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PORTLAND, MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1909.

A MODIFIED PRIMARY PLAN.

Recently, as heretofore noted by The Oregonian, Governor Hughes, of New York, delivered a speech in which he developed at length a plan for modification of the direct primary, so as better to secure expression of party preferences, and to provide against disintegration of party organizations, now the direct consequence of the present primary method. He suggests party nominating committees, whose work would resemble that of conventions; the names suggested would be voted on at the primary, together, of course, with such others as might be offered by those who dissent from the committee's or the convention's suggestions. It is believed that a party would be more likely to accept a ticket behind which there would be at least a semblance of party authority, than nominations made in the manner common thus far in the direct primary;—which experience proves carries little authority or none at all, and results often in election to leading offices of men of the opposite party, as in Oregon.

We print today a sketch of Governor Hughes' plan. It is worth study. The Governor believes in party organization and he desires to see it strong, efficient and representative. The first care should be a system of enrollment; for, since nominations are to be made by party members, there should be suitable provision for ascertainment of such members. When he says that grievous mistakes have been made by failure to provide proper safeguards in this matter, he undoubtedly has the example of Oregon in the front line of his vision. He has not recommended the direct nomination at the primary for candidates for the United States Senate; for, under the Federal Constitution, the Senators must be elected by the State Legislatures, and he "has not inclined to the opinion that legislators can be bound under the present constitutional provision with regard to their choice for United States Senators." But he would favor a constitutional amendment for the purpose of having them elected directly by the people. Yet though the party committees should offer candidates, the principle of the choice of the party nominees by direct vote is not sacrificed, for the direct vote would still be necessary before the nominations were made.

Recapitulation of the plan is scarcely practicable here, for the statement is a close one throughout. There is, we conceive, no difficulty now under the law of our state in the way of making nominations by the committee or convention plan; but of course the direct vote in the primary would be necessary to legalize the nominations. Today The Oregonian prints at some length, though with abridgment, the suggestions of Governor Hughes, as a possible contribution to better solution of the grave difficulties presented in the working of the direct primary.

SQUEEZING THE SHORTS.

Whatever opinion may be held regarding the ethics of the game of wheat gambling, the sympathy of the public will hardly rest with the present losers in the colossal corner that is being manipulated in Chicago. The "short seller" invariably gets his profits from the producer, and, while the consumer is, of course, always interested, his interest is so small in comparison with that of the producer that he is inclined to waive his rights to a certain extent, in order that the profits of the producer may be enhanced and that indirect general benefits may thereby result. When Joseph Leiter went into the financial eclipse beneath the ruins of the greatest wheat corner ever attempted, he carried with him the lasting gratitude of the army of wheat producers, who had been enabled to market their crops at the fanciful figure to which he had forced the price of the cereal. Leiter was a gambler pure and simple, but his gambling operation permeated the legitimate wheat trade to such an extent that the fortunate holders of actual wheat realized prices which would have been impossible under normal conditions.

The producers were thus participating in greatly increased profits, due solely to a gambling operation in which they took no part whatever. Mr. Reggie Vanderbilt and his Wall-street associates who have taken the short end of Mr. Patten's big wheat "bet" are neither wheat dealers nor consumers. Their interest in wheat is exactly the same as that which they have in the "high card" or in "calling the turn" down at Mr. Canfield's speculative emporium in New York. In the latter form of speculation Mr. Canfield alone gets the money, while in the present wheat deal every farmer in the United States who has a bushel of wheat to market participates. For that reason the farmers are all praying for success for Mr. Patten and confusion for his opponents. Up to the present time the elements of Nature have all favored the new wheat king. They have cut down the Argentine crop, sent a drought to India and made bad weather throughout the European wheat-producing countries. For all that the "squeezing" process may be carried too far, especially in the July option. The present prices for both May and July wheat form a powerful magnet that is drawing into the market every available bushel of wheat that will grade. There will be a large surplus to be taken care of after the May deal closes, and it may not be possible to market all of this wheat before the July option begins to suffer from new-crop offerings. The fanciful figures now in vogue will have a disturbing effect on markets at the opening of the new season. It is hardly possible that the present range of prices can be maintained and farmers will be reluctant to accept lower figures, and in consequence the market will drag for several weeks after the season opens.

