8,270	644
Hardin	22,686	20,870	1,826	22,957	20,866	2,071
Harlan	10,566	10,032	564	9,333	9,612	236
Harlan	16,873	15,122	1,750	18,570	16,148	2,421
Harrison	18,173	16,182	1,901	18,390	16,170	2,220
Hart	20,262	22,534	6,818	32,907	24,101	8,804
Henderson	12,716	11,924	1,792	14,620	12,690	1,930
Henry	11,759	9,984	1,765	11,745	9,622	2,123
Hickman	34,291	27,718	6,573	30,995	25,877	5,118
Hopkins	10,734	10,712	22	10,561	10,542	19
Jackson	262,920	217,110	45,794	232,549	188,530	43,976
Jefferson	12,613	9,650	2,962	11,925	8,578	3,349
Jessamine	17,482	17,436	47	13,730	13,729	1
Johnson	70,355	67,115	3,288	63,591	60,292	3,282
Kenton	10,791	10,632	157	8,704	8,535	169
Knott	22,116	21,050	1,069	17,272	16,618	754
Knox	10,701	9,916	785	10,754	9,982	782
Larue	19,872	19,210	667	17,592	16,332	1,260
Laurel	20,067	19,904	163	19,612	19,427	185
Lawrence	9,531	9,287	234	7,988	7,717	271
Lee	8,976	8,844	132	6,753	6,678	75
Leslie	10,623	10,606	17	9,172	9,126	46
Letcher	18,887	16,746	1,441	17,898	17,693	176
Lewis	17,897	14,942	2,955	17,059	13,547	3,512
Lincoln	10,627	9,957	670	11,864	10,576	1,288
Livingston	24,977	19,623	5,349	25,994	19,256	6,738
Logan	9,423	7,623	1,799	9,219	7,387	1,932
Lyon	35,064	27,127	7,934	28,733	21,439	7,293
McCracken	13,241	12,491	750	12,448	11,574	874
McLean	28,851	21,248	5,638	25,607	18,917	6,690
Madison	13,654	13,508	54	12,006	11,785	136
Magoffin	18,230	14,064	2,266	16,230	13,479	2,811
Marion	15,771	15,636	135	13,692	13,344	348
Marshall	7,231	7,287	4	5,780	5,765	15
Martin	18,611	15,741	2,868	20,446	16,678	3,768
Mason	9,793	9,128	655	10,533	9,643	890
Meade	6,153	6,115	40	6,818	6,777	41
Menifee	14,083	11,892	2,171	14,426	11,953	2,453
Mercer	10,453	9,651	794	9,988	8,939	990
Metcalfe	13,663	12,938	705	13,053	12,371	682
Monroe	12,868	9,674	3,192	12,834	9,349	3,483
Montgomery	16,259	16,225	34	12,792	12,739	53
Morgan	23,598	25,667	2,911	20,741	18,584	2,157
Muhlenberg	16,530	13,895	2,935	16,657	14,145	3,442
Nelson	10,601	9,705	896	11,952	10,620	1,332
Nicholas	27,942	26,354	1,288	27,287	25,894	1,393
Ohio	7,248	6,170	1,078	7,078	5,453	1,620
Oldham	14,248	13,305	943	17,533	16,083	1,470
Owen	7,879	7,904	75	6,874	6,901	73
Owsley	11,985	11,724	261	14,947	14,459	488
Pendleton	11,255	11,041	214	8,276	8,115	161
Perry	31,679	31,347	332	32,686	32,493	190
Pike	6,268	5,921	337	6,443	6,068	375
Powell	35,986	34,799	1,187	31,293	29,957	1,336
Robertson	4,121	4,051	70	4,900	4,772	128
Rockcastle	14,473	14,348	125	12,416	12,250	157
Rowan	9,438	9,379	59	8,277	8,223	54
Russell	10,861	10,654	207	9,696	9,401	294
Scott	16,868	12,912	4,044	18,076	13,014	5,062
Shelby	18,041	14,050	3,991	18,240	13,642	4,608
Simpson	11,460	9,295	2,165	11,024	9,074	2,550
Spencer	7,567	6,809	758	7,406	6,155	1,251
Taylor	11,961	10,532	1,429	11,075	9,432	1,643
Todd	16,488	11,145	5,343	17,371	11,202	6,169
Trigg	14,539	11,217	3,322	14,073	10,576	2,497
Trimble	6,512	6,370	142	7,272	7,071	201
Union	19,896	17,472	2,414	21,326	18,213	3,113
Warren	30,679	24,466	6,113	29,970	22,978	6,992
Washington	13,940	12,181	1,779	14,182	12,283	1,899
Wayne	17,618	16,779	739	14,892	14,281	608
Webster	20,974	18,331	2,643	20,097	17,708	2,380
Whitley	32,982	30,859	1,111	25,015	24,246	769
Wolfe	9,864	9,808	56	8,764	8,687	77
Woodford	12,571	8,847	3,724	13,134	8,415	4,719
<b>CITIES.</b>						
Covington	53,270	50,360	2,899	42,938	40,434	2,487
Frankfort	10,465	7,614	2,851	9,487	6,168	3,316
Henderson	11,452	8,436	3,016	10,272	6,241	4,029
Lexington	35,039	24,078	11,011	25,289	16,237	10,130
Louisville	223,928	185,390	40,822	204,731	165,530	39,181
Newport	30,300	29,740	560	28,301	27,877	424
Owensboro	16,011	12,985	3,115	13,183	10,136	3,045
Paducah	22,760	16,710	6,047	19,446	13,621	5,814

\*Includes Indians, Chinese and Japanese.

**Child Labor Conference.**

Louisville is fortunate in being the meeting place of the eighth annual Child Labor Conference. The child labor problem is a serious one, and all who are interested in better conditions should be glad to have light thrown on it by the able men and women who are leading the effort for its solution.

Thousands of children are working in factories who should be attending school. It is not right to deprive the child of his childhood; to handicap him in the struggle for existence; to rob him of that fair chance which should be everybody's in a country where we talk eloquently of "equal rights to all and exclusive privileges to none." But the question is many-sided and is not to be settled by a mere wave of the hand or twist of the wrist. As far back -- 1826 Massachusetts was legislating on the subject, and in one phase or another it has been legislated upon ever since. Practically every State in the Union has passed child labor laws, but in the census of 1900 it was reported that 1,750,178 children between 10 and 15 years of age were engaged in gainful occupations. The census figures for 1910 are not available, but it is scarcely probable that the number has decreased. The laws that have been enacted, however, have been of tremendous influence toward bringing about better working conditions.

The simple passage of prohibitory laws will not relieve the situation. There are educational, industrial, social and moral aspects of the child labor problem which inevitably must be considered. It is the purpose of the National Child Labor Committee, now meeting in Louisville, to study the problem along with all its correlated questions with a view to the ultimate eradication of the evil through enlightened public opinion.

One of the speakers at Thursday night's session of the committee got pretty close to the core of the matter when he said:

"We pass laws to keep children from working. We do this not because work is an evil; it is only an evil when performed under bad conditions and at the expense of the benefits the school should bestow; it is an evil when the physical or moral conditions surrounding children are unwholesome; when tender bodies are taxed through weary hours, which sap the vitality of the man or woman to-morrow, when the work is done without the oversight and companionship of elders interested in the child and thoughtful for his well-being. If every child could work in the home under the eye of a wise and interested father or mother, at tasks suited to his age and strength, and for a reasonable time each day, no greater boon could be conferred on our children."

The same speaker lent additional force to his address by the statement in substance that one of the paramount tasks of school administrators is "to make our public educational system fit the needs of the child of to-day." Other addresses of similar purport indicate that the National Child Labor Committee is going about its work thoroughly and with a sensible appreciation of the magnitude of the undertaking.

**Proposed Forestry Bill.**

Advocates of the awakening of interest in forestry in Kentucky have put before the Legislature a proposal that there shall be created a non-salaried commission of five members with the Governor a member of the commission; that there shall be a trained forester whose duty shall be to enlist the interest of private owners of land, to organize a fire warden system, and to develop a forestry policy for the State. It is further proposed that adequate fire protection provisions be enacted, and that the State be authorized to own land for experimental purposes and to reforest denuded watersheds at the sources of important streams.

The following plea for the enactment of such a forestry law is made by the writer of a letter to the Courier-Journal:

"Our present forest area is largely culled or cut over, but on a large per cent. of this area there yet remains some merchantable timber, though not always enough to warrant logging for profit.

"Again, on this forested area the annual growth is under seventy-five board feet per acre, while the consumption and waste amount to 200 board feet per acre; the timber is therefore being cut three times as fast as it grows. This gives rise, naturally, to the alarming statement that our merchantable timber supply will not support our present market demands more than fifteen years. We must then either reduce annual consumption or increase annual growth. A conservative estimate of the value of the timber in the form in which it leaves the counties from which it is cut is \$24,000,000 yearly. Of this we may safely say that 75 per cent. goes to the general public for labor and supplies, exclusive of lumbermen's or timber owners' profits. It is good business to make this large income permanent. This can be done by beginning now but interesting the public in a law that provides for better forest management. For example, if the annual growth is increased only twenty-five board feet per acre an increase in the available supply of timber will be 250,000,000 feet, which, at the lowest stumpage value, is worth more than a million dollars. To maintain the present timber business of Kentucky a net growth of more than 155 board feet per acre per year on all the now forested area will be necessary. This under wise direction can be approached gradually and probably be made permanent before the fifteen years and the famine era arrive.

"The bill calls for an appropriation of \$15,000. Now our present loss yearly by fire amounts to more than this sum. A conservative estimate places the forested area of Kentucky at about 19,000,000 acres, not all of merchantable timber, but forested and subject to fire. The per cent. per acre for protection from fire will only be one and one-half mills. Much of our Kentucky land, because of its topography and soil, is not fitted for agriculture, but is in the belt of the greatest hardwood-producing region of the world. Our forests stand third as our largest natural asset. Pennsylvania appropriates \$100,000 for her forests. Oregon has just passed a law appropriating \$100,000 for her forest management, so that \$15,000 seems a mere trifle to protect the young forests now in the sapling or seedling stage. It represents an insurance costing a mere pittance on the community interests threatened by fire besides the possible advantage to our future forest by better management. Without question the State in a short time will be reimbursed to an equal amount, and the expenditure now of \$15,000 annually will appeal to any business man the most profitable investment the State can possibly make. An increase of one foot board measure per acre will more than bring back this amount to the State."



It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the importance, even the imperative necessity, of forest conservation, or upon the ruinously rapid depletion of forest resources in Kentucky during the last twenty-five years. Within the memory of Kentuckians who are still this side of middle age an incalculable amount of large timber was piled at "log rollings" and burned in clearings to make way for agriculture. Much of the cultivated land is now worth far less than the forest once standing upon it would be worth to-day.

In the older section of the State, embracing the Bluegrass counties, there is very little unimpaired woodland left and practically no replanting is being done for the purpose of producing timber. The result is that a great deal of the Bluegrass section that was once a magnificent panorama of open meadow, "woods pasture" and forest is assuming a rather bare and bald aspect. For want of scientific attention, or attention of any kind, many of the remaining large trees are dying. Beyond question a great deal might be done for the agricultural sections of Kentucky, as well as for the still partly timbered areas, by the inauguration of a vigorous forestry policy and the education of land owners to the possibilities that lie in the expenditure of only a little time and money in an effort to repair the damages done by vandalism.

The Price-Thomas bill, we believe, embodies the essentials of the forestry programme mapped out by the writer of the letter here quoted. It is before a committee which will doubtless recommend its passage or the passage as it is drafted or amended to embody later suggestions looking to its improvement. If, in the judgment of the Legislature, a better bill than that pending can be framed a substitute should be passed, but the Legislature should not adjourn without taking some sort of a "stitch in time" to save the nine that will be necessary if forestry is longer neglected.

#### Large and Small Farms.

Census reports say there are nearly 50,000 farms in the United States which contain more than 1,000 acres each. It would be better for the prosperity of the country if all these farms were subdivided.

There are isolated instances where farms of this size are successfully conducted by individuals, but in most cases they thrive indifferently under the tenant system. There are men, like the late David Rankin, of Missouri, who have been able to build up large fortunes in farming, but they are the exceptions. Not many farmers have the resources and the executive ability for conducting a farm that contains more than 1,000 acres. As a rule better results are obtained from small farms than from large ones. The small tract of land that is tended by its owner and worked for all it is worth is more likely to receive intelligent attention and adequate maintenance than is the large farm which is partly, if not entirely, rented out. The tenant farmer has no interest in conserving the soil or in keeping up the appearance of the place. He is concerned only in growing a crop. He is not attached to any particular farm or locality. If fences decay it is no duty of his to replace them. If weeds and briars encroach on valuable land he considers it no business of his to remove them. If soil becomes unproductive he has but to look out for another lease.

The present tendency is toward smaller farms and more intensive farming. Twenty acres well tilled are better than a hundred acres indifferently cultivated. The nation is largely dependent for its sustenance on the industrious workers of the small farms and truck patches. It would early "go supperless to bed" if it had to rely on its thousand-acre farms.

GERMAN DEMOCRACY.

We do not believe that it is any way an exaggeration to say that the result of the German elections is the most portentous happening in the European politics of this century. If the returns from the earlier balloting might fairly be regarded as significant the more complete figures now before us are nothing less than startling; they exceed all reasonable expectation not only in the actual number of seats captured by the Social Democratic party, but more impressively yet in the popular vote recorded for them and in the character of the victory achieved. While apparently tightening their hold wherever, as in Berlin, they were already strong, their signal success in such centers of reaction as Cologne, Frankfort on the Main, Strasburg and Stuttgart is undeniable proof that democracy is in the saddle as well in Germany as elsewhere.

We have spoken of the popular vote; in 1907 the Social-Democrats polled, in round figures, 3,200,000 votes; that total has now risen to close to 4,500,000, an increase of just about 40 per cent. At the same time its representation which, at the dissolution was 53, is now within one of a hundred. It must be remembered moreover that the apportionment is such as to disfranchise all but half of the party, which has besides to fight unaided the formidable strength of that Center, which hitherto has regarded itself as impregnable. No other single party will return to the Reichstag with any victories to its credit or even with as many seats as it held at the dissolution. The Radicals have all but disappeared, the National Liberals are a sad and bedraggled remnant; Centrists lack a good deal of having a working majority.

Who then are these Socialists and what may so tremendous an advance in popular support and in actual representation be held to portend? What are the principles, what the demands of this triumphant democracy? Are they practical and achievable or theoretical and visionary? We have repeatedly pointed out and desire once more, to emphasize that the German Socialists, according to the common American acceptation of the term, are wrongly labeled. They began years back, as a protest against starvation; they strive now after an ampler life; violence has no longer a part in their teaching; they are less doctrinaire, more commonsensible. They are democrats, progressives; their platform has nothing anarchistic about it; it is revolutionary only in the sense that it would work great changes, serious economic and social changes.

The present regime is largely one dominated by the interests of great landed proprietors; it is a sort of agraria bureaucracy resting on an army, in which birth and court prestige are the only passports to promotion; class privilege and a graduated social ladder permeate not only official life, but, as we have recently seen, life professional and academic. Perhaps a single instance will be illuminating. There are, as is well known, many Jews in the German empire, their prominence is as varied and as multiform there as elsewhere: in all the arts, sciences and professions they are acknowledged leaders, but they do not go to court, they are not above noncommissioned rank in the army, they are "not wanted" even in the bureaus. They may develop the country, but, with the rarest exceptions they must not become leaders. Neither is an alien Jew acceptable in the diplomatic corps. The British Foreign Office, determined to break down this discrimination, has sent Sir Francis Oppenheimer, an Oxford man of international reputation, as attache to Berlin, and he has been accepted.

It is the entering wedge. In a sense it is as significant as the epochal victory of the Social-Democrats. Both are steps forward on the way to greater freedom of thought and action; steps that are never retraced. We do not look for any sudden or supreme changes of policy; we do look for lighter fiscal burdens on the German people, for a less harassing tariff, possibly even for some let-up in the oppressive naval and military programme. The attempt to fight the Social-Democratic party by an appeal to the anti-British feeling was evidently a flat failure; it may be now that better international relations may result. Democracy should spell brotherhood.

# DR. M'CORMACK ON STAND FOR MORE THAN 3 HOURS

## Noted Physician Riled by the Probers When He Is Called a "Smooth Lobbyist"—Submits Statement of Work of the Board of Health— Hearing in Progress in Frankfort.

FRANKFORT, Ky., Jan. 25.—  
For nearly three hours last night  
Dr. J. N. McCormack, Secretary of  
the State Board of Health, was  
quizzed by Representative L. B.  
Herrington, of Madison county, in-  
stigator of the "probe" into the af-  
fairs of the board, with a view to  
ascertaining whether appointments  
made by it are influenced by polit-  
tics, and for the purpose of ascer-  
taining just how the \$30,000 ap-  
propriated for the board by the  
last Legislature has been and is  
being expended. The investigation  
began at 8 o'clock, and it was al-  
most 11 o'clock before Dr. McCor-  
mack left the witness stand. The  
inquiry will continue through sev-  
eral days.

Last night's investigation was  
opened by a statement from Mr.  
Herrington, in which he said there  
was nothing personal in the inves-  
tigation. He explained the nature  
of the two bills introduced by him,  
one a measure giving to the Gov-  
ernor the right to appoint members  
of the State Board of Health with-  
out dictation on the part of the  
various medical societies of the  
State, and the other moving the  
headquarters of the State Board  
of Health from Bowling Green to  
Frankfort.

### Respects to Dr. McCormack.

Mr. Herrington, in opening his  
statement, paid what he termed a  
high compliment to Dr. McCor-  
mack, referring to him as the  
"smoothest, most plausible, most  
persuasive and at the same time  
most powerful lobbyist ever known."  
He said he would show that  
the State Board of Health is

not being conducted in the best in-  
terests of Kentucky, that it is nom-  
inated by a machine that required  
thirty years in the making. Dr.  
McCormack, he said, names three  
members of the county board of  
health in each county and absolute-  
ly controls the State Board. He  
further charged that he had appoint-  
ed members of his own family and  
his friends to the best positions un-  
der the board. The county boards  
of health controlled by Dr. McCor-  
mack also appoint his friends to po-  
sitions, Mr. Herrington said.

He further declared that the sec-  
retary of the State Board of Health  
dominates the State Medical As-  
sociation. During the quizzing of  
Dr. McCormack later in the hear-  
ing, Mr. Herrington asked a ques-  
tion that all but brought the vet-  
eran of many sessions of the Leg-  
islature to his feet.

"There are questions," he said  
"which a gentleman should not  
ask and which a gentleman would  
not answer."

Chairman Schoberth rapped for  
order.

"There are some things that I  
will not stand for," Dr. McCormack  
replied, and immediately regained  
his composure.

That which aroused his ire was  
a question as to whether during the  
thirty years he has been attending  
sessions of the Legislature he had  
ever lobbied for a measure backed  
by a railroad company. He finally  
replied emphatically that he had  
not.

Following the opening statement  
of Mr. Herrington, Dr. McCor-  
mack made a statement in part as  
follows:

In his address to the committee Dr. J. N. McCormack said in part:

"In order to economize in time, with your permission, I present you the minutes of the State Board of Health, showing its operation in detail from its creation over a generation ago to the last meeting held in this hotel on the 10th of the present month; the treasurer's books and numbered vouchers for each item, accounting for every dollar appropriated and expended by the board since I became its secretary, October 1, 1883, and containing for each year a report of the committee appointed to audit the books and vouchers, certifying to their correctness at the bottom of each annual statement. These minutes and financial transactions have been published for each biennial period, and widely distributed.

"When the enlarged appropriation became effective January 1, 1911, after discussion with the board, and conference with the present and former State Examiners, it was decided that the method of keeping the financial records could be improved and extended, and I present to you a full detailed, numbered statement of each expenditure under the appropriation of \$30,000, with a voucher-check receipt and itemized account corresponding to each entry, and indicating the department for which the expense was incurred, duplicates of these voucher-checks having been filed with the Auditor of Public Accounts, as required by law.

"Attached to this financial statement will be found the report of the Potter-Matlock Trust Company, employed to audit the books and vouchers, and that of the Auditing Committee of the board appointed for the same purpose. All of these itemized statements and other matters will be embraced in the forthcoming volume of transactions and open to every citizen.

#### Diseases in Cattle.

"In 1886 an appropriation of \$6,000 was made to stamp out pleura-pneumonia in cattle. Only \$3,000 was drawn out, the board stamped out the disease for \$2,480, \$520 was converted back into the treasury and the other \$3,000 remains there, available for a similar emergency. So in 1893 an emergency fund of \$10,000 was created against cholera, yellow fever and other exotic pestilence. Upon the approval of the Governor \$2,000 of this was used during the yellow fever epidemic of 1898, and \$8,000

remains in the treasury to be used with the approval of the Governor or if the state should be seriously threatened by any great epidemic disease.

"In this connection it may be of interest to you to know that the board was created upon the recommendation of Gov. McCreary in 1878 to meet the emergency of an epidemic of yellow fever then raging in the South, and that, before the appropriation became available, with funds raised upon the personal credit of its members, who served then, as now, without compensation, it was in the field fighting to protect the health and lives of our people.

#### Under \$30,000 Appropriation.

"When the \$30,000 appropriation was secured it was at once decided to try to do twice or thrice that amount of work with it. With this end in view competitive bids were secured on all laboratory and other equipment and supplies, much of the scientific apparatus coming from abroad duty free, with a saving of 50 per cent. or more. The heads of departments and employes were put upon minimum salaries and stimulated to do the best that was in them by promise of better compensation as soon as all the cost of equipment was paid. All of them have made good, and the bacteriological department has saved more to the people on diphtheria and rabies serums alone than its entire cost for the year, and without adverse legislation the good to come to the homes of our people from these activities is beyond computation. We have the best equipped laboratories in Kentucky for their purposes and scope, and I ask you to visit and inspect them as the Health Committee of both houses have been asked to do.

"A few men have tried to dominate Kentuckians, but no one has ever succeeded. I hold no office in the State Medical Association and have not for twenty-eight years, when I was its president and my opinions have weight with my profession only because of what I have done for it. This hand has written every health and medical law on our statute books in our normal and hundreds of district and high schools, and almost every health circular and leaflet. I led the organization movement in every county, pleading for and securing harmony where there had been discord, and bringing together all schools of practice. Completing the organization of my own state, nine years ago, after consultation with the board, and upon its advice that the board's prestige,

and my usefulness would be greatly increased thereby, accepted the position of chairman of the Committee on Organization and Health lecturer of the American Medical Association for the United States and, in that capacity have inspected and spoken upon health conditions in every principal city and county in this country. In doing this my engagements were such that I only missed two meetings of the board and could always be here should an epidemic occur.

"Upon the completion of the laboratories, the possibilities of good to our own people so impressed me that I resigned this position with its salary of \$6,000, over the protest of the National Association, to devote the remainder of my active life to the improvement of health conditions in my native state, upon the same salary paid my stenographer, and which I have never asked to be increased in all these thirty years."

## NO SAVED SOUL IN LOST BODY

Declares Dr. Powell In Sermon On Social Reform.

Interprets the Meaning of Heavenly Citizenship.

Says Church Should Welcome Workers As Allies.

GIVES AIM OF RELIGION

Heavenly work constitutes heavenly citizenship, declared the Rev. Dr. E. L. Powell at the First Christian church last night, whether it be done in connection with church organization or with ecclesiastical approval. He said that the man who simply has a symbol of orthodoxy under which he fights is not so much a soldier as the man who, without the symbol, does the fighting that wins the victory. He said the church should welcome as allies those who are engaged in the same work for which the church was established, instead of regarding them as strangers and aliens. The aim of the religion of Jesus Christ and of every social reformer who is in earnest, he said, is to fashion anew the body politic, the body industrial and the body social and to bring about a new environment for souls to dwell in.

A stenographic report of the sermon follows:

"I have a great text for the sermon tonight. It is found in the fourth chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, and the twentieth and twenty-first verses: 'For our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory according to the working whereby He is able even to subject all things unto Himself.'

### Speaks of Citizenship.

"Our citizenship is in heaven, so declares the same writer who, on a former occasion and under a different set of circumstances, affirmed, 'I am a citizen of no mean city.' Are there two citizenships? Is one earthly and the other heavenly? Is it possible for one to be a citizen of Tarsus and at the same time to be a citizen of the New Jerusalem? Is there any conflict between earthly duties and privileges and heavenly duties and privileges? The answer to these inquiries gives to us the meaning and interpretation of this text.

"There can be for us at this time but one citizenship, and this citizenship must be brought, in its duties and privileges, under heavenly guidance and control. We must make earth and sky to meet. We must make the mountain and the valley kiss each other. We must live this earthly life under the spell of new altitudes. We must sail our earthly ships under the guidance and by the reckoning of the stars. This is to have one's citizenship in heaven. This is the reconciliation between the duties of this world and what some nonbelievers sneeringly call 'other worldings.' If we shall at all discharge our duties as citizens here in any worthy fashion it can be done only under the influence and the inspiration of heaven. For what is citizenship?

"There are those who imagine or seem to believe that citizenship consists in the bestowment of a certain privilege known as suffrage, that one becomes a citizen by right bestowed upon him by government to vote. Technically, the right of suffrage makes one a citizen. Citizenship swings infinitely beyond the handling of a ballot. Our sisters who are interesting themselves so eagerly in woman suffrage, I fear, are under the impression that they will be made more of citizens in having the privilege of suffrage. It may be so; I believe it is.

### Good Citizens Without Suffrage.

"But I also believe that they are better citizens, in the true sense of the word, to-day without the suffrage than thousands upon thousands who have the right of suffrage and nothing more. To be the mother of the Gracchi was to be a better Roman citizen than to have all the authority of civil government held in the hands of some Caligula or some Nero. Citizenship is the opportunity to serve society. Citizenship is the acceptance of social responsibility. Citizenship is the consecration of individual power to the kingdom of God. Citizenship is seeking, so far as the individual is concerned, the greatest good of the greatest number. Citizenship is the sacrifice of individual liberty and rights to the larger liberty and rights of the body politic. There can be no citizenship that is individualistic. One becomes immediately a stranger and an alien to the Commonwealth when he cares for his artificial and individual rights apart from his relationship to the common body.

"One reason why there is so much turmoil and turbulence in connection with social life is due to the fact that men and women are seeking something beyond that which enters into the acceptance of the solemn obligations and responsibilities of citizenship. As at present constituted, our American citizenship holds within itself the redemptive power of society. It is not an ornament; it is not a badge of decoration. It is the doing of one's duty in his particular place or station, as that duty necessarily relates to him. What then? It follows that one's citizenship is in heaven when he is engaged in the work of social betterment, in the work of social regeneration. It matters not whether he is in this fold or in that fold, it matters not whether he is in the church or independent of the church, his citizenship is in heaven if he is engaged in the heavenly enterprise of bringing in the kingdom of God upon earth.

### Tells of Declaration.

"Very recently I listened to one who declared that the work of the Hull House in Chicago was godless and anti-Christ. I replied that if it were thus thought of by anybody, it only showed a dullness of moral distinctions which confused God and the devil. One who would make such an assertion in connection with such an enterprise is so morally obtuse as to confuse a glare from hell for a gleam of heaven.

"Is the rose which blooms out in the common less a rose, in its beauty and fragrance, because it does not bloom in the garden? Shall we say of any social enterprise that it has not stamped upon it the approval of heaven and is not being carried forward under the inspiration of heaven when its work are heavenly?

"We have been entertaining this week a convention known as a Child Labor and Education convention. Among its delegates are Jews and Catholics and Social Settlement workers and faithful, devoted consecrated church members. The work to which these representatives are devoting themselves is the liberation of the child from such conditions as make impossible the development of child life in normal fashion. Are these people engaged in a secular enterprise? Is their citizenship other than heavenly? Would the Son of Man Who said, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not,' have frowned upon the labors of any of these delegates because they were working independently of church organization or independently of orthodox ecclesiastical approval? What constitutes heavenly citizenship? Heavenly work.

"The man who simply has a symbol under which he is fighting marked 'Orthodoxy' is not proving himself so much of a soldier as the man who, without the symbol, does the fighting that wins the victory. The Church of Jesus Christ is narrowing and impoverishing its life in regarding as strangers and aliens those who are engaged in precisely the same work for which the church of Jesus Christ was established.

### Should Be Welcomed.

"Let us welcome them as our allies. Let us catch inspiration from their high endeavor. Let us claim them as our own. The sort of work done determines of whose fold they are, and for my part I can see the Son of Man standing among any set of people who are engaged in the most holy and most sacred social work of this age and generation—that of making possible a citizenship that shall be worthy and ready to take hold of the still great tasks that are before us as a nation.

"I wish to speak to-night of the Christian social programme, its aim, its method, its inspiration. It seems proof conclusive that Christianity is seeking the betterment, the salvation, the redemption of social life when one meets on the pages of the New Testament such a text as that which has been announced to-night. We have in this text the aim, the method, the inspiration of all social endeavor. What is the aim of the true social reformer and propagandist? It is, in the language of this very text, to fashion anew the body of our humiliation, the body politic, the body industrial, the body social and to change it into a glorious body with a manhood suited to deal with the new environment.

"That is the aim of the religion of Jesus Christ. That is the aim of every social reformer to-day who is in earnest with reference to the bringing about of a new social life for souls to dwell in. The same writer catches the vision in different language when he talks of this groaning creation being delivered into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. It is not individual salvation of which he is thinking; it is collective salvation. It is not the saving of an individual here and there, but the saving of society.

### Problems To Be Solved.

"There can be no individual salvation apart from social salvation. This is the aim of the social propagandist of to-day. I do not see how it could be more accurately described. The problem of poverty, the problem of industry, the problem of child labor, the problem of the home, all of these problems are before us for solution. But what makes them problems?

"There is an industrial problem because of the incongruous and inconsistent relationship of the industrial life with the aim which is in our hearts and toward which we are pressing. If it were not for the aim there would be no problem. If it were not for the ideal there would be no call for any solution of a problem. The problem is that what ought to be does not exist in social life, in industrial life, in political life, in religious life. What ought to be is the aim towards which we are pressing. Because of the slowness of the attainment of this aim and the relationship of society in our minds towards its attainment, we have a social problem.

"So, then, the method of social regeneration comes naturally before us for consideration. What is that method? Waiting for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. Immediately I can see a smile upon the face of the average radical social reformer. We are to wait for a Saviour, are we? That is like telling us that we want roses rather than bread; that is giving moonshine to those that are shivering with cold; that is only shallow and mushy sentimentalism. You tell us to wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, as we walk among scenes of destitution and overcrowding, as men and women feel the grinding power of a cruel and remorseless capitalism. And yet if social regeneration has any meaning whatsoever, just that is the method.

### No Saved Soul In Lost Body.

"I do not mean that we are to minimize social agencies while we wait. It means that we must spiritualize the social agencies, if the end is to be attained. I do not mean that we can save the souls of men by any gospel if we do not save the environment of those souls. You cannot have a saved soul in a lost body nor can you have a saved environment in a lost soul. The two must go together. The religious emphasis is indispensable, absolutely indispensable, or otherwise our social redemption would consist in improved housing, improved feeding and improved environment, and nothing more.

