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PORTLAND, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1909

MERCHANT MARINE MISTAKES.

Elsewhere The Oregonian prints a communication from Mr. John A. Penton, of the Merchant Marine League, an organization maintaining headquarters at Cleveland, O. The letter is given space, not because it presents any new features that will distinguish it from former communications of the league, but because some of the old arguments appear in new garb, which might enable them to escape identification.

Mr. Penton asks if The Oregonian "means that the United States should embark upon the free trade policy now occupied by England in order that we should have the merchant marine." The contention of The Oregonian has always been that, so long as American capital can earn 6 per cent and better in railroads, and other forms of internal development, while foreign capital is willing to accept 3 per cent and less in the ocean-carrying trade, it is better to let the foreigner carry our business after it reaches tidewater. At the same time we have always insisted that, if we must have a merchant marine designed to compete with the foreigners it should not be handicapped by an original cost any greater than that of the craft with which we must meet on the ocean. In other words, if all the remainder of the world has access to the bargain counters of the European shipyards, our capitalists who desire to engage in the ocean carrying trade should be granted the same privilege. The trouble with Mr. Penton and his Cleveland associates is that they live so far from salt water they miss the practical side of the business, revealed only by close range study. The Oregonian has never questioned the sincerity of these gentlemen, but their unfamiliarity with the subject is revealed in every communication they send out.

Take, for example, the paragraph about the Homeward Bound. The vessel is still under the American flag, although under the new name of Star of Holland, and she will continue to fly the American flag until it is possible for her San Francisco owners to replace her with another foreign-built vessel at no greater cost than was incurred in smuggling this vessel in by a special act of Congress. There is another feature of interest in connection with the Homeward Bound which will probably be news to Mr. Penton. The vessel was originally the British ship (not boat) Zemidar. About a dozen years ago, when British owners were turning from sail to steam, she was sold to the Germans and became the German ship Otto Gildemeister. It should not escape attention that, when the Germans wanted the craft, no special act of Congress or any other kind of gumshoe work was necessary in order to bring her under the German flag.

In order to get American register for the Homeward Bound it was necessary partially to wreck her and then pile up an enormous repair bill before the expensive "special act" doors opened for her. The alleged "high price of American labor" cuts no figure with the Homeward Bound while she is in the foreign trade, for labor on shipboard is paid the "going wages" of the port of departure, and the flag cuts no figure. The Oregonian agrees with Mr. Penton that "Americans have been educated to a higher standard of living," etc., and we believe that they will stick to that standard, so long as they can hire "hewers of wood and drawers of water" and carriers of freight at less cost than they care to engage in such work themselves.

The Oregonian does not agree with Mr. Penton in the statement that "American boats for foreign trade must be built with greater conveniences than those used by foreign nations." Those marvelous British, German and French express steamers which cross the Atlantic at railroad speed are equipped throughout with the "last word" in conveniences of every conceivable nature. The Oregonian admits that "we are paying more than $200,000,000 (or thereabouts) to foreigners for the carrying of American goods." In return for that sum we get a service that would probably cost us at least $250,000,000 if we attempted to handle it by the subsidy method. In proof of this statement Mr. Penton is referred to the annual reports of the Cunard line and the North German Lloyd line just issued.

These two lines receive the greater part of that much vaunted "subsidy" that England and Germany are said to pay their ships. The English subvention is for fast mail steamers, fitted for naval service, and the German subsidy is only a payment for mail services in the Far Eastern trade, the government requirements making the subsidy so undesirable that it was rejected by the Hamburg-American line. But, even with their cheap ships, mail subventions and all other forms of assistance, the North German Lloyd, in rendering its portion of the $200,000,000 service to American shippers and travelers, last year was obliged to face a deficit of more than $4,201,000, which was taken from its reserve fund and renewals fund, leaving the stockholders without one penny in the shape of dividends. The Cunard lines losses were smaller, as the service was curtailed throughout the year, but there were no dividends for the stockholders, and $750,000 was withdrawn from the insurance fund and the reserve fund to wipe out the deficit.

In the face of these actual conditions and with the foreigners satisfied with a 3 per cent return on their investments, a $15,000,000 per year subsidy would not amount to much, especially if we were handicapped with more costly vessels than those used by our competitors in the creation of these annual deficits.

TARIFF NONSENSE.