Fortunately for the Pacific Northwest, all attempts that have been made to place its local markets on a gambling basis by "future" selling have proved total failures, and the only "bidding" and "asking" that is done here is performed with a piece of chalk and a blackboard by the gamblers themselves. It is highly probable that the country in the long run would be better off if this speculating in futures in Chicago received the same treatment as when attempts have been made to open a "game" in Portland.

OUR STATE RAILROAD.

The state railroad at Celilo portage presents two phases. First, it is an introductory example, in its financial results, of a state-owned railroad system. Second, it supplies the capital for the Teal Company to engage in transportation, for private profit, at the expense of the state.

The state now has about $300,000 in the scheme. This is the main capital of the Teal Company. It is a scheme directly against the spirit, if not against the letter, of the constitution.

The loss to the state is continuous. First, the interest on the money the state has supplied. Second, the steady and heavy loss on operation. But the Teal Company boasts that it is making money, and offers its stock as an investment on that assumption or claim. Since the state supplies most of the capital and loses steadily on the railroad, possibly there may be some money for those who are "working" the operation. But it's all right as an example of a state-owned railroad.

Everybody, of course, sees through the assertion of these operators that their object is solely the good of the people along the upper river. Their real object is to make money for themselves, by requiring the state to furnish the capital and meet the losses. It is awfully disinterested and altruistic. Most of such business as it does comes from the State of Washington, for which such little reduction of rates as is effected is paid by taxation of the people of Oregon.

However, as a specimen and example of the operation of a state railroad it leaves nothing to be desired. The whole thing is there in miniature, for illustration of what would be the great result of committing the state to the railroad business on a great scale.

HIGH SCHOOLS FOR NORMAL WORK.

A news dispatch from Pendleton quotes a school official at Weston as saying that since Weston normal is to be abandoned it will be necessary for the local school district to provide ninth and tenth grades in the public schools. This sounds very much like a confirmation of the oft-repeated declaration that the normals serve as local high schools. It seems to have been true of Weston, at any rate. Ashland, however, has maintained a good high school for a number of years.

The announcement that Weston will now maintain a high school prompts a suggestion that the several counties of the state are very likely to find it necessary hereafter to look to the high schools for a large number of their teachers. The fact of the matter is that in the past a large proportion of the teachers employed in the public schools have had little training except what they secured in the eight grades of the common schools. Out of 3000 teachers employed in public schools of the state, it is authoritatively asserted, only 300 have had normal training. Now that the normals are to be closed, it would be well for each city with a good high school to provide some pedagogical work for those students who contemplate teaching. The first eight grades of the public schools offer abundant opportunity for practice teaching by the high school students, who expect to make public school work an occupation in after years. Whether one or more state normals should be established hereafter or not, it would be well for the high schools to do what they can to prepare young people for work as teachers. It is acknowledged that after four normals had been turning out teachers for years, only 300 normal graduates were employed in the public schools. It is evident, therefore, that even if new normals, or some of the old ones, should be maintained, the necessary supply of teachers could not be secured from this source alone.

Compensation of public school teachers has been materially raised in the last few years and young people just completing the high school course will find teaching an attractive employment if they have received some special training for the work. To a very large extent, the normals served as high schools. Now let us see what the high schools can do toward serving as normals. Let the county that finds itself short of competent teachers provide teachers' training courses in local high schools.

NEW LAWS FOR FIRE SAFETY.

There are two acts of the last Legislature which, in particular, should meet prompt and willing compliance on the part of those directly affected. One requires fire escapes on hotels and lodging-houses and the other the opening of doors of all buildings used for public gatherings outward. There are hundreds of hotels and lodging-houses and hundreds of public halls where no fires have ever occurred. In many of them no fire will ever occur, and yet no one knows at what moment a catastrophe in one of them may come. Prudence requires that due precautions be taken in order that lives may be protected. The new law ordains that the doors of buildings where public gatherings are held shall be hung to comply with the act within six months after it goes into effect, or by November 23, of this year. No one, however, should delay making the change merely because the law permits delay. Immediate compliance will cost no more than delayed compliance.