"What is social redemption? More wages, and fewer hours of labor, says the laborer. Let it be granted, let the demand be met. Has there been redemption for the laborer? Suppose he has no capacity, no self-respect, no imagination, no faith, no vision, no appreciation of the beautiful and of the true and of the good, what has been done for him? You have simply given to one wholly unfit for his environment a better environment with which he is not at all fitted or capacitated to deal.

"One of the things which is clearly taught in the history of the people of Israel is that no nation can be made free until the soul has been awakened. The finest thing that was ever done by a statesman was done by Moses when he made the people of Israel, dwelling in bondage in Egypt, to want to be free. If he had brought them forth into the larger land without the desire for freedom, without the appreciation of liberty, they would still have been slaves, and what could they have done with their new environment?"

### Social Redemption.

"Social redemption: What does it mean? It means the redemption of the soul, for our social mal-adjustments grow out of wrong soul conditions. You cannot set right a soul as you would set right a building that is out of plumb. You can do that by mechanical means. You can do that by bringing to bear the square and the compass upon the operation, but souls are to be set right only as those souls come under the influence of the only life possible for a soul, with faith and hope and love and duty and beauty and truth.

"If the social reformer is contemplating nothing more than better housing for those who are in the tenement house district of the big cities, I do not see that he is engaged in any high enterprise, except insofar as flesh and blood in a man are perhaps a little more valuable than flesh and blood in an animal, or is doing any more than Mr. Hagan, in Lexington, in building his magnificent stables for his magnificent horses. What is it that constitutes life? It is that thing which comes from above, that thing toward which all men at some time or another turn their faces longingly and pleadingly. The thing that is killing to-day in our high social life as well as in our lower social life is the deadening, chilling, killing commonplace of materialism. There are rich men dwelling in palaces in New York who need more social redemption than many a man who has got at least something to eat and some sort of a house to cover him and who is communing at some time in the day or in the year with high thoughts and knows the glow of high feelings.

### Compared With Socialism.

"Now, my friends, I have emphasized this programme of social regeneration to set it over against the programme of a radical blatant anarchistic socialism. I have a book here in which is set forth some of the theories of socialism of the red flag—the radical wing of socialism. One writer says, 'The first word of religion is a lie.' 'The idea of God,' said Marx, 'must be destroyed; it is the keystone of a perverted civilization.' 'It is useless,' adds another writer, 'blinking the fact that the Christian doctrine is more revolting to the higher moral sense of to-day than the Saturnalia of the cult of Proserpina could have been to the conscience of the early Christians.' Still another writer affirms, 'Social democracy turns against Christ and the church because it sees in them only the means of providing a religious foundation for the existing economic order.'

"The programme of socialism as thus defined is politely to put God to the frontier of the universe and politely to bow Him off without even so much as a thanksgiving for previous service rendered. What does it mean? It means that you want an engine turned out of a shop, where the finest work has been done, with no steam to run it. It means that you want a tree with its lumber value without recognizing the influence of sun or shower in the development of that tree to the point where it may become a staple and useful product.

"You can no more have social redemption without the religious emphasis than you can have a body without the spirit animating it, giving to it whatever power of service and activity it might possess. I am not making any plea at all for less social activity. I affirm, as already indicated, that every earnest social reformer is a religious reformer. I do not care by what name he may be called. I claim that the aim of all this process, the aim of all this unrest and social disquiet is to bring about upon this earth a larger section of the kingdom of God, and if this be not its aim then there is no meaning or interpretation whatever to be placed upon the conscientious and consecrated efforts to-day in behalf of women and children, in behalf of improved industrial and social and economic conditions. Why, you say, that leads simply in its final analysis to the need of a revival in Wall street, a revival in religion! Well, you might go further and fare worse.

"You say, the conscienceless plutocrat! Why, what has he got to do with conscience? You want to reform present capitalistic conditions? You begin by affirming that the trouble with the man is that he is conscienceless. Well, who is going to deal with conscience? How are

we going to get hold of conscience? Appoint a committee of ways and means, organize a society, agitate by means of this philosophy or that philosophy? There is no way other than the redemption of conscience by a power that is not to be found in any organization whatsoever. Our capitalists need religion, in so far as they are to have charged against them cruelty and a remorseless and oft-unsatisfied greed at the expense of their employees.

#### Evangelist to Trust Magnates.

"Some man wrote to me not long ago representing some labor union to this effect: Do not ask us to indorse this movement of holding religious meetings in the shops or in the factories. I would suggest, said the writer, that you have a few prayer meetings appointed and send a few evangelists to some of the offices of our great monopolists and trust magnates.

"Do you think that is pretty good philosophy? The wrong, wherever it is, whether in the capitalist, or in the laborer, is a wrong growing out of the soul condition of the capitalist or the laborer. So, once again, comes the thunder of the great message of the greatest Social Reformer this world has ever known, 'The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth.'

"But I am detaining you too long, and so I want to conclude this sermon by speaking of the inspiration of the social reformer. The inspiration is found in the ideal. The ideal, as already indicated, is the giving of room for the souls of men, in the midst of our complicated and complex social and industrial and religious civilization. Room for the soul! I know of no better motto for your social reformed, 'Room for the Soul of the Child.' Let that demand be made in the name of the lover of little children. Let that demand be made with all the passion and earnestness and love of those who recognize that there is no life whatsoever that is worth a moment's consideration apart from soul life. The child must have the opportunity to develop its life under the influence of ideals, under the influence of faith, under the influence of hope, under the influence of things that are true and beautiful and good. Room for the soul of the child! Room for the soul of the laborer who is cramped and impoverished—not being so much impoverished for want of better housing and better wages and a shorter day's service, but impoverished for want of a better thing that many of these laborers would curse—want of an ideal, want of something that can lift them out of a base and miserable condition into a service of enthusiasm and high joy. Room for the soul of the laborer! Room for the soul of the capitalist, if he has got one! And if he has not one, then the problem of industrial labor will never be solved.

#### Problem With Capitalists.

"The problem is with the capitalist. The problem is with the laborer. You may put him behind the bars of the penitentiary, and it may be a good place for him, but that is not to solve the problem of industry. Not until the capitalist comes into the consciousness of the fact that he has a soul and lets the light and shine and sheen of heaven play upon that soul, leading him to use his mighty power to high social ends, shall we have the longed-for redemption. When that mo-

ment comes, you will hear the sound of music in the toppling over of existing evils, and when the great-souled capitalist becomes the social leader you may depend upon it that we are coming more nearly to the realization of the principles of the kingdom of God as a result of all our prayer-meetings and of our preaching.

"The social reformer must get his inspiration from his ideal. No man can continue his labors except as the light of the star shines above his head.

"One thing is sure: Righteousness and love and conscience must and shall find a congenial environment for themselves. This is a God's world, and it shall in its every feature by and by come to be the incarnation and embodiment of God's will on this earth. I do not look for the New Jerusalem immediately. I do not look for the coming down of the city of God to dwell among men within the day or the hour. It is coming, and coming fast.

"There are better social conditions in this country than in any country of the world. There are higher ideals. I verily believe, in this materialistic America of ours than in any nation of the world. We are coming more and more to put our hand on the real sore spot of our civilization. The inner life must be changed in order that the outward environment may not be changed. Was it Mrs. Browning who sang 'Your Fouriers failed in their great work of social regeneration because they were not poets good enough to recognize that life develops from within and not from without.' The kingdom of God is within you, and must get in you before it shall ever find outward and visible expression in higher social life, cleaner home life, nobler industrial life, grander political life. It is coming.

## CASSIUS M. CLAY

### ON THE INITIATIVE, THE REFERENDUM AND THE RECALL.

He Thinks Them Opposed to the Stability and Order of Representative Government.

### AN INCISIVE EXPRESSION.

(To the Editor of the Courier-Journal.)

These questions are now being considered by the public, and it much concerns us, before we get irrevocably committed to these policies, that we critically examine them and understand their probable bearings and final results. On account of the faults of human nature, or a lack of mental and emotional balance, there is a strong tendency, on social and political questions in public opinion, when once aroused, to go to extremes, and, like the swing of a pendulum, to only return to a just equilibrium after having gone far beyond such point. To illustrate, the general tendency to a concentration of capital and to the formation of large monopolistic corporations, with their attending abuses of the rights and the opportunities of the average man, has brought on in the public mind a disposition not only to adequately regulate and control them in the interests of the people, but also to resort to extreme and radical, and even harmful, and, as we believe, abortive, means of preventing such abuses in the future. The Public Mind, for the time being, is liable to lose sight of the fact that wisdom lies in moderation, and in not considering only one factor of a problem, when, maybe, many should be regarded. In order to get at evils apparently quickly, they may be sowing the seeds of instability and anarchy.

#### Our Constitutional System.

We believe in our form of well-balanced, constitutional, representative government, in which individual rights are amply guaranteed and protected and individual development prompted, and, consequently, as the quality of the units determine the quality of the whole, general welfare advanced. We consider an absolute or unlimited democracy as anarchy, and as no better than a one-man despotism; nay, even worse, for the despotism of the mob is worse than that of one man. The democracies of ancient times illustrate evils of unbridled democracy, in which there was no check on the instant will of the mere majority. The great glory of our forefathers of the Revolution in establishing our form of government and of their successors in perpetuating it, is that, while they preserved the spirit and substance of democracy, they imposed checks and restraint upon the will of the mere majority, so that sudden injustices, passions and instabilities were eliminated and its final will tempered down to comparative justice and wisdom. They divided the delegated powers of the National Government (and about the same way in regard to the undelegated, of the States) into three equal and independent departments, and provided that neither of these should exercise any of the powers of either of the others.

As you well know, these departments are the Executive, Legislative and Judicial. The Legislative department was divided into two bodies, elected for a different term and by a different constituency, each having a veto upon the other. Also the Executive was given a qualified vote in legislative matters. In addition they gave to the courts the duty, among other things, of keeping all within their constitutional limits, and above all they placed a written constitution in which certain rights of the individual and the States were placed above the power and control of any or all of these departments, or that of any mere majority. As a matter of course, there was a way prescribed in

which this constitution could be amended. As a consequence, we have a stable and well-regulated liberty.

Any attempt to break down these guarantees and balances can only lead to a less stable and protected liberty for the individual. The individual needs less the power along with mob, to impose upon others, than protection in the enjoyment of his rights of life, liberty and property.

#### Unlimited Democracy.

One of the great advantages of representative democratic government as contrasted with unlimited democracy, consists in the fact that in this way you commit the making of laws, their execution and adjudication to trained bodies of men of ability, knowledge and experience who are far better qualified than the average voter to perform their respective functions, and these men, with a fixed tenure of office, are selected directly or indirectly by the people, and are responsible to them for the performance of their duties. In the proportion that they are better qualified will the quality of the government be above the possible attainment and competency of the average voter, acting for himself, and by so much as by the checks and balances of our system, the spasmodic popular waves of sentiment and emotion of the masses are eliminated and their logical and reasonable purposes conserved, will the government gain in the intelligence, continuity and stability of its policies. Finally, the power rests with the average voter, and should he determine, which heretofore he has had the good sense and conservatism not to do, that he himself will perform these various functions, then the Government descends to his level in quality and efficiency; and this is the case in proportion to the extent in which he exercises these functions.

Let us for a moment see who is the average voter. In a county polling 5,001 votes, he is the one after selecting out 2,500 of the more competent voters. Now, in many cases, the more intelligent influence the less intelligent voter, but on some questions, and these socially the most dangerous, the average voter controls and decides the result. Our objection to the referendum—and it is the least objectionable of the three—is that it relieves the legislator of that personal and efficient responsibility that can nowhere else be so wisely placed. The responsibility of passing good laws is now placed where there is comparative efficiency and competence. With the referendum, the legislator is relieved of the full extent of the responsibility of seeing that the measure is well matured and perfected and the best that he can possibly make it. To illustrate this, we know of a recent instance, where a constitutional amendment of great importance, though not satisfactory to many members in our Legislature, was allowed to be submitted to the people without protest or opposition, on the plea that the people would decide for themselves. As a matter of fact, said amendment was not discussed by both sides before the people, only misleading statements as to its effects being made by its supporters, and little or nothing said in opposition. The vote was very light and very little interest taken, and the votes of many counties not counted in the final result; yet this amendment was of vast importance to the State.

We only refer to this case to show that, with the referendum, no adequate consideration will be given measures by the Legislature, and that the average voters themselves have neither time, opportunity nor aptitude for proper discussion and decision. Such measures, except in rare cases where there is a strong personal and local interest, as, for instance, temperance questions, will excite but little interest among the people, and but few will even vote for or against them. On the other hand, the legislators, being freed from the full responsibility for the results of such legislation, will not adequately perform their full legislative duties of seeing that these measures, properly perfected, are wise and far-seeing.

#### The Initiative.

Now, in regard to the Initiative. We shall not speak of any particular form of the initiative, but only of the general principles involved. The proper making of laws, or business of wisely legislating, is really one of the most difficult and complicated of professions. To make suitable and wise laws requires more intelligence and comprehensive knowledge than is required in the successful practice of any of the learned professions. History, sociology, political economy and many



other kinds of knowledge should contribute to the equipment of the wise legislator; in fine, as much of human knowledge as possible should assist in the making of a code of laws, consistent with the moral and intellectual development of the times. Not only this, but the fullest opportunity and time for debate and amendment should be given for the perfecting of measures. The business of legislating requires a concentration of effort impossible to the average voter at home, attending to his daily business, even were he qualified otherwise.

On the other hand, the selected representative is generally far above the average voter in intelligence. He devotes all his time during the legislative session to consideration of public measures. He has, through discussion, the benefit of the best talent in the Assembly, as well as in the State, for eminent men are called in to address the committees on important questions. He has the benefit of a wise legislative organization for the accomplishment, through committees and otherwise, of the best results, and a library adapted to the wants of a legislator. A bill in each legislative body read three times, after more or less delay, and opportunity for debate and amendment. For the convenience of perfecting, it is printed at the amendment stage and every opportunity given for putting in the best form. Having passed one house, the same process is gone through with in the other. After a bill has passed both houses it goes to the Governor, who can veto it if he thinks proper, in which case of a veto it has to be passed by both houses before becoming a law. Even after all these pains taken by competent persons, much bad legislation is passed, and also many measures thrown out by the courts on account of unconstitutionality.

Again, how many laws have the opposite effect from that intended by their framers? If I had time I could give many instances. Now, let us take the other side, and we must deal with the average voter, for he decides. The average voter is intensely occupied with making a living for himself and family, and it is impossible for him to get adequately posted about the details of public measures. He has no opportunity of hearing on both sides intelligent and thorough debate about these questions, and if he does hear anything it is in all probability an ad captandum, one-sided partisan argument. He has no opportunity of amending or perfecting a measure. The effect of all this, as a general thing, will be he will take no interest, and either give an unintelligent vote, or else leave the decision as to the passage of the law to an interested or manipulating few. While the average voter can give no proper consideration to the enacting of laws, he can easily much better make an intelligent choice under our system in the selecting of legislators. For instance, the average man with moderate pains can select a capable lawyer to conduct his complicated law case while utterly incompetent to do so himself, or a learned surgeon to perform some difficult operation on a member of his family, for which he himself is utterly incapable.

Let us investigate for a moment some of the evils of letting the people act directly as legislators. Nothing so injures a State as ill-considered and hasty laws. They increase litigation and make insecure all the rights of person and property. They much increase the cost of government, while depressing and discouraging all business and industry. All socialists and anarchists, so far as I know, are in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall of officials, as they well know that they are an efficient lever of breaking down the present arrangements of society and government and of producing that insecurity and instability that they welcome in their effort to revolutionize our present system of land ownership, distribution of property, marriage and other institutions of society. While this last is not a logical argument against these measures, still it should arouse our suspicions and increase our care and pains in their consideration. The advocates of the recall and initiative cry out that we do not trust the people. The same plea would do away with the Constitutions and the check and balances of our system. The

same plea would relegate us to the system of Athens, where one day a citizen was voted a hero and a general, and another was condemned to drink the hemlock; where hardly any prominent man lived through his career without either his property being confiscated, being sent into exile or condemned to death. In the case of Athens the territory was very limited, the diversity of interests very small, and citizenship and the resultant suffrage not general, but restricted, and of the highest intellectual quality the world has ever seen. Yes, we believe in trusting the people, but for their own good, in the legal and constitutional way of our system—a way that the wishes of our fathers and their successors and the centuries of civilization and governmental progress demand. Sometimes representatives abuse their trust, for all human arrangements are more or less faulty; still, it is far better to turn out these unworthy servants at the end of their terms than to utterly disarrange and destroy the advantages of our system. At the worst, the misrepresentation in legislation can but a short time delay the passage of any proper and necessary legislation that is demanded by a wise and predominant public sentiment.

\*\*\*  
**The Recall.**

A few words about the recall of officials and we are done. We will be very brief. The same reasons so ably given by President Taft and others against the recall of Judges more or less prevail against the recall of other officials. No official can fully do his duty under the din of popular clamor, and the effect of the system would be to put demagogues and blather-sites in office and to debar the better class of men from office. If an official is liable at any time to have snap judgment taken on him he cannot, from a selfish standpoint, afford to antagonize any sudden emotion or passion of his constituency. While officials should be under the legitimate control of the voters, it is far better that they should have the reasonable time given them by their legal term of office in which to justify their actions and policy. Again, the frequent elections would disturb business and retard prosperity, and, farther than all else, would give instability and confusion to governmental policy, that would, in the highest degree, be detrimental to any continual and consistent reforms. Someone will say, will not the recall relieve us of bad officials? It might in a few cases, but we must consider the average effects of such policy. It is far better that a few unsatisfactory officials (if they act corruptly they can be legally removed from office) should serve out their limited terms than that we should suffer all the evils of the proposed system. Again, the reforms—I speak of the control and regulation of trusts and monopolies and like subjects—that have aroused the demand for these radical and crude measures of initiative, referendum and recall, have substantially already been effected or in a successful way of being accomplished by our present system without resorting to any strain upon our representative and constitutional form of government. The delay has occurred, not from a want of proper power in Government to effect the needed results, but from the newness and the complicated nature of the great industrial questions involved, and the adequate and complete solution can only come from a clear realization of all the factors and conditions of the problems, a knowledge that necessarily comes slowly and to a great extent by experience. Our present representative, constitutional Government can, when knowledge comes, I am sure, adequately meet all the requirements of the problems of the present and future without resorting to radical and revolutionary policies that may be destructive of our individual rights of American and Anglian liberty.

Finally, to sum up, we think that if the three measures were adopted the effect would be to give uncertainty and instability to our governmental policies, very much impede the business prosperity of the country, and weaken or destroy the guarantees of our personal and property rights.

C. M. CLAY.

Paris, Bourbon County, Ky.

#### HONESTY IN POLITICS.

We often hear it said that a man can not be honest when engaged in politics. A man may have the reputation of square dealing in all relations of life as a private citizen, but when he goes into politics it is necessary for him to forget his past and resort to all kinds of dishonesty. Is this statement true? We think not. It is true there is much dishonesty in public life and men of character do not care to resort to some of the things that many do to get an office. Indeed a man who has earned a good reputation and maintains the confidence of his community hesitates to run for office. Consequently the people have come to look upon the office-holding class with more or less suspicion, and are not very much surprised when the charges of graft are preferred against officials. We do not intend to say that every office-holder is dishonest. There are some men in public life today who are absolutely honest and are trying to do their duties conscientiously. And these very men are the successful ones. They occasionally go down in defeat, but when the facts are known, as they will certainly be, the honest men have the gratitude of an appreciative people. They are certain to win in the end.

But some are ready to say the ideal does not succeed in public life. Men must be practical. The word "practical" is used in a good many ways, and is usually construed to mean, carrying your point regardless of the methods you use. The political boss has been able to dominate parties by practical methods, and as long as people are indifferent he will continue in power and grow richer every year from the spoils of office. Why shouldn't we have higher ideals in public life? The business man who succeeds must deal honestly with his patrons. No one can gainsay the fact that business is rising to higher ideals every year. Why shouldn't politics rise as well as business? If honesty succeeds once, it will succeed at all times. Just plain old-fashioned honesty with no handles to it is what we need in public life. We need more Jeffersonian ideas in politics. He longed for "that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be, is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?" Then a

public office will be an honor and our best men will fill official positions.

Political ideals are higher. The struggle of the people to overthrow bosses who have been entrenched in power for years is one of the encouraging symptoms of the times. The time has come when a man must have other qualifications than mere party loyalty. His record must be clean, he must have a personal fitness for the place he seeks. Parties are now understanding that they must nominate good men. They are stressing the fact that their nominees are in every way qualified for the offices they seek. The sooner the old worn-out idea so long expressed and practiced that anything is fair in politics goes, the better.

The reason why the boss has held sway so long is the indifference of the average man. Every citizen owes it to himself, his family and community to take an active interest in politics. We do not mean the street corner kind, nor the discussions of the loafers' club in a saloon or grocery store, where no one knows what he is talking about, but every voter should study carefully the issues, the records of candidates, and the platforms, so he may cast his vote intelligently. In the proportion that the average man takes his stand for higher ideals to that extent will politics be elevated.

### FARMING EFFICIENCY

In making plans for another crop we should keep in mind all the time the importance of soil building. Don't try to see how much land you can cultivate, but how little you can cultivate to produce as much as you have been producing. If you have clover as a home-made fertilizer to turn under you are in position to get along without contributing anything to the fertilizer trust. When you learn the value of the winter and summer legumes as soil building crops and use them in a systematic crop rotation you will be getting in a fair way for soil improvements.—LaCenter Advance.

The Advance is furthering a suggestion that, if followed by the farmers of Ballard county, will double the monetary results of farming. It is not the great area sown which means big money for the farmer, but big crops from the little farm. Forty acres and a mule seems insignificant to the great landowner, yet the farmer who pays attention to his forty acres will have greater financial returns than the farmer who attempts to till a farm ten times as large.

In Ballard county, as in almost every other county in the state, the most vital question is not of government nor of politics, but of agricultural efficiency. The state has taken cognizance of this fact in her efforts to organize corn clubs for the boys. The plan whereby an acre of corn is planted with intelligently selected seed is merely to alienate the farmer boy from the ways of his father. The state wants to increase the efficiency of the next generation, even if the present one does seem hopeless.

On any land in West Kentucky the leguminous crops pay big dividends, whether raised as the chief product of the farm, or whether raised merely to fertilize the soil for tobacco or corn or wheat. Deep plowing seems unimportant to most farmers, yet the leguminous crops such as peas, clover and alfalfa are planted in order that the roots may plow down where the farmer will not, and carry their precious nitrogenous bacilla deep into the earth.

There is one farmer living near the Ballard and McCracken county line that will soon be independently wealthy because of a field of alfalfa. It took him two years to get a stand worth cutting, but now that his field is four years old he is cutting three crops each year and is getting an

average of a ton and a half at each cutting. On the Paducah market alfalfa hay is selling for \$15 to \$18 the ton, delivered. Thus the gross receipts of this canny McCracken county farmer is about \$75 the acre each year. Cutting and baling hay is easy work and may be done altogether by machinery. When this farmer gets planted the 100 acres in alfalfa which he desires, he will have a gross income of \$7,500 the year, with possibly an expense account of one thousand dollars.

Here, then, will be a 100 acre farm that returns a net dividend that rarely is approached on a farm ten times as large. As his alfalfa field grows older, it grows more valuable. The yield is greater, and his market absolutely without a limit.

According to a recent bulletin from the agricultural department at Washington, the demand for alfalfa hay could not be supplied by all that could be raised on a field as large as Illinois, Iowa and Indiana. The price is almost fixed, and varies little. And the alfalfa field is being enriched automatically every time a crop is cut.

The wealth of a country is measured more by the efficiency or the capability of producing of its farmers than it is by its bank stock or its mercantile interests. It is from the farm that the great items in commerce come, not from the city. It is the bumper crop which ties up great transcontinental railway systems, not the products of manufacturing industries. Soil improvement as well as crop improvement, as suggested by the Advance, will bring prosperity and plenty to Ballard county or any other.

## THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL OF OFFICIALS

We see in the last Sunday's Courier-Journal a very able presentation of the claims of the initiative, referendum and recall by the Hon. W. B. Fleming—a reply to an article of mine opposing said measures. Permit us to reply—not repeating our argument—to his most important points not treated in our article. The main force of the movement for these measures, like the pleas for free silver and greenback flatism, lies in a skillful appeal to prejudice, and an adroit flattery of the average voter. The free silver and greenback causes were also backed by much more logical and reasonable arguments. In these last two contests the prejudices of the voters were excited against the money or propertied classes, and the insidious flattery was given the masses that they knew as much or more about the financial question than the trained scientists who had devoted their lives to the study of the intricate and complicated problems of finance and political economy. Every scientist who opposed them—and they all did—was denounced as a satellite of the money power. The force of such advocacy was so great that the free silver and greenback crazes swept over the Western States—the same territory now affected—like a whirlwind, and the right policies were finally adopted in the nation only by the most strenuous exertions of those better versed in finance. Mr. Fleming charges that my argument is Hamiltonian and not Democratic; but we claim that it is Jeffersonian and Democratic, but not Populistic. Let us quote Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy, in reference to representative, constitutional government. Speaking of equal rights, he declared: "Modern times have the signal advantage, too, of having discovered the only device by which these rights can be secured, to-wit, government by the people acting not in person, but by representatives chosen by themselves."

Mr. Underwood has well said that "the author of the Declaration of Independence, knowing well that all popular government, before his time, resting on the direct decisions of the people, had failed and ultimately had reverted to uncontrolled despotism, rejoiced that the hour had come when a representative government could express the will of a free people." Mr. Fleming expresses the hope that we, like Gov. Wilson, may change our mind and support these visionary schemes. We are not a candidate for any office and not under any strain to modify our views to suit any political emergency. We prefer to stand with Gov. Wilson when not a candidate, and not with Gov. Wilson a candidate. Gov. Wilson when not a candidate said, speaking of these measures: "It has dulled the sense of responsibility among legislators, without in fact quickening the people to the exercise of any real control in affairs. Where it (initiative) has been employed it has not promised either progress or enlightenment, leading rather to doubtful experiments and to reactionary displays of prejudice than to really useful legislation. A government must have organs—it cannot act by inorganic masses."

In regard to the claim that the initiative, referendum and recall can handle the trust question and other vital reforms better than representative government we utterly deny it. All laws for the control of these complicated industrial questions or other questions can be much better framed and perfected under the representative system with relatively trained and well-informed men acting as legislators. With their knowledge and experience they will prevent those crude and extreme measures, that can only bring destructive reactions and prevent any consistent and reasonable control. In fact, such control would be impossible by the direct legislation of the people. If

there are any difficult questions unsettled, and there will be many, then surely we can the better accomplish their solution under the present system than under the proposed one. Our present representative system has always been responsive to all well-matured and reasonable demands of the majority of the people. The regulation of railroads and other corporations, the trust, the pure food, publicity of campaign contributions and many other laws, too numerous to mention, attest the truth of the responsiveness of our representative government to public opinion, a public opinion that is a much better judge of men than measures.

To the local referendum, which only applies a general law already enacted to localities as they may by majority vote desire, there is objection. Our argument in our original article was not academic, as claimed by Mr. Fleming, but was based upon the views of all our great American statesmen of the past and the experience of the preceding ages of governmental progress. Representative, constitutional government is the result or evolution of twenty centuries of the effort of freedom-loving men to form a stable government with liberty. Spencer, the great evolutionist, defends it in a special essay. This, of all republican countries of any size or diversity of interests, with its representative government, has alone survived, for any great length of time, the storms of anarchy. The experience of the ages justifies and confirms it. The referendum, initiative and recall is an unfit, degenerative variation that time and use will eliminate. The case of Switzerland is often quoted in behalf of these schemes. If there is any country on the face of the globe where these measures would do the least harm—Switzerland is this country. The territory is small and poor, business insignificant, the inhabitants homogeneous with little or no foreign admixture, and mainly rural. Little or no diversity of interest, and with insignificant wealth, and even here the effect has been to make Switzerland the most socialistic or communistic of civilized countries.

The advocates of these schemes take great pleasure in referring to Oregon as illustrating their virtues. Let us quote a few extracts as to how they work there. We wish we had space to make them fuller. The Oregonian, a leading newspaper that at first supported these measures, later says: "They were adopted under the impression that they were to be the medicine of the Constitution, cautiously administered, when occasion might require; not as its daily bread. \* \* \* They encourage every group of hobbyists, every lot of people burning with whimsical notions, to propose initiative measures, or to interpose objections through referendum appeals. They have the effect, practically, of abolishing the Constitution and laws altogether; or at least of keeping people who would defend the stability and orderly progress of society always on guard, always under arms for their defense." In another place it says: "The situation is a crank's paradise. It would not have been supposed there would have been so many groups of persons devoted to strange and multifarious crazes." The testimony of Charles H. Carey and Fred V. H. Holman, prominent attorneys of Portland, the one in an address to the Bar Association, and the other in a speech in Chicago in 1911, is to the same effect and equally emphatic against the policy. Mr. Holman says: "The percentage of those who do not participate is increasing, that lack of intelligent grasp of many measures is clearly indicated; that legislation is enacted by minorities to the prejudice of the best interests of the majority and that the Constitution itself is being changed, with reckless disregard of its purposes and character." I regret I have not space to give further details of the general demoralization produced. The results here, as elsewhere, are just what are to be expected from a logical and general consideration of the question. To be brief, and not to restate the arguments of our first article, we must repeat that the effect of these measures where extensively used are and will be to give uncertainty and instability to governmental policies, to much impede business prosperity and to weaken or destroy the guarantees of personal and property rights. The larger the country and the more diversified the industries the more ruinous and disastrous the results.

C. M. CLAY.

Paris, Ky., January 26.

## CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

(To the Editor, of the Courier-Journal.)

I have been reading for some time past, with great satisfaction and approval, your most valuable, timely and thoughtful editorials relative to "crime and the punishment of the criminal" in this country and especially in our own beloved State.

You have emphasized the fact that there are more homicides in the United States, in proportion to population, and a less percentage of convictions than in any country on the globe. You are no doubt borne out in the statement by the statistics of the various countries. I apprehend this to be true in regard to many other crimes. What an indictment against our native land and its boasted civilization! This condition is of most vital and momentous concern to our own people and affects our influence abroad, as a tree is judged by its fruit the world over. With such conditions capital becomes timid and business suffers. In your editorials you have done the people an invaluable service, for which I know the good people are grateful; and I feel assured that you will continue in this good work. You have been bold and played no favorites. The midnight mob, the murderer and the embezzler in high places have received the same treatment at your hands. In miscarriages of justice you have endeavored to place the blame where it belonged. In doing this you have not spared petit juries when you believed that they have failed to do their duties in trial of persons charged with crime; and you were bold enough to name the cases. Just and impartial commendation or criticism of every officer's official conduct, whether legislative, judicial or executive, should be no offense, but a public benefit. Our Government is divided into three departments, to-wit: Legislative, Judicial and Executive. They are necessarily co-ordinate and of equal dignity. The idea abroad that legislative, executive and ministerial officers are sinful and do make mistakes, but that the judiciary occupies sacred ground and can do no wrong, is false and untenable.

All officers should be respectfully treated and their official conduct impartially considered and commented upon. I say this much, as it is necessary in the proper consideration of this great subject.

Is it not time, now, to make a diagnosis of this lamentable condition, and apply the necessary remedies? Having had some experience as a lawyer, and being the present Commonwealth's Attorney of the Fifth judicial district of Kentucky, I feel warranted in offering some thoughts and suggestions on this all important theme.