The observations on the tariff of the erudite and disinterested Mr. Aldrich titillate most delectably the imagination of one who is disposed to delve in the fertile fields of economic thought. It is a constant source of wonder how a man who has been at the head and fount of revenue legislation as many years as this learned Trojan could have escaped so completely from the acquirement of any vestige of accurate information about the laws of finance and wages. One of his retorts to Mr. Bailey displays an innocence of all sophistication which a cherub might have envied. "Mr. Aldrich retorted that while Bailey was ready to keep the foreign laborer from our shores, he was not averse to allowing the product of this cheap labor to come into competition with the product of American workingmen." Evidently Mr. Aldrich has never heard of the astonishing fact that the products of the American workingmen have invaded the realms of cheap European labor and are underselling the pauper workman in his own home. If our labor can send its products to Europe and there sell them for less than the pauper has to demand, need he fear the competition of pauper products which must be shipped across the ocean and pay the freight?

Mr. Bailey is right about this matter and Mr. Aldrich is wrong. It is not the competition of pauper-made goods which the American workman has to dread. He can, with his skill and intelligence, make goods cheaper than the pauper can. What he has to dread is the competition of the pauper himself, who invades the country and beats down the rate of wages and the standard of living. Every man at all familiar with the facts knows that the tariff is not the cause of high wages. On the contrary, high wages are the cause of the tariff, or one of its causes. Wages are neither raised nor lowered by import duties, but the purchasing power of wages is most disastrously affected by them. The tariff diminishes the purchasing power of every dollar earned in this country. It pretends, among other things, to protect corn to the extent of 5 cents a bushel, but this pretense is humbug. What it really does to corn is to cut in half the amount of manufactured goods for which each bushel can be traded. Perhaps, however, Mr. Aldrich does not mean to deceive anybody when he talks nonsense about the tariff, and as a matter of fact he doesn't deceive very many people.

EDUCATION IN ECONOMICS NEEDED.

Much of the comment in the newspapers and magazines regarding the Spokane rate case displays a remarkable ignorance of the actual economic principles involved in the controversy. It is noticeable that the greatest misinformation on the subject is displayed by writers from interior points, where opportunities for studying the actual effect of water competition are less favorable than at tidewater. For example, we find the Spokane rate case discussed in the Railroad Age Gazette by J. H. Johnston, traffic manager of the Oklahoma Traffic Association. If Oklahoma were near enough to salt water to feel the effect of water competition, Mr. Johnston would have a clearer idea of the matter than is reflected in his language, which follows:

> What incentive would there be for a railway to use its best efforts to build up a great commercial metropolis upon the seacoast when it has continually to fight for its share of the business with water carriers? Often it has to take the business at rates inadequate to pay the cost of service, while at the same time maintaining a policy of ratemaking to otherwise well-located points in the interior which discourage their doing any great amount of business and prohibits them from attaining any commercial importance.

Mr. Johnston correctly assumes that water competition will be much more acute when the Panama Canal is finished than it is now, and concludes that "it would seem to an ordinary business man that the sensible thing for the railways to do would be to encourage the building up of strong interior jobbing points over which they can retain control and to which they can always maintain such rates as will be at least compensatory."

This kind of argument is all founded on the erroneous assumption that water competition is not very formidable, and that the railroads would get the business to tidewater even at higher rates than are charged to interior points that in the past have had to stand the through rate plus the local rate back from the coast. Water competition is so powerful a factor in the making of terminal rates that, unless its rates are met by the railroads, they will secure none of the business. An attempt of the railroads to build up strong interior jobbing points would mean the abandonment of their lines from these interior points to tidewater for any business except the passenger traffic, which at the best shows but very little profit. After this case is tried out in the courts the newspapers and the magazines, water competition will still be regulating the rates and the railroads will be meeting it. Nothing but a ship canal will place Spokane and other interior points in a position entitling them to terminal rates.

PUNISHMENT THAT FITS THE CRIME.

There is justice, righteousness and possible remedy in the advice recently given by Justice of the Peace Olson, of this city, to wives of drunkards. "Thrash your husband soundly every time he comes home drunk," was the stalwart and exceedingly unusual advice given by this arbiter of domestic difficulties after taking an inventory of physical power in the contending elements that sought adjudication of their differences in his court.