When the bill relating to the doors of public buildings was under consideration, one member of the Legislature argued that fire escapes are unnecessary on school houses, for the reason that school children are trained to march quickly out of a school building. It should be remembered, however, that there is a vast difference between marching children out of a schoolhouse in a fire drill and in a fire panic, when the teacher loses her self-control or faints because smoke comes pouring up the stairways and janitors rush excitedly around, spreading alarm.

To change the doors of all buildings used for public gatherings, such as schoolhouses, churches, lodgerooms, public halls, etc., will mean considerable expense in the aggregate, though not very much in single instances. But the end to be accomplished is well worth the cost.

STEADY GAIN IN SHIPPING.

Oregon and Washington wheat and flour shipments for the first eight months of the current cereal year have reached a total of 21,466,490 bushels, compared with 33,674,640 bushels for the corresponding period in the record-breaking season 1907-08. These shipments would seem to confirm early estimates of a shortage which placed last year's wheat crop at one-third less than that of the preceding year. The most interesting figures are the heavy gains Portland has made over the Puget Sound ports. For the eight months ending February 28 last season the Puget Sound ports shipped 1,500,000 bushels more wheat than Portland. This year, for the same period, the Portland shipments exceed those of all Puget Sound ports combined by more than 2,900,000 bushels.

Compared with last season, the eight months show a loss for Puget Sound of 54 per cent, while the loss from Portland is but 21 per cent. In flour shipments, Puget Sound decreased 34 per cent, and the decrease from Portland was but 24 per cent. This remarkable showing was made in a light crop season with the new territory which the North Bank road will drain to Portland not yet available. For the coming season Portland will have the advantage of the North Bank facilities in reaching territory from which it has previously been barred, and the export wheat trade of Puget Sound will be confined to a very limited region along the line of the Great Northern and its Big Bend extensions. Even this field will later be reached from Portland.

Lumber which from a tonnage standpoint is a more important factor than wheat in the shipping business of Portland and Puget Sound, is showing even more surprising gains for Portland than are disclosed by the wheat figures. The Astoria Chamber of Commerce has just issued some figures compiled from data supplied by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in which Portland's lumber exports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, show a gain of 201 per cent, compared with the preceding season, while those of all Puget Sound ports combined show a gain of but 12 per cent.

Complete statistics for the past eight months are not yet available, but the gain for the current fiscal year will be much greater than that for the fiscal year ending last June. So long as the Columbia River can make such a splendid showing in its export business in the two greatest staples produced in the Pacific Northwest, it will always be a mystery why its importance should be misrepresented and belittled by some of the ill birds that flutter round its mouth.

CLEAN-UP DAIRY INSPECTION.

When the dairy inspection bill was pending in the Legislature, one of the country members criticised the bill because it proposed to give a man of two years' experience in dairying power to condemn the methods pursued by men of forty years' experience. This was a very catchy objection to the bill, but it was as shallow an objection as could be made. The first purpose of inspection is to secure cleanliness. No great experience is needed to enable a man to determine whether a dairyman is keeping his cows, his barn and his milk utensils clean. At the same time, the requirement that the inspectors shall be men of practical experience in dairying is important. There are limits to the degree of cleanliness a dairyman can attain and the practical dairyman will know what this limit is. The mere theorist might endeavor to exact an unreasonable and impracticable method of management, but the man who has had charge of a herd of cows and who has himself cared for barns and handled milk, will appreciate the difficulties under which the dairyman works and, presumably, will be reasonable in his demands.

Dairy inspection has a double purpose—directly the protection of the consumer and, indirectly, the promotion of the dairy industry. No milk consumer has the time to make an inspection for himself in order to determine whether proper precautions have been taken to keep the milk clean. The great community of consumers must depend upon some one to do this work for them, and the inspector, employed and paid by the whole community, must do this work. But while he is primarily protecting the consumer, he is advancing the interests of the dairymen themselves by improving the quality and, therefore, the reputation of their product. It will be a grand day for the dairy industry in Oregon when it can be said that Oregon dairies and Oregon dairy products are the cleanest and best in the country.