The question might be asked, why do men commit crime? There can be no sensible reason, and no sort of excuse, for, if a man escapes the law, he suffers loss of position, character and oftentimes, remorse of conscience. Then the question might be asked, what motive induces men to commit crime? I answer by saying that, "The love of money is the root of all evils," is as applicable to the present time as to the time when written.

The common crimes of larceny, forgery, robbery, embezzlement (in high as well as in low places) are committed for gain; those of seduction and rape are prompted by the low animal nature; and those of murder, manslaughter and malicious wounding are provoked from different causes; sometimes from hatred, sometimes from revenge and sometimes for profit. As it is impossible to remove the temptation, the first and greatest remedy lies in the universal education of the heart along with the mind. "Idleness is the devil's workshop;" and it is equally as true, that bad environment is his haunt; and these constitute the greatest menace to peace and good order. All criminals were once children and are generally brought up in immoral atmosphere, hence the necessity for paying some special attention to children in bad environment. Under our law, children in these evil homes may be provided with better ones. This law is poorly executed; but it is necessary to be done, in order to save such children and the State. There should be a department in our State, whose duty it is to look up and provide for such children. It would amply pay, besides, it would be a noble piece of charity. This would to some extent relieve the House of Reform; and, in the end the penitentiary. No person of tender years should be placed in a penitentiary with hardened criminals, hence our School of Reform is one of the greatest movements in modern times,

in an effort to reclaim the young from criminal life. It would be a better policy to give the young more attention and consideration before a wild career is entered upon, and obviate the necessity, to some extent, of going so after a life of crime is entered upon, when it becomes a harder problem. Where all these influences fail, the only remaining remedy lies in the threat that whoever commits a crime, punishment commensurate with the offense will be inflicted upon him. In order for this threat to have its full effect, the criminally inclined must realize that the punishment is certain; otherwise it would have no deterrent force.

The way of escape for the criminal has been made too easy; hence the multiplicity of crimes. Where does the fault lie? Partly in the law, but mainly, as you assert, through petit juries. No trouble is experienced in securing an indictment against a man who has committed a crime, but the tug of war comes in securing a conviction of the guilty. I sincerely believe in our jury system and would oppose its abandonment. There was a time when a jury trial was absolutely necessary in order to protect the innocent; but the pendulum has swung too far the other way and petit juries now acquit many who are guilty of crime. It is the common talk of the country. They themselves admit it. I have known many men to complain at the laxity of petit juries and when called for jury service acquit in plain cases. What is the cause of this? As a rule our petit juries are composed of men of average intelligence and good morals and have no sympathy for crime. The reason is plain to me. It is sympathy and lack of courage on the part of juries. There is in many cases that which touches and plays on the tender chord in the hearts of the jury. It is wonderful to watch the different tunes played on this tender chord by lawyers for the defense, and with much success. Different cases have different causes urged to enlist the sympathies of juries. Sympathy has made what is known as the "Unwritten Law." Sympathy acquits night riders. Sympathy acquits the good-looking woman. Sympathy for the mother, father, brother and children whose eyes are filled with tears and (present for this purpose) is a great barrier to the conviction of the guilty. How can this be obviated and do the defendant no injustice? Allow the defendant such assistance as the court may think necessary in order to insure justice and refuse the balance of the family admission into the presence of the defendant and the jury.

The negro and poor white man get about what is coming to them, for the reason that this tender chord is not touched, nor played upon. Courage to do their duty is what juries need. How can this be done? Mainly through the press. If the press of the whole country should emulate your example, in reviewing important trials and passing judgment on the verdicts of juries, where justice has been outraged, petit juries would be more careful in considering a case on its merits and returning a verdict more in harmony with the law and the evidence. In calling attention to crime committed over the country newspapers use flaming headlines and endeavor to interest the public by painting the crime as black as possible; but when a verdict is reached, whether right or wrong, the matter is dropped. Unjust verdicts should meet severe criticism through the press, which would be a means of stiffening the back bones of juries. Why not pass judgment on this branch of the judiciary as well as a branch of the Legislature or an executive officer? This would stiffen the back bone and put nerve into the arms of juries in writing verdicts. As an aid to this service of the press and the criticisms of the general public which they now, to some extent receive, I would amend the present jury law in two particulars:

First—The Commonwealth should have the same number of challenges in felonies, say ten each, as there is no reason for giving the defendant the greater number, which he uses, not to get rid of his enemies, but those he conceives to be friends of the law.

Second—That old men should be exempt from jury service, as they are more susceptible to appeals for sympathy; and, young men because they are somewhat insensible and indifferent to law enforcement. I would make the age qualification to jury service from 25 to 60 years.

I do not by these remarks mean to convey the idea that juries should be composed of men devoid of all human kindness, as those left will still possess too much for the common weal.

I suggest that no new trial be granted the defendant on the trial of a criminal case, for any error committed during the progress of his trial, unless in the opinion of the court same has caused the verdict of the jury to have been different from what it would have been without

the error. This would do away with technicalities for which courts are blamed.

I suggest that the Commonwealth's Attorney should be permitted to amend his indictment in open court, as in civil cases, and not compelled to refer to another grand jury, as now, thereby delaying trials.

I suggest that a new office be created for each judicial district, to be under the control of Commonwealth and County Attorneys of each judicial district, the duties of which shall be to ferret out crime and look up evidence when required to do so. If railroads can afford to employ men to look up evidence in all accidents that happen on their roads, even to the killing of a cow, the Commonwealth can afford to do this, as its business is of more importance. The Federal Government has secret service men employed to do this work. It would amply pay us to do likewise. I have oftentimes seen the need of it.

While I favor the rigid enforcement of the law, both as an officer and as a citizen, I believe in giving persons charged with crime a fair and impartial trial. I do not believe in the sweat-box, the thumb-screw or other harsh means to extort confessions from criminals.

To be sure that no innocent man be convicted, give the defendant the advantage during the progress of the trial, but in the jury box stern justice should be dealt out. The defendant should not have all underholds, as at present; and sympathy and charity thrown in for good measure.

The present Legislature might do well, if it feels an interest in these conditions and their remedies, to call in some of the Commonwealth's Attorneys of the State, and secure their views on these matters, as they are presumed to know something about them. I am sure that they have not become warped and one-sided in their views, because they have been representing the people in criminal trials. They have not lost all sense of justice and propriety because they have reasoned, plead, cried and even prayed before juries in order to call them to their plain duties; but in many cases to no avail.

Something must be done, in order that no man can have a pretended excuse to take the law in his own hands and inflict his own punishment. Mobs and night riders excuse themselves by saying, "What is the use to go to court, for there justice is mocked?" Outraged justice breeds anarchy. May the time come when the courthouse will be a synonym for fair play and justice to all who enter, as well as a place of unbounded respect by those without. May our respect and love for law and order grow. Since writing the above, have read the address of Judge Thurman before the Circuit Judges of this State, published in Sunday's Courier-Journal. He attributes this lawlessness to everybody, except to Commonwealth's Attorneys. This is some consolation for us. He places part of the blame on Circuit Judges and Court of Appeals. The only criticism I could offer here is, that as defendants can get a new trial on appeal, and the Commonwealth cannot, the defendant therefore more often appeals, and Circuit Judges being jealous of their records on reversals by the Court of Appeals, they are tempted to lean just a little, in order to discourage appeals by the defendants, thereby taking no chances on being reversed. The blame should not attach to the courts so much; as the main trouble lies in acquittals by petit juries on the evidence, watered by the fountain of sympathy.

I still maintain that bad environment is the chief cause of crime; and that sympathy and lack of courage of petit juries is the main obstacle in the way of law enforcement. Sympathy is not a bad trait, but should be moderated in the jury box.

S. V. DIXON.

Henderson, Ky.

## Defects in Kentucky School Laws

BY L. R. White.

Louisville, Ky., Jan. 16, 1912.—Editor Inquirer: Of the twenty-two recommendations recently published in the Inquirer as those which the legislative committee of the Kentucky Educational association will submit to the present legislature, I notice with regret that fully half are for the enlargement of the powers of the county superintendents and the county boards of education, of which the county superintendents are the controlling members. Having mastered elementary algebra and a few books of geometry, in addition to the common school course of study in a little log district-school house, where the beauty and majesty of the mountains with their invigorating air instilled in me an unconquerable love of liberty, the passage of our much lauded county district school law grieved me sorely.

Over it, as over the amendments above referred to, disregard of the will of the people and one man rule are written large.

The Lexington Herald said: "The law is framed much more in accordance with the laws of the more progressive southern states than of any northern state. It is modeled almost entirely after the law of Georgia, differing widely from the laws of Indiana and Ohio," and I felt that we ought to know wherein the laws of those states differed, and if we really had copied the latest, and presumably the most progressive, laws of Georgia, or the antiquated laws from which she was striving to escape.

I was not aware of the intentions of those who framed the law in time to change it, and had no power to do so, but I had an earnest conviction that good school laws are "characterized by a maximum of local independence with a minimum of central control." I wrote for the laws of Ohio, Indiana, Georgia and several other states, and was amazed to find what a conglomeration of repealed, superseded and distorted laws of other states we had adopted for our rural schools.

### Interesting Comparisons

The county boards of Georgia are elected by the grand jury, and the latest law, providing for districting of the counties, provides district boards of three trustees elected at large in the districts of not less than sixteen square miles. Our school boards certainly are not elected as they are in Georgia; see the summary of our county school district law at the close of this article. There is nothing to indicate that Georgia ever had any school boards elected as ours are. We seem to have gone to Ohio for one and to Indiana for the other.

The township boards of Ohio were composed of one trustee from each subdistrict of the township until 1906,

when that law was repealed, and they now consist of five members elected at large in the township, as the trustees of our graded common school boards are. Did we model our division boards after the repealed laws of Ohio? In Indiana the county elects a superintendent, and he, together with the school trustee of each township of the county, constitute the county board.

That seemed to be exactly like ours, their townships corresponding to our divisions, but it is not.

Their trustees are elected at large in the townships, ours by subdistrict trustees, a difference similar to the difference between popular election of United States senators and their election by the legislature.

The corporate powers of our county are not copied from Indiana; they seem to be modeled after the laws of Georgia that are now largely, if not entirely, superseded by the acts of 1906 or 1907, which gives school districts (not less than 16 square miles in area) that will vote a local school tax, corporate control of all school property of the district, and of state public school funds appropiated to the district. Their local tax law is very similar to our graded common school law, except that the district board is composed of three trustees instead of five, and the county was all laid off into districts of not less than 16 square miles, including no territory "whose occupants reside farther than three miles from the schoolhouse."

### Township Political Unit

To comprehend our school laws we must remember that in the eastern and many of the western states, the township has always been a political unit of government, and it naturally was made the unit of school government in those states; if not at first, at least after the abandonment of the one-room school district system.

Kentucky and other states made the county the political unit, and kept the one-room school district system longer than the other states, perhaps because they had no political divisions of the county with district local government, and in changing from that system they have had no definite reason for making the enlarged district any definite size.

Apparently Georgia made it as large as she thought that children could walk to school. Virginia and West Virginia made it coextensive with their magisterial districts. Kentucky copied Georgia's old law, and made it coextensive with the county, but instead of a county board elected by the grand jury, as in Georgia, or at large in the county district, as in other districts, it conceived the idea of a division chairman who is responsible practically to nobody, and

made the county board consist of the county superintendent and chairmen of the divisions.

Some of our divisions have more than twenty trustees, and the division board has no power except to employ the teachers and elect a chairman.

How can twenty people agree as to who shall be employed as teachers of their twenty schools, except by letting each trustee name the teacher for his own subdistrict? I am told that that is what they usually do. But the objection most frequently made to the one-room district system was that the trustees of one-room districts would not employ teachers for ability, but by favoritism. Have we improved in that respect?

Would not anyone prefer to have a teacher selected by the trustee he had helped to elect than by twenty trustees of whom he had helped to elect only one?

#### Smaller Districts

By all means, let that part of the law providing for the divisions and division boards be repealed. Then let the counties be divided into districts, not less than 16 square miles, as in Georgia, or coextensive with the justices' districts, as in Virginia and West Virginia; or about thirty-six square miles, as in the townships laid off by order of congress; but ours, of course, should not be square, as the country is hilly.

A district not less than twenty, nor more than thirty-six square miles in area, is a good size for a high school district, and each district should expect some day to have its own high school, that its high school pupils may attend school from their homes.

But until a district has at least twenty pupils qualified and wishing to attend high school, all of its school funds should be spent for primary and graded schools, except enough to pay the tuition of any of the pupils of the district who attend high school elsewhere.

As I have already said, the laws made for our common graded schools are excellent, and differ very little from the laws that progressive Georgia enacted in 1906, when she learned that a county is too large for a school district, and that the schools are better when the districts are neither too large for hearty cooperation, nor too small to sustain enthusiasm.

If our counties were laid off into districts of the size suggested they might all be called graded common school districts, and the laws of our graded common school districts applied to them.

Our graded common school laws compare favorably with the laws of any state. I should prefer three trustees instead of five, because three can meet more easily than five; can usually decide more quickly—one can be president, one secretary, and one treasurer, and as they should be paid for the time actually spent in school duties, three are cheaper than five. But Ohio townships have five, the larger districts of Colorado have five, and three or five either is a very desirable board if all members are elected at large in the district, and it should have full corporate control of all school property of the district.

"The local sense, thus respected and trusted, gains in character, and in such gain lies the hope of the schools for better things."

#### Michigan Law

As recently as 1909 the following law was enacted in Michigan: "Whenever a majority of the qualified electors of any organized township residing outside of any graded school district votes in favor of organizing said township into a single school district, such township shall \* \* \* be a single school district. \* \* \* All cities organized as school districts and all graded school districts shall be exempt from the provisions of this act. \* \* \* Provided, that if any such city or graded school district shall desire to give up its own organization \* \* \* thereafter such city or graded district shall be a part of the township district, and controlled by the township board."

A law like that might be applied to our justices' districts, if it is preferred that the school districts shall be co-extensive with the civil districts; and it is better that they should be, if the boundaries can be arranged conveniently for schools. Civil officers are often needed in the enforcement of the truant laws.

Then the graded common school law could be made to apply to the justices' districts.

If this is done the officers elected by the subdistricts should be called directors, and should have no duties outside of their subdistricts; their duties there being the same as now. They might also be empowered to call elections when so petitioned, to see if the subdistrict wished to vote a special tax, to increase the pay of the teacher or to provide a longer school term, and should control any fund so raised. They should be better paid than our law provides if they act as truant officers.

The presidents of the district boards and the county superintendent could constitute a county board

for discussing the needs of the schools. In Indiana the county board of education has no power to make a contract."

Ohio and Massachusetts have neither county superintendents nor county boards; their township school boards employ superintendents as they employ teachers, and if we want good schools our superintendents should

have no power to vote on a question of purchase or sale of school property, contracts for building, etc. They should suggest to the trustees what is needed.

I will add the following summary to refresh the memory of those who may have forgotten the provisions of the bill:

#### County School District Law

I. Each county (exclusive of graded school districts and cities and towns of the sixth class) constitutes one district.

II. Each county has 4, 6 or 8 divisions.

III. The divisions of the state have an average of 11 subdistricts; possibly as few as three, or as many as 30.

IV. Each subdistrict elects one trustee.

V. The trustees of each division constitute a division board which elects its own chairman and employs the teachers of its division, but has no corporate powers, nor control of school funds.

VI. The county superintendent and the division chairmen constitute the county board of education with corporate control of all rural school property of the county.

With no interest in the schools, except as a taxpayer, yet, zealous for the honor of our state, and the welfare of its rural population, I most earnestly request those who make and unmake our laws, and the Kentucky Educational association, and all others who have the welfare of the children at heart, to consider seriously whether these amendments to our school laws should not be made. Letting each district own the buildings that may have been erected in it by the county board, with proper provision for reimbursing those districts that have not received their share, the proposed changes could easily be made, without injustice to anyone. Respectfully,

L. R. WHITE



**SPOKESMAN, NOT THE  
RULER OF THE PEOPLE.**

(From The New York American.)

When Governor Wilson said at Carnegie Hall, "I don't want to be the ruler of the people; I want to be the spokesman of the people," the great audience cheered, and then cheered and cheered again. \* \* \* He had uttered the most intimate word of that Democratic faith that binds him to the electorate.

In Wilson the Democracy of Thomas Jefferson revives and breathes again. Wilson is thorough. \* \* \* He refuses to believe that some men are born saddled and bridled, and others booted and spurred.

Democratic government, according to Wilson, is not an elective despotism, tempered by a time-limit. It is the organized energy and intelligence of the whole people. \* \* \*

Wilson insists that this campaign is a life-and-death struggle for real democracy—that we stand at the parting of the ways. He insists that Taft and Roosevelt both draw toward an undemocratic form of government—a government that assumes to take care of the people. He insists that that kind of government has always—with the best intentions in the world—enslaved and impoverished the people.

Wilson understands that this age is different from the age of Jefferson—that the supreme question now is the question of economic liberty, in face of the tariff and the trusts.

Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt seem to live under the illusion that tariff privileges and trust monopolies can be made innocuous by being kept under the eye of wise and good rulers at Washington.

Wilson insists that privileges should be utterly abolished and that private monopolies are absolutely intolerable.

Wilson says he is not striving "for free trade or anything that remotely resembles free trade." \* \* \* He does not object to the protection that makes life easier in America, but only to the tariff privileges that make life harder. \* \* \*

Wilson is no enemy of big business—the kind that grows big because big men are behind it. He abhors the kind of business that is flatulent and dropsical with fraudulent finance. \* \* \*

Mr. Wilson said in Pittsburgh, that some of these small men should be forcibly secluded, so that they may have leisure and quiet to think larger thoughts. This, too, was a true word of the spokesman.

The regulation of competition, for which Mr. Wilson contends, means that a sharp distinction should be made between two very different kinds of competition. It is all right that private persons should compete with each other for power to serve the public; it is all wrong that they should compete with each other for power to tax the public.

Governor Wilson is speaking a language familiar to the American people when he reminds us that the fluent and on-going life of democracy depends upon the caseless competition of all individuals to excel in the service of the commonwealth.

It is not to be inferred from this principle that vast, highly organized and efficient business concerns—when they arise in the natural course of industrial evolution—are to be broken up into warring factions. On the contrary, the true inference is that such concerns should be treated as if they were in practical effect public institutions.

They should be reorganized on such a basis that their directors and managers can find increased profit and personal promotion only in improving the services they render to the public.

The system of legalized monopoly proposed by men like Mr. George W. Perkins is an offense and peril to democracy, because it would leave the gigantic industrial organizations private in their motive and private in the method of their operation. They would have an interest adverse to the public interest, and they would have a power that no public power could permanently withstand.

**SPOKESMAN, NOT THE RULER OF  
THE PEOPLE.**

William Randolph Hearst has got bravely over his recent opposition to the Democratic presidential nominee, and Arthur Brisbane, his managing editor, is doing great work through the medium of the Hearst papers, which reach the poorer classes in the big cities. Recently Brisbane said:

When Governor Wilson said at Carnegie Hall, "I don't want to be the ruler of the people; I want to be the spokesman of the people," the great audience cheered, and then cheered and cheered again. He had uttered the most intimate word of that Democratic faith that binds him to the electorate.

In Wilson the Democracy of Thomas Jefferson revives and breathes again. Wilson is thorough. He refuses to believe that some men are born saddled and bridled, and others booted and spurred.

Democratic government, according to Wilson, is not an elective despotism, tempered by a time-limit. It is the organized energy and intelligence of the whole people.

Wilson insists that this campaign is a life-and-death struggle for real democracy—that we stand at the parting of the ways. He insists that Taft and Roosevelt are both drawn toward an undemocratic kind of government—a government that assumes to take care of the people. He insists that the kind of government has always—with the best intentions in the world—enslaved and impoverished the people.

Wilson understands that this age is different from the age of Jefferson—that the supreme question now is the question of economic liberty, in face of the tariff and the trusts.

Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt seem to live under the illusion that tariff privileges and trust monopolies can be made innocuous by being kept under the eye of wise and good rulers at Washington.

Wilson insists that privileges should be utterly abolished and that private monopolies are absolutely intolerable.

Wilson says he is not striving "for free trade or anything that remotely resembles free trade." \* \* \* He does not object to the protection that makes life easier in America, but only to the tariff privileges that make life harder.

Wilson is no enemy of big business—the kind that grows big because big men are behind it. He abhors the

kind of business that is flatulent and dropsical with fraudulent finance.

Gov. Wilson said in Pittsburg, that some of these small men should be forcibly secluded, so that they may have leisure and quiet to think larger thoughts. This, too, was a true word of the spokesman.

The regulation of competition, for which Gov. Wilson contends, means that a sharp distinction should be made between two very different kinds of competition. It is all right that private persons should compete with each other for power to serve the public; it is all wrong that they should compete with each other for power to tax the public.

Governor Wilson is speaking a language familiar to the American people when he reminds us that the fluent and on-going life of democracy depends upon the ceaseless competition of all individuals to excel in the service of the commonwealth.

It is not to be inferred from this principle that vast, highly organized and efficient business concerns—when they arise in the natural course of industrial evolution—are to be broken up into warring fractions. On the contrary, the true inference is that such concerns should be treated as if they were in practical effect public institutions.

They should be reorganized on such a basis that their directors and managers can find increased profit and personal promotion only in improving the services they render to the public.

The system of legalized monopoly proposed by men like George W. Perkins is an offense and peril to democracy, because it would leave the gigantic industrial organizations private in their motive and private in the method of their operation. They would have an interest adverse to the public interest, and they would have a power that no public power could permanently withstand.

## Gov. Woodrow Wilson's Message to the People

Sea Girt, N. J., Oct. 19, 1912.

To the Voters of America:

I am glad to have an opportunity to state very simply and directly why I am seeking to be elected President of the United States. I feel very deeply that this is not an ambition a man should entertain for his own sake. He must seek to serve a cause, and must know very clearly what cause it is he is seeking to serve.

The cause I am enlisted in lies very plain to my own view: The Government of the United States, as now bound by the policies which have become characteristic of Republican administration in recent years, is not free to serve the whole people impartially, and it ought to be set free. It has been tied up, whether deliberately or merely by unintentional development, with particular interests, which have used their power, both to control the government and to control the industrial development of the country. It must be freed from such entanglements and alliances. Until it is freed, it cannot serve the people as a whole. Until it is freed, it cannot undertake any program of social and economic betterment, but must be checked and thwarted at every turn by its patrons and masters.

In practically every speech that I make, I put at the front of what I have to say the question of the tariff and the question of the trusts, but not because of any thought of party strategy, because I believe the solution of these questions to lie at the very heart of the bigger question, whether the government shall be free or not. The government is not free because it has granted special favors to particular classes by means of the tariff. The men to whom these special favors have been granted have formed great combinations by which to control enterprise and determine the prices of commodities. They could not have done this had it not been for the tariff. No party, therefore, which does not propose to take away these special favors and prevent monopoly absolutely in the markets of the country sees even so much as the most elementary part of the method by which the government is to be set free.

The control to which tariff legislation has led, both in the field of politics and in the field of business, is what has produced the most odious feature of our present political situation, namely the absolute domination of powerful bosses. Bosses cannot exist without business alliances. With them politics is hardly distinguishable from business. Bosses maintain their control because they are allied with men who wish their assistance in order to get contracts, in order to obtain special legislative advantages, in order to prevent reforms which will interfere with monopoly or with their enjoyment of special exemptions. Merely as political leaders, not backed by money, not supported by securely entrenched special interests, bosses would be entirely manageable and comparatively powerless. By freeing the government, therefore, we at the same time break the power of the boss. He trades, he does not govern. He arranges, he does not lead. He sets the stage for what the people are to do; he does not act as their agent or servant, but as their director. For him the real business of politics is done under cover.

The same means that will set the government free from the influences which now constantly control it would set industry free. The enterprise and initiative of all Americans would be substituted for the enterprise and initiative of a small group of them. Economic democracy would take the place of monopoly and selfish management. American industry would have a new buoyancy of hope, a new energy, a new variety. With the restoration of freedom would come the restoration of opportunity.

Moreover, an administration would at last be set up in Washington, and a legislative regime, under which real programs of social betterment could be undertaken as they cannot now. The government might be serviceable for many things. It might assist in a hundred ways to safeguard the lives and the health and promote the comfort and the happiness of the people; but it can do these things only if its actions be disinterested, only if they respond to public opinion, only if those who lead government see the country as a whole, feel a deep thrill of intimate sympathy with every class and every interest in it, know how to hold an even hand and listen to men of every sort and quality and origin, in taking counsel what is to be done. Interest must not fight against interest. There must be a common understanding and a free action all together.

The reason that I feel justified in appealing to the voters of this country to support the Democratic party at this critical juncture in its affairs is that the leaders of neither of the other parties propose to attack the problem of a free government at its heart. Neither proposes to make a fundamental change in the policy of the government with regard to tariff duties. It is with both of them in respect of the tariff merely a question of more or less, merely a question of lopping off a little here and amending a little there; while with the Democrats it is a question of principle. Their object is to cut every special favor out, and cut it out just as fast as it can be cut out without upsetting the business processes of the country. Neither does either of the other parties propose seriously to disturb the supremacy of the trusts. Their only remedy is to accept the trusts and regulate them, notwithstanding the fact that most of the trusts are so constructed as to insure high prices, because they are not based upon efficiency but upon monopoly. Their success lies in control. The competition of more efficient competitors, not loaded down by the debts created when the combinations were made, would embarrass and conquer them. The Trusts want the protection of the government, and are likely to get it if either the Republican or the so-called "Progressive" party prevails.

Surely this is a cause. Surely the questions of the pending election, looked at from this point of view, rises into a cause. They are not merely the debates of a casual party contest. They are the issues of life and death to a nation which must be free in order to be strong. What will patriotic men do?

GOV. WOODROW WILSON.

# GOV. WOODROW WILSON

## GIVES REASONS WHY

### COMMISSION

# GOVERNMENT EXCELS

In Speech at Trenton N. J., Last Year He Declared the Rule Then in Effect, Which Was the Same As Paducah Has Now, Very Bad.

### REBUKED GUM SHOE WORK IN OPPOSITION TO NEW GOVERNMENT

Such Emphatic Endorsement of Commission Government by the Nation's Next President Should Influence all Voters With Paducah's Interest at Heart to Support It at November Election.

Utterances of great men heartily and emphatically endorse Commission Government, arguing that it is the only administration of cleanliness and economy for the cities. A speech on Commission government that is most opportune, that is most timely, is that of Gov. Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic nominee for president. This speech was made in Trenton, N. J., in June 1911, when Gov. Wilson pronounced the old rule bad and Commission government the salvation of the people.

As a campaign is being waged just now for Commission Government in Paducah, the question to be voted on at the November election. Gov. Wilson's speech, which fully explains and develops into the new government is published in full in today's News-Democrat. Just as he says there may be some opposition to this modern government but it is a gumshoe attack. Any man who is well

posted on Commission Government would now down his opponent in an argument or debate, because there are no bad features to Commission Government, which now prevails in over 200 cities in the United States, and not in a single instance has it failed to be a success. The great saving it has been to the tax payers has been beyond the keenest conception or imagination, and in all these cities public improvements are going on all the time without increased cost in taxes.

Why can't Commission Government do as much for Paducah?

Considerable campaign literature has been sent out from Commission Government headquarters in the City National bank building the past week. Of course many voters will be omitted in the rush or failure to get their addresses correct, and these persons should not fail to visit the headquarters and ask any question on which they desire to be enlightened.

The Trenton, N. J. speech of Gov. Wilson, in full follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens:  
"I do not think that I deserve any thanks for being here tonight. It is my business to be here tonight; it is my business to go wherever my fellow-citizens wish to hear me discuss the fundamental questions of our public life; that is what I am for.

"Mr. Campbell has been very kind in his references to my trip into the West. Campbell and I were fellow-students in Princeton, and Princeton men are always kind to one another, but I must say that I am quite confident that I got a great deal more out of that western trip than anyone else who had anything to do with it, because it was one of the most instructive experiences of my life. I had supposed, for one thing, that we had a special activity and political thought in New Jersey. I knew how absolutely wide awake the people of New Jersey were concerning their own political affairs. I found, to my surprise and gratification, that the people of this country, from one ocean to the other, are just as wide awake, and that there is going through this whole great nation a process of thought which when it comes to the fullness of time will be absolutely irresistible. That thought runs along a single line, viz.: the resumption by the people of the country of the control of their own affairs. There are differences of opinion as to how this is to be accomplished, but there is no difference of opinion as to what it is that is to be accomplished, and there is no difference in the prediction that you will hear upon the lips of all thoughtful men from one side of the continent to the other that by one means or another it will be accomplished, and that nothing can withstand it.

"I have been deeply interested in the question of city government for a great many years. I have waited, sometimes with waning hope, for the people of this country to wake up to the real interests and the real facts of the situation, for it is mortifying circumstances for an American to reflect upon, that until very recent years, all the best governed cities in the world were outside America, and

amongst those people who claimed political enlightenment and political advancement the worst city governments were in America which we love, of which we were proud; where we claimed we had a special gift for politics, where we maintained we had been the first to light a lamp to show the way to political freedom and political emancipation; that in America, the most enlightened country in the world, there was the worst city government in the world. Nobody pretended to deny the fact who knew anything about what he was talking of.

"Because of the peculiarity of our present city government, it is so complicated that nobody except a professional politician knows the ins and outs of it. It is a perfect labyrinth where you can play hide and seek with the men you elect from one year's end to the other and never find them. I admit it shows a certain degree of political originality to make a labyrinth on which you can find your own man. I daresay this was to be a garden of pleasure away back in the time when they had time to spend their ingenuity upon gardens. They loved to make labyrinths. They would build alleys of evergreens that interlaced so that even in broad daylight you could not find your best friend in the garden; you could whistle for him, and you could where he was, because there was such a subtle return of the echo from this group of nodding and noble trees to the other, and it was like a game of the wits not only to find your

friend, but, after you had sought for him for an hour or two, to find yourself and get back to the place where you had started. I am not inventing anything. I am describing a garden in which I played when I was a youngster. I had lost myself there a hundred times when I thought I knew the garden. The gardener was proud of it; that was what the garden was for; it was to afford you this seclusion. It was very pleasant and advantageous when we were young on a moonlight night. There were occasions when we wished seclusion and did not want to be found, and I remember delectable evenings in such gardens as that. That is a bad method on which to construct government; that is a bad principle on which to construct a system on which you wish the light of publicity to be, for the fact of the matter is it won't do; it cannot get through; it cannot penetrate the recess of such a place; you cannot know what is going on in the midst of such a labyrinth.

"Now, the interesting thing that has happened is that when any one wants to control that government in their own interest, they do not have to control all of it. They have to make up their minds only which part of it they want to control. You have heard of bargains in politics; you have heard of deals, you have heard it said that professional politicians will trade offices for one another, and you have afforded them the most abundant and glorious opportunity to do so. All that you have to do in order to accomplish these trades and exchanges is to concentrate public attention upon the top of the ticket; the ticket for mayor and council, and then while you are fighting about them, and all the cannonading is there in the front of the field, you can make any arrangement you please as to who is to get the appointment on that elective board, and who is to get the appointment on that appointive board, and some of the gentlemen who are opposed to the commission form of government are opposed to it because they control certain boards of the city and know that the game will be up when it is open.

