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## CITIZENSHIP IN A REPUBLIC.

Colonel Roosevelt Tells the  
French Why We Succeed.

HIS VIEWS ON SOCIALISM.

Again Asks For Large Families In  
Address in Paris—Talks of Man's  
Chief Duty, Danger of Class Hatred  
and Appeals For Patriotic Spirit.  
No Room For Slighters.

Paris, April 23.—Colonel Theodore  
Roosevelt delivered the following ad-  
dress on "Citizenship in a Republic" at  
the Sorbonne:

Strange and impressive associations  
rise in the mind of a man from the  
new world who speaks before this au-  
gust body in this ancient institution  
of learning. Before his eyes pass the  
shadows of mighty kings and warlike  
nobles, of great masters of law and  
theology. Through the shining dust  
of the dead centuries he sees crowded  
figures that tell of the power and  
learning and splendor of times gone  
by, and he sees also the innumerable  
host of humble students to whom  
clerkship meant emancipation, to  
whom it was well nigh the only outlet  
from the dark thralldom of the middle  
ages.

Today I shall speak to you on the  
subject of individual citizenship, the  
one subject of vital importance to you,  
my hearers, and to me and my coun-  
trymen, because you and we are citi-  
zens of great democratic republics. A  
democratic republic such as each of  
ours—an effort to realize in its full  
sense government by, of and for the  
people—represents the most gigantic  
of all possible social experiments, the  
one fraught with greatest possibilities  
alike for good and for evil.

The success of republics like yours  
and like ours means the glory and our  
failure the despair of mankind, and  
for you and for us the question of the  
quality of the individual citizen is su-  
preme.

To Succeed Be Good.

With you here and with us in my  
own home, in the long run, success or  
failure will be conditioned upon the  
way in which the average man, the  
average woman, does his or her duty,  
first in the ordinary, everyday affairs  
of life and next in those great occa-  
sional crises which call for the heroic  
virtues. The average citizen must be  
a good citizen if our republics are to  
succeed.

Let the man of learning, the man of  
lettered leisure, beware of that queer  
and cheap temptation to pose to him-  
self and to others as the cynic, as the  
man who has outgrown emotions and  
beliefs, the man to whom good and  
evil are as one. The poorest way to  
face life is to face it with a sneer.

There is no more unhealthy being,  
no man less worthy of respect, than he  
who either really holds or feigns to  
hold an attitude of sneering disbelief  
toward all that is great and lofty,  
whether in achievement or in that no-  
ble effort which, even if it fail, comes  
second to achievement.

Shame on the man of cultivated taste  
who permits refinement to develop into  
a fastidiousness that unfits him for  
doing the rough work of a workaday  
world. Among the free peoples who  
govern themselves there is but a small  
field of usefulness open for the men  
of cloistered life who shrink from con-  
tact with their fellows.

No Room For Slighters.

Still less room is there for those who  
deride or slight what is done by those  
who actually bear the brunt of the  
day nor yet for those others who al-  
ways profess that they would like to  
take action if only the conditions of  
life were not what they actually are.  
The man who does nothing cuts the  
same sordid figure in the pages of his-  
tory, whether he be cynic or fop or  
voluptuary.

It is war worn Hotspur, spent with  
hard fighting, he of the many errors  
and the valiant end, over whose mem-  
ory we love to linger, not over the  
memory of the young lord who "but  
for the vile guns would have been a  
soldier."

The good man should be both a  
strong and a brave man—that is, he  
should be able to fight, he should be  
able to serve his country as a soldier  
if the need arises. There are well  
meaning philosophers who declaim  
against the unrighteousness of war.  
They are right only if they lay all  
their emphasis upon the unrighteous-  
ness. War is a dreadful thing, and  
unjust war is a crime against human-  
ity. But it is such a crime because it  
is unjust, not because it is war.

The choice must ever be in favor of  
righteousness, and this whether the  
alternative be peace or whether the  
alternative be war. The question must  
not be merely, is there to be peace or  
war? The question must be, is the  
right to prevail?

Are the great laws of righteousness  
once more to be fulfilled? And the an-  
swer from a strong and virile people  
must be "Yes," whatever the cost.

Every honorable effort should always  
be made to avoid war, just as every  
honorable effort should always be  
made by the individual in private life  
to keep out of a brawl, to keep out of  
trouble, but no self respecting indi-  
vidual, no self respecting nation, can  
or ought to submit to wrong.

Finally, even more important than  
ability to work, even more important  
than ability to fight at need, is it to  
remember that the chief of blessings  
for any nation is that it shall leave its  
seed to inherit the land. The greatest  
of all curses is the curse of sterility,  
and the severest of all condemnations  
should be that visited upon willful  
sterility.