Of course that state-built, state-managed and state-owned railroad would pay. All railroads pay, especially when they are promoted by "kernels." There was the celebrated Corvallis & Eastern, which ran through a better-timbered, better-watered and richer agricultural country than that traversed by the proposed road over Colonel Wood's land grant. It also was promoted by a Colonel, the famous T. Edgerton Hogg, or Hoag, according to the company he was in. It cost in the neighborhood of $15,000,000, and Mr. A. B. Hammond bought it in at Sheriff's sale for $100,000 and then offered it as a prize package to be given away with his Astoria road. Mr. Hill bought the Astoria road, but declined the prize and it passed into the hands of the Harriman interests at a nominal figure. It will never pay interest on one-third of the money that Colonel Hoag sunk in the venture, but in comparison with a state-owned and state-operated road it would loom up as a very satisfactory investment.

One of the Congressmen, in a tirade against Roosevelt, says that it is unfortunate for the country that the President has not a legal mind. That depends upon what the Congressman means by a legal mind. If he means the mind and methods of reasoning of the lawyer, perhaps it is not so unfortunate after all. The legal mind bows in perfect submission to precedent. Because a law has existed from the earliest days of legal history is sufficient reason, in the legal mind, why it should continue. To the legal mind the question whether a man is guilty is of far less importance than observance of all the technical steps in finding him guilty. Perhaps President Roosevelt should thank the Congressman for the high compliment unintentionally paid.

Now it is announced that Clatsop County will refuse to pay its state taxes under the new tax-apportionment, made under the emergency act passed by the recent Legislature. The state tax problem will never be satisfactorily solved until all state revenues shall be derived from indirect taxes and entirely separated from county taxes. So long as the state revenue must be apportioned among the counties, there will be an effort on the part of many of the counties to escape what they deem an unjust portion of the burden. If all the revenue from specified sources could be turned into the state treasury and this in sufficient amount to meet all the state expenses the tax difficulty would be largely overcome.

Berlin cablegrams announce that marked indifference characterizes the German reception of President Roosevelt's proposal of an international conference for conservation of natural resources. In view of the care which Germany has for centuries bestowed on its natural resources, it is not surprising that that nation should take less interest in the matter than a country whose policy has always been in direct opposition to conservation of resources. Coals from other countries will always find a poor market in Newcastle.

Cabbage is selling in places at five cents a pound. Cabbage is always a standard crop, like potatoes, and always brings a good price, unlike potatoes; yet all should not rush into the business. There should be just enough grown to shut out the California product and the farmer who early gets wise to his neighbors' crops will profit.

Again James J. Hill has sounded his warning that the United States will not continue to grow wheat to feed its people; for the population increases fast and there is a certain limit to wheat production. Mr. Hill is sure that "in fifty years we shall require 400,000,000 bushels more wheat annually than we can grow." Malthus once more.

There must be a surplus of unambitious, able-bodied young men in this country. The Army is up to the quota and orders have been issued to cease recruiting for the cavalry and infantry arms of the service. The Army post is not an asylum for a lazy man, and many recent recruits will wish they were on farms before their terms expire.

The names of the young men who committed the awful outrage at the State University, by which a fellow student has been rendered insane, are said to be known; and probably the names will be given to the public. The District Attorney ought to proceed against them and every one of them should be sent to the penitentiary.

A vagrancy law, or any other kind of law that will provide for the punishment of the idle and dissolute, especially the frequenters of houses of ill repute, should be of some service in ridding the state of a worthless and undesirable class. There is no suitable place on earth for the wilful idler.

The Sultan of Morocco has appointed Raisuli, ex-bandit chief, Governor of the Province of Djebala. This ought to enable Rais to appoint all of his fellow-bandits to good, fat jobs as judges, commissioners, and so on. While not a "statement" man, Raisuli always looked out for No. 1, and used the veto power to good advantage.

The Kaiser denies that he is a teetotaler. He would soon have the German hopgrowers after him if he did not deny the story. In Germany, as in Oregon, the people have the problem of "promoting the hop industry." The hop industry does not thrive on the patronage of teetotalers.

If Mr. Taft keeps up the pace he has set at the beginning, there will be a large number of Democratic possibilities who will be more than willing to concede the nomination to Mr. Bryan once more. There are few men who like to lead a campaign that has certain defeat as its end.

A German professor declares that he has invented an electrical contrivance which will show when a man is lying. But a reverse reading of the instrument will probably be necessary in the case of a man who is a chronic liar.