"Have you noticed any vociferous and loud opposition to commission government? Not a bit of it. It is all conducted in whispers; it is all conducted in private conference; it is a gum shoe opposition, and for the very good reason that they dare not come out in the open and say why they oppose it. There are no arguments for us to answer except those we have heard whispered, intimated, conjectured, and repeated from private conversations. Why do newspapers who really want to oppose this thing do it covertly, on the sly, by intimation, by indirection; why do they sow the seed of opposition by intimating that so and so has been the objection and then not answering the objection? Why are they afraid? Why is any man afraid to come out with an honest opinion? Upon my word, gentlemen, the thing I think is lowest in human life is cowardice.

"There are objections which honorable men can urge to the commission form of government; there are things which can be said against it, but I do not hear men saying them. Why are the things urged against it not these things which can be honestly urged in public? Why? Because the opposition is based upon this and many other things. When you have learned a complicated game and know how to play it and nobody else does, you do not want the game interfered with, and a game substituted which everybody understands and which everybody can play. Of course, you do not want it. If you have gained the skill, secret craft and intricacy of the thing you don't want to be interfered with. You will be put out of business. Now, who will be put out of business?

"It is a little bit pitiful to my mind that certain classes of office-holders in our cities have grown restless and fearful in the presence of this agitation. It amazes me that the members of a great police force should, as has happened in some cities (I do not know whether this happened in Trenton or not), set themselves out to oppose a change like this on the ground that it renders their hold upon their appointments precarious and doubtful. Do these gentlemen mean to tell us their hold upon office is now definite and certain. Does not everybody in the state know that jobs of this sort where they are not protected by civil service or tenure of office acts, are the mere football of politics, and that upon every change of administration of any kind, a change from one faction to another in the same party, these men are at once the victims of the change? Does not everybody know that the position of our police force and our fire fighting force in most of our cities is a very mortifying position indeed, which men who are defenders of order, our lives and property, ought never to be subjected to at all? Do not they have to do the secret and dirty work of politics, and do they not know that if they do not do this work they will be rejected and put out of their place? Does any man dare to stand up and deny that such is the fact? Is not a notorious from one end of the United States to the other that the particular seat of the "spoils system" is in offices of that kind, and that the machinery of political control is built up out of the personnel of these manly fellows who would like to do their duty without let or hindrance. When I see these handsome fellows, manly and self-respecting, handling our traffic with the ease of men who know how to, commanding their fellows; when I know the stability of our order depends upon their fidelity to duty; when I know that kind of man, upon a sudden summons, will face any mob and dare any danger in order to defend us, and then know that in spite of their manliness these men must keep their ear open to the secret intimations of political influences, I am mortified for their sake; I am deeply mortified for my own. Does any man mean to maintain to me that a responsible commission saddled with the responsibilities of government from which they cannot escape, will treat these men in that way? If any man does maintain that, all I have to do is to pity his ignorance. He does not know anything about it, the way this thing is actually operated. If you want security for your tenure of office put trustworthy and respectable men at the head of your government.

"You have often heard recited the circumstances which gave rise to this experiment in our city government in the United States. It originated in the city of Galveston, Texas, after the dreadful catastrophe where the sea rolled in and almost wiped the city out of existence. In the wreckage of the city they could not put together this intricate machine again. The garden was spoiled; its alleys were overthrown; you could not trace the paths; there had to be some concentrated and effective authority, and in order to get on their feet again they contrived this method of selecting five of their fellow-citizens to conduct the government until they could look about again to see whether they wanted to continue that method. Whom did they select? Did they stop and pick out ministers of the gospel? Did they stop and pick out a less reputable, but still emi-

nently respectable class, namely, college professors? Did they go around the business houses and ask the most respectable and distinguished men of business to serve? All that was impossible and was not thought of. They had to take the men already in the business, viz: The politicians; the men who had been running the political machine, and, as I have been told, they picked out five machine politicians. They did not have time to choose anything else, and everybody else was too busy. It was exactly as it was out in Chicago after the fire, only they were not far enough advanced then to choose a different form of government, but I remember old Dr. Collier telling how his church was blotted out, and the most of his congregation homeless, they met on the ashes of the church the Sunday following the fire and said: 'We cannot keep a church together until we have roofs over our heads; we will adjourn our congregation until we have built houses,' and Dr. Collier said, 'If necessary, I will go back to my original trade of blacksmithing and shoeing horses. You need not bother about me or my salary until a year from now. Then we will get together again and see what we can do; I will take care of myself.' Society was reduced to its elements. You could not ask men

who had houses to build and businesses to reconstruct to take charge of this end. Then what happened? Five of the old-time politicians were chosen, and it was as if a miracle had happened; they were as straight as strings. All the alleys were down; everything was open; everybody was watching; everything had to be done and they had to do it. They had to mind their Ps and Qs in much circumstances.

"If you saddle an officer with something that he shares with other officers, then he can have an understanding with them that when he is blamed for anything he will pass it on, and that man will pass it to the next, he to the next, and by the time it gets to him again the whole thing will have lost its venom and impetus. The people will say: 'We do not know who did this; it was outrageous, but we cannot catch the man.' If every line, no matter how complicated or intricate, leads right to your own blessed self, then, for once in your life, you are going to be a very reputable and respectable citizen. You will take no chances; you do not want to lose your reputation. The whole thing will brand you as a knave or a fool and you do not like the choice. You would rather prove that you can do it and that you will do it.

"That is what happened to Galveston and they have never gone back to the old form of government. They kept it. Not only that, but they so attracted the attention of the whole United States, that it has spread and spread and spread, until something like 150 cities have adopted it, and rejoiced when they found themselves liberated from the influences that oppressed them up to that time.

"Judge Murphy has shown you how the responsibility is handed along. You have no idea how familiar the story he has just told became at the state house this winter. I had the board of water works (I think it is called that) almost in tears at my office because they said: 'We want to pave the streets of Jersey City; we want to make them clean, but that confounded finance board won't give us the money, so they introduced a bill providing that the finance board would have to give such and such a proportion of the money yielded by liquor license. Then

They introduced another bill saying that the finance board must act within 30 days upon their request, because it was a favorite trick of the finance board not to act at all. And we at the state house are expected to spend our time in adjusting the quarrels and mending the government of the great city of Jersey City which is chuck full of intelligent men who can take care of themselves. We do not know how to take care of Jersey City at the state house, but Jersey City is full of men ready to act who do know how to take care of Jersey City.

"There is one thing I am unalterably against. I am against the government of localities from the capitol of the state. Every chance I get I shall do everything in my power to concentrate responsibility and to widen freedom of self-government in our localities.

"I do not know whether it was just or not to assign to the board of water works such and such a percentage of the excise tax, but because I did not know whether it was wise or not, I vetoed the bill, because I said: 'If the citizens of Jersey City choose to tie themselves in a hard knot, I am not a citizen of Jersey City and am not going to undertake to untie the knot. If I had my choice, I said, I will give it an additional jerk and tie it tighter so they will find out once for all they have got an impossible form of government.' Then, I said, 'Perhaps they will take things in their own hands and co-ordinate things and manage their own government.' I asked these gentlemen why public opinion in Jersey City put up with this state of affairs, where one board was fighting another board, or defeating its purpose, if that was the case. They said, 'You know, governor, you can't get the people's attention concentrated on that.'

"That's just the point. You can't, but if there is one board responsible for the government of the city, the attention of the people is concentrated all the time. It does not wander.

"I heard that very charming person and very admirable actor, Joseph Jefferson, discoursing to a group of men on the art of acting. He said: 'One of the indispensable rules of the stage was this: When the person is supposed to be speaking, saying his lines, nobody else on the stage ought to do anything to distract attention from him. What by-plays there was on the obtrusive sort that the eyes and attention of the audience would not be withdrawn from the speaker.' That is the rule and secret of attention that the concentration of attention is at the basis of every act of comprehension. Here's the stage of Jersey City and every other city in the state where all the actors are talking all the time, and where the by-play is so active that nobody knows what the plot is. The thing is against all laws of dramatic art.

"I was in the great state of Oregon not long ago, and it happened one of the biggest newspapers, when I arrived in Portland, uttered this complaint—and I wish to say, by way of preface, the state of Oregon is celebrated for its rather advanced and radical legislation in recent years, and the man known to have originated most of the machinery is a very quiet efficient, matter-of-fact man by the name of Yurens. Almost all of the measures that have been submitted to the people by way of initiative have originated from a group of gentlemen of whom Mr. Yurens is the center, so most of the changes of recent years have come from him. This paper did not like the situation, and it said, rather ironically: 'There are two legislatures in Oregon—one in Salem, the capitol of the state, and the other goes around under Mr. Yurens' hat. I had occasion to make an address that night, and I commented upon this. I said:

'If I had my choice, I would rather have a legislature running around under Mr. Yurens' hat than a legislature under God-knows-who's hat, because you at least know the man's name and can bag him, whereas if you do not know under whose hat the thing is going you may go out with a general hunting commission and shoot the wrong man. You generally blame the wrong man. I have very little sympathy with the criticisms against our legislature and city councils. We have almost come to the place that we feel there has to be intrigue in order to accomplish anything in which, if there is no central force, there has been some lateral force. Suppose you invented a machine, which, instead of working straight at the piston, had all sorts of little circuitous pipes and lines that got daintily at the piston rod and gave it a little shove here and another there. Then you said 'confound this machine, it's nothing but a system of intrigue.' That would not be just. You invented the machine. Nobody is a fool but you. You invented the machine. Why don't you make another that works according to the principles of simplicity, direction and concentration of force? It can be done at the cost of a vote, and it can be easily done, provided you are just and fair.

"I do not know whether the gentlemen who constitute the present city government of Trenton are opposed to the commission form of government or not. I asked and could not find out. I know a number of those gentlemen, and I believe them to be just and public-spirited and honest, as a claim to be. I am not here to utter any indictment against them, or to suggest suspicion of the methods they have adopted if they are opposing this change.

"I do not think it is fair to make this a contest against anybody. That is not the way you accomplish anything, except injustice. There is no blood in anybody's eye who is concerned in this campaign for commission government. It is a means of rectifying our own mistakes and putting, it may be, some of these very gentlemen in a position where they can accomplish something that probably they have struggled in vain to accomplish for their fellow-citizens in Trenton. I believe that it will lead to a degree of stability in the government, a degree of non-partisan integrity which has never been known and never can be known under the existing system. You almost obliged men to conduct government under the present system by indirection. One of the things about the year 1911 is that men in America are not acting by impulse any more. They are acting by thoughtful design; they are not excited; there is not the slightest of the spirit of the mob;

they are not out to wreak vengeance upon anybody, but are concentrating their thought upon this question: What are the measures by means of which we can change the existing situation? The existing situation is that your vote generally results in nothing. I have dealt for a great many years, as many of you know, with young men. I have noticed with young men of recent years a growing spirit of cynicism and almost of despair. They have said again and again, 'You have said a great many things about the duty of citizens. Men ought to go to the polls and vote; you say the government is no better than the citizens, and if it is not good it is the fault of the citizens.'

"How many times have I not said that and have you not read it from your newspapers and heard it from the platform. They say, 'We do go to the polls, we do everything that is in our power to do and nothing results. We turn out one set of men and put in another and they do exactly what the other set does. We

change parties and come home with a sigh of relief and say, "that will settle something," and at first it goes very well. Then that party settles into the old rut, just as if there were a toboggan and you put the officeholder at the top and let him slide. That has not been because of the inferiority or depravity of human nature, because I come back to the proposition with which I started. Human nature is better instructed, guided and supported in America than anywhere else in the world, and they have good government in foreign cities, but they are less intelligent than we are. When I look into it I find a very interesting circumstance. In English or Scottish cities no voter ever votes for more than one person. He never has a chance to vote for more than one person. He votes for the member of the city council from his own division of the city. In the city of Glasgow, which is one of the best governed cities in the world, there are 32 voting divisions and 32 members of council, and no voter votes for more than his man in his district. These 32 men, after they assemble, divide themselves into as many committees as there are departments in the city government, and the whole responsibility of all acts rests upon them jointly and severally. Do you think it would require a great deal of intelligence or many meetings to find out how your man was voting in the council or committee, or a very difficult process to substitute someone else for him if he was not doing what you expected him to do.

"You know the reason we cannot yet adopt that system in America. We have formed the trading habit. We know by painful experience that if you selected five commissioners from five divisions of the city, every time anything came up that old American habit on the part of the individual commissioner, supposing he represented in the whole city the one-fifth of it, would lead him to say, 'No, I am not going to vote for it unless my district gets as much as the other.'

"I know a city that lies alongside a great river. The greatest artery of the city, where the great movement of people naturally takes place, lay, of course, through one ward of the city. That was the place to build a great, broad bridge, broad as a great street, and let the people have free exit over it to the opposite bank of the stream. They spent 20 years getting that bridge, because there were other wards on the river, and the men who represented the other wards would not vote for the bridge in that ward unless they got bridges in their wards. You laugh, but if you laugh at that, why don't you laugh every day. That's what takes place every day. If you do not know it, it is because you cannot know it, you are not taking notice, the thing is too complicated for you to understand. That is going on all the time, this system of trading, and, therefore, in this bill which you are contemplating adoption in Trenton there is a provision for electing the five commissioners at large so that not a mother's son of them will get the idea that he represents anything but the whole of the city of Trenton. I dare say we will outgrow that trading habit some of these blessed days, and then we can concentrate our attention on one man at a time; we can

understand one man at a time, and it complicates matters to understand five men at a time. Foreign cities are, almost without exception, governed by the process of the selection by the voter of one man to represent him, and that makes all the difference between the system abroad of selecting men and the system in America of electing men. I wish every voter could see the world of difference between those two processes. We elect men galore, but the nominating machine selects them. If you want the privilege of selecting your men as well as electing them you will simplify your form of government until you have the whole thing in the palm of your hand and have only to flip a little finger to make them think it is an earthquake. These are not accidents. All the best governed cities in the world are governed according to that plan. The principle is the principle which Judge Murphy properly selected as the center of the whole proposition—the principle of responsibility. Nothing moralizes like responsibility; nothing sobers like responsibility. I have a suggestion to make to you. If you have a very able friend who is very radical, put him in office and see him tame down. Say, 'All right, my friend, you are such a smart Alec; you know how this thing ought to be done. You stand on the street corners and rant. You know so much about it, suppose you try it.' You make out of him the sober and responsible wheel horse.

"The gentlemen in the front row asks who will furnish the information which will enable us to criticize intelligently the things the government is doing, and who will do the criticizing? You will notice that this bill provides there can be no secret sessions. It provides that every session shall be so open that anybody that can get in the room and behave himself and keep order can come in. Therefore the newspaper and citizen who has nothing to do with it, can, by personal inquiry, find out what is going on from day to day. There are all sorts of private committee meetings; private sessions of the council itself under the present system. There is an insistence upon privacy and secrecy in certain departments of affairs. This bill absolutely wipes that out. You will have to depend upon your newspapers if you do not depend upon yourself, to tell you what is going on, if you do not wish to inquire about it for yourselves, or do not wish to fight for yourselves. But the access is yours. You do not have to have a ticket of admission; you do not have to have anything except citizenship to entitle you to admission.

"Now for the rest you ought to make a point of electing somebody who will have the indiscretion of being exceedingly talkative. An indiscreetly talkative official is a great public asset; he will let things out. There have been gentlemen who have risen high in the public life in America who might be mentioned, who have exercised the greatest power and exerted the greatest influence because they would talk and would upon occasion tell anything they happened to know, and so inquisitive they were generally on the inside and knew a great many things.



"You cannot invent a system of government that will be public in the sense that those who constitute it will get up on the steps of the city hall and harangue the passer-by as to what is going on. If you do not look on you do not see anything, but you can see anything for the pains of looking on. There will be no screens, no shades to the windows; the bar will be open and everybody who transacts business there will be in the public gaze. Every transaction will be publicly recorded and open for public criticism. There is no concealing things that are done by a single body. That is the point I wish to come back to again and again. There is every possibility of concealing things divided among numerous parties.

"One of the most annoying things in the world is to go to a five-ring circus. For my part I want to see what is going on in all the rings, but my mind is so interested and my eye so lagging, that I cannot see more than one at a time, and with my inquisitive nature I generally miss them all by trying to see them all.

"Now, I propose that you make out of your city government a one-ring circus, where particularly noticeable it will be if anyone attempts an unusually acrobatic feature.

"Do you not realize, gentlemen, the significance of the meeting of this evening? We are here to discuss a matter, which in our thoughts parti-

cularly concerns the city of Trenton, but we really discuss a matter which concerns mankind. If America falls in the great undertaking of city government; if she does not know how to make 52 per cent of her population happy and free and comfortable, then where will the world look for guidance along the road of liberty. If we fail mankind to whom shall the men of the nations look? When I see an earnest body of men gathered together to discuss a serious, business-like proposition, simple as it is important, such as you have before you tonight, I think I feel some of that great spirit of mankind which is abroad, where we note the beat of its wing, of that spirit which is always beating upward, upward, in the heavens, always calling out to men what the prospects are right ahead; always calling cheer to them that the road, though it be outside, is not a road which leads to nowhere, but is a road which leads to the accomplishment of the destiny of the human race. Whether Trenton do this thing now or another day is one of the items in the great combined struggle of mankind towards the light, towards the political light. America is finding voice; America is taking on again the armor of her indomitable perseverance and hope, and she will again say to her enemies, 'We hold you in laughter; we hold you in contempt; the night is ours and day is ours to possess.' "

## PITHY PARAGRAPHS FROM GOVERNOR WILSON'S SPEECH

Have you noticed any vociferous and loud opposition to commission government? Not a bit of it. It is all conducted in whispers, in private conferences; it is a gumshoe opposition.

Why do the newspapers that really want to oppose this thing do it covertly, on the sly, by indirection? Why do they say that so and so has been the objection, and then not answer the objection? Why are they afraid? Why is any man afraid to come out with an honest opinion? Gentlemen, the thing, I think, that is lowest in human life, is cowardice.

One of the most annoying things in the world is to go to a five-ring circus. I propose that you make out of your city government a one-ring circus, where particularly noticeable it will be if anyone attempts an unusually acrobatic feature.

It is a little bit pitiful to my mind that certain classes of officeholders in our cities have grown restless and fearful in the presence of this agitation.

Do not they (referring to policemen and firemen) have to do the secret and dirty work of politics, and do they not know that if they do not do this work they will be rejected and put out of their places? Does any man dare to stand up and deny that such is the fact?

If you saddle an officer with something that he shares with other officers, then he can have an understanding with them that when he is blamed for anything he will pass it on.

There is no blood in anybody's eye who is concerned in this campaign for commission government. It is a means of rectifying our own mistakes.

We elect men galore, but the nominating machine selects them. If you want the privilege of selecting your men as well as electing them, you will simplify the whole thing in the palm of your hand and have only to flip a little finger to make them think there is an earthquake.

Because of the peculiarity of our present city government it is so complicated that nobody except a professional politician knows the ins and outs of it. It is a perfect labyrinth where you can play hide and seek with the men you elect from one year's end to the other and never find them.

If you want security, if you want tenure of office, put trustworthy and responsible men at the head of your government.

There is going over this whole nation a process which runs along a single line, namely, the resolution of the people of the country to have control of their own affairs.

We may as well face the facts: it is we who have built up this unsatisfactory system; the men we have put in office did not make it; they did not create the conditions which are so unsatisfactory.

Some gentlemen who are opposed to commission government are opposed to it because they control certain boards of the city and know that the game will be up when it is open.

# GOV. WOODROW WILSON'S SPEECH BEFORE THE KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE

Frankfort, Ky., Feb. 10.—Gov. Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, who addressed the Kentucky Legislature by invitation yesterday afternoon, said:

"I feel as if political business was being transacted in this country at present, and therefore I am going to speak to you this afternoon as a Democrat. I know there are Republicans present, but I have come to believe there is no Republican who is hopeless.

"I am not aware of any partisan prejudice on my part, but I am a believer in party allegiance. I believe in a close union of men to accomplish an object. The only thing of which we need feel jealous is not the party organization, but the party machine. The party organization is formed for public purposes, while the party machine is formed for personal purposes. No man can act with party efficiency if he does not act as an integral part of a party organization.

"The United States is dissatisfied with the rule of the Republican party as at present controlled. I do not need to prove this. I am not arguing with you, but I am telling you.

"There is a widespread dissatisfaction. Not a dissatisfaction with the professed principles of the Republican party, but with the policies of the Republican party. The country is profoundly dissatisfied with the leaders of the Republican party. They believe, many of them honestly, that this country cannot enter upon a course of action without the approval of men who control the largest financial interests of the country. It is a theory of trusteeship.

### Guardians For the People.

"When they speak of the people of the United States they do not include themselves. They are in the attitude of guardians. Their idea is that every election must be personally guided. Whenever there is a campaign it is made to turn upon the question of prosperity quod out by the material-controlled interests.

"They do not trust the general judgment of America, and the people realize this. They are demanding that in Federal affairs they have a government of their own.

"This isn't an indictment against their characters. It is an indictment of their ignorance of the United States. I am not surprised at it. These gentlemen have been so absorbed in vast undertakings that they have never had time to lift their eyes to the horizon.

"We have come to a time when the country is looking around for a substitute for the Republican party.

"Now there are candidates and candidates in the Republican party, referred to by some as 'insurgents,' who say the present policies of the Republican party are wrong, and who want to bring that party to a realization of its duty. These gentlemen have swung around until there is only one difference of any consequence between us, and that is that they still adhere to a protective tariff. That may be all right, but I have never had a feeling of piety for it. My heart has never been touched by the principle of protection. And so they are candidates to be substituted for the present Republicans in power.

### Power of Precedent.

"Why has the country hesitated to substitute the Democratic party for the Republican party? America is a business country, dominated by practical men of affairs. They do not tolerate interference with the normal course of their business. You know what the lawyer's argument is for following precedent. It is a great deal better for him to know what is going to be done in court to-morrow than to be in doubt. The same is true of the business man. He wants definite points by which he may draw his orbit.

"Therefore, I say that America is intolerant of experiment and uncertain change. The indictment against the Democratic party is that it is a party of experiment and change. Is not that true? Is not that the argument that has been used against us? The truth of it is neither here nor there.

"Business has undergone such changes that merely standing and letting things alone will not serve the interests of business itself. The field of business is not free as it used to be, but is bound by certain central controlling influences in the financial world giving privileges and artificial advantages. Not many business men are speaking out about this. Many a man knows if he complains there are men who can jeopardize his success more than now.

"The questions of business of this country have become new questions. The processes of our law are not true to the new processes of business. The judges are a bit at sea.

### Unrestrained Privilege.

"Privilege governs unrestrained. These combinations in business are disclosing themselves as coincident with combinations in politics.

"The problem to my mind, therefore, is how to commend the Democratic party to the confidence of the nation. How can we show the people of the United States that they can trust us? By showing that we know the facts when we see them. We are getting knowledge by the investigations of the Stanley Committee, and by the meat packers investigation. We now know how the price of meat is fixed. The byproducts of the carcass are the great profits of the meat concerns. The price of meat is made to cover the whole operating expense.

"With regard to the Steel Corporation, we now know something of its operations, but not all. We will know in time.

"All that I'm interested in is how can I best get the crowbar under these locked gates to open them."

### Illustrates With Story.

To illustrate his point, Gov. Wilson here told a story of a young woman and her sweetheart. She was just in her teens, he said, and her mother always made it a point to be present when her daughter's sweetheart called.

The young man arrived at the house one afternoon before the mother had completed her toilet, and he and the young woman were in the parlor alone when she began to bleed at the nose. He, wishing to do something for her relief, and having heard that cold steel at the back of the neck was a good remedy, stepped over to the door for the key. In his excitement he inadvertently turned the lock in extracting the key, and then hurried over to the young woman and held it to the back of her neck. Just then the mother arrived at the door, and finding it locked, rapped for admittance. Adding to the embarrassment of the situation, the young man dropped the key down the young woman's back.

"What is to be done?" Gov. Wilson asked, and his hearers began to laugh. When the merriment had subsided somewhat he added: "My solution is to get the key at any cost."

### In Serious Vein.

Becoming serious, Gov. Wilson said: "We must be willing to deal with one thing at a time. We must undertake to stop that way of fixing prices that establishes and maintains a monopoly.

"I'm not afraid of the size of a corporation. Bigness, associated with privileges, is extremely dangerous. Without privileges bigness is not dangerous at all.

"I believe the business of America is conducted by honest, patriotic men, and that the dearest wish of these men is to have these errors of business removed that have brought business into disrepute.

"The thing for the Democratic party to do is to show that it is more familiar with the business of this country than the Republican party. The Democratic party is saturated with certain ancient principles which underlie the whole structure of political society.

"Every nation is renewed out of the ranks of the unknown men. A democratic nation is richer in genius than any other

nation because it releases genius. The fine proof of the principles of Democracy is that you can't predict from which class the leaders are to come. These giants more often come from cottages than palaces. The genius that rises out of that is genius that will not be denied.

### Democratic Party.

"The Democratic party has the enormous advantage of having that principle to work upon. The additional principle of the Democratic party is that no one group of individuals has the right to judge for the whole. The business of the Democratic party is to translate the old into the new; the old principles into the new principles. The body politic changes just as truly as the physical changes.

"I believe the Democratic party still pulsates with these old pulses of life. If that be true, then certain things are necessary. Clear-sightedness will enable us to prove to the business world that we do know what we are doing; that we are going to act from the standpoint of expediency.

"Some men are going to try to make us afraid. If certain groups of men can accomplish almost anything they set out to accomplish, then they can threaten us with the spectre of financial disaster. We shall be cowards if we so much as regard such things.

### An Arch Conservative.

"I utter these things in tones of defiance, perhaps, but I feel no defiance. It's no fault of mine, if I was born with Scotch-Irish blood. I don't carry a shillalah, but I have a great interest in those who do. I describe myself as an arch conservative.

"If you were a surgeon and found your patient suffering from a malignant growth how would you prove your conservatism? By the use of the knife, of course; but as you insert it you must be wholly sensible of the sensitiveness of the nerve centers.

"I think, after the operation, there need be no trained nurse. I don't think the patient will even have to go to bed. Nothing is going to be hurt, except the parts removed. It isn't a large part, but creates a considerable disturbance while it is there.

"Various ways have been suggested as to how we are to get what we are after. Every programme I am interested in is a programme to open the channels. The courses of business are clogged. The channels can be opened without interfering with navigation.

### Controlling Monopoly.

"How are we now seeking to control monopoly? By taking monopoly and dividing it into pieces and leaving the same men in the pieces that accomplished the monopoly. You can't make such a puzzle out of these pieces as to keep them from fitting them together. The only way to check the genius of anybody is to imprison the genius.

"The world consists of individuals. Motive originates from individuals. You don't exercise government unless you reach suggestive origins. Let us deal with corporations only when they are operating honestly. When operating otherwise, let us lift off the cover and expose the people composing the corporation. If the trouble is beyond this circle, then let us go outside and deal with it there."

### No Cause For Alarm.

It is peculiarly annoying that some of the press dispatches from Frankfort have reported the State Bacteriologist as saying that hookworm is rampant among the students of the Western Kentucky Normal School. The State Bacteriologist has hastened to remark with emphasis that she never said it. Unfortunately the denial probably will never overtake the erroneous report. As the late Sam Jones, of Georgia, once remarked, a lie can travel ten miles before truth gets its boots on.

The Western Normal Bulletin has been issued recently. It contains numerous illustrations of groups of students at the institution, and a study of those groups will convince any reasonable individual that there are no hookworm patients among them. Hookworms would be hopelessly out of place in a beehive of educational industry like the big State institution at Bowling Green. The hookworm victim is lazy, listless and apathetic, and in the Normal Bulletin's picture gallery there is not a face which reflects even a suspicion of "that tired feeling." No bacteriological examination is necessary to demonstrate that the Western Normal students are very much alive; are enjoying life to the full and are sufficiently healthy and optimistic as to hope that others are "enjoying the same great blessing."

The Western Normalites wouldn't know a hookworm, perhaps, if they met it in the road, but they are not in much danger of meeting it, for the creature cannot exist in that sort of an atmosphere. They are too busy preparing to go out into the highways, byways and hedges to search out and destroy the bacteria of ignorance which is preying on the vitals of the State. And so long as they are going to the number of some fourteen or fifteen hundred a year no one need fear that Kentucky is in any danger of being overwhelmed or seriously damaged by hookworms, crookworms or cabbage snakes!

Lieut. Gov. McDermott presided over the meeting. He was introduced by Representative Francis Douglas, of Boyle county. In introducing Gov. Wilson, Lieut. Gov. McDermott referred to him in high terms.

Gov. Wilson entered the House chamber with Gov. McCreary, and the moment they entered the door they were greeted by waves of applause. Students of Georgetown College occupied seats in the gallery and cheered Gov. Wilson, following this with their college yell.

### Two Hundred At Banquet.

More than two hundred men from all parts of the State were at the banquet in Gov. Wilson's honor. At the banquet last night only three speeches were made besides the address of Gov. Wilson. Henry S. Breckinridge, of Lexington, presided as toastmaster and the welcome address was delivered by Gov. McCreary. The diners thought that the Governor was going to declare for Gov. Wilson for the Democratic nominee, but he put it that hundreds of thousands of Democrats want Gov. Wilson to be the nominee. Gov. McCreary predicted a Democratic victory in 1913, and said if the man elected happened to be Gov. Wilson every Kentuckian would be proud to go to Washington and shake his hand.

Senator Claude M. Thomas, of Bourbon, accepted the office of president of the Woodrow Wilson Association in Kentucky, and pledged himself to work and use every honorable means to send from Kentucky a delegation instructed for Gov. Wilson. Representative Francis B. Douglas spoke only a minute, but started a laugh which lasted for a longer time than the speech. In his speech at the banquet Gov. Wilson discussed the development of this country and the hopes and aims that are before it. He denounced the idle rich as those who spend without pleasure.

### PAINT THE TOWN RED.

#### Students at Ohio Northern University Go on a Rampage.

ADA, O., Oct. 22.—Students at Ohio Northern University have begun to paint the town red, literally. They began on the office of Mayor Campbell. After smashing the windows they slathered the entire office with crimson paint, and by the way of decoration added a few inscriptions indicating his legal lore and judicial proclivities were not held in high esteem by the students.

To emphasize the fact that their work was intended to attract attention they rang the bell in the chapel all night.

Today the mayor is searching for legal precedents for action against the students. Trouble originally started when he refused to punish a city fireman who struck a student.

# YOU MUST STAND THE GAFF

BY HERBERT KAUFMAN.

What if the world doesn't believe in you? The world has been wrong since its crust cooled.

Mankind has doubted man from the outset of endeavor.

It has always stoned, burned, exiled and tortured its benefactors.

Originality must make its own paths—that's its job.

Nine humans out of ten look backwards, and therefore can't see your goal.

Precedent is their guide, friend and philosopher. It is your mission to bring encouragement—not to seek it.

You can make your choice now—choose the rut-worn paths that others have dug—follow security—cling to certainty—accept the wage and the status of the unimaginative and hide-bound, incredulous—throttle your daring—choke all inspiration—content yourself with the sour, shriveled fruit of the commonplace—or lift your soul into the great beyond and fight your way to the promise that lies there.

If you want more than your fellows, pay for it.