The first essential in any civilization  
is that the man and the woman shall  
be father and mother of healthy chil-  
dren, so that the race shall increase  
and not decrease. If this is not so, if  
through no fault of the society there  
is failure to increase, it is a great mis-  
fortune. If the failure is due to de-  
liberate and willful fault, then it is  
not merely a misfortune; it is one of  
those crimes of ease and self indul-  
gence, of shrinking from pain and ef-  
fort and risk, which in the long run  
nature punishes more heavily than any  
other.

If we of the great republics, if we,  
the free people who claim to have  
emancipated ourselves from the thral-  
dom of wrong and error, bring down  
on our heads the curse that comes  
upon the willfully barren, then it will  
be an idle waste of breath to prattle  
of our achievements, to boast of all  
that we have done.

No refinement of life, no delicacy of  
taste, no material progress, no sordid  
heaping up of riches, no sensuous de-  
velopment of art and literature, can in  
any way compensate for the loss of  
the great fundamental virtues, and of  
these great fundamental virtues the  
greatest is the race's power to per-  
petuate the race.

Man's Chief Duty.

Character must show itself in the  
man's performance both of the duty  
he owes himself and of the duty he  
owes the state. The man's foremost  
duty is owed to himself and his fam-  
ily, and he can do this duty only by  
earning money, by providing what is  
essential to material well being. It  
is only after this has been done that  
he can hope to build a higher super-  
structure on the solid material founda-  
tion. It is only after this has been  
done that he can help in movements  
for the general well being.

It is not good to excite that bitter  
laughter which expresses contempt,  
and contempt is what we feel for the  
being whose enthusiasm to benefit  
mankind is such that he is a burden  
to those nearest him, who wishes to  
do great things for humanity in the  
abstract, but who cannot keep his  
wife in comfort or educate his chil-  
dren.

I decline to recognize the mere mul-  
timillionaire, the man of mere wealth,  
as an asset of value to any country,  
and especially as not an asset to my  
own country. If he has earned or  
uses his wealth in a way that makes  
him of real benefit, of real use—and  
such is often the case—why, then he  
does become an asset of worth. But  
it is the way in which it has been  
earned or used and not the mere fact  
of wealth that entitles him to the  
credit.

There is need in business, as in most  
other forms of human activity, of the  
great guiding intelligences. Their  
places cannot be supplied by any num-  
ber of lesser intelligences.

It is a bad thing for a nation to raise  
and to admire a false standard of suc-  
cess, and there can be no false stand-  
ard than that set by the dedication of  
material well being in and for itself.

The power of the journalist is great,  
but he is entitled neither to respect  
nor admiration because of that power  
unless it is used aright. He can do,  
and he often does, great good. He can  
do, and he often does, infinite mis-  
chief. All journalists, all writers, for  
the very reason that they appreciate  
the vast possibilities of their profes-  
sion, should bear testimony against  
those who deeply discredit it. Of-  
fenses against taste and morals, which  
are bad enough in a private citizen,  
are infinitely worse if made into in-  
struments for debauching the com-  
munity through a newspaper.

Mendacity, slander, sensationalism,  
innuendo, rapid triviality, all are po-  
tent factors for the debauchery of the  
public mind and conscience. The ex-  
cuse advanced for vicious writing, that  
the public demands it and that the de-  
mand must be supplied, can no more  
be admitted than if it were advanced  
by the purveyors of food who sell poi-  
sonous adulterations.

Virtues of the Household.

The homely virtues of the household,  
the ordinary workaday virtues which  
make the woman a good housewife  
and house mother, which make the  
man a hard worker, a good husband  
and father, a good soldier at need,  
stand at the bottom of character. But  
of course many others must be added  
thereto if a state is to be not only free,  
but great.

Good citizenship is not good citizen-  
ship if exhibited only in the home.  
There remain the duties of the indi-  
vidual in relation to the state, and  
these duties are none too easy under  
the conditions which exist where the  
effort is made to carry on free govern-  
ment in a complex industrial civiliza-  
tion.

Perhaps the most important thing  
the ordinary citizen, and, above all,  
the leader of ordinary citizens, has to  
remember in political life is that he  
must not be a sheer doctrinaire.

Woe to the empty phrase maker, to  
the empty idealist, who, instead of  
making ready the ground for the man  
of action, turns against him when he  
appears and hampers him as he does  
the work!