The Oregon Legislature refused to appropriate money for the normal schools, even to pay funeral expenses, for fear they wouldn't die. The fear was well founded. They are hard "critters" to kill.

It is announced that the labor unions will submit an employers' liability bill to a vote of the people in 1910, under the initiative. It is safe to predict that the campaign will be an active one on both sides.

There will be no rise in rates at Seattle this year; only milkmen are talking of charging Winter prices and bakers are considering raising the price of the loaf. Those will do for a start.

The next policeman who calls respectable couples out of bed in the middle of the night should have a muscle as big as a Mayor's or he may get what is coming to him.

Many a lawmaker whose pet bill was vetoed in the Oregon Legislature would like to take the size of the new Governor at a special session.

Now they talk of destroying battleships by wireless. After a while we will annihilate the enemy by the absent treatment.

Chamberlain should have no difficulty in organizing the caucus of non-partisans in the United States Senate.

All signs point to wonderful harmony in the new Senatorial delegation. "Pass the other bottle."

LONGFELLOW BOOK BRINGS $2200.

One of Two Known Copies—Collection of Poet's Letters Goes for $5100.

New York World.

A copy of a privately printed book by Longfellow was sold by the Anderson Auction Company for $2200, and a series of letters by Longfellow, in his autograph, brought $5100.

The sale was a continuation of the dispersal of the library of the late J. Chester Chamberlain. In the collection of Longfellow autographs there were 508 letters and 27 postal cards, of which nearly 400 have never been published. They were addressed to Longfellow's friend, George W. Greene. The bidding was started at $600 and at once became animated, rising by large advances until but two bidders were left in the field, Dodd, Mead & Co. and Mr. Goodspeed, a Boston dealer in rare books and manuscripts. The latter carried off the prize at the top figure of $5100.

The Longfellow book was bought for $2200 by an unnamed buyer, who bid through the auctioneer's assistant. It was one of two known copies of "The New England Tragedies" in prose, a 12mo, in sheets, Boston, 1869, and inclosed in a full crimson crushed levant case. It was never published and was afterward reprinted and cast into verse before publication. An unpublished letter by Longfellow went with the book.

Longfellow's "Outre-Mer" in the two numbers as originally published, with a Longfellow letter, brought $735. It was bought by Richmond, the dealer in rare books. A presentation copy of "Outre-Mer," two volumes in one, half calf, 1833-34, went to Dodd, Mead & Co. for $250.

Longfellow's "Noel," privately printed and presented to Agassiz by Longfellow, was bought by Mr. Wallace, a broker, for $510.

A presentation copy of "The New England Tragedies," privately printed, 1868, sold at $500.

Mr. Wallace bought a copy of "Kerasmos," 8mo., sewed, pp. 12, for $400.

"From My Arm Chair," a leaflet of four pages, sold for $150.

"Excelsior," a pamphlet put out as an advertisement of an insurance company, brought $160. It was bought by Dodd, Mead & Co.

Dood, Mead & Co., paid $375 for Lowell's "A Year's Life," Boston, 1841, original boards, Lowell's presentation copy to Alfred Tennyson.

Mr. Wallace gave $330 for Lowell's "Poems," Cambridge, 1844, large paper; $205 for the "Poems of Maria Lowell," privately printed in 1855 and autographed by J. R. Lowell, and $255 for Longfellow's copy of "Mason and Slidell," Lowell's poem of 1862 extracted from the Atlantic Monthly.

Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," Cambridge, 1865, privately printed, was sold to Mr. Wallace for $875.

A Near-Monmouth View.

Dallas (Polk County) Observer.

The normal schools have not been abolished—they have been reduced to a condition equivalent to that of disembodied spirits, and the state board has them still to control, but nothing substantial with which to control them.

The normal school question is farther from settlement than ever before and in addition has been snarled and tangled up like an eel in a bushline. The late Legislature, like others before it, when it saw the responsibility of the final and definite solution of the problem descending upon it, kicked up as much dust as possible and slipped from under in the confusion, leaving the last mentioned responsibility to perch on the shoulders of the legislative body that shall succeed it.