You can't dicker and bargain with us—you must show the stuff you are made of.

We won't take your word for it—we won't exalt you—we won't crown you—we won't obey you—we won't respect you—we won't submit to your judgment—we won't grant your superiority, until you demonstrate that you have more brains and more courage and more strength than we work-a-day folk.

Yours is not a special case. We've a formula and we've made every striver abide by it.

Our test is a hard one, if you are steeled with ambition we are flinty with doubt.

Come, strike your spark, then we'll know you're true mettle.

Go back to your task again—back to your pen—to your wheels—and strive on. Try again and anew.

Warm your dreams into realities. If your heart quails, then all fails.

Jones says that you're hare-brained. What of it?

Smith swears you're crazy. Brown shrugs his shoulders. White sneers.

But Jones and Smith and Brown and White are institutions. They've always discounted what they could not personally see—what they could not feel.

Socrates knew them. Savonarola met them. Columbus, Watts, Fulton, Edison, Bell, the Wrights, the Curies, met their rebuffs.

They have made the earth great. They've served a mighty purpose.

They fire genuine ability. They rouse real men to that wonderful rage against intolerance that makes of them martyrs and captains and genuises.

How dare you cry for quarter? You who time and time again have hurled the very stones against which you now rebel.

DID YOU ACCEPT MARCONI AT HIS WORD?

WALT MASON

The Poet Philosopher

When but a child I saw a bride stand blushing at the altar, sustained by high and noble pride, she did not shrink or falter. Fair orange blooms were on her head, she wore a veil and bustle. "She is a peach," the verger said; "her name is Lillian Russell." LILLIAN'S ENGAGEMENT And when I came to man's estate, I saw another marriage; the blushing bride was simply great, of high queenly carriage. She leaned upon the bridegroom's arm—an arm of brawn and muscle. "What grace!" the verger said; "what charm! Her name is Lillian Russell!" Years passed, and manhood's prime was gone, and I was worn and jaded, when to the church, one summer dawn, a wedding troupe paraded. The verger, old and heavy eyed, and bent by worldly tussle, said: "Here we have the deathless bride—my dear old Lillian Russell!" Before I leave this world of grief it's little that I ask it; I'm in the sere and yellow leaf and waiting for a casket, but 'ere I've curled myself and died once more I'd like to hustle and see again that blushing bride, the star eyed Lillian Russell!

## Government By Commission

(By Savoyard.)

After voting in the senatorial primary last Tuesday to keep Boss Jim Smith out of Democratic politics, Governor Wilson addressed some hundreds of college boys on the issues, and among other things he remarked the following about the trusts:

"I don't want to regulate trusts. I want to put them on their mettle. I want to see that they can't put anybody out of business except by doing business better than anybody else. I don't want to squeeze the water out of their stocks. I want to put the water in a tank on their backs and see if they can carry that water as against the men who are doing business without any water to carry. Then either they will break under the strain or get rid of the water themselves, because they can't carry water and do business against competition."

There is the whole question, and it means that the special privileges now enjoyed by the trusts shall be taken from them and that they be required to compete with other concerns on absolute equality with them. Do that and there will be no more watered stocks issued by corporations. Do that and antiquated mills will give place to the best mills the genius of our engineers can construct. Do that and the people will be relieved of the hardship of paying exorbitant prices for inferior articles.

But Taft says the trusts are entitled to have tariff taxes so laid as to give them a monopoly of the domestic market, for that is what protection is and all it is, which means and the trusts shall continue to enjoy the special privileges by means of which they were created and without which they could not exist. It was to secure them the protection of the tariff that moved the trusts to contribute the enormous sums they did to elect Roosevelt president in 1904 and Taft President in 1908.

Roosevelt says that there shall be no more competition in the business world, that the trusts are grown too great to be challenged by others who seek to engage in business of the same lines, and his plan is to legalize them and appoint a commission to regulate them and see that they behave. Andy Carnegie says he can build a mill at comparatively insignificant cost that will make steel tubing cheaper by \$10 a ton than the Steel Trust is making similar wares. But the trust, secure in its monopoly, sticks to its antiquated plans, and with perfect impunity it levies this enormous tax of \$10 a ton upon the public, though it reaps no reward from it. That is waste. Under Roosevelt that abuse was inaugurated under Taft it continues.

Under Wilson that trust, shorn of its special privilege, will be forced to compete with rivals, and then the people will buy steel tubes and piping at least \$10 a ton less than they now have to pay.

The leading trust magnates are for the Roosevelt plan, especially the Steel Trust and its offspring, the Harvester Trust. Mr. Stanley, of Kentucky, who perhaps knows as much about the subject as any man now living, has introduced a bill in Congress depriving the trusts of one of the most vicious privileges which they enjoy. He would divorce the industrial trust from the transportation

business. In his opinion that would do more to reform the abuse of corporate monopoly than anything else. The trusts will have none of this Stanley bill. They say it will ruin them and put them out of business. So it will, put them out of rascally business, and that is something the American people are grimly resolved to do.

Roosevelt asks the people to appoint him to compose the issue of monopoly. He says that he would regulate it by means of a commission similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The two things are very different. Transportation by rail from State to State is a public utility. It produces nothing. It is simply a service rendered, and its charges can be very properly and very auspiciously "regulated" by a governmental agency. But the production of steel, or other articles of merchandise, is a private industry, conducted by individuals or corporations, and when the government assumes to regulate, by commission, the profits it shall earn, or the wages it shall pay, we have pure socialism that leads to the establishing of prices by government of every article exposed to sale in every mart. It is a monstrosity impossible of execution, and if it were possible it would require tens of thousands of additional public officials to administer the thing.

We had an example of the workings of one of Mr. Roosevelt's "commissions" in the administration of the pure food law. Mr. Roosevelt says he extorted that statute from a reluctant Congress. Grant that he did, though Doctor Wiley, who knows more about the subject than anybody else, will tell you that there is no foundation in actual fact for the boast. What happened? Roosevelt was persuaded to appoint the Remsen Board, or Commission, and that body, though without design or fault on its part, was used to nullify the pure food law. Taft came in and we had the baleful influence of McCabe and Dunlop, who succeeded in so embarrassing Dr. Wiley that he resigned in disgust and so far as the foods and drinks of the public are concerned the matter stands precisely where it did before the pure food law was enacted.

Drugs, harmless in themselves, are employed to conceal putrefaction and other harmful elements in foods that are thus sold to the people as sound and pure, and they have the brand of the "pure food law" on them. There may be some excellent canned goods on the market, but if so they have to compete with impure foods that cannot be detected except by a chemical analysis.

There is a sample of "government by commission" as practiced by Roosevelt and Taft. There is not a doubt that the Steel Trust and the other predatory and piratical interests would be glad to be licensed by the government and "regulated" by a commission like that which took all that was desirable out of the pure food law.

We tried Roosevelt ninety months; we have tried Taft forty-three months. Neither afforded the slightest relief. Both aggravated and augmented the abuses that both agree exist and still exist. Are you going to appoint either of these to the task that he neglected and failed to do all these years?

## THE PEOPLE AND CIVIC DUTY

By Boyd Winchester.

Under the title of "The People and the Lawmakers," a recent brief editorial in the *Courier-Journal*, commending the citizens of Henry county for holding a public meeting "to discuss measures now pending in the Legislature," makes the pertinent statement that "it is the best available way by which the voters can exert an influence on legislation." It may be added that if the good example of Henry county be followed throughout the State it will give a new impulse to the cultivation of public spirit and civic duty.

It is manifest that of all forms of government, democracy is that which imperatively requires the greatest amount of intelligence and diligence amongst the great mass of the people. If the numerical majority is composed of sober, intelligent, alert persons who will govern wisely themselves, or choose persons who will do so, then democracy is justified by its deeds; but if it is otherwise, and if, when an appeal is made to the multitude, they fail to do their duty, then democracy is, at least, nothing better than any other oracles which it supplants.

Under favorable circumstances there is no form of government which, while it lasts, has such a virtue to give scope to a vigorous growth and luxuriant fruitage of various manhood as a pure democracy; it gives a free career to talent and civic efficiency in the greatest number of capable individuals.

But government by the people cannot succeed unless all the people take part in it. A republic cannot succeed if it becomes an oligarchy of "bosses" and their satellites. Every State must prosper in proportion as its members are devoted to the public interest. One form may have certain advantages over another, but on the whole, Pope's lines express the true philosophy:

"For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whatever is best administered, is best."

Then it was a wise and moral maxim which declared that "the corruption of the best possible, is the worst possible," or to express it generally, the better a thing is, the worse is its abuse; that the extent of the abuse or deterioration is in proportion to the excellence of purpose for which the institution was established.

The head and front of all the dangers that threaten to weaken and discredit our experiment in government, is the apathy among the people toward social and political obligations; the failure, through carelessness, inappreciation or lack of understanding of the citizen, to exercise his individual civic duty to himself and his fellowmen. We need an intenser spirit of co-operation in everything that concerns our united life; a more active and aggressive civic spirit, a larger, heartier recognition of men's dependence upon one another, and of the moral, social and political duties spring out of this close relationship.

Certainly no argument should be required of intelligence concerning the rights and duties of the citizen; what he may fairly expect from his State, and what he justly owes in turn. There is much reason to think that republics in general, and ours in particular, tend to over-emphasize the rights of the citizen, at the expense of the State; consequently we are called upon to correct this error and impress the citizen with his obligations, rather than his privileges, and point out that with nations the progress of society is measured to a much larger extent by the increase of limitations than by the extension of liberties.

The greatness of Chatham and his son lay in their perceiving that behind the crown, behind the revolution families, behind Parliament itself, lay what they called the "great public," and what we call "the people," and that on the will of the nation depended the authority of Parliament. The impelling force in every country is public opinion; even under despotism it makes itself felt, and in a republic it is avowedly the ruling and irresistible force. Our confidence in the future must depend upon the hope that the people at last will be awakened from their lethargy and act with a spirit becoming the descendants of their heroic ancestors.

The civic spirit, to which modern democracy is giving revival, is the domain of the common good, in the light of which it was the great duty of Hellenic citizens to adjust and exercise their lives, and thus we find the historic character of noble citizenship given in the typical Greek communities of ancient times.

The Greeks and Romans regarded their country in the light of a common parent, the object of mingled feelings of grati-

tude and veneration, the source of everything which gave value to life; they considered their country's interest and honor as identified with their own, as the end in which everything should center and to the accomplishment of which every prayer should be directed. It was customary with the Romans, as the finishing part of education, to recommend their sons to the patronage of some person eminent for his high public and private virtues. Men of the first rank and distinction in the Roman republic glorified in being thus singled out as conductors in civic duty of the rising generation, and the greatest characters that ever dignified the annals of any age were proud of appearing in the streets of Rome accompanied by these honorable disciples.

The lectures they delivered were the animating lessons of patriotic sages, rising from the life and impressed by the occasion. The youth thus trained amidst the instructive scenes of public debate in the Forum and Senate were undoubtedly taking a sure road toward rendering themselves useful and distinguished citizens. But instead of the simple and homogeneous community of the ancients, the modern wilderness of interests has come, disturbing the life of the State into a vast variety of corporate and social centers, for which we have, as yet, found no simple principle of unity except that of law backed by the force of majority. This is our problem: To find and live the type of life that is healthy and sound for the good of the community. For the solution of this problem each individual must fulfill all his moral, social and political relations, according to his station and capacity, sacrificing a less good to a greater, subordinating the private to the public, friendship to public duty and self-love to a broad-minded patriotism.

Every citizen should study political conditions, either alone, or, better still, with others, and make up his mind what legislation, what reform, what government action of any kind, is needed and then use his influence to secure it. A man cannot be truly called a worthy citizen of a State unless he feels himself endowed with innumerable benefits, won for him by past generations, and whose unfinished work he is called upon to develop further by his own activity and intelligence. He should learn to know his duties and to have ideas and to stand by them; for, as Stuart Mill well says, "one man with a conviction is stronger than ten who have only interest." It will be a fortunate day when every citizen realizes that he has an ever-present obligation to perform to the State which he cannot escape from or neglect without being false to his civil allegiance. In the impressive words of Cardinal Gibbons: "No man should be a drone in the social beehive; no man should be an indifferent spectator of the moral, political and economic questions which affect the welfare of the Commonwealth."

Public spirit, in its most extensive significance, is a settled principle of good will toward our fellow-citizens, exerting itself in generous efforts for their social and political welfare. It is something very superior to mere party feeling, which in itself insofar from implying the absence of selfishness, that it too often originates in selfish motives and terminates in contracted views of private advancement.

Whether our State shall realize its ambitious hopes and high aspirations will depend largely upon the fact whether she contains men-citizens like those of Athens, described by Pericles, of whom he says: "An Athenian citizen does not neglect the State because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public welfare not as harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators we are all sound judges of policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action." Have we gained much on this ideal of a citizen of a free republic in the thirteen centuries since those words were written?

The manhood of a free, independent, self-reliant and proud people should raise up in their breasts such an honest and resolute zeal for the public good as shall induce them, from affection, as well as principle, to promote and serve the aggregate interest, even at the sacrifice of their own.

It might not be amiss for our youth, like the young Athenian, to be inducted into full citizenship and civic responsibility with some solemn ceremony of initiation, and to take the oath of civic loyalty in some such words as the young Greek used: "I will transmit my fatherland, not only not less, but greater and better than it was transmitted to me. I will obey the magistrate, who may at any time be in power. I will both observe the existing laws and those which the people may hereafter make. And these things I call the gods to witness."

# MOOSE RALLY AT MADISON SQUARE

Col. Roosevelt Makes First Appearance Since Attacked.

Address Was Devoid of Cautious Criticism.

Testimonial of Esteem Paid Progressive Leader.

ENTHUSIASM, BUT NO FRENZY

New York, Oct. 30.—(Special.)—As a personal demonstration, the meeting at Madison Square Garden, which to-night heard Theodore Roosevelt make his first public address since he was wounded, was a thorough success. As a complete demonstration that the Progressive movement, for the present at least, is a one-man movement, and the Progressive party a one-man party, the meeting was a triumph. As a testimonial of hero-worship it was real. But the thousands of people, calling themselves Progressives, who gathered in the great hall and took part in the made-to-order drama, failed to show one quality that would lead the observer to believe that their party has been called forth by the country's needs.

They massed in early, thousands of them, wearing bandannas and waving flags, singing and shouting. The meeting was ostensibly for the advancement of the campaign in New York of Roosevelt and Oscar S. Straus, the nominee for Governor. Yet the only way Straus could hold the crowd was by humor, and as for Johnson, he was given a greeting that was hearty, yet not unusual, and the crowd paid very little heed to what he was saying. As his speech progressed, although he is the second man on the National Progressive party ticket, and was introduced as "presidential limber," the great audience grew restless and inattentive, and when Col. Roosevelt's approach was heralded by the cheers of the crowds outside, the audience in the Garden gave no further attention to Johnson. The Colonel looked dead serious when he entered. He carried his right hand within his coat and used only his left arm to wave to the crowd. He appeared much thinner than usual, but he stood up during a forty-minute demonstration as sturdily as ever.

## New Order of Speech.

The address of Col. Roosevelt was unlike anything he has uttered hitherto in the campaign. Thousands among those who had wedged their way into the hall seemingly expected the Colonel to come back into the campaign with the style of savage attack, which was the dominant note in his speeches just before he was shot. That portion of the audience was disappointed. The address was couched more nearly in the terms of a benediction than of a partisan political appeal. Not once did Col. Roosevelt mention the names of either Gov. Woodrow Wilson or President Taft. As far as the speech indicated, there might never have been a riotous national convention during the progress of which men, who were his former friends, were referred to by Col. Roosevelt then and for weeks afterward as "political crooks and thieves."

From beginning to end there was not a single reference to any of the stormy events of the campaign, and nothing in the way of harsh criticism of political foes. The speech was one of the soberest and most restrained addresses made by Col. Roosevelt in recent years. There was only the most indirect reference to the attempt upon his life, and that came in almost the last sentence of the speech, when Col. Roosevelt, referring to what he had said in a speech in New York months ago, repeated slowly:

"The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument to be used until broken, and then to be cast aside, and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeited in order that the victory may be won."

## Estimation of Speech.

Col. Roosevelt, his closest confidants and advisers say, regarded his speech of to-night as in many ways the most important of his entire career. It was the conviction of the Bull Moose leader, his friends say, that under the circumstances his speech would stand the test of time better, perhaps, than any other speech he had ever made. To-day at the national Roosevelt headquarters, it was stated that the Colonel prepared the speech with the notion that it would be a historic document, Senator Dixon declaring that the speech was destined to go down in history as the equal of the speech of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg. When he made this declaration, Senator Dixon said he wanted it understood "it was a statement which squared with the facts."

Senator Dixon and the rest believe that to-night's speech marks the turning point in the campaign. As a political event the meeting must therefore be viewed from that standpoint. The inevitable conclusion is that Dixon and his aides are doomed to disappointment. No converts were made. There was not the idolatry the Bull Moose managers expected. The entire gathering was simply an enlarged gallery of the Progressive convention at Chicago and composed, for the most part, of those who will vote for Roosevelt anyhow.

Those auditors who came because of curiosity were satisfied, but those who came for thrills were disappointed.

There was no frenzy. Enthusiasm was the only emotion displayed. The demonstration for twenty-five minutes was sincere. For the remaining fifteen minutes it was bolstered up with musical selections from band and audience and finally, to prolong the noise, the searchlight was turned onto Col. Roosevelt's face. This added ten minutes to the ovation.

## Trip To New York.

So as to have ample time to rest after his trip from Oyster Bay before his speech-making task of the night, Col. Roosevelt left Sagamore Hill by mid-afternoon and reached New York at 5:45 o'clock. From the train he went at once to the home of Dr. Alexander Lambert in East Thirty-first street, near Madison Square. Col. Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt took dinner with Dr. Lambert and remained there until the hour for the meeting.

After dinner Dr. Lambert dressed Col. Roosevelt's wound and pronounced him in fit shape for his evening's work.

Col. Roosevelt, accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, went by automobile from Sagamore Hill to the station at Oyster Bay. They made the trip to New York in a private car, under the protection of three detectives. At Raritan and again at Jamaica the Colonel went out to the rear platform to wave his hand and call out "good luck" to the crowds at the stations.

The car was cut off from the regular train at Jamaica and brought as a special to the Pennsylvania Terminal that the Colonel might avoid the crowd in the station. His arrival was unknown to anyone except half a hundred station employes, who cheered him as he walked from his car to the automobile.

The police and the private detectives retained to protect Col. Roosevelt took every precaution for his safety. Policemen were scattered along the way from the station to Dr. Lambert's house, and

(Continued On Fifth Page.)

there were a dozen men on guard while the Colonel was within. Col. Roosevelt went to Madison Square Garden with Dr. Lambert, George Roosevelt, his cousin, and William J. Burns, the detective. An automobile filled with Burns' men preceded him. Mrs. Roosevelt left a few minutes ahead of her husband and went to the box which had been reserved for the Colonel's family.

#### Entertained By Moving Pictures.

The crowd which had begun to fill the garden as soon as the doors were opened at 6 o'clock was entertained for nearly two hours with moving pictures of the Roosevelt Western tour. Cheers greeted every appearance of Col. Roosevelt on the films, and the cheering swelled to such proportions when the speakers appeared on the platform that the intervention of the band was necessary to enable Gov. Johnson and Mr. Straus to begin their speeches.

Senator Dixon, introducing the candidate for Governor of New York, declared the majority of the States in the Middle West and Northwest would return "o.d.-time Roosevelt victories on election day."

Col. Roosevelt reached the hall at 7:15, while Gov. Johnson was still speaking. His passage through the streets was greeted with cheering that penetrated the hall and brought an answering cheer from the inside.

As he came up onto the high platform, through a rear stairway, the garden became a bedlam of sound and a mass of waving color. With a broad smile the Colonel stepped forward and waved his hand in salute. The cheers grew in volume. His gestures for the crowd to be seated intensified the noise. He insisted upon standing in his effort to bring the crowd to order.

#### Battle of the Present.

Col. Roosevelt said:

"Friends, perhaps once in a generation, not more often, there comes a chance for the people of a country to play their part wisely and fearlessly in some great battle of the age-long warfare for human rights. To our fathers the chance in the mighty days of Abraham Lincoln, the

man who thought and toiled and suffered for the people with sad, patient and kindly endeavor. To our forefathers the chance came in the troubled years that stretched from the time when the First Continental Congress gathered, to the time when Washington was inaugurated as first President of the Republic. To us, in our turn, the chance has now come to stand for liberty and righteousness as in their day these dead men stood for liberty and righteousness. Our task is not as great as theirs. Yet it is well nigh as important. Our task is to profit by the lessons of the past and to check in time the evils that grow around us; lest our failure to do so may cause dreadful disaster to our people. We must not sit supine and helpless. We must not permit the brutal selfishness of arrogance and envy to run unchecked its evil course. If we do so then some day smouldering hatred will suddenly kindle into a consuming flame, and either we or our children will be called to face a crisis as grim as any which the republic has ever seen.

#### Be Wise In Time.

"It is our business to show that nineteenth-century wisdom consists in being wise in time. Woe to our nation if we let matters drift. If in our industrial and political life we let an unchecked and utterly selfish individualistic materialism riot to its appointed end, that end would be widespread disaster, for it would mean that our people would be sundered by those dreadful lines of division which are drawn when the selfish greed of the 'haves' is set over against the selfish greed of the 'have-nots.' There is but one way to prevent such a division, and that is to forestall it by the kind of movement in which we are now engaged.

"Our movement is one of resolute insistence upon the rights and full acknowledgment of the duties of every man and every woman within this great land of ours. We war against the forces of evil and the weapons we use are the weapons of right. We do not set greed against greed or hatred against hatred. Our creed is one that bids us be just to all, to feel sympathy for all and to strive for an understanding of the needs of all. Our purpose is to smite down wrong. But toward those who have done the wrong we feel only the kindest charity that is compatible with causing the wrong to cease. We preach hatred to no man, and the spirit in which we work is as far removed from vindictiveness as from weakness. We are resolute to do away with the evil and we intend to proceed with such wise and cautious sanity as will cause the very minimum of disturbance that is compatible with achieving our purpose.

#### Factors of Character.

"Do not forget, friends, that we are not proposing to substitute law for character. We are merely proposing to buttress character by law. We fully recognize that as has been true in the past so it is true now and ever will be true that the prime factor in each man or woman's success must normally be that man or woman's own character—character, the sum of many qualities, but above all of the qualities of honesty, of courage and of common sense. Nothing will avail a nation if there is not the right type of character among the average men and women, the plain people, the hard-working, decent-living, right-thinking people who make up the great bulk of our citizenship. I know my countrymen; I know that they are of this type. But it is in civil life as it is in war. In war it is the man behind the gun that counts most, and yet he cannot do his work unless he has the right kind of gun. In civil life in the everyday life of our nation, it is individual character which counts most; and yet the individual character cannot avail, unless in addition thereto there be ready to hand the social weapons which can be forged only by law and by public opinion operating through and operated upon by law.

"Again, friends, do not forget that we are proposing no new principles. The doctrines we preach reach back to the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount. They reach back to the Commandments delivered at Sinai. All that we are doing is to apply those doctrines in the shape necessary to make them available for meeting the living issues of our own day. We decline to be bound by the empty little cut-and-dried formulas of by-gone philosophies, useful once, perhaps, but useless now.

#### Will Shackle Greed.

"Our purpose is to shackle greedy cunning as we shackle brutal force, and we are not to be diverted from this purpose by the appeal to the dead dogmas of a vanished past. We propose to lift the burdens from the lowly and the weary, from the poor and the oppressed. We propose to stand for the sacred rights of childhood and womanhood. Nay, more, we propose to see that manhood is not crushed out of the men who toil by excessive hours of labor, by under-payment, by injustice and oppress. When this purpose can only be secured by the collective action of our people through their governmental agencies, we propose so to secure it. We brush aside the arguments of those who seek to bar action by the repetition of some formula about 'State's Rights' or about 'the history of liberty being the history of the limitation of governmental power' or about the duty of the courts finally to determine the meaning of the Constitution. We are for human rights, and we intend to work for them in efficient fashion. Where they can be best obtained by the application of the doctrines of States' Rights, then we are for States' Rights. Where, in order to obtain them, it is necessary to invoke the power of the nation, then we shall invoke to its uttermost the limits of that mighty power.

"We are for liberty. But we are for the liberty of the oppressed and not for the liberty of the oppressor to oppress the weak and to bind burdens on the shoulders of the heavy-laden. It is idle to ask us not to exercise the power of the Government when only by the power of the Government can we curb the greed that sits in high places, when only by the exercise of the Government can we exalt the lowly and give heart to the humble and the down-trodden.

#### Facts, Not Formulas.

"We care for facts and not for formulas. We care for deeds and not for words. We recognize no sacred right of oppression. We recognize no divine right to work injustice. We stand for the Constitution. We recognize that one of its most useful functions is the protection of property. But we will not consent to make of the Constitution a fetish for the protection of fossilized wrong. We call the attention of those who thus interpret it to the fact that in that great instrument of justice life and liberty are put on a full level with property, indeed are enumerated ahead of it in the order of their importance.

"We stand for an upright judiciary. But where the judges claim the right to make our laws by finally interpreting them, by finally deciding whether or not we have the power to make them, then we claim the right ourselves to exercise that power. We forbid any man, no matter what their official position may be, to usurp the right which is ours, the right which is the people's. We recognize in neither court nor Congress nor President any divine right to override the will of the people expressed with due deliberation in orderly fashion and through the forms of law. We Progressives hold that the words of the Declaration of Independence, as given effect by Washington and as construed and applied by Abraham Lincoln, are to be accepted as real and not as empty phrases. We believe that



In very truth this is a government by the people themselves, that the Constitution is theirs, that the courts are theirs, that all the governmental agents and agencies are theirs. We believe that all true leaders of the people must fearlessly stand for righteousness and honesty, must fearlessly tell the people what justice and honor demand. But we no less strongly insist that it is for the people themselves finally to decide all questions of public policy and to have their decision made effective.

#### Platform Is Clear.

"In the platform formulated by the Progressive party we have set forth clearly and specifically our faith in every vital point at issue before this people. We have declared our position on the trusts and on the tariff; on the machinery for securing genuine popular government; on the method of meeting the needs of the farmer, of the business man and of the man who toils with his hands, in the mine or on the railroad, in the factory or in the shop. There is not a promise we have made which cannot be kept. There is not a promise we have made that will not be kept. Our platform is a covenant with the people of the United States, and if we are given the power we will live up to that covenant in letter and in spirit.

"We know that there are in life injustices which we are powerless to remedy. But we know also that there is much injustice which can be remedied and this injustice we intend to remedy. We know that the long path leading upward toward the light cannot be traversed at once, or in a day, or in a year. But there are certain steps that can be taken at once. These we intend to take. Then, having taken these first steps, we shall see more clearly how to walk still further with a bolder stride. We do not intend to attempt the impossible. But there is much, very much, that is possible in the way of righting wrong and remedying injustices, and all that is possible we intend to do. We intend to strike down privilege, to equalize opportunity, to wrest justice from the hands that do injustice, to hearten and strengthen men and women for the hard battle of life.

#### All Classes Equal.

"We stand shoulder to shoulder in a spirit of real brotherhood. We recognize no differences of class, creed or birthplace. We recognize no sectionalism. Our appeal is made to the Easterner no less than to the Westerner. Our appeal is made to the Southerner no less than to the Northerner. We appeal to the men who wore the Gray just as we appeal to the men who wore the Blue. We appeal to the sons of the men who followed Lee no less than to the sons of the men who followed Grant, for the memory of the great deeds of both is now part of the common heritage of honor which belongs to all our people wherever they dwell.

"We firmly believe that the American people feel hostility to no man who has honestly won success. We firmly believe that the American people ask only justice, justice each for himself and justice each for all others. They are against wickedness in rich men and poor men alike. They are against lawless and murderous violence exactly as they are against the sordid materialism which seeks wealth by trickery and cheating, whether on a large or a small scale. They wish to deal honestly and in good faith with all men. They recognize that the prime national need is for honesty, hon-

esty in public life and in private life, honesty in business and in politics, honesty in the broadest and deepest significance of the word. We Progressives are trying to represent what we know to be the highest ideals and the deepest and most intimate convictions of the plain men and women, of the good men and women, who work for the home and within the home. . . .

#### People Not Shirkers.

"Our people work hard and faithfully. They do not wish to shirk their work. They do not feel pride in the work for the work's sake. But there must be bread for the work. There must be a time for play when the men and women are young. When they grow old there must be the certainty of rest under conditions free from the haunting terror of utter poverty. We believe that no life is worth anything unless it is a life of labor, effort and endeavor. We believe in the joy that comes with work; for he who labors best is really happiest. We must shape conditions so that no one can own the spirit of the man who loves his task and gives the best there is in him to that task; and it matters not whether this man reaps and sows and wrests his livelihood from the rugged reluctance of the soil, or whether with hand or brain he plays his part in the tremendous industrial activities of our great cities. We are striving to meet the needs of all these men, and to meet them in such fashion that all alike shall feel bound together in the bond of a common brotherhood, where each works hard for himself and for those dearest to him, and yet feels that he must also think of his brother's rights because he is in very truth that brother's keeper.

"Seven months ago in this city, almost at the beginning of the present campaign, I spoke as follows:

"The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is spend and be spent. It is of little matter whether any one man falls or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind. We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if, in our eyes, the light of men's resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the hidden hopes of men."

"Friends, what I said then I say now. Surely there never was a greater opportunity than ours. Surely there never was a fight better worth making than this. I believe we shall win, but win or lose I am glad beyond measure that I am one of the many who in this fight have stood ready to spend and be spent, pledged to fight while life lasts the great fight, for righteousness and for brotherhood and for the welfare of mankind."

# Great Rural School Fair

## Admission Free

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOWLING GREEN:

No citizen of Bowling Green should fail to visit Normal Heights and see the results of an effort to vitalize the rural school. I have just visited the different booths representing the display of the different rural schools of Warren County and am greatly pleased with the remarkable results already accomplished. There is a fine display of corn by the members of the Boys' Corn Clubs and many artistic and practical demonstrations of the work done by the members of the Girls' Home Economic Clubs.

Some interesting work in Manual Training is also on exhibition.

The Kentucky school of tomorrow will treat Kentucky conditions; the courses of study will be built upon the twenty-four hundred thousand human heads, human hearts, and human bodies of our State. The inalienable educational rights of each individual will be considered; the home, the kitchen, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public high-way and the community will become laboratories for the school; the school will be culturalized, socialized, industrialized, vocationalized, and democratized. It will improve the productive capacity of all the people, and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service; it will diffuse wealth among all the people, not letting it get into the hands of the few; it will take poverty and misery out of the home and fill it with life; it will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; it will be the most vital organ of the community body, the source of the currents of life—a fountain of democracy.

Warren county is making rapid progress toward this ideal school. Come to Normal Heights sometime today between 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. and see what the teachers and boys and girls of our county are doing. Let's give the movement and those who are responsible for its leadership our earnest moral support. It will help in the work of accomplishing a greater citizenship.