The man in this particular case appeared with a battered countenance, from the natural aperture of which issued in muffled tones grievous complaints against his muscular spouse for having beaten him, when he came home drunk and primed for domestic war. Subsequent investigation of the home life and surroundings of this couple went to show that the woman was not blameless, since she herself was of bibulous habits, while the four little children of the bellicose pair were found to be in a state of pitiable neglect, although the father's monthly earnings were $150. The woman, however, being the stronger, and he, in this instance at least, the drunker, the husband got the worst of a somewhat serious fistic encounter.

This does not militate, however, against the wisdom of the advice given by Justice Olson to suffering, beaten wives of drunkards. "Beat him when he comes home drunk and disorderly," said this practical advocate of the power of force in dealing with a drunken, domestic tyrant, adding, ruefully, "I only regret that all wives are not physically able to cope with drunken husbands in this manner." This expression of regret was further supplemented by the opinion that in this event prohibition would be unnecessary.

There is sound reason in this advice which stalwart wives of drunken husbands would do well to apply to the domestic problem of keeping the peace which confronts them as often as payday comes round. There is a strong personal element of cowardice behind the "Dutch courage" that causes a partly intoxicated man to "roughhouse" in his home. Pleadings with such a man under such circumstances are in vain, meek submission is worse than unavailing, since it gives the coward reason to believe that the menaced woman is afraid of him. Brute force is the only argument he can understand. The browbeaten woman is, unfortunately, too often unable to apply this element in her own and her children's defense, and the coward has his way, beating her into trembling, abject subjection, and terrorizing both her and their half-starved children into silence.

PARTY DISCORD IN PORTLAND.

Why lament party discord in Portland? Why not rather lament cheap-trash officialdom? Whether party discord has produced direct primaries or direct primaries have produced party discord, it remains that direct primaries have bred a class of officeholders that would not win the approval of a deliberative body of representative citizens—a convention, if one wishes to call it that. Mr. W. B. Ayer, who wrote a letter for yesterday's Oregonian defending the "system" that has put such men in possession of affairs of government, would not admit one out of a hundred of them into the affairs of his lumber business.

If the direct primary law forbids assembly or convention, it is wrong and dares what no despot or tyrant would have courage to try. Self-appointed custodians of the law who put that meaning into it are its fool friends. Is it possible they have not read the history of their country? Can they have overlooked the constitution of their state, which in article 26 of the bill of rights—the same is in every state constitution and in the National Constitution, too—says: "No law shall be passed restraining any of the inhabitants of the state from assembling together in a peaceful manner to consult for their common good"?

The direct primary law does not forbid peaceful assembly. It could not do that if it would. It does not make the attempt even by implication. It says simply that all party candidates for nomination shall be voted for by direct vote. They are all to have equal opportunity in that nominating election, whether "put up" by a convention, as was Simon, or by a secret conference, as was Rushlight, or by themselves and their particular friends. The rank and file of the voters have the "last say" as to who the nominees shall be. Their votes determine the matter. They can "turn down" the convention candidates if they wish. Their vote is the "whole thing," and any guardian of the direct primary law who says the result will not be an intelligent verdict impeaches his own sincerity.

"Why, then," asks Mr. Ayer, "this desire to attribute to the direct primary law the disruption of the Republican party? Is not the real reason occasioned by the dissatisfacton of many members of the party with the men who have secured office under it?" Exactly. As the one-time close associate and adviser of the most unpopular boss Portland ever had—the boss whose high-handed methods did more to disrupt the Republican party than anything else—Mr. Ayer will realize the causes full well if he will but think over past history. The primary law was reaction from the doings of that boss and of other bosses. Mr. Ayer is right to the extent that the direct primary did not first produce party disruption. Factional war and boss rule did that, and the primary law finished the ruin and is a powerful preventive of reorganization. There can be no certain party effort under that law, as numerous elections have proved. The law has abolished the old kind of bosses, sure enough, with whom the people were disgusted. It has not, however, replaced the old-time machine officials with fit ones. Desirable men rarely seek office now. They know that a party nomination has little cohesion behind it.

Mr. Ayer is an advocate of state ownership and operation of railroads. It would be interesting to know how the state would obtain efficient officials to operate the railroads when it finds them so seldom for its government. It might be added that if direct primaries could be used by the people to choose the managers of Portland's sawmills, not one of the present managers would be at the head of his establishment.

CURE OF A CANCER.