Two of the normal schools, Ashland and Monmouth, are stubbornly refusing to play the disembodied role that has been thrust upon them and are preparing to take a new lease of life until the next Legislature comes to their aid. Of what avail their loyal and worthy efforts shall be may not be decided until that time. In the meantime the great problem is unsolved and will likely remain so until some power raises up a Legislature big and broad enough to assume it, with its responsibility, purge out the chaff of political device and pretext that has crept into it, and, as a Legislature working for the best educational interest of all Oregon, settle it on a sound, efficient basis once for all. To temporize, to shirk, to shift responsibility, is perhaps more conducive to the personal political comfort of the individual member of the Legislative assembly, but such methods will never bring the matter to anything like a settlement, though Legislatures convene until the last trumpet blows.

A Look Ahead in Politics.

Junction City Times.

The Legislature has adjourned and Statement No. 1 still lives. Good! We are glad of it. As is known, we are opposed to the whole code of populistic eccentricities but the people haven't got enough of it yet and that is why we are pleased that the Legislature failed to "butt in" before the time was propitious. Another election at least will be necessary to convince these advocates of populism and the howlers for the "people's choice" that the results are far from satisfactory and with but a very few exceptions, are the choice of the few or the man with the longest sack. You can't fool all the people all the time. They will rise up some of these days and there will be a scatterment of U'Renism, minority rule and the demagogue in sheep's clothing.

Through Monmouth Eyes.

Independence Enterprise.

Failure of the Legislature to vote appropriations for the normal schools is the hardest blow to the educational institutions of Oregon that has ever been dealt. It affects not only the normal schools, but every school of the state, from the smallest to the largest. It is nothing short of a calamity and is an act of which few states of the union would be guilty.

Good Riddance to Normal Rubbish.

La Grande Observer.

The Legislature did one thing that several of its predecessors wanted to do but did not have the nerve to do, and this was, to abolish the graft to keep up the several normal schools. One good normal school will accomplish much more, and it is to be hoped a diploma from such an institution would stand for something.

And Scio Fair Lost Out.

Santiam News.

It is a fact that there were a few members of the late Legislature who really tried to serve the people's interests. But the most of them were grafters from start to finish and the state would be better off if they had never been born.

Patriotism.

Portland Advocate.

There is not a colored brother in Oregon that has made enough money out of politics to buy a loose wrestling jacket. And yet some have the nerve to boast of being successful politicians.

She Keeps Him Guessing.

Chicago News.

She has her moods, I must confess,
They keep me guessing all the while,
And with a cruel fickleness
She deals alternate frown and smile.
The sweetest thing she's apt to say,
Her looks, I think, are more than kind.
That's just the way she feels today—
Tomorrow she may change her mind.

Now she is distant, hard and cold.
To speak, indeed, I hardly dare
For fear I may be overbold;
She has a very freezing stare.
It doesn't do to get too gay;
Humility is best, I find.
That's just the way she feels today—
Tomorrow she may change her mind.

When she is pretty mean to me
Her disposition gives me hope,
And when she's gracious as can be
Then with the darkest doubts I cope.
Her will I'm willing to obey.
But what it is I've not divined.
That's just the way she feels today—
Tomorrow she may change her mind.

DIRECT PRIMARY PLAN OF GOVERNOR HUGHES

Party Committees Would Present Candidates for Nomination by Direct Vote, Without Barring Independent Aspirants.

At Brooklyn, February 21, Governor Hughes, of New York, made an extended speech on the proposition pending in that state for enactment of a direct primary law. He outlined the main features of such a bill as he would approve—strongly insisting on the direct vote in the primary, but suggesting features for maintenance of legitimate party authority and organization. He continued thus:

We may now proceed to the consideration of the main features of a method of direct nominations suitable for adoption in this state under present conditions.

First—Enrollment. As the nominations are to be made by party members there should be suitable provision for the ascertainment of such members. Grievous mistakes have been made in other states by failure to provide proper safeguards in this matter. Fortunately, in this state we have the best enrollment system in the country, and it is already mandatory in our large cities. At the time of registration those who desire to enroll may do so, in order to establish their right to act as party members during the succeeding year. The enrollment is made a suitable time in advance of the primaries and is based upon a reasonable statement of party affiliation. Our plan of enrollment is a revelation to many who have worked under defective laws elsewhere, and reduces to a minimum the oportunities for introducing into the primary the voters of any other party—a frequent source of fraud and an invitation to the corrupt use of money.