Very truly yours,

H. H. CHERRY,

President Western Kentucky State Normal School

### The Normal School Platform

Man - Capital  
All - Power  
Schools - 3 Day  
" - Small

Statement of Principles

# Great Rural School Fair

## Admission Free

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOWLING GREEN:

No citizen of Bowling Green should fail to visit Normal Heights and see the results of an effort to vitalize the rural school. I have just visited the different booths representing the display of the different rural schools of Warren County and am greatly pleased with the remarkable results already accomplished. There is a fine display of corn by the members of the Boys' Corn Clubs and many artistic and practical demonstrations of the work done by the members of the Girls' Home Economic Clubs.

Some interesting work in Manual Training is also on exhibition.

The Kentucky school of tomorrow will treat Kentucky conditions; the courses of study will be built upon the twenty-four hundred thousand human heads, human hearts, and human bodies of our State. The inalienable educational rights of each individual will be considered; the home, the kitchen, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public high-way and the community will become laboratories for the school; the school will be culturalized, socialized, industrialized, vocationalized, and democratized. It will improve the productive capacity of all the people, and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service; it will diffuse wealth among all the people, not letting it get into the hands of the few; it will take poverty and misery out of the home and fill it with life; it will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; it will be the most vital organ of the community body, the source of the currents of life—a fountain of democracy.

Warren county is making rapid progress toward this ideal school. Come to Normal Heights sometime today between 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. and see what the teachers and boys and girls of our county are doing. Let's give the movement and those who are responsible for its leadership our earnest moral support. It will help in the work of accomplishing a greater citizenship.

Very truly yours,

H. H. CHERRY,

President Western Kentucky State Normal School

1. The normal school has been established in all lands where there exists a system of state-supported schools. It is a vital part of the public school system because well-trained teachers are a prime requisite for efficient schools.

2. The normal school is not the exclusive agency for the training of teachers, but it is the state's chief agent; and as such it must build up the professional spirit, establish the standards, create the ideals, send out the men and women whose call is to educational leadership. The logic that justifies the normal school on the ground that the state must prepare its own teachers carries with it irresistibly the inference that to perform its legitimate function the normal school must make provision for the adequate training of teachers fitted to direct or perform the work of every phase of the common school from the primary school to its culmination in the public high school.

3. In its early days the normal school confined its attention chiefly to the common branches, for little else was taught in the common schools. But the common school is a larger term in content than it

# Great Rural School Fair

## Admission Free

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOWLING GREEN:

No citizen of Bowling Green should fail to visit Normal Heights and see the results of an effort to vitalize the rural school. I have just visited the different booths representing the display of the different rural schools of Warren County and am greatly pleased with the remarkable results already accomplished. There is a fine display of corn by the members of the Boys' Corn Clubs and many artistic and practical demonstrations of the work done by the members of the Girls' Home Economic Clubs.

Some interesting work in Manual Training is also on exhibition.

The Kentucky school of tomorrow will treat Kentucky conditions; the courses of study will be built upon the twenty-four hundred thousand human heads, human hearts, and human bodies of our State. The inalienable educational rights of each individual will be considered; the home, the kitchen, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public high-way and the community will become laboratories for the school; the school will be culturalized, socialized, industrialized, vocationalized, and democratized. It will improve the productive capacity of all the people, and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service; it will diffuse wealth among all the people, not letting it get into the hands of the few; it will take poverty and misery out of the home and fill it with life; it will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; it will be the most vital organ of the community body, the source of the currents of life—a fountain of democracy.

Warren county is making rapid progress toward this ideal school. Come to Normal Heights sometime today between 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. and see what the teachers and boys and girls of our county are doing. Let's give the movement and those who are responsible for its leadership our earnest moral support. It will help in the work of accomplishing a greater citizenship.

Very truly yours,

H. H. CHERRY,

President Western Kentucky State Normal School.

was fifty, thirty, or even ten years ago. The teacher in all grades has a larger opportunity. The new researches, the new ideas in science, the new impulses toward nature study springing from the needs of a better agriculture, the new demands for vocational training, the new problems in society, the widening range of literature—all the ideas of our expanding civilization are pushing down into the common school. The training of teachers means more than it ever did before, and the normal school has a larger opportunity, a larger responsibility.

4. The normal school to live must grow, its ideals are not to be determined nor its activity bounded by the ideals of forty years ago. The meaning of education has broadened with the increasing complexity of modern life, the term *teacher* has a wider significance, and the term *normal school* must have an enlarging content commensurate with the expanding ideals of our educational life.

5. The normal school is specifically a professional school. The training which it gives, if it performs its proper function, is distinctive in character and different in

kind from that implied in general education. Only incidentally, not primarily, is a general education acquired in a normal school. The converse of this proposition is equally true, that adequate training for teaching as a profession cannot be merely a feature of a course whose chief aim is a general education.

6. Teaching is a profession calling for the highest devotion, patriotism, and altruistic endeavor. Its professional spirit is a spirit of consecration. This spirit cannot be developed in a school which is merely an adjunct of an institution whose chief interests are economic and industrial or the mere development of personal culture.

7. High-school teachers should be trained in the same environment as elementary teachers. They need the same love of children, the same knowledge of the problems of childhood. To train them in a separate school with different standards and ideals results in a serious break in spirit, in method, and in the character of the work, as the child passes to the high school. Furthermore this separate training begets an exclusive educational caste. Our schools are already suffering from the pres-

# Great Rural School Fair

## Admission Free

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOWLING GREEN:

No citizen of Bowling Green should fail to visit Normal Heights and see the results of an effort to vitalize the rural school. I have just visited the different booths representing the display of the different rural schools of Warren County and am greatly pleased with the remarkable results already accomplished. There is a fine display of corn by the members of the Boys' Corn Clubs and many artistic and practical demonstrations of the work done by the members of the Girls' Home Economic Clubs.

Some interesting work in Manual Training is also on exhibition.

The Kentucky school of tomorrow will treat Kentucky conditions; the courses of study will be built upon the twenty-four hundred thousand human heads, human hearts, and human bodies of our State. The inalienable educational rights of each individual will be considered; the home, the kitchen, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public high-way and the community will become laboratories for the school; the school will be culturalized, socialized, industrialized, vocationalized, and democratized. It will improve the productive capacity of all the people, and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service; it will diffuse wealth among all the people, not letting it get into the hands of the few; it will take poverty and misery out of the home and fill it with life; it will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; it will be the most vital organ of the community body, the source of the currents of life—a fountain of democracy.

Warren county is making rapid progress toward this ideal school. Come to Normal Heights sometime today between 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. and see what the teachers and boys and girls of our county are doing. Let's give the movement and those who are responsible for its leadership our earnest moral support. It will help in the work of accomplishing a greater citizenship.

Very truly yours,

H. H. CHERRY,

President Western Kentucky State Normal School.

ence of this cleavage between the professional aristocracy of the high school and the commonalty of the grades.

8. Principals and superintendents should be trained in a professional atmosphere where the same ideals are set up, the same philosophy expounded, the same principles and methods taught, as are taught to the teachers who are to work under their leadership.

9. Special teachers of music, art, manual training, and domestic science will prove more efficient when they study their specialties in vital relation to the other branches of the public school curriculum.

10. Teachers of all grades can be properly equipt only in institutions whose faculties are in touch with the problems of childhood and adolescence, where all the instructors consider professional education of high value, and where all the students look upon teaching as an occupation worthy of the highest talent, character, and attainment.

11. The normal schools of Illinois were established to train teachers for the common schools. By their charters it becomes their duty to train teachers for every sub-

ject taught in the common schools. "Common schools" means public schools including the high school. Otherwise no high school in Illinois except the township high school may be supported by public taxation.

12. During all their history these schools have trained high-school teachers, principals, and superintendents as well as elementary and rural teachers. The eldest of these schools has sent more than half of its graduates into these advanced positions. Its alumni roll of fewer than 2000 includes the U. S. Commissioner of Education, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois, the president and vice-president of our state university, nine presidents of state normal schools, more than one hundred teachers in colleges and state normal schools including several of the most eminent names in American education.

13. These schools are now training special teachers in the newer subjects. They possess good equipment and modern laboratories; their faculties are devoted men and women specially trained for their work. The normal schools are now authorized to grant professional degrees to

# Great Rural School Fair

## Admission Free

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOWLING GREEN:

No citizen of Bowling Green should fail to visit Normal Heights and see the results of an effort to vitalize the rural school. I have just visited the different booths representing the display of the different rural schools of Warren County and am greatly pleased with the remarkable results already accomplished. There is a fine display of corn by the members of the Boys' Corn Clubs and many artistic and practical demonstrations of the work done by the members of the Girls' Home Economic Clubs.

Some interesting work in Manual Training is also on exhibition.

The Kentucky school of tomorrow will treat Kentucky conditions; the courses of study will be built upon the twenty-four hundred thousand human heads, human hearts, and human bodies of our State. The inalienable educational rights of each individual will be considered; the home, the kitchen, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public high-way and the community will become laboratories for the school; the school will be culturalized, socialized, industrialized, vocationalized, and democratized. It will improve the productive capacity of all the people, and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service; it will diffuse wealth among all the people, not letting it get into the hands of the few; it will take poverty and misery out of the home and fill it with life; it will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; it will be the most vital organ of the community body, the source of the currents of life—a fountain of democracy.

Warren county is making rapid progress toward this ideal school. Come to Normal Heights sometime today between 10 A. M. and 4 P. M. and see what the teachers and boys and girls of our county are doing. Let's give the movement and those who are responsible for its leadership our earnest moral support. It will help in the work of accomplishing a greater citizenship.

Very truly yours,

H. H. CHERRY,

President Western Kentucky State Normal School.

all students completing a four years' course of study beyond the accredited high school.

14. The Lindley act in providing eighteen hundred normal school scholarships per year for graduates of the eighth grade, imposes upon each normal school the duty of maintaining a model high school for the younger students. These high schools afford the finest opportunities for the education of high-school teachers by means of a training school composed of pupils of high-school age.

15. To do the work for which they were founded the normal schools need not only adequate financial support, but the continued confidence of the people of the state, and a proper supply of promising students. No act of legislation should wantonly attack the dignity, the prestige, the influence, or the usefulness of these institutions, nor assign to them a secondary place in the preparation of teachers for the common schools.

## Necessity For "Best" Teacher In Each School District

By JOHN B. M'FERRAN, Chairman Educational Committee,  
Louisville Commercial Club

### III.

**A** FRIEND of mine interested in schools happened in Boston not long since and in going about investigating the city's schools, on reaching the lowest and poorest part of the city, was surprised to see going up a splendid, beautiful school building to cost \$375,000. He said, "Why on earth do you put such a handsome and costly building in this part of the city?" The answer was, "We want to make good, intelligent citizens out of these children, and we think this one of the important ways of doing it."

I should like to know why we pursue the unbusinesslike, illogical and absolutely unfair method of offering three kinds of teachers' certificates, especially now as the counties have the right to tax themselves up to 20 cents on \$100 for general school purposes. **ARE WE DELIBERATELY TRYING TO MAKE THREE CLASSES OF CITIZENS—THE INFERIOR, THE MODERATELY GOOD AND THE BEST?** In a true democracy there is no use or room for classes. Ought not our efforts to be addressed to the one object of making an average intelligent good citizenship?

Under present arrangements we are compelling the poorer sections of our counties to employ third-class teachers whose capacity will not suffer them to go above a wage of \$30 to \$40 per month, while the cities and towns and wealthier parts of the counties are paying \$60 to \$75 per month. Of course this higher pay and better environment attract the best teachers, those holding the first class certificates. Now, this is manifestly unfair and very unwise.

**THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE LESS WEALTHY PORTIONS OF OUR COUNTIES ARE ALREADY SUFFICIENTLY HANDICAPPED BY THEIR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE. WHY, THEN, UNDER HEAVEN, ARE THEY FURTHER HANDICAPPED BY CHEAP, IMCOMPETENT TEACHERS?**

There ought to be, as soon as the proper legislation can be had, only one certificate granted to all teachers and that of the first class. If there are districts unable to pay in full for a first class teacher let the county board make up the difference out of the county fund, for which it was intended. **THESE POORER DISTRICTS PAY THE SAME RATE OF TAX, SO FAR AS THEY HAVE TAXABLES, AS DO THE WEALTHIER SECTIONS, AND THEY SHOULD HAVE A FAIR AND LIBERAL DEAL.**

This is not only generous and unselfish, but it is Christlike, and it is a wise business proposition to make good and intelligent citizens out of these less fortunates. I think when the people consider this question deliberately they will see the folly of present methods and demand a change and will get it. Therefore it would be wise for teachers to prepare themselves to get first class certificates, and I think they have no time to lose because the change when started will come quickly. The state has two normal schools and the university whose business it is to prepare teachers.

Not 25 per cent of the teachers of the state are taking advantage of these opportunities, and many of them will be left out when the change comes. I am hoping to see the day when our teachers will be better paid, but when that day dawns it will bring with it also an undeniable demand for better prepared teachers.

## "The Thirty and Nine;" Or, Why Stop With One?

By JOHN B. M'FERRAN, Chairman Educational Committee,  
Louisville Commercial Club

### II.

**L**OOKING at our educational problems from a business standpoint, we have been turning too much to what is called higher education. I am myself a believer in higher education. I mean by that the universities, colleges and high schools and would not detract from their importance in the least, but they are already liberally provided for far in advance of our common schools.

We are told by the United States bureau of education "that more than two-thirds of our boys in the United States leave school before the end of the eighth grade;" "that the average length of a boy's schooling is less than six years, and this school training before the ages of twelve to fourteen years, while the boy is too young to appreciate his loss;" "that less than one boy in four completes the grammar grades and but one boy in eight goes any further with his schooling;" "that only one boy in forty of those who enter the first year of high school completes the course in high school, public or private, or goes higher;" "that of all boys twelve to fourteen years of age who should certainly be in school less than 60 per cent are there."

From the Sage Foundation fund's reports we are told that of 100 boys who enter the first grade only fifty-five enter the fifth grade, only twenty-seven are left in the eighth grade, six in the high school and one to enter college; that only 5 per cent of the males in the nation are fitted by definite educational training for their occupations or vocations.

These facts are given on high authority, and when we remember that they apply to the country at large and that Kentucky is probably below this average, is it not lamentable? IF ONLY ONE BOY IN FORTY COMPLETES THE HIGH SCHOOL COURSE IS IT NOT VERY IMPORTANT FOR US TO GO MORE STRENUOUSLY AFTER THE OTHER "THIRTY AND NINE?"

I think at present we, educators and all, are following the old trend of looking too exclusively toward the higher education. I think our legislative bodies have illustrated this when four years ago they made it mandatory on every county in the state to build a high school within two years. There was little mandatory concerning the poor, small schools scattered throughout the counties. These "thirty and nine" poor devils will have little chance to get within sight of a high school at all, but must plod along as best they may.

It is true the same legislature allowed the fiscal court to levy a tax of 20 cents on the \$100 for school purposes in each county. It is also true that many of the counties levying this tax have used it largely in establishing a high school at the county seat or some other town, which is unfair to these "thirty and nine" who do not get to the high school.

I DO NOT WISH TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS OPPOSING HIGH SCHOOLS OR HIGHER EDUCATION—I AM IN FAVOR OF BOTH TO THE LIMIT—BUT I AM COMPLAINING THAT ONLY ONE BOY IN FORTY SHOULD HAVE THE LION'S SHARE OF THE FEAST INTENDED FOR ALL. I THINK THIS SHOWS CLEARLY THE NEED OF MORE MONEY FOR OUR SCHOOLS, SO THAT ALL MAY HAVE A FAIR SHOW.



There is, I think, another mistake that ought to be corrected as far as possible, and that relates to the pay of teachers by location or with reference to location. The cities and large towns and wealthier portions of the counties have the pick of the teachers because they pay higher salaries and the environment generally is more attractive. Thus the back districts in the counties (where there are generally more children) are compelled to get along with the cheapest and poorest teachers. These teachers, as a rule, have the minimum salaries. Now, I hold that these "thirty and nine" out in the back districts for good results need the best teachers or at least as good as the best.

This condition can be met at once by the county boards supplementing the salaries of teachers in the poor districts out of the county funds. Such action would bring immediate relief. WHY WAIT ONE YEAR OR TWO YEARS FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION WHEN THERE IS A TEMPORARY WAY OUT OF THE DIFFICULTY PENDING IMPROVEMENT IN LEGISLATION? Think of the uplift given to the citizens of another generation even by a single term of schooling! Is it not little short of criminal to fail to apply a remedy when it is within our power?

If we cannot get funds enough for both high schools and "low" schools, is it not better to use sufficient of the county fund in this way than to put all or the bulk of it in a city or town high school which the "thirty and nine" can have but little hope to enter? Would not these "thirty and nine" by reason of their improved intelligence through these better teachers in time force the building of high schools for all?

## EXCERPTS FROM WILSON'S SPEECHES

### LOP OFF PARTONAGE.

The freedom of the government of the United States depends upon getting separated from, disentangled from, those interests which have chiefly enjoyed the patronage of that government, because the trouble with the tariff is not that it has been protective, for in recent years it has been much more than protective—it has been one of the most colossal systems of deliberate patronage that has ever been conceived. The main trouble with it is that the protection stops where the patronage begins; that if you could lop off the patronage you would have taken away most of the objectionable features of the so-called protection.

This patronage, this special privilege, these favors doled out to some persons and not to all, have been the basis of the control which has been set up over the industries and over the enterprises of this country by great combinations, because we forgot, in permitting a regime of free competition to last so long, that the competitors had ceased to be individuals or simply groups of individuals, and it had come to be a competition between individuals or small groups on the one hand and enormous aggregations of individuals and capital on the other, and that after that contrast in strength had been created in fact, competition, free competition, was out of the question—that it was

then possible for the powerful to crush the weak.

That is not competition; that is warfare: And because we did not check the free competition soon enough, because we did not check it at the point where pigmies entered the field against giants, we have created a condition of affairs in which the control of industry and, to a large extent, the control of credit in this country upon which industry feeds and in which all new enterprises must be rooted, is in the hands of a comparatively small and compact body of men.

They have indulged themselves beyond reason in the exercise of that power which makes competition practically impossible. Very well, then; the test of our freedom for the next generation lies here: Are we going to take that power away from them, or are we going to leave it with them?

You can take it away from them if you regulate competition and make it impossible for them to do some things that they have been doing. You leave it with them if you legitimatize and regulate monopoly. What the platform of the new party proposes to do is exactly this—nothing more than a legitimated continuation of the present order of things, with the alliance between the great interests and the government open instead of covered.

We will depend upon the federal government to take care of them. But, gentlemen, that depends on who takes care of the federal government.

WOODROW WILSON.

## Necessity For "Best" Teacher In Each School District

By JOHN B. M'FERRAN, Chairman Educational Committee,  
Louisville Commercial Club

### III.

**A** FRIEND of mine interested in schools happened in Boston not long since and in going about investigating the city's schools, on reaching the lowest and poorest part of the city, was surprised to see going up a splendid, beautiful school building to cost \$375,000. He said, "Why on earth do you put such a handsome and costly building in this part of the city?" The answer was, "We want to make good, intelligent citizens out of these children, and we think this one of the important ways of doing it."

I should like to know why we pursue the unbusinesslike, illogical and absolutely unfair method of offering three kinds of teachers' certificates, especially now as the counties have the right to tax themselves up to 20 cents on \$100 for general school purposes. **ARE WE DELIBERATELY TRYING TO MAKE THREE CLASSES OF CITIZENS—THE INFERIOR, THE MODERATELY GOOD AND THE BEST?** In a true democracy there is no use or room for classes. Ought not our efforts to be addressed to the one object of making an average intelligent good citizenship?

Under present arrangements we are compelling the poorer sections of our counties to employ third-class teachers whose capacity will not suffer them to go above a wage of \$30 to \$40 per month, while the cities and towns and wealthier parts of the counties are paying \$60 to \$75 per month. Of course this higher pay and better environment attract the best teachers, those holding the first class certificates. Now, this is manifestly unfair and very unwise.

**THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE LESS WEALTHY PORTIONS OF OUR COUNTIES ARE ALREADY SUFFICIENTLY HANDICAPPED BY THEIR POVERTY AND IGNORANCE. WHY, THEN, UNDER HEAVEN, ARE THEY FURTHER HANDICAPPED BY CHEAP, INCOMPETENT TEACHERS?**

There ought to be, as soon as the proper legislation can be had, only one certificate granted to all teachers and that of the first class. If there are districts unable to pay in full for a first class teacher let the county board make up the difference out of the county fund, for which it was intended. **THESE POORER DISTRICTS PAY THE SAME RATE OF TAX, SO FAR AS THEY HAVE TAXABLES, AS DO THE WEALTHIER SECTIONS, AND THEY SHOULD HAVE A FAIR AND LIBERAL DEAL.**

This is not only generous and unselfish, but it is Christlike, and it is a wise business proposition to make good and intelligent citizens out of these less fortunates. I think when the people consider this question deliberately they will see the folly of present methods and demand a change and will get it. Therefore it would be wise for teachers to prepare themselves to get first class certificates, and I think they have no time to lose because the change when started will come quickly. The state has two normal schools and the university whose business it is to prepare teachers.

Not 25 per cent of the teachers of the state are taking advantage of these opportunities, and many of them will be left out when the change comes. I am hoping to see the day when our teachers will be better paid, but when that day dawns it will bring with it also an undeniable demand for better prepared teachers.

## Improved Educational Conditions From an Investment Standpoint

By JOHN B. M'FERRAN, Chairman Educational Committee,  
Louisville Commercial Club

### I.

**S**TUDYING the educational situation in the state, I am more and more impressed with the absolute necessity for a radical change in our viewpoint concerning the subject. We have been viewing the schools rather as a necessary evil, an expense to be kept at the minimum of cost. The logical result has been largely attained—cheap houses, cheap grounds, cheap equipment and in too many cases cheap teachers, cheap trustees, cheap county boards and cheap county superintendents.

In fact, so long has this policy prevailed that we have dwarfed everything pertaining to our schools, even our educators, and most of all ourselves, the average citizens. The whole outfit is a cheap and inadequate thing for the twentieth century. OUR SLIPSHOD AND CHAOTIC SYSTEM, IF SYSTEM IT CAN BE CALLED, POSSIBLY ANSWERED FAIRLY WELL THE NEEDS OF FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS AGO, but everything else has moved tremendously within that time and moved with the greatest celerity and momentum.

With our schools here in Kentucky we have practically stood still, trusting to luck or some other mysterious power to supplement our indifference and neglect. Not so with other more prosperous and progressive states, fully recognizing the value and importance of their children. With enlightened zeal and intelligence their tendency has been to crowd all the money into their schools that could be judiciously used, looking upon it as a wise, businesslike proposition, a most profitable investment, and so it has proved, states younger and no more favorably situated, with really inferior natural resources, surpassing us in material wealth two and three fold.

**BEFORE WE CAN MAKE THE NEEDED AND DESIRED PROGRESS WE MUST GET THE VIEWPOINT THAT IT IS NOT ONLY OUR HIGH AND HOLY DUTY, BUT MOST PROFITABLE, TO SEE OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLS FROM THE INVESTMENT SIDE AND PROVIDE GENEROUSLY THE FINANCIAL AID THAT IS IMPERATIVELY NEEDED.**

Furthermore, we must awaken out of our apathy and see that this money is used to the best advantage and not frittered away by incompetence or graft. We have been furnishing two and a half to three million dollars per annum for our schools for a number of years. What number of citizens have at any time taken the slightest interest to know how this money was being expended? There seems to have been great waste. **WE HAVE ALLOWED THE INTEREST OF OUR CHILDREN TO DRIFT INTO POLITICS AND INTO CONFUSION. IT IS HIGH TIME TO CORRECT THIS.**

## Improved Educational Conditions From an Investment Standpoint

By JOHN B. M'FERRAN, Chairman Educational Committee,  
Louisville Commercial Club

### I.

**S**TUDYING the educational situation in the state, I am more and more impressed with the absolute necessity for a radical change in our viewpoint concerning the subject. We have been viewing the schools rather as a necessary evil, an expense to be kept at the minimum of cost. The logical result has been largely attained—cheap houses, cheap grounds, cheap equipment and in too many cases cheap teachers, cheap trustees, cheap county boards and cheap county superintendents.

In fact, so long has this policy prevailed that we have dwarfed everything pertaining to our schools, even our educators, and most of all ourselves, the average citizens. The whole outfit is a cheap and inadequate thing for the twentieth century. OUR SLIPSHOD AND CHAOTIC SYSTEM, IF SYSTEM IT CAN BE CALLED, POSSIBLY ANSWERED FAIRLY WELL THE NEEDS OF FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS AGO, but everything else has moved tremendously within that time and moved with the greatest celerity and momentum.

With our schools here in Kentucky we have practically stood still, trusting to luck or some other mysterious power to supplement our indifference and neglect. Not so with other more prosperous and progressive states, fully recognizing the value and importance of their children. With enlightened zeal and intelligence their tendency has been to crowd all the money into their schools that could be judiciously used, looking upon it as a wise, businesslike proposition, a most profitable investment, and so it has proved, states younger and no more favorably situated, with really inferior natural resources, surpassing us in material wealth two and three fold.

**BEFORE WE CAN MAKE THE NEEDED AND DESIRED PROGRESS WE MUST GET THE VIEWPOINT THAT IT IS NOT ONLY OUR HIGH AND HOLY DUTY, BUT MOST PROFITABLE, TO SEE OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLS FROM THE INVESTMENT SIDE AND PROVIDE GENEROUSLY THE FINANCIAL AID THAT IS IMPERATIVELY NEEDED.**

Furthermore, we must awaken out of our apathy and see that this money is used to the best advantage and not frittered away by incompetence or graft. We have been furnishing two and a half to three million dollars per annum for our schools for a number of years. What number of citizens have at any time taken the slightest interest to know how this money was being expended? There seems to have been great waste. **WE HAVE ALLOWED THE INTEREST OF OUR CHILDREN TO DRIET INTO POLITICS AND INTO CONFUSION. IT IS HIGH TIME TO CORRECT THIS.**

137

A "PRACTICAL" EDUCATION.

"What do those mean who insist that pupils should receive a practical education? Each business has its special form of bookkeeping, each business man his individual plan of doing and directing work. Almost no part even of an elementary course of study is actually used in a great business house except a very little reading, spelling and adding; and adding is now done in all large houses by a machine which needs only to be fingered while the eye reads the numbers—a machine too stupid to make a mistake. The type-writer makes penmanship almost a useless art in business. No pre-arranged course of study can "prepare a boy for business"; he must prepare if at all by direct contact with actual business transactions; and these are every day becoming more and more mechanical. Intelligent business men who speak from experience say that the young man who has had a good general education and who has been trained to see quickly and reason correctly, soon outstrips the one who specializes too early by taking a "practical" course designed to prepare him for business. The latter has to learn that it "is better not to know so much than to know so many things that are not true," while the former has learned to use his own powers. After all, the most practical thing in the world is the human mind. A good high school course trains the mind and increases its power, while the special cram of six months on bookkeeping, "business arithmetic," etc., tends to produce cases of arrested development."

The above extract from the June number, American Journal of Education contains much common sense. There is a general idea that, to become proficient in business all that is necessary is to take a business course. This very delusion is caus-

ing many pupils to discontinue school by the time they reach the seventh or eighth grade. They make the greatest mistake of their lives. There are no "short cuts" to success in any vocation and business is no exception. Those who are expecting to succeed in business without the necessary preparation will be deceived. Just as much intelligence is needed to make a success in a business career as in any other endeavor. Look around you and see if it is not true that the really successful men are not the best educated. Ability is being demanded more and more every where. There is a vast difference between a business man and the one who holds a job. The one plans and directs because of his superior intelligence and holds a position of dignity in society, while the other simple follows directions and does those few things, which office machines can not do and must be content to fill the narrow position for life.

Almost every large college or university supports a course in commerce which is in every way the equal of any course in the institution. The same number of credits is required for entrance and graduation, as we required for the course in arts or science. The young men who complete such courses in business are being sought by the large concerns of the country, to fill executive positions. The supply is not equal to the demand for well trained men. The earlier our boys learn that a good four year, high school course is the least amount of education one can hope to succeed with in business, the better.

Public Education.

Both Governor McMillin's platform and mine contain strong declarations in favor of public education. More money is being spent in Tennessee today than ever before for the support of the public school system, and yet Tennessee, according to the statistics, ranks third from the bottom on the list of all the states in point of illiteracy. She also ranks badly in point of amount spent by the state for the education of each child. The question of how to raise more money for the common schools is one of very great difficulty. The amount being spent now, along with one or two more meritorious appropriations, has rendered it necessary for the state to suspend payments on its bonded indebtedness.

I will continue to advocate rigid economy in other expenditures of the State Government and the utmost liberality for the common schools.

Just as our love for our children stands in advance of every private and personal feeling, so does public education outweigh every other public consideration. Some of the obligations of the state might, perhaps, be honorably deferred, but the obligation of the state to its boys and girls must be discharged now or never.

The unused power of the streams that leap down our mountains and hills to the sea is not hopelessly lost, for the sun and wind may some day bring the

water back to where it may yet turn the wheels of modern industry. Not so with the wasted energies of men. The boy who is compelled to pass through life with an undeveloped brain, untrained hand and uncultured soul, is but the shrunken image of what he might have been. His personal deprivation is deplorable and the loss to the world is great.

Therefore I say we must educate, educate, even if we are forced to feel the hard pressure of rigid economy.

Our university and normal schools must be maintained, but above all the country schools, beyond which the multitude of our children never go, must be fostered, encouraged and built up without delay. We need consolidated schools, longer schools, better school houses, better paid teachers, a more practical course of study and better facilities for teaching it.

Having furnished these facilities, the state should see that no helpless child is deprived of them by the negligence of parents or the greed of employers.

The public school system must be taken out of politics and kept out, both in the state and county. The granting of certificates of qualification to candidates for county superintendent must be upon merit and not upon political favoritism. The State Board of Education must not be a political machine. The public school funds and the interests of the little children are too sacred to be prostituted to such ends.

Poverty and the Public.

The first inalienable right which our forefathers asserted in the Declaration of Independence was that to life. That assertion did not merely imply that no one had any warrant of authority to deprive citizens of their lives, as that is covered by the later claim to liberty, but that, barring accidental calamities and acts of God, human government must be so ordered that every one born into the world should be able to live out his life. This means, of course, that every one should be protected in following whatever vocation he prefers by which to make a livelihood, and that those who, through sickness or misfortune, are unable to do so should be a charge upon the rest.

The sense of a responsibility for the care of the poor has always existed to some extent, and we find in the early chronicles and teachings of all nations allusions to the exercise of private charity. That means that the burden which should be borne by the community at large is voluntarily, in part at least, assumed by a few benevolent individuals, many of whom are no better, if as well, able to carry it as many of those who avoid it. There probably never had been any regular provision by law for the support of the poor in any country until the time of Henry the Eighth in England. After a series of experiments beginning at that time a law was passed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth providing for supervision of the poor in every parish, and ever since then the duty of looking out for them has been recognized. The system came with the Colonists to this country, and our state laws have always required the local authorities to make provision for the indigent. In spite of this there has been and still is, both in England and this country, a very great deal of suffering and distress which is never reached, although the efforts of government have been so generously and laboriously supplemented by personal beneficence. It would require volumes to enumerate the institutions which have been built and endowed generation after generation, most of which still exist.