The reported cure of a malignant tumor with radium at the Flower Hospital, in New York, will probably excite hopes which the future will not confirm. The "malignant tumor" in question was a sarcoma inclosed in the abdominal cavity—in other words, a deep-seated cancer. The radium was mixed with gelatine and injected here and there in various parts of the tumor. In a few weeks the sarcoma cells had all disappeared and nothing was left but a mass of scar tissue. This account chimes with others which have been given out from time to time of wonderful things accomplished with radium for the cure of cancer, but in the long run all such reports seem to be disappointing. The wonders have either been greatly magnified or they have not happened at all. The sad truth of the case is that physicians do not as yet know either the cause or the cure of cancer. It is almost the only disease which has thus far resisted modern methods of research and which still flourishes in horrid security from the attacks of science. Against cancer the only sure resource is the surgeon's knife, and that is by no means always sure.

Still, if a cancer is taken in time, it can be removed completely and the patient need not fear its return. The difficulty is to take it in time. Who knows the insidious beginning of a cancer? How detect it in the initial stage, before the deadly cells have dispersed through the body and infected all the tissues? It is not impossible. A cancer usually begins with a hard, intractable lump somewhere on the body. It is as innocent as a lamb and painless, at first. In this state of pristine innocuousness, if the surgeon has a chance at it, the cancer can be extirpated. Afterward it is generally too late. The lesson of this is pretty obvious. If a person discovers an abnormal lump on his body, no matter where, the best thing he can do is to hie him forthwith to a competent surgeon and find out what it means. It may mean nothing. It may mean an incipient cancer. The news that a cancer in the advanced stage has actually been cured with radium, is, of course, encouraging, but the probability is that the case is highly exceptional. Ultimately science will find a cure for this dread disease, but thus far its only dependable resource is the knife.

A man who could not withstand the temptations of the gaming table though the necessities of his wife and seven children hung in the balance, has voluntarily become an inmate of the Seattle city jail. The support of the large family, the youngest an infant a few weeks old, by this man's acknowledged weakness will now devolve upon a girl of 15 and a boy of 13, the two older children of the group. The subtle, overmastering power of the gambling passion has seldom received a more vivid illustration than in this case. Think of a man—the father of seven children, voluntarily relinquishing the burden of their support and allowing it to fall upon the slender shoulders of his young daughter and son, both of whom should be in school! His unmanly action and the plea of weakness that accompanied it are pitiful exhibitions of the degrading influence of the gambling vice.

There are only a few really great people like Lydia Pinkham, Jim Jeffries or the bald-headed gum manufacturer who can be easily recognized by their pictures in the public prints. These few have apparently posed only infrequently, for their photos all look alike. With Mr. Crazy Snake, one of the recent bidders for public notoriety, it is different. His first series of "likenesses" appeared in the daily papers, and in them he covered a wide range of characters, running from an innocent, Hiawatha-appearing youngster to a devilish-appearing old fiend. Now comes the magazine illustrations, and they also show that Crazy Snake must have posed early and often, with a different make-up every time he sat for his photo. Variety, however, is the natural accompaniment of notoriety.

The late Governor Lilley, of Connecticut, was one of the few men who dared to beard the bureaucracy lion in his den at Washington. While a member of Congress he most effectually stirred up the submarine boat scandal, and, while he ran up against forces which were too strong for him, he made such a shake-up among the dry bones and the grafters that the agitation has not yet entirely ceased. Governor Lilley was an honest man and a practical man, and his investigation of the shameless manner in which the Government was being buncoed by the submarine manufacturers entitled him to the thanks of all honest people. For this service alone, if for no other, he will not soon be forgotten in Washington naval circles.

A woman's club of a Chicago suburb would banish the comic supplement. They say children are imitative and imbibe the spirit of the fun. These nice old ladies might revive the Little Rollo diet of two generations ago, which has as much comparative vigor as the modern breakfast food sustains toward ham and cabbage. The comic supplements are crude as works of art, to be sure, yet at times their humor is keen enough to "get a rise" out of the most sedate, while the younger generation watches for their coming, and even the baby of the family cries for them. The touch of obscenity that smirched them a while back has been eliminated. If they have not come to stay, they are due for a long and generally welcome visit.

The Inland Empire, which is in a fair way to produce a bumper crop of wheat, has received numerous showers in the past few days, and, as some complaint of dry weather had been made, the value of this moisture may have run into the millions. The grain crop of the Pacific Northwest, on account of favorable climatic conditions last Fall, started into the Spring season in better shape than usual, and could have got along without rain for a few weeks longer without serious damage. At the same time, the rains were welcome, and if they come along at proper intervals between now and harvest time, Oregon, Washington and Idaho will make a new record for big crops.