Moreover, the preacher of ideals  
must remember how sorry and con-  
temptible is the figure which he will  
cut, how great the damage that he  
will do, if he does not himself in his

own life strive measurably to realize  
the ideals that he preaches for others.  
Let him remember also that the  
worth of the ideal must be largely de-  
termined by the success with which it  
can in practice be realized. We should  
abhor the so called "practical" men  
whose practicality assumes the shape  
of that peculiar baseness which finds  
its expression in disbelief in morality  
and decency, in disregard of high  
standards of living and conduct. Such  
a creature is the worst enemy of the  
body politic. But only less desirable  
as a citizen is his nominal opponent  
and real ally, the man of fantastic  
vision who makes the impossible bet-  
ter forever the enemy of the possible  
good.

The Slave of Names.

Much of the discussion about social-  
ism and individualism is entirely point-  
less because of failure to agree on  
terminology. It is not good to be the  
slave of names. I am a strong indi-  
vidualist by personal habit, inheri-  
tance and conviction, but it is a mere  
matter of common sense to recognize  
that the state, the community, the  
citizens acting together, can do a num-  
ber of things better than if they were  
left to individual action.

The individualism which finds its  
expression in the abuse of physical  
force is checked very early in the  
growth of civilization, and we of today  
should in our turn strive to shackle or  
destroy that individualism which tri-  
umphs by greed and cunning, which  
exploits the weak by craft instead of  
ruling them by brutality.

We ought to go with any man in  
the effort to bring about justice and  
the equality of opportunity, to turn the  
tool user more and more into the tool  
owner, to shift burdens so that they  
can be more equitably borne.

The deadening effect on any race of  
the adoption of a logical and extreme  
socialistic system could not be over-  
stated. It would spell sheer destruc-  
tion. It would produce grosser wrong  
and outrage, fouler immorality, than  
any existing system. But this does not  
mean that we may not with great ad-  
vantage adopt certain of the principles  
professed by some given set of men  
who happen to call themselves Social-  
ists.

We are bound in honor to refuse to  
listen to those men who would make  
us desist from the effort to do away  
with the inequality which means in-  
justice, the inequality of right, of op-  
portunity, of privilege. We are bound  
in honor to strive to bring ever nearer  
the day when as far as is humanly  
possible we shall be able to realize the  
ideal that each man shall have an  
equal opportunity to show the stuff  
that is in him by the way in which he  
renders service.

There are plenty of men calling  
themselves Socialists with whom up  
to a certain point it is quite possible  
to work. If the next step is one which  
both we and they wish to take, why,  
of course, take it without any regard  
to the fact that our views as to the  
tenth step may differ. But, on the other  
hand, keep clearly in mind that,  
though it has been worth while to  
take one step, this does not in the  
least mean that it may not be highly  
disadvantageous to take the next.

It is just as foolish to refuse all  
progress because people demanding it  
desire at some points to go to absurd  
extremes as it would be to go to these  
absurd extremes simply because some  
of the measures advocated by the ex-  
tremists were wise.

Persecution is bad because it is per-  
secution and without reference to  
which side happens at the moment to  
be the persecutor and which the per-  
secuted.

Danger of Class Hatred.

Class hatred is bad in just the same  
way and without any regard to the  
individual who at a given time sub-  
stitutes loyalty to a class for loyalty  
to the nation or substitutes hatred of  
men because they happen to come in  
a certain social category, for judgment  
awarded them according to their con-  
duct.

In a republic to be successful we  
must learn to combine intensity of con-  
viction with a broad tolerance of dif-  
ference of conviction. Wide differ-  
ences of opinion in matters of religious,  
political and social belief must exist if  
conscience and intellect alike are not  
to be stunted, if there is to be room  
for healthy growth.

Bitter internecine hatreds, based on  
such differences, are signs not of ear-  
nestness of belief, but of that fanatic-  
ism which, whether religious or anti-  
religious, democratic or anti-democratic,  
is itself but a manifestation of the  
gloomy bigotry which has been the  
chief factor in the downfall of so  
many, many nations.

Good Patriot First.

I believe that a man must be a good  
patriot before he can be, and as the  
only possible way of being, a good citi-  
zen of the world. Experience teaches  
us that the average man who protests  
that his international feeling swamps  
his national feeling, that he does not  
care for his country because he cares  
so much for mankind, in actual prac-  
tice proves himself the foe of man-  
kind; that the man who says that he  
does not care to be a citizen of any  
one country because he is a citizen of  
the world is in very fact usually an  
exceedingly undesirable citizen of  
whatever corner of the world he hap-  
pens at the moment to be in.

Nearly seven centuries ago Frois-  
sart, writing of a time of dire disaster,  
said that the realm of France was  
never so stricken that there were not  
left men who would valiantly fight  
for it. You have had a great past.

I believe that you will have a great  
future. Long may you carry your-  
selves proudly as citizens of a nation  
which bears a leading part in the  
teaching and uplifting of mankind.

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ing and Repair Establishment.

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age equipment and shipping facilities will  
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