Take it all in all, the treatment of the problem of poverty has been inadequate and unsatisfactory. We have, as in the treatment of disease up to a recent period, gone on the theory that its existence was part of the plan of an inscrutable Providence, with which we had nothing to do, beyond relieving

individual cases as far as possible. Now we have come to see that, both with disease and poverty, the only rational method of treatment, and the only one promising results at all commensurate with outlay, is prevention. By it a number of diseases have been pretty much banished, and others will follow. By it there is good reason to hope poverty, in anything like the extent to which it now exists, may be overcome. At present in the fights against disease and poverty the state and voluntary effort are co-operating, and it is possible that this is best if the burden can be evenly distributed. Such is not the case now, and it is a question whether, as the state has a recognized duty in the matter and has provided machinery for dealing with poverty and disease, it would not be better to increase their efficiency and turn the entire responsibility over to them. We start with the admission that just as a family is responsible up to the limit of its means for the care and support of all its members, so every community is responsible for the care of all who belong to it. We also have as an admitted proposition the fact that no community through its official machinery does it at all thoroughly or properly, and that a large part of the burden is thrown upon a few volunteers. It has been shown that in a populous,

representative city, where in order to get through the winter it is necessary to raise for the poor about \$30,000 by subscription, only about one-half of one per cent of the population contribute to it any way, and the ones who do are the same people who support all the charities of the town. Every effort has been made for years to broaden out the basis on which so much of the welfare of the community depends, but vainly. Such being the case, would it not be fairer for the Government to take charge of all the charities that are really necessary, including the most important aspect of charity now, preventive and constructive work, and tax the community for the necessary expense? It is not fair to expect a handful of people to go on indefinitely performing the duty of the public at their own expense, and it is demoralizing to the public to fall into the habit of mind that permits it.

Sanitation and hygiene have come to be recognized as public duties, and are provided for at public expense. Will we not get on better with the struggle with poverty on the same basis? It will at least be fairer.

### THE RIGHT TRAINING.

When Woodrow Wilson became a pupil at Princeton in the middle seventies he began the study of economic questions. He investigated and compared governmental problems in this country and abroad. He thought upon and reasoned out these matters for himself, reaching his own carefully weighed conclusions as to how public affairs should be conducted. This line of study and thought he continued with increasing activity and constantly broadening scope year after year. He wrote essays and then books in which his economic ideas found forcible expression. His views soon began to attract attention and were not slow in being widely accepted. He became an authority upon such questions both as a university lecturer and as a textbook author. History, as closely related to the special line of thought indicated, became an important feature of his work, and on the past life of this great nation, too, did he become an accepted authority.

Then it was, recognizing in Woodrow Wilson the student, the college professor, the university president, the "schoolmaster," if you will, the man who, if he could put his teachings into practice, was the one man to do those things which machine and corporate ridden New Jersey

most needed, the Democrats of that state nominated him for governor. He converted a great Republican majority into a tremendous Democratic victory. He was elected on one of the most progressive platforms ever promulgated in any state, a platform which declared for many reforms and for a return of the rule of the people.

The history of his wonderful fight for the fulfillment of platform pledges in New Jersey is familiar to the nation. With the support of a Democratic house and in spite of a Republican senate and overcoming the vicious opposition of bitter political enemies from whom he had taken the machine rule of the state in his effort to restore control by the people, he carried out the most remarkable legislative program in the history of this republic and made good the promises given in the party platform and on the stump. In brief, he "made good." He showed that the "schoolmaster" was indeed a practical politician who had thoroughly equipped himself for the great tasks he had undertaken and had so successfully accomplished.

All this being true, the national Democratic party thought Governor Wilson the man to nominate for president. If he had done so much for New Jersey, overcoming what seemed to be impossible obstacles, why could he not do the same thing for the nation?

### A CHILD'S VALUE.

The Supreme Court of New Jersey has decided that in that State no jury verdict shall stand for more than \$1,000 in favor of parents whose child's life has been lost by the negligence or fault of a corporation. It is explained that "as a rule children are not objects of income but objects of expense."

And New Jersey is supposed to be a civilized community! Let's be guilty of contempt of court.

The reasoning in this decision is rotten and the sentiment worse.

The most precious possessions of all of us are not things that bring us money, but that take it away.

Our friendships, our loves, our very lives themselves develop and flourish and sweeten, not from what we get out of them, but from what we put into them.

The home is a matter not of income, but of expense, yet it is the most cherished institution on earth.

The best things may not be estimated in money, but it does not follow that they are not worth money

and more.

The child possesses possibilities that can not be calculated. The tiny hands that clasp and cling to everything tender within their reach have the beginnings of immeasurable power for good or ill.

The babe's heart and mind and soul, like the soft, strong tendrils of the vine, cling only to the staunch passions and emotions and impulses that endure, and in clinging cultivate in us those passions and emotions that are better than all the money in the world.

And when, in the world's mad rush after money, a child is run down and mangled, and its life tide ebbs, and the little breath becomes feeble, and the tiny pulse slips away, and at last the precious one is still and dead, and the tense silence of the home, is broken with agonizing cries then a sorrow is burned into the heart that no lapse of time can soften or efface.

The most treasured possession—one's real estate that is priceless and can never be sold or mortgaged or given away—is a little narrow grave.

# How Judson Harmon

## Looks as Presidential

### Timber

**I**F you want to feast your eyes on an old-fashioned Democrat applying in an old-fashioned way the old-fashioned doctrines of Democracy to modern administrative problems and making a good job of it, drop in at the wind-swept and weather-scarred old State House at Columbus, Ohio, almost any day between the hours of 9 in the morning and 7 in the evening, Sundays and legal holidays excepted, writes a staff correspondent of the New York Times. There you will find Judson Harmon, Ohio's grizzled governor, earnestly at work bringing order out of chaos in the affairs of the Buckeye State and rendering purer and more wholesome the atmosphere about the State offices.

Judson Harmon has been at it for almost three years now. His work has told heavily, too. So one should not be surprised to learn that a mighty host of Ohioans insist on calling him a reformer, not scoffingly, but out of grateful hearts.

Harmon is by no means indifferent to public approval and the people's praise sounds good to him. But he waves aside the tagged laurels and maintains stoutly that what he has done he has done as a Democrat—just a plain Democrat, please; for he even disdains being classified. He will not be catalogued with any one of the many varieties within his own party that have been offered to the public in recent years, each with his definite brand to distinguish him from all the rest, and each with his distinct individual claim of merits and virtues peculiarly his own, and thrown in free with whatever guarantee of general excellence the party name may convey.

Gov. Harmon has ushered in a new and better dispensation, both in politics and public affairs, in his home State. There is evidence of that, on one hand, in the laws that have been placed on the statute books of Ohio on his recommendation during the three years he has served as chief executive.

There is evidence of it, on the other hand, in the efficiency of his administration, where strict economy has succeeded the reckless extravagance that obtained under his Republican predecessors, and under their slipshod methods.

If any further evidence were needed there are men lingering behind prison bars for official wrongdoing in Ohio, largely through what Judson Harmon did to make public life purer after he became governor. Gov. Harmon has accomplished more for the people of Ohio than Gov. Hughes accomplished for the people of the State of New York in a similar period of time.

**Has Strengthened Own Party Immensely.**

Incidentally he has strengthened his own party immensely. Witness the marvelous increase in his majority last year when he was a candidate for reelection after two years' service. Witness also the notable victory which in the same year swept into office the entire Democratic State ticket with a Democratic majority in both branches of the general assembly. All this in a State which for a score of years past has returned Republican majorities of the first magnitude.

The election of a Democratic general assembly last year was the direct result of an appeal from Gov. Harmon, and is pointed to by his friends as the strongest possible evidence of the people's confidence in him after his first term in office.

Gov. Harmon, of Ohio, like Charles E. Hughes, when the later was governor of New York, has been compelled at times to show his devotion to party principles by making war on the party bosses. Gov. Harmon has fought with as much zeal as did Hughes. But his has not been boisterous boss war. The clash of conflict, at times, has scarce been heard. Their fighting methods have been different.

Fights similar to those Hughes sought to win by open appeals to the people Judson Harmon has won by talking man fashion to other men—some of whom he despised—behind closed doors.

As a result, where Hughes was accused of breaking up his party in the State of New York, Harmon has reorganized and reunited his in Ohio. And the reorganized and reunited Democrats of Ohio have officially given him their indorsement for the Presidential nomination next year.

The effect of Harmon's display of militant Democracy has not been lost on the people of his home State. But in order that his ascendancy in Ohio politics may be fully appreciated and the general regard in which he is held by Democrats throughout the country may be better understood, Ohio history of the last three years must be surveyed. These three years have witnessed a fight between Gov. Harmon and the machine leaders in his own party, a fight between the governor and two general assemblies—one Republican and the other Democratic—and the final triumph practically of his entire progressive programme of legislation.

When Judson Harmon ran for governor of Ohio for the first time in 1908 the Democratic party in the State was split up in three factions. There was one faction known as the Finley-Garber faction. This faction constituted the Old Guard in Democratic politics in the Buckeye State. Its nominal head was Edward W. Hanley, of Dayton, who was connected with the lighting trust. The man who pulled the wires behind the scene was National Committeeman Harvey C. Garber, who is supposed to have close affiliations with the telephone trust. This faction was opposed to Harmon when the time came to make up the Democratic slate for the convention.

Then there was another faction headed by the late Tom L. Johnson, the former mayor of Cleveland. This faction represented the radical wing of the party and was powerful. The followers of Mayor Johnson had a gubernatorial candidate of their own in Alton Pomerene, at present junior United States Senator from Ohio.

The third faction was known as the Ross-Yaple-Devanny group. It was composed largely of men who had broken away from the old Democratic machine because they were displeased with the old-time leaders. In general the caliber of the Democrats in this group might be compared with the caliber of those who followed the fortunes of the Democratic league in the State of New York. The old timers scoffed at them and dubbed them amateurs in politics. The leaders of this group had their eyes on Harmon from the start.

**Arouse His Fighting Instinct.**

Judson Harmon had been approached by his friends and had declined to permit his name to be placed before the convention. They finally had to "tease" him into taking it. The convention was held in Columbus. Harmon sat quietly at



home in Cincinnati, where he lived at that time. His friends kept on booming him as the best equipped man for the nomination, and on the presumption that if the call was made strong enough he could not ignore it or decline to lead the fight of his party in Ohio.

On the eve of the nominating session of the convention, Tom Johnson made a speech before the Democratic caucus in which he denounced Judge Harmon as a reactionary and an ally of the special interests. When Judge Harmon heard of this he made up his mind to fight. He told his friends that he would accept the nomination if it came to him. Fortified with this assurance, his friends entered the convention and made a winning fight.

Right here it should be stated in justice to the memory of the late Tom Johnson that before his death he made honorable amends to Gov. Harmon, and that their former differences were displaced by loyal friendship and mutual respect which endured to the end.

It was after Gov. Harmon had served his first term for governor and was a candidate for re-election that Tom Johnson left a sickbed against the advice of

his physician to tell the audience at a large mass meeting that he thought well of Gov. Harmon and hoped the people of Ohio "would honor themselves" by re-electing him. The governor spoke from the same platform that night, and the meeting between the old-time political foes was most affecting. Since then the Johnson organization has come out warmly indorsing Judson Harmon for the Presidential nomination.

The official graft at Ohio's State capitol during the Republican regime, which had extended over a score of years, was the issue in that first campaign. Judson Harmon took the stump and played it for all it was worth from one end of the State to the other. With him constantly when he spoke was D. S. Creamer, the Democratic candidate for State treasurer.

Their joint appeal fell on a willing ear. It is a matter of history now that in a Presidential year, when the Republican Presidential nominee hailed from Ohio, William H. Taft carried his native State by almost 70,000, and Judson Harmon was elected governor on the opposing ticket by upward of 19,000 majority. The Democratic candidate for State treasurer barely got through, but this was providential in view of what followed. All the other places on the State ticket were carried by the Republicans, who also elected a majority in both branches of the general assembly.

With a Republican general assembly on his hands, Gov. Harmon's work during his first administration, was directed chiefly toward the reorganization of such State departments and bureaus as came directly under his control. In his first message to the general assembly he recommended the passage of many measures to promote economy and efficiency in the State service. A majority of the bills introduced as a result of the governor's recommendations were either defeated or emasculated by the Republican majority in the law-making body.

Gov. Harmon has always been prolific in veto messages, but in his first administration he, so to say, out-vetoed himself. These messages were terse and to the point, too. Harmon has a knack of speaking volumes in a few words when he is aroused.

One of the bills the governor had urged provided him with powers to investigate the conduct of all the State departments, including those held by elective State officials. This was returned to the governor in such shape that he was compelled to veto it. In his veto message Gov. Harmon told the lawmakers that the bill as passed by them read as though it had been enacted for the benefit of crooked public officials instead of in the interest of the State.

In the meantime, the Republican newspapers, encouraged by the silence Gov. Harmon maintained, kept repeating from day to day on their editorial page the assertion that the governor had failed to make good the charges of official graft made by him and the Democratic candidate for State treasurer during the preceding campaign. Little did they know that the silence in the governor's office was merely the calm before a storm that was to break only too soon. Gov. Harmon had merely been biding his time.

#### Wages War on Graft.

It will be remembered that D. S. Creamer, the Democratic candidate for State treasurer, had been the one lucky Democrat besides the candidate for governor in the first Harmon campaign. It was chiefly in the treasury department that the official graft had obtained which led to the charges made by Mr. Harmon on the stump.

The income of the State of Ohio from all sources is about \$12,000,000 annually. As a rule, there is a cash balance of about \$5,000,000 always to the credit of the Buckeye State. Prior to 1904 there was no legal obligation on the State treasurer to put this money out at interest.

It was used freely by incumbents of the office as a result. They put it out at interest which was placed to their credit. State treasurers in Ohio were in the habit of waxing rich in a two years' term. In 1904 a law was passed making it compulsory to place all the State moneys, except what was needed for current expenses, in certain designated banks at interest and to keep the rest on checking accounts.

From this time on there began to appear in the reports of Ohio's State treasurers the mention of large sums kept in vaults. The sum averaged about \$1,000,000 for many years. In addition to this, sums aggregating nearly \$500,000 was kept on checking account in two Columbus banks.

The question of whether such a large sum as \$1,000,000 was kept lying idle in the State's vaults had always been a big puzzle to inquisitive Ohioans. The puzzle was solved when Mr. Creamer became State treasurer and Mr. Harmon governor. Mr. Creamer found after a brief experience in the State treasurer's office that all the money the State needed for current expenses was something like \$30,000.

When he began to inquire into the matter of what former State treasurers had done with the great cash balances reported by them he found, to his amazement, that books had been mutilated and correspondence which might shed light on the question had been abstracted from the State treasury files. He was compelled to employ other means to trace the funds of which his predecessors had held custody for the State. He was aided by the State banking department, which, of course, had the right to examine the books of banks under State supervision. But when a national bank, over which the State authorities had no control, failed and its books had to be opened, there was a veritable flood of light.

The puzzle was solved. The money had not been in vault at all. It had been out earning interest for somebody, and that somebody was not the State. It was an easy "graft," too. All the State treasurer had to do was to prepare to render an accounting to the State auditors when they called. This happened once every quarter. They were of the same political faith as the treasurer.

The cohesive force of plunder got in its work, too. Their coming was generally heralded in advance. The State treasurer had ample time for window dressing. Some correspondence in the office of the State treasurer, apparently overlooked in the looting of files when the Republicans went out and a Democrat entered the treasury department as its chief, gave ample evidence of this. All the State treasurer did was to tip off some of his friends in the banking world who were benefiting with him from the free and easy system of husbanding the State's money, to send the funds needed for the accounting temporarily to the place of deposit where it should have remained all the time.

It was not until he had been in office almost twelve months that Gov. Harmon thought his chain of evidence complete enough to call upon the Republican attorney general to bring suits to recover amounts aggregating nearly \$400,000, due the State from two former State treasurers and one tax collector. So secretly had the investigation been carried on that when the letter was sent to Attorney General U. C. Denman, in December, 1903, the blow struck at graft in the State house fell like a veritable bombshell in the Republican camp. It created not only a sensation, but immense indignation from one end of the State to the other.

#### No Opposition to Renomination.

One of the first things Gov. Harmon did after he took office was to visit all the State institutions. The trip convinced the governor that there had been great extravagance in the purchase of supplies, as well as other grave abuses. Under the system that obtained the twenty-odd institutions under the State government had each its own steward, who purchased all its supplies. As a result there was much duplication and less opportunity of making larger contracts in return for a lower rate. With the aid of the recalcitrant general assembly, Gov. Harmon, after a stubborn fight, succeeded in getting through a bill placing all the institutions under the control of a central board of four members. The stewards and all other employes below the superintendents were taken out of the exempt class and placed in the merit class under the civil service system of the State, too.

When the time came for another

gubernatorial nomination there was no opposition to Gov. Harmon. He was the unanimous choice of his party. He told the leaders frankly that he would like another term, because there was much more work to be done, and he hoped there would be a Democratic general assembly to help him do it. Atlee Pomerene, the radical, who two years ago had been his rival for the gubernatorial nomination, was persuaded to become candidate for lieutenant governor and Harmon's running mate.

The disclosures made during the first Harmon administration with regard to the slipshod and dishonest methods invoked by the Republican State treasurers of former years, the general excellence of Gov. Harmon's first administration and that of the Democratic State treasurer, lent themselves readily as Democratic weapons in the second Harmon campaign.

The result is matter of recent history. Gov. Harmon was re-elected. He won by 100,377. He lacked only 7,000 of equaling the combined majorities of all the Democratic governors elected in Ohio since the formation of the Republican party in 1855.

It has never been exceeded in the history of Ohio, except in two instances. Brough, the "war governor" was elected in 1863 by a majority of 101,070. Herrick, in 1903, when the late Mark Hanna was at the zenith of his power, and had completed his work of introducing business methods in Republican politics in Ohio, was elected by 114,000. But in that fight as much as \$200,000 was spent by the Republicans to cover the cost of the campaign in a single Congressional district.

The entire Democratic State ticket was elected, and in addition Gov. Harmon, when he took office the second time, had a Democratic majority in each house of the general assembly. Gov. Harmon in his annual message to the general assembly this year commended a programme of reform as vast in its scope as any that Gov. Hughes ever recommended to the legislature at Albany. His recommendations were based to a large extent on planks contained in the Democratic State platform, which that year was pronouncedly progressive. In this message he renewed his recommendations for the passage of all the progressive measures which had been defeated by the Republican general assembly of the year before.

The history of this session is too recent to require repetition at length. It had not been long under way before it developed that the reactionaries and corrupt members both of the Democratic majority and the Republican minority had entered upon a bi-partisan pact directed against the reforms recommended by Gov. Harmon and that the law-making body at Columbus was honeycombed with corruption. Where "striking" developed in the New York legislature, the general assembly in Ohio had its "milk-ers," who bled the interests behind certain bills and as a general rule placed their votes for or against legislative measures in the market. The State House at Columbus was overrun by corporation lobbyists, who piled their nefarious trade under the very nose of Gov. Harmon and the decent element in the law-making body.

#### **Demands That Promises Be Kept.**

As the session was drawing to a close it became evident that the entire reform programme of Gov. Harmon was going to smash. The governor had sent special message upon special message reiterating the recommendations contained in the message read on the opening day of the session, but to no purpose. Then Gov. Harmon lost patience and decided that the time had come for drastic action.

On April 25, after an important tax measure urged by the administration had been defeated in the house of representatives, Gov. Harmon called the leaders of the senate and the house to his office and demanded that a joint caucus of the Democratic members of both houses be called for that same evening. The caucus was held in the representatives' chamber, and, to the consternation of the Democratic members, Gov. Harmon appeared on the scene in person and, ascending the rostrum, made a ringing address, in which he demanded the passage of every important bill he had recommended.

That night meeting was not a musicale. Gov. Harmon did some bitter truth telling. Some of the Democratic members in the caucus talked back. There were those who told the governor frankly that some of his recommendations were too extreme, and that they would not heed them. The governor told them that was their business; that undoubtedly there was a reckoning coming, and that when they settled with their constituents they would regret that they had not followed his advice.

It is very doubtful whether the gov-

ernor's sermon would have done any good. The old guard element of both parties in the general assembly still remained stubborn in their opposition to certain of the governor's bills. But all this changed in the twinkling of an eye. There was what appeared a providential intervention to save the governor's legislative programme.

Just four days after the Harmon caucus speech came the bribery revelations in connection with the Whittemore insurance bill. Gov. Harmon had no hand in this. In fact, the governor and his advisers knew nothing of the activities of the Burns detectives until the explosion came, involving nearly a dozen of the law-makers. The investigation and the bribery charges that followed had been inaugurated and carried on very secretly at the behest of the Manufacturers' Association, who were interested in the passage of the Whittemore bill and some other measures which the law-makers were using, or had used, for hold-up purposes.

The disclosures sent fully a score of members of the general assembly on a hunt for lawyers. The bottom fell out of the corruptly organized opposition to the Harmon legislative programme. All his bills passed in a rush.

In the meantime there was a wild clamor on the part of the lawmakers themselves for a legislative inquiry of the bribery scandal, where only a year before when Columbus was in the throes of a lobby scandal and Gov. Harmon had sent to the general assembly an anti-lobby message containing a recommendation for such an inquiry, the message had been laid on the table in the senate without ceremony or explanation. The fact that the statutes of Ohio contain a clause assuring immunity to any one who testifies before a legislative investigating committee may or may not have had anything to do with the 1911 outcry for a legislative probe which came from some of the suspected members themselves.

Gov. Harmon put a stop to any legislative investigation with its attendant immunity bath. A number of arrests had been made. Gov. Harmon insisted that it was a case for the district attorney and not for the law-making body. As a result several indictments were found. One case has already been tried and is pending with the higher courts. Six members and an assistant sergeant at arms of the general assembly are awaiting trial on bribery charges. [Since this writing two men have been convicted, another case is being heard, and one of the convicts is serving his sentence in the Ohio penitentiary.]

#### **Some of the Kept Promises.**

Here is a list of seventeen important measures for the enactment of which credit is given the Harmon administration:

The Oregon plan of nominating and electing United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Placing the Ohio judiciary beyond the influences of party bosses by electing all Judges on nonpartisan ballots.

A Workingman's Compensation act, so that injured employes can get damages without expensive and tedious litigation.

A Public Utility Commission with authority to regulate issues of stock, rates, mergers, and service.

A Corrupt Practices act that will make vote buying in primaries and elections a dangerous undertaking.

A limited initiative and referendum for Ohio cities.

A Central Board of Control for nineteen State institutions to take the place of nineteen separate Boards of Trustees, with their corps of employes. This bill places subordinate employes in the institutions under civil service.

A shorter ballot by abolishing Boards of Infirmary Directors of three members each.

To have delegates to the 1912 Ohio Constitutional Convention nominated by petition only, and elected on nonpartisan ballots.

A nine-hour work day for employed women.

An act to stimulate the agricultural industry by requiring agriculture to be taught in all Ohio village and country schools.

Ratification of the proposed income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution.

A memorial to Congress calling for a convention to provide for the direct election of United States Senators.

Insuring the honest handling of all State money by depositing in banks under the competitive bidding plan.

A complete reformation of tax laws that will compel corporations and owners of intangible property that have been dodging taxes to place their holdings on the duplicate the same as small prop-

erty owners. Included in this is a 1 per cent. tax levy limit bill. Providing for the construction of a woman's reformatory and placing all girls in the State correctional institutions under the control of a woman.

In addition to these, Gov. Harmon had recommended to the General Assembly this year the passage of a State-wide Direct Nominations bill, affecting every person who in any way aspired to represent the State officially or politically, a bill providing for the use of the pure Massachusetts ballot in all municipal elections, and a third measure providing for a general decrease in the membership of City Councils and the election of one-third of the membership of each Council at large instead of from districts.

**A Criterion for Progressiveness.**

When Judson Harmon first became a candidate for Governor of Ohio, he was not well favored by the progressives in his own party. His unswerving honesty was never a matter of doubt with any one who knew him well at all. But he was looked upon as an extreme conservative and as a man who had been fostered in an environment that would make him prone to place property rights above the people.

If the legislative programme enumerated above is any criterion at all of what Harmon is, the laws he has recommended certainly are progressive in their essence.

In regard to the public utilities bill and some other bills of a radical nature, such as the initiative and referendum for municipalities, Gov. Harmon came out in their support very earnestly after they had been urged in his party's platform. His caucus speech at Columbus last April, his messages to the Legislature, his public speeches in and out of campaign seasons, fairly reverberate with utterances like these: "It was in the platform of our party," or "There is no doubt that the people demand it."

So it may be after all submission to the party decree rather than personal preference that has brought Judson Harmon out in support of such measures as these. When you talk with the man you cannot doubt his conservatism any more than you can doubt his absolute sincerity and his personal integrity. There is not a trace of the demagogue about him. On the other hand, he is a great stickler for honesty in public office and honesty in the methods by which public officers are elected. The numerous bills dealing with election reforms with few exceptions have emanated from the Governor himself.

A member of Gov. Harmon's Cabinet told The Times correspondent an incident to illustrate how honesty in public life has been a hobby with his chief. He related one of the first conversations he had with Gov. Harmon after the latter had appointed him to office. "Now," said Harmon to this appointee, "when you select your office staff bear this in mind. You will have an absolutely free hand in their selection, but you must make sure of some things. First make sure that the man you appoint is honest. In the second place, see to it that he is efficient. As efficiency, even, is secondary to honesty, so the question of his party affiliations is secondary to the two. All other things equal, appoint a Democrat, and if you can manage it, see to it that your man is an active working Democrat and not a drone. There shouldn't be a single drone in our party."

The Public Utilities law and the Workmen's Compensation act were two of the measures urged by Gov. Harmon in his famous speech before the General Assembly caucus last April. These measures had been fought bitterly by the corporations affected, and it was largely due to the lobbies they maintained that they had been held up. Both were party measures. But one measure which originated with the Governor himself provoked more corporate opposition than all the others together. That was his Tax Reform bill. It will survive as one of the monuments to the Harmon administration.

Taxes had been collected in the State of Ohio prior to Harmon's coming into public life in the most haphazard and unjust manner. Each of the eighty-odd counties had its own Taxation Board and its own Tax Collectors, who when they were good and ready turned the taxes collected into the State Treasury. This was bad in itself, but the crying evil of the system was the injustice in valuations for taxation purposes.

**A Real Tax Reformer.**

Ohio is a hotbed for powerful corporations. A majority of these contrived to escape very lightly, with the result that the tax burden fell with double and treble weight on the ordinary taxpayers and especially on the farmers and small property owners. Available records show

that real estate was not uniformly taxed either. Some was appraised as low as 25 per cent. of its actual value, some at 40 per cent., and some as high as 75 per cent. Corporate property, according to the same records, was appraised at from 5 to 40 per cent. of its actual value, and only the tangible property of corporations, not their franchises, was assessed. The richest corporations as a rule escaped lightly, because of the influence they wielded. The result was that the property of the comparatively poor was taxed until they staggered under the burden.

Judson Harmon set himself resolutely to the correction of this evil. In messages sent to the two General Assemblies that have served with him he recommended in the first place the creation of a Central Tax Commission to take the place of the County Tax Boards and Collectors. In the second place he recommended the passage of a bill for the equalization of taxes. This bill provided for the appraisal of all property, corporate or otherwise, to its full value for taxation purposes. It also provided that the tax rate must not exceed 1 per cent., except by vote of the people, and then it must not go higher than 1.5 per cent. The result to the average property owners in four of the Ohio cities, as a result of the Harmon tax reforms, involving as they did the full value appraisal of corporate property, is shown in this table:

Name of City.	1910.	1911.
Cleveland .....	\$3.48	\$1.29
Columbus .....	3.21	1.35
Hamilton .....	3.33	1.60
Coshocton .....	3.60	1.16

This table will show how these reforms affected the valuations of railroad property, and the appraisal of the property of other corporations was in proportion:

	1910.	1911.
Pennsylvania Lines.....	\$53,713,687	\$154,939,040
New York C. Lines.....	41,236,606	117,862,034
Baltimore & Ohio.....	19,973,480	99,868,582
Wheeling & Lake Erie.....	7,329,208	23,304,712
Norfolk & Western.....	7,017,858	22,689,220
Hocking Valley .....	7,427,066	29,811,230

Another feature of the Harmon tax reform is that it will hold the officeholders to strict economy. In the Constitution adopted by Ohio in 1851 there is a clause prohibiting the creation of a bonded debt. Therefore State officials in their expenditures must keep strictly within the revenues. In former years the tax rates were boosted to meet official extravagance.

Judson Harmon has had his quarrels both with Roosevelt and Bryan, when they were in the heyday of their popularity. This may have led to the charge that he was a man with reactionary tendencies among the unthinking. The indications are, however, that he is anything but that. On the other hand, he hates a demagogue.

His friends point to his tax reforms and to the Workmen's Compensation act which creates a fund under the custody of the State for the benefit of workmen injured in industrial employment, as evidence of where his sympathies lie. This law leaves it to employers whether they desire to come in under the provisions of the law or not. If they do, they must contribute 90 per cent against 10 per cent contributed by the workers. The Indemnities are distributed by a State Commission having the fund in charge. Employers who fail to come in under its provisions are prohibited by law to advance the fellow-servant clause, assumed risk or contributory negligence in damage suits arising out of accidents to workers in their employ.

**A Hard Working Executive.**

Gov. Harmon is a hard worker. He generally comes to work at 9 in the morning. This is not unusually early for Columbus. Most of the department heads are at their desks by 8 or shortly after.

When the legislature is in session Gov. Harmon generally devotes the forenoon to receiving members of the Senate and House on business connected with the State. With no General Assembly on his hands the Governor spends the first two hours attending to his correspondence, which is immense. All sorts and conditions of men and women bring their grievances to him or write to him making suggestions more or less helpful to the Governor. He dictates his letters as well as his prepared addresses sitting quietly at his desk in his small private office. A relay of stenographers attend on Gov. Harmon on these occasions.

The rest of the forenoon is given up to State officials who desire to consult him on questions arising in their various departments. The Governor gives plenty of

time to all such visitors. And his talk bristles with "buts" and "ifs" for he is prone to look at any situation lawyer-wise from every possible angle.

Some time between 1 and 2 o'clock the Governor goes to luncheon, generally to some of the many clubs of which he is a member. As a rule he is accompanied by his military aid, Gen. C. C. Weybrecht or some other member of his official family, and not seldom some visitor from out of town who may have happened to call on the Governor. Gov. Harmon is a most amiable host.

The State House at Columbus is a structure gray with age, but very impressive through its ponderousness and its pure classical lines. The office where the Governor receives his visitors in the State House is shabby in comparison with the stately Executive Chamber in the Capitol Building at Albany. But architecturally it is perfect. Such an authority as the late Stanford White pronounced it the most beautiful room he had seen in any public building in America. It was here that he received the correspondent of The Times.

Gov. Harmon rose from his chair and received his visitor with every show of cordiality. He is a straight upstanding man of six feet or maybe a trifle more. He is square-shouldered and strongly built, with large hands and ample wrists. His handshake is strong and hearty.

The top of his finely shaped and well-poised head is bald. What there is left of hair is a snowy white and close cropped. A pair of keen, but not cold, gray eyes look out from beneath bushy eyebrows, also gray. His face has the ruddiness that comes from health and out-door life, of which Gov. Harmon is fond. There are lines in it, but they denote thought rather than age, though Gov. Harmon is 65. Harmon is a rock on which the Osler theory goes to smash. His nose has the aquiline bend that generally is taken as a mark of firmness and strength of character. He wears a gray mustache which has a tendency to bristle. His mouth is firm and his chin is square.