Second—Primary Regulation and Cost. The primary election should be held under regulations similar to those which govern general elections, and the cost of ballots, polling places, supplies, inspection and the like should be borne by the public.

Third—Expenses of Candidates. The purposes should be defined for which money may be expended in connection with primary elections, and the amounts which may be expended by candidates should be limited. If the expenses of candidates can be limited and defined in connection with general elections—and laws have already been enacted for this purpose—they can similarly be limited and defined in connection with primary elections.

An important deterrent with regard to the improper use of money may be supplied by providing for the publication of primary campaign contributions and expenses by and on behalf of candidates immediately after the primary election and before the general election. Stringent laws should be passed upon this subject, the absence of which has caused grave scandals in some other states.

Fourth—Party Organization. Parties exist in fact, and will continue to exist. Party organization is necessary and will continue.

I believe in party organization, and I desire to see it strong, efficient and representative. I favor direct nominations, not as a blow to parties, but as a means for bringing the management of parties into closer accord with the spirit of our institutions.

Legislation will not alter human nature. We shall still have schemers and cliques. We shall still require political leaders—those who by sagacity and knowledge of men command and deserve a following and blaze the trail of political action. But every thoughtful citizen must desire that political leadership should be justified by honorable effort. Political power without suitable checks invites a selfish domination which is a miserable counterfeit of true political leadership. The necessary checks must be provided by keeping the managers of party affairs closely accountable to the party voters and dependent upon their will freely expressed for their continuance in power. To accomplish this object the party organization should be so arranged that it shall spring directly from the voters.

The proper constitution of party committees is of especially great importance if they are to perform the functions to which I shall refer later in connection with the nomination of candidates. In that view it is particularly necessary that their representative character should be assured.

I suggest that the members of the party state committee should be elected in their respective districts directly by the voters of those districts. For example, if the members of the state committee be chosen from Congressional districts the party voters in a given Congressional district would vote directly for the member from that district.

With respect to other committees it is important that there should not be undue number of party representatives to be chosen, for the attention of voters should be properly focused upon those to be voted for in their districts. This may readily be accomplished by having the voters choose directly those who are to represent them in a given committee and by having the other committees built up from one so directly chosen.

Thus the county committee may be made up of members coming from small unit districts and elected directly by the voters of such districts. Those members of the county committee who reside within a given unit district may constitute the committee of that district. Those members of the county committee who reside within a given Assembly district may constitute the Assembly district committee. Where a city is within the county the members of the county committee who reside within the city may be constituted the city committee. The number of members in the county committee and the number of those to be chosen as members thereof from the respective unit districts may be determined upon such basis as will recognize the different situations in the respective counties, so that the county committee should neither be too large nor too small for a proper representation.

Suitable provision should be made for nominations for these party positions by petition. And the primary ballot should be so arranged that no advantage would be given to any candidate, or group of candidates, for memberships in party committees.

On primary day the voters with respect to candidates for membership in party committees should stand upon the same footing. There should be no "regulars" or "irregulars." Those enjoying committee places should not be regarded as "the organization" and others as beyond its pale. It should be freely recognized that it is an open day for the selection by the party voters of those whom they desire to represent them on party committees, when they may express their choices without fear or favor. We should cultivate the tradition that party members have equal rights with respect to the party organization, and that the real enemy to his party is not the man that asserts his independence in making his choice, but the man who tries to blacklist or boycott such a one politically in order to remain in power.

Fifth—Nominations of Candidates for Elective Offices. The cardinal principle is that these nominations should be made by the direct vote of the enrolled party members. This is the essential feature. The proposed method involves the right to present candidates by petition, and the number of petitioners should not be so large as to make such presentation unduly difficult.

The state committee would present the names of those whom they propose as candidates for state offices; the county committee those proposed as candidates for county offices, etc. Provision should be made strictly regulating the meetings of the committee at which action will be taken with regard to the names to be presented. The committees would not have the right of final choice of candidates. The names they certify will be placed upon the ballot; other names may be presented by petition, and the party voters will choose the men they want as candidates.