#### Gov. Harmon's Personality.

Gov. Harmon usually wears a business suit of dark or gray material. In dress he shows evidence of good taste and care rather than of fastidiousness, though in his younger years he was reputed somewhat of a dandy.

In manner he is very affable. His voice in ordinary conversation is well modulated and even. As an orator he finds it hard to strike the right pitch at once. He speaks in a low voice with fluency, but a certain deliberation. He is not a man of many or varied gestures. Once in a while there will be a slight rising inflection to emphasize some salient point. Only once in his talk with the Times reporter did Gov. Harmon give evidence of unusual animation. That was when the conversation turned to his outdoor pastimes. The Governor rides horseback several times a week as a rule, he plays a good game of golf, he hunts, and he takes long walks. He is considered a good marksman.

"I pine for outdoor life," said the Governor. "I cannot do without it any more than I can do without food." As his fist shot out to emphasize what he said there was the punch of a pugilist behind it. In his younger years in Cincinnati, Judson Harmon was looked upon as rather handy with the gloves.

The conversation turned on Gov. Harmon's administration in the State. The Times correspondent took occasion to congratulate him on his "reform" administration. The Governor turned in his chair quickly.

"I would not call it a reform administration," he replied. "I have tried to make it a Democratic administration. The fundamental principles of Democracy as applied to questions of government mean to me honesty, fairness, the enactment of laws that will insure equal opportunity to all and a general conduct of the government so that special favors will be given to no interest or individual and so that no discrimination be practiced against any person, rich or poor."

"Further," the Governor added, "in living out Democracy in the Governor's office, I have sought to put an end to graft and to insure to the people of this State a dollar's worth for every dollar of public expenditure. We have sought to inaugurate economy, which is another name for honesty, and we have sought to insure the taxpayers honest treatment by the State by equalizing the taxes. I think it is quite wonderful, too, how things have improved. The entire atmosphere about the State House has changed. The idea that offices exist merely for the benefit of officeholders, I believe, does not obtain any longer in this State."

A suggestion was made that the days of his first administration when the Republican General Assembly and the Republican State officials who had been elected with him sought to tie his hands and run his administration on the rocks must have been days of discouragement.

"No," said Gov. Harmon. "It is wonderful how responsive the people are. It is wonderful how easily the people are aroused to what is right. When I first was elected, many years of misrule had created an unusual situation. The people thought I could not take care of it. I was not elected as a personal compliment to myself. I did the best I could, and in the next State campaign the people showed their resentment against those who had tried to prevent me by turning out the Republicans and electing all the Democratic State officers and a Democratic General Assembly."

Gov. Harmon admitted that this Democratic General Assembly was not all that might have been expected.

"Of course there were the bribery charges," he said. "But on the whole it was composed of patriotic and public-spirited men. Any one who has given any thought to the situation or scanned the record of the last General Assembly must admit that."

While Gov. Harmon has not been prolific in appeals to the people, the people see a whole lot of him. He goes out and makes speeches at corner stone layings, dinners, farmers' picnics, and all sorts of occasions like that.

#### Loves to Meet His Fellow-citizens.

"It is good to meet the people at large—people of all sorts of political opinion and of different walks of life," said the Governor. "I cannot hope that they have learned half as much from my speeches as I have learned from coming in contact with them. I receive all sort of useful information and suggestions. This is helpful in more than one way. If nothing else, it is a great help and encouragement to know that the people take any interest at all in what is being done here. It is really their business as much as it is mine. I have based some of my messages on suggestions received in that way. It is one of the cardinal tenets of the Democratic faith that as far as possible legislation should emanate from those who have to live under the laws we make."

The farmers of Ohio are fond of Harmon. That accounts in part for the large majority he got a year ago. He makes it a hobby to attend as many of their county fairs and picnics as he can. He just talks to them about questions in which they are interested. He gets very close to them, too.

The Governor of Ohio is a great believer in State rights, as now understood. But he believes also in the unity between States as promoted by the House of Governors. He looks upon those gatherings and their results as making for a broader democracy than we have now. With reference to corporation control Gov. Harmon falls readily in with the idea that public service corporations should be rigidly, but not oppressively, regulated.

"That is no new idea in our Government," said the Governor. "We have had that from times immemorial. Travelers in the old days when in a hurry could not stop to haggle with innkeepers and ferrymen, so they were placed under Government supervision and the rates they could charge were fixed by law. Our public service corporations are natural monopolies and must be regulated. But regulation can go too far, and if oppressive destroys its purpose."

Regarding corporation control by State and Federal Governments in general, Gov. Harmon thought that was too broad a subject for offhand discussion. He is a firm believer in competition as a natural regulator of trade.

"The State cannot compel competition," said the Governor. "But it can say to would-be monopolies, 'You must do nothing to prevent competition.'"

Gov. Harmon, in his public speeches in his own State and elsewhere, has indicated that he is in line with the present views of the Democratic Party on tariff, reciprocity, and the trusts.

"I believe," he said, in concluding his talk with the Times correspondent, "that in the Democratic doctrines that have come to us from the fathers there is a remedy for any evils that may come to plague the people."

#### The Original Trust Buster.

Gov. Harmon was born in 1846 in Hamilton County, Ohio. His father was a Baptist minister. He worked his way through Denison College, a Baptist institution, and through the Cincinnati Law School. He served two terms as a Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, but resigned in 1876 to practice law. William H. Taft took his place on the bench. In 1885 President Cleveland made him Attorney General. In that capacity he argued the first cases in which the constitutionality of the Sherman anti-trust law was tested before the United States

courts, the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case, and the Addyston Pipe case. He was successful in both. He went out of the Cabinet with Cleveland.

Since then he has practiced law. In 1905 Judge Lurton, now an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, appointed him receiver for the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton and the Peru Marquette Railroads. He held that receivership when he was elected Governor. He handled these properties in such a manner that neither stockholders, creditors, nor employees lost a cent. Earlier in 1908 he became receiver of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which was reorganized without loss to anybody while he acted as receiver for it.

Gov. Harmon married Miss Olive Schooley, the talented daughter of an Ohio physician. They have had three children, all daughters. One of these, Mrs. Edmund Wright, Jr., lives with her parents. The Governor is a man of means, and his residence is one of the best in the finest residential section of Columbus.

While Gov. Harmon's friends believe that his services on the bench and as Grover Cleveland's Attorney General had already given him a claim on the people's gratitude, they believe also that he must stand or fall as a possible Presidential nominee on what he has done as Governor of Ohio.

Even in the most progressive measures he has urged on the General Assembly of Ohio, Gov. Harmon has been at pains to point out that in attaining what we call progress in these days we are merely retracing our steps in order to plant our feet firmly again in the broad highway blazed for the conduct of future generations by those who founded the Republic. In all his reforms, too, he has managed to retain a certain balance because he has heeded time-honored danger signals.

Harmon does not pose as a political pathfinder, nor does he claim any prophetic mission to pave the way for a millennial dawn in politics or public life. Like other men of force and attainments, he may have communed with himself in the wilderness before he found himself. Speaking figuratively, though it is plain that he has never sought to subsist on any desert diet of locusts and wild honey. His more substantial mental pabulum has been gleaned from the book of experience, and he has learned by being in the midst of life.

Harmon did not come into public life in a leather gird and clad in camel's hair. He set himself apart from other men as a harbinger of a New Thought in politics. When Harmon went in to purify public life in Ohio he donned working clothes and added a dab of war paint, just to show that he was enlisted for the fray.

# BEVERIDGE'S ELOQUENT PLEA FOR "CAUSE OF HUMANITY"

Indiana Statesman Addresses a  
Great Audience in Place of  
Col. Roosevelt.

PHOENIX HILL IS CROWDED.

Progressive Party's Principles  
and Aims Are Set Forth in  
a Striking Speech.

GOV. WILSON IS ASSAILED.

THE MESSAGE SENT  
BY COLONEL ROOSEVELT.

"It matters little about me, but it matters all about the cause we fight for. If one soldier, who happens to carry the flag, is stricken, another will take it from his hands and carry it on. One after another the standardbearers may be laid low, but the standard itself can never fall.

"You know that personally I did not want to be a candidate for office again. And you know that only the call that came to the men of the sixties made me answer it in our day as they did more nobly in their day. And now, as then, it is not important whether one leader lives or dies; it is important only that the cause shall live and win.

"Tell the people not to worry about me; for if I go down another will take my place. For always the army is there. Always the cause is there, and it is the cause for which the people should care, for it is the people's cause."

Former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, fresh from the bedside of Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago, spoke to a large audience at Phoenix Hill in behalf of the Progressive ticket Wednesday night and delivered Colonel Roosevelt's message to the people.

Although the entire audience, except two or three hundred on the stage, were forced to stand through

the entire meeting, Mr. Beveridge held the attention of 5,000 people from the beginning to the end of an impassioned argument, which was punctuated with cheers, and which made a strong impression.

Mr. Beveridge has several times made addresses in New Albany and Jeffersonville, but this was his first set speech in Louisville, and much interest was manifested locally in his appearance. The Indiana statesman was late in arriving at the hall, due to the delay of his train, but the crowd waited patiently, and when he entered at 9:45 o'clock there was a mighty cheer. Introduced by Mr. Burton Vance, Mr. Beveridge plunged at once into his subject, reading to the audience the message sent by Colonel Roosevelt from his bed in the Chicago hospital.

Orator Most Effective.

In appearance Mr. Beveridge resembled his published photographs, but his face is stronger and the effect of the long fight he has been making for Progressive principles is marked by a partial disappearance of that boyish look for which he was noted in his early days in the Senate. When he began his voice showed the effect of the six weeks of hard campaigning in Indiana, through which he has been, but gradually he overcame the hoarseness, and long before he ended his voice carried to every part of the hall with its old-time clearness.

Opposed to both the Republican and Democratic parties and to the candidacies of both President Taft and Governor Wilson, Mr. Beveridge alluded to those candidates with studied moderation. His most elaborate attack upon Wilson was as to his alleged failure to cope with those trusts that are incorporated under the laws of New Jersey.

Cheer Tribute to Roosevelt.

The speaker's tribute to Colonel Roosevelt was a fine piece of oratory and brought the crowd to a pitch of enthusiasm. While describing the bitter struggle in Congress to secure a meat inspection bill, Mr. Beveridge told how every effort to get that bill through was blocked, and finally said: "The fight would have been lost had the country not had a President who feared God—and nothing else in the world." There was cheer after cheer.

The general effect of the meeting and Mr. Beveridge's speech will undoubtedly be great. Louisville has been neglected by the Democratic campaign managers, while Mr. Tait's supporters have practically given up the fight here. The fiery oratory and brilliant argument of Mr. Beveridge, coming right after the cowardly shooting of the Progressive leader at Milwaukee, has aroused the fighting spirit in the Progressives, and the vote for Louisville for Roosevelt will probably be surprisingly large.

The attendance Wednesday evening of workmen was large, and there were also many voters present from Southern Indiana.

S. J. Duncan-Clark, Prof. Ragsdale of the Manual Training School, and Mr. M. J. Holt made brief speeches before the arrival of Mr. Beveridge.

#### Mr. Beveridge's Speech.

Mr. Beveridge's speech in full follows:

Not a man, but a cause. Not a personality, but a principle. This is the word the shot at Milwaukee speaks to the American people. For had the shot done the work that it was intended to do, yet it would not have stayed the cause. Had it laid the great leader low, still the principle would have marched onward. But our leader is spared still to lead the forward movement in American life, which God meant him to lead to final victory. Over slander and abuse, over falsehood and libel, over craft and cunning, over plot for his ruin by criminal wealth and the crazed mind which was that plot's sure fruit—over all the forces of evil and their workmen, the great American prevails.

Every American is proud of these fine traits this typical American showed in the hour of real trial. The fires of danger once more prove him as pure gold. Such thought for others, even for the one who sought his death. With the bullet in his breast his first thought was to save the poor creature who had fired it. He cried out to the men who were in the very act of killing his crazed assailant, "Stop, do not hurt him. Bring him to me." And under this strong arm the crazed man found safety and protection.

His next thought was of the people for whose welfare he is fighting and of the word given him to speak of them. "Drive on," he said, "I will speak to the people of their cause." And he did it. From the moment the shot was fired of which all mankind even now has heard, until this very moment, never once has he weakened, never once has good cheer left him, never once has his sunny soul been clouded.

And this is what a century of liberty has done for us; for this is the kind of man every American mother would have her son grow up to be. And this is Theodore Roosevelt.

Now that it is sure that he will live, he might well think of himself with that pride which his countrymen take in his noble character. But instead he thinks not at all of himself, but only of the cause he stands for.

#### For the Cause Only.

He called me to Chicago, and at his bedside he asked me to say for him these words to all the people:

"It matters little about me, but it matters to all about the cause we fight for. If one soldier, who happen to carry the flag, is stricken another will take it from his hands and carry it on. One after another the standard-bearers may be laid low, but the standard itself can never fall. You know that personally I did not want ever to be a candidate for office again. And you know that only the call that came to the men of the sixties made me answer it in our day as they did

more nobly in their day. And now as then it is not important whether one leader lives or dies; it is important only that the cause shall live and win. Tell the people not to worry about me; for if I go down another will take my place. For always the army is there. Always the cause is there, and it is the cause for which the people should care, for it is the people's cause."

#### Between Two Greeds.

He bade me put it to the people that we stand between two mighty greeds—the greed of those who have and the greed of those who have not. We found a party to which all just men and women, rich and poor, who want only justice, can belong.

Right at the outset of this campaign Theodore Roosevelt said:

"In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is spend and be spent; it is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds, but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind. We here in America hold in our hands the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is denied, or we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men."

And these simple words state the issue of this campaign in which righteousness and evil are at war. We battle against those who have gotten unjustly more than they should have and who want all, no matter by what means; and we battle also against those who would take unjustly the substance of those who justly have earned it. In short, we stand for justice, guided by mercy, made wise by sympathy. All those great human reforms which the old parties would not work out and which therefore called the Progressive party into being are founded on the idea that all men and women are human beings.

#### The Position of Labor.

We deny the doctrine that labor is a mere commodity like a sack of wheat, a hoe, a shovel or a load of coal to be bought at the lowest living price, used up and cast aside when the best that is in it has begun to be worked out. Mr. Wilson says that he cares only for ideas; we say that we care for ideas only because we care for men.

This is his message to all his countrymen. He gave it clearly and easily, not recklessly nor with fever. Not in the heat of battle, not in bitterness, nor yet in self-pride; but with cool mind and kindly heart. This is his word to all, even to those whom the powers of darkness have made to see and act darkly.

But for these powers of darkness themselves, Col. Roosevelt has that health which all normal men and women have for unclean things. These are the enemies of the people whom he has fought his whole life long. And from the bed of suffering, where their insane agent has laid him, he fights them still. For Theodore Roosevelt is abnormal only in this—Theodore Roosevelt is abnormally normal. Whether in full health or with a bullet in his breast, he is still the same thoughtful, brave, pure and kindly man, loving and fighting for all that is good, hating and fighting all that is bad.

And because the people sense these qualities of mind and heart, which everyone of us would like to have, the people know Theodore Roosevelt for their wisest, safest and bravest leader.

#### The Progressive Cause.

And what is this great cause?—a cause so great that even if this mighty one who leads it now were to go from us, still we would fight for it harder than ever. What is this cause to which this typical American is giving his wonderful power? It is the cause of Humanity. To the Senator La Follette's words when speaking of Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 and the cause for which Theodore Roosevelt stands: "It is justice—plain, simple justice, for every human being against unselfishness, powers of greed." That is the cause Theodore Roosevelt stands for.

Our view of government and public questions is this: None of us asked to be born, yet born all were without our consent. Not one of us asks to die, yet die everyone of us must for no fault of our own. And everyone of us knows that in the brief period between the unasked cradle and the unwelcome grave, life proves hard enough; and to the great masses of human beings it is very hard indeed. What then can be done to lift the burdens from stooping shoulders that cannot bear them? What can be done to make our land a better place to live in? What can be done to make the life which has been thrust upon all of us happier than it is?

These are the questions which the Progressive party thinks worth while. And to answer these questions the people have called the Progressive party in to being just as it was another great crisis that called the party which Lincoln led into being.

What Jefferson fought for in his day, we fight for in ours. What Lincoln fought for in his day, we fight for in our day. The cause which Jefferson and Lincoln led in their day is the same cause that Theodore Roosevelt is leading in our day. It is the cause of humanity in different guise. And just as in Jefferson and Lincoln's day, the political parties of that time would not solve those problems or even admit their existence, so now the two old parties will not solve the grave problems that face the nation now or even admit their existence.

#### What Roosevelt Would Have Said in Speech Here.

In the great speech Col. Roosevelt would have made here in Louisville he would have taken up the question of child labor, and an effective law to prevent it; the question of overwork in continuous industries, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases; and in favor of publicity as to wages, hours and condition of labor; a system of social insurance, industrial laboratories and schools, and the like, all of which, now that electricity and quick transportation have drawn the oceans together, are subjects of at least national concern.

On all these subjects the Democratic platform is silent except to denounce "usurpation, the efforts of its opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify, by indirection, the powers of the Federal government." With this principal plank of the Democratic platform we Progressives are at war. And it is a sad reflection on America that a man like Mr. Wilson has been driven by the forces in control of the Democratic party to say that he is against all these things.

Col. Roosevelt would have pointed out here in Louisville that the Democratic platform declares: It is a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution, had no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue. This Democratic plank, if put into law, would make us a free-trade country in the sense that China, Turkey, Abyssinia, and such like progressive nations are free-trade countries. Mr. Wilson says that he would approach this ideal by degrees. But by what degrees? Would he wait until industrial conditions in our own and rival nations are equal? Or would he have us put American workmen in direct competition with the crowded labor of competing countries?

Or would he take the tariff altogether out of politics, make it a business question for the welfare of all the people instead of a political question for the welfare of favored interests? And if so, would he then adjust that tariff, by a scientific commission, to meet the exact business needs of the whole American people? Mr. Wilson will not answer any of these questions and cannot. But if he says, for campaign purposes, that he favors the last plan I have named, then he should resign as the candidate of the Democratic party and join the Progressive party, for the Progressive party is the only one that stands for an honest protective tariff made for the welfare of the whole American people, and to fit the needs of every honest American business man.

#### The Trust Question.

On the trust question, which looms so large in American thought, Mr. Wilson has been driven by his party to say that this, like other vital present-day problems, must be left to the States. That is just where the robber interests want those questions left. They do not want such questions settled by the nation, for such settlement means that the combined conscience and composite intelligence of the whole people will be brought to bear on those questions.

So Col. Roosevelt tonight would have put to Mr. Wilson the following questions, which I now put to Mr. Wilson and the people at Col. Roosevelt's request. But they are not questions devised by Col. Roosevelt, but questions written out and sent to Col. Roosevelt by the head waiter of a hotel.

In forwarding the questions this man said that the people were confused as to Gov. Wilson's position on the trust question and to what his attitude has been as to the trusts while Governor of New Jersey, and that head waiter and his friends would like to have Mr. Wilson answer three or four simple questions, but that they did not know how to get the questions before Mr. Wilson.

#### Questions Asked of Wilson.

Here are the questions:

First—Is it not a fact that the laws of the State under which a corporation is organized prescribe its power?

Second—Are not all the powers of Standard Oil and similar monopolies conferred by the laws of New Jersey?

Third—Could not these powers have been curtailed by amendments to the New Jersey laws?

Fourth—Why has not Mr. Wilson as Governor of New Jersey not recommended such amendments?

I read Col. Roosevelt's own comment on these questions, which comment is a part of the speech he would have made tonight:

"But the question is most urgently necessary for his own sake that Mr. Wilson should ask why he ventures to attack others in connection with the trust law and at the same time has absolutely failed himself to act against the trusts while he has been Governor of New Jersey and has had the amplest opportunity. The Standard Oil, the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Beef Trust, and practically all the big trusts, were incorporated in New Jersey. Under the laws of New Jersey their charters are subject to amplification, amendment and repeal, and the Governor is explicitly given power to proceed against them.

"In his inaugural Mr. Wilson explicitly stated that New Jersey had brought discredit upon herself by failure to act about the trusts; that she ought to act not only as regards new trusts, but as regards the old trusts already existing. He has again and again explicitly stated that the question of the trusts is primarily a question for the States themselves, and of course there are ten times as many trusts and ten times as important trusts and corporations in New Jersey as in any other State.

"The Democratic platform jealously insisted upon the rights of the States to deal with the trusts, yet Mr. Wilson, at the same time that he ventured to attack me—although he must have well known that I was the first President to deal adequately with the trusts—has, while Governor of New Jersey, while possessing the amplest power, failed to take action of any kind, sort or description against the trusts.

#### Takes Wilson to Task.

"I ask Mr. Wilson to answer categorically and specifically and not by loose general arguments just why it is that, after making the recommendation he made in his inaugural and while insisting that the trust question was a State question, and in view of the fact that in New Jersey he had ample power to deal with the trusts, he, nevertheless, during the entire time he has been Governor, has failed to take any action of any kind, sort or description against the Standard Oil, Tobacco Trust, Sugar Trust, Beef Trust, and any other trust of any kind, sort or description?"

He owes it to the American people to answer this question directly and specifically, and he cannot answer it satisfactorily. He cannot answer it in any way that will show either that the principles he has announced for dealing with the trusts are the right principles or that his practices in those principles have been correct?"

The works of the New Jersey law are:

The charter of any corporation or any supplement thereto or amendment thereto shall be restriction, suspension or repeal, in the discretion of the Legislature, and the Legislature may at pleasure dissolve any corporation.

So the Legislature of New Jersey has more power to take away the legal life of every criminal trust than all the States and the national government combined. And for nearly two years New Jersey has had a Democratic Legislature and Mr. Wilson has been the Democratic Governor in that State. As the Democratic Governor of New Jersey, Mr. Wilson claims that he has controlled New Jersey's Democratic Legislature. And this boast of Mr. Wilson is true.

#### Nothing Has Been Done.

Yet in all this time neither Mr. Wilson nor the New Jersey Legislature has lifted a finger against these trusts; those wrongs to the American people have made the trust question a vital issue. If Mr. Wilson, the Democratic Governor of New Jersey, with a Democratic Legislature under his control and with supreme power over these criminal trusts, has not done a single thing against them, what can we expect him to do as President with no power over them except that of the Sherman law, which for twenty-five years has fallen short of ending a single evil of the trusts and of ending the trusts themselves.

The Sherman law as it now stands has injured the two greatest trusts, the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust, on earth, that their securities have gone up in the markets of the world by hundreds of millions of dollars since the suit against them was won by the government. Yet neither the Democratic nor Republican party propose any method to end or control these trusts except the Sherman law. And this law as it now stands not only has licensed such trusts as are able to stand trial to go on doing all the evil things they ever have done to the people, but that law as it now stands prevents any honest business man from knowing what he can do or what he cannot do. Every honest American business man is in the dark until he is called before a court to have sentence passed upon him for deeds that he could not have known beforehand were unlawful.

As against the standpat position of Mr. Taft on the Sherman law, as against the vague and uncertain words of Mr. Wilson on this vital subject, the Progressive party proposes a constructive plan. That plan has been tried and found good in other countries. It has been found good here in the control of our railways by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Progressive party says that just as the Interstate Commerce Commission regulates the railways and prevents them from harming the people, so an Industrial Commission can and must do the same thing for the trusts.

#### Railroads and Trusts.

Any day a railroad or a shipper may go to the Interstate Commerce Commission and find out what he may or may not do. Why should not the same thing be true of the trusts and the people? Why can the nation have power over the railways which carry the products of the trusts, and yet not have power over the trusts themselves which control these very rail-

ways?

The trusts know why. The bi-partisan boss system which these trusts hire to do their work in Congress know why. The campaign of slander these interests devised, whose seeds grew in the weak mind until it planted a bullet in our great leader's breast, is the answer to this question.

For the only man that those interests fear is Theodore Roosevelt. They have captured Mr. Taft, the Judge; and they know that they can master Mr. Wilson, the professor. But by experience they know that Theodore Roosevelt, backed by the American people, can and will master them. And that is why they fear and hate him; that is the reason for their campaign of slander against him.

This conspiracy of plunder found its deadliest weapon in the third term superstition. The controlled newspapers called Col. Roosevelt "the third term candidate." Yet every friend of Col. Roosevelt knows that he wanted never again to go into public life. Col. Roosevelt yielded only when no one else could be found to lead the Progressive cause successfully, when thousands of letters from all kinds of people were received begging him again to lead that cause in order to save it from present defeat and from setback for many years to come.

#### Why Roosevelt Entered Fight.

All his friends know that Col. Roosevelt wished above all things to never again sacrifice his private life to public need. He had won for himself the love of the nation and the acclaim of the whole world. From his earliest manhood he had known nothing but hard fighting, vast labor, and shameful abuse brought upon him only because he chose to fight the people's fight. And in this long struggle he had won such victories for the people's cause that when he left public life he was hailed by all the nations of the earth as the first citizen of the world.

So public life had no more honors to give to Theodore Roosevelt. Public life meant only further sacrifice to this great man. And so for a long time he would not yield. He yielded finally to save the cause for which he had fought his whole life long.

He went into the fight only when it was plain to all the world that no other man could bend the bow of Ulysses.

The Republican voters at the primaries from two to one to seven to one chose him for their leader; but the invisible government and the boss system which that invisible government hires to do its work, overcame the will of the men in the street and at the plow and gave the nomination to Mr. Taft.

#### Was Only a Sample.

And this robbery, which was so gross that all the people could see it, was only a sample of what the very same men for years have been doing to the laws that wrong the people both in the States as well as the nation at large.

Thus the outrage at Chicago in June caused the whole people to enlist in this war for righteousness, by making the invisible government visible, it founded a new and a nationwide party.

For this campaign is even greater than the human and economic questions with which it deals. The Progressive party responds not only to the human heart as expressed in the public law, but the Progressive party alone can make the American nation a single people, undivided by sectional lines, unshattered by ancient prejudice.

We men and women of the North and the South are of the same blood. We have the same ideals. The men and women of the North need the thought and heartbeat of the men and women of the South, and men and women of the South need the thought and heartbeat of the men and women of the North.

Yet both of us know that, with the old-time Democratic and Republican parties, our common blood never can flow in the same channel. Yet it is the same blood; and the Progressive party makes it possible for brothers once more to act together. The Progressive party will forever break down the wall of sectionalism. And here again our leader fits conditions. For his mother was a Southern woman and his father was a Northern man. In him the North and South are made one again, as they were at the beginning, and as they should be now. In his veins flow the blood of Lee and Grant, of Jackson and Sheridan. In his veins are united the red currents that have made immortal Marion, of South Carolina, and Warren, of Bunker Hill.

And the record of our great leader is the reason the Progressive party has chosen him as her standard-bearer—the reason why the forces of evil fear and hate him. Was ever such a record of deeds really done for his country and for the world?

#### What World Owes Roosevelt.

Think only of a few of the things, the country and the world owe to Theodore Roosevelt. The Department of Commerce and Labor is the child of his brain. The great railway law of 1906, which for the first time in our history

wrote in our statute books the power of the nation over the railways of the country, never would have been passed but for the long, hard fight that Theodore Roosevelt made for it. The meat inspection law never would have been passed but for Theodore Roosevelt's mighty efforts. The pure food law, which had been held up for seven years, was finally gotten through Congress under Theodore Roosevelt. Nobody ever heard of the conservation of our natural resources as a public policy until Theodore Roosevelt made it so and vitalized it by living laws. It was Theodore Roosevelt who forced the passage of the law for the digging of the Panama canal, which a corrupt lobby had prevented forty years ago; and it would be the justice of the history that the great President who began that canal shall again be our President and finish that canal.

It was Theodore Roosevelt who settled the historic anthracite coal strike, one of the fiercest conflicts between labor and capital the world ever saw. Another single deed which alone would make the name of any man immortal was his ending the war between Russia and Japan. That was the bloodiest conflict in the annals of warfare for the length of time it lasted. Other nations were surely being drawn into it and the wisest statesmen of every nation feared that the time at last had come when the whole world would be in arms. In that terrible crisis there was only one man big enough to end that struggle, and that man was Theodore Roosevelt. He went directly to the Czar and Mikado, cabling over the heads of our ambassadors, and got those Emperors to bring that hideous war to a close.

And now this man, with a record great, clean and constructive achievements running through his whole life is the ideal leader of the American people in this great crisis. But great a our leader is, our cause is greater. It is greater than any man—it is as great as all men, for ours is the cause of a man. And so our leader's words "March on! Fight on!"



Index.	Page.
Good Teachers the Great Need,,,	1.
Freedom and Opportunity	3.
Observation of the Soil	15.
Character	29.
Address and Resolutions to be presented to State Wide Rural School Conference	31
The Ideal Teacher	33.
Govenor's Speech Accepting the Statute of Lincoln. ..	35.
Lincoln's Great Patience one of Chief Virtues.....	39.
Mr. Watterson's Address Presenting Speed Statute.....	41.
The Initiative, Referendum and Recall.....	55.
Gov. McCreary's Message to the Legislature	63.
"Din'a Ye Hear the Slogan?"	91.
Every Human Being on Earth Lives in a Cage	93.
The National Education Association.....	97.
"A Greater Kentucky"	99.
The greatest crime of this age is war, etc.	101.
It's What WeDo With the Chance That Counts in Life...	105.
Republican Platform	107.
Judge O'Rear's Speech on Education in Kentucky.....	109.
"A Cry from Macedonia for teachers of Agriculture in High Schools, Academies and Smaller Colleges" (by F. W. Beckman)	113.
Catechism on the Public Schools of Kentucky.....	117.
Judge O'Rear Compares the County Unit Planks	121.
To Raise the Standard of the Country School.....	125.
Judge O'Rear's Speech at Elizabethtown, Ky.....	127.
Judge O'Rear's Speech on Farmers' and Laborers' Organization	141.
President Taft's Lincoln Farm Memorial Speech.....	161.
Imperative Law Reforms as Advocated by Hon. E. J. McDermott	165
Law Indefensible Say Baptist Teachers.....	169
Commission Form of Government.....	171.
Interesting Event.	175.
God's Presence. Beattie Jurors Realized it, Says the Rev. Dr. Powell	177.
A Cure for Lawlessness	179.

Education and Good	181.
McLean County Teachers' Association Division No.4....	183.
Child Labor a National Crime.....	185.
Helping the Boys to Make Good.....	187.
Kentucky's Population by Color for all Counties in the State.....	189.
Child Labor Conference .....	193.
Proposed Forestry Bill .....	193.
Large and Small Farms .....	195.
German Democracy .....	197.
Dr. McCormack Submits Statement of Work of the Board of Health.....	199.
No Saved Soul in Lost Body, Declares Dr. Powell in Sermon on "Social Reform".....	203.
Cassius M. Clay on the Initiative, the Referen- dum and the Recall.....	209.
Honesty in Politics .....	213.
Farming Efficiency .....	215.
The Initiative, Referendum and Recall of Officials.... (By C. M. Clay)	217.
Crime and its Punishment .....	219.
(By S. V. Dixon)	

Clippel  
Get names of students who will enter next term.  
Speak about the school, Proletarians, etc.