As to this plan it may be noted:

1. It provides opportunity for responsible and open consultation by elected representatives of party voters.

2. It permits proper consideration by these representatives, coming from all parts of a given district, of questions relating to geographical distribution of candidacies.

3. Those influential in party affairs will in any event have their candidates and their wishes will be known to their followers. Under the proposed plan party committees would be required to express their preference openly and the origin of candidacies could be properly traced.

4. Where the representatives of a party are actuated by honorable motives and are true to its interests they would be enabled to present candidates in a responsible manner, stating to the public the reasons for their choice.

5. Where, however, party representatives are either corrupt or obtuse, and the candidacies are the result of deals or represent favored interests, they would be more readily marked and more easily opposed.

6. It would tend largely to reduce the number of candidates. Probably many would be nominated without contest, for the fact that other nominations could be made by petition and that the final decision lay with the party voters would tend to insure the presentation by the committees of acceptable names and make opposition unnecessary and fruitless.

7. On the other hand, if an unworthy man were presented, the tendency would be to concentrate the opposition by uniting upon the strongest opposing candidate.

It may also be supposed that where some names presented would be acceptable, and others not acceptable, the primary contest would practically be limited to the latter. This would have a powerful tendency to prevent unworthy nominations for minor places on the ticket.

8. It would permit responsible fusion movements and allow representatives of party committees to confer together and with other citizens, and to agree upon the presentation of names. Fusion movements must depend for their strength upon the honesty of their purpose and the support of public opinion. Not only would fusion be possible, but the necessity of ratification by the voters at the primary would be a check against a movement which did not have public sentiment behind it.

9. So also with regard to judicial nominations, opportunity would be afforded for proper consideration and the presentation of names upon which a general agreement could be had. Public sentiment would have its influence in the first instance with regard to the names presented by party committees, but if it was outraged by refusing, for example, a renomination to a judge because of his want of subservience to a political leader, or because of narrow or partisan grounds, the question would be referred to the party voters. And it must not be forgotten that the sentiment in favor of recognizing worthy judges without regard to partisanship is the sentiment primarily of the members of the parties themselves.

10. Finally, the principle of the choice of the party nominee by direct vote is not sacrificed. The direct vote is still necessary before the nomination can be made. But the principle is applied in a way which will guard against dangers now justly or unjustly feared.

If experience proves that presentation of names by party committees is unwise, the next step will be a simple one, and this privilege of the committees can be taken away. In the meantime the party voters will have become accustomed to direct vote for party candidates and to the use of the machinery for direct nominations.

There should be an official primary ballot. Candidates for membership in party committees and candidates for nomination for elective offices should appear in distinct portions of the ballot. There should be no columns corresponding to the party columns on the election ballot, but the candidates should be grouped under the title of the offices and should be separately voted for.

In the case of candidates for membership in party committees, for the reasons I have already given, no candidate or group of candidates should have any advantage by preferential position upon the ballot.

In the case of candidates for nomination for elective offices, however, there are grounds which justify the presentation of names by party committees in the first instance. In this view it would not be improper, but would appear to be natural, to have such names placed first under the respective offices. These names are the first in the field and are presented for the purpose of being supported or opposed according to the view of their merit or demerit. Other names, presented by petition, may appear either in alphabetical order or in the order in which the petitions are filed.

Whatever position any candidate may have upon the ballot, practical equality in the contest can be secured by numbering the names of the candidates consecutively from the top to the bottom of the ballot, so that each candidate will have a different number, no matter for what office he may be presented. This would include both the candidates presented by the party committees and the candidates named by petition, and it would furnish in a simple manner a corrective for disadvantages which might be supposed to inhere in any arrangement of names that has been suggested.

Under a practical plan of direct nominations larger scope will be given to the operation of wholesome influences. Our final reliance must be in the intelligence and conscience of the people. The argument that they cannot be trusted will not avail. We are seeking to reach the honest judgment of the people through the party relations in which they so largely appear for the purposes of political action. We must consider these relations as we find them and study the best means of correcting existing evils. If we can establish the practice that party managers are to be held accountable by methods which can easily be pursued; that party candidates must have the seal of approval by the party voters, and that public officers may appeal directly and effectively to their constituencies, we shall do much to improve political administration and to buttress representative government.