After many years of waiting, Tillamook "is coming out of darkness, is coming into light," and the railroad will be something more than a vision of the future. The Harriman interests have proceeded so far in construction of the road that bids have been called for completion of the remaining section on which work has not been done. As this last piece of road is less than thirty miles in length, it is clear that railroad connection with the rich Tillamook country will not be delayed beyond the present season.

Wheat advanced more than 2 cents per bushel in Chicago yesterday and Patten is still fishing, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," and apparently indifferent alike to the wails of the bears or the roars of the bulls.

It is interesting to hear from Senator Bourne that he procured the offer of the Ambassadorship to Mexico for a citizen of Oregon, who declined it. But of course Senator Bourne will see that some other Oregon citizen gets the job.

Some of Mayor Lane's admirers urge his re-election on the ground that we all know what he is. That's a frank way of putting it.

Mr. Heney would monopolize the use of epithets in his trials. Mr. Heney is not a pachydermatous biped.

If streetcars are in danger from speed maniacs, what show for his life has the pedestrian?

After this, Alphonse and Gaston must take a back seat for Evans and Ijichi.

Suppose that Thirteenth-street car had been filled with passengers.

ARGUMENT FOR SHIP SUBSIDY

All of Which Is Suitably Considered Elsewhere in This Paper.

CLEVELAND, O., April 23.—(To the Editor.)—I have been much interested reading The Oregonian's editorial article under date of April 10, bearing the caption "Ship Subsidy Poetry." One point, however, is not clear to me. You say, "We want the American ship so free she can go anywhere on earth, on equal terms with her competitors." You also say that the American ship has been so overloaded with protection that "her scuppers are awash," intimating that the cure for the present deplorable merchant marine is dependent on a change in our present tariff policy. Did you mean that the United States should embark upon the free trade policy, now occupied by England, in order that we should have the merchant marine? If the protective tariff keeps us from having a merchant marine, I respectfully should like to ask you in what way this is true? In spite of free trade and low cost of ship construction, England still spends some ten millions annually in the way of ship subsidy to maintain her merchant marine. There must be an error somewhere in your reasoning, for both Germany and France are highly protected tariff countries—yet they also maintain the subsidy system in the building up of their ocean commerce.

You intimate that free ships would be the cure, but is that true? A year ago, by special act of Congress, the "Homeward Bound," an English-built boat, was admitted to American registry to engage in foreign trade. The owners of this boat intended to fly the American flag permanently, but a short trial convinced them that with the high price of American labor the experiment would not be successful, with the result that the American flag was abandoned and the boat was registered in Belgium.

It seems to us that your plan for the building up of an American merchant marine would mean such a readjustment of American economic conditions that labor in the United States would be compelled to accept the same wage standard as that of England. To our mind, it is very doubtful if the American people desire such an economic change. Americans have been educated to a higher standard of living than that permitted to the English, German, French, Norwegian or Japanese sailor, and American boys could never be persuaded to adopt the sea as a vocation were they compelled to submit to the sea-going conditions enforced by foreign ship-owners. American boats for foreign trade must be built with greater conveniences than those used by foreign nations; the food for sailors must be of a higher standard and the wages paid are fully 30 to 60 per cent higher, varying with the different nations.

It seems to us that it hardly comes with good grace from newspaper publishers continually to denounce proposed subvention legislation as an attack upon the United States Treasury, when the newspapers themselves are granted the highest subsidy authorized by the American people, since newspapers are sustained in the mails at a postal loss of millions of dollars annually. Yet this loss is cheerfully borne by the American people, for it is a wise subsidy.

The American foreign merchant marine is about the only industry that has never enjoyed the benefits of the protection policy that has given to the nations the highest standard of individual living enjoyed by citizens of any nation. Under the system of protection, the American coastwise and lake marine is in the most flourishing condition. On the other hand, we ask the American foreign-going vessel to go out upon the high seas and meet the competition of the nations employing the cheapest labor.

We are paying more than two hundred millions to foreigners for the carrying of American goods. With an expenditure of ten to fifteen millions a year in aid of ocean marine, more than one hundred millions of dollars in freight rates would be paid to Americans instead of to the foreign shipping trust which regulates ocean prices to the disadvantage of the American producer. A bill appropriating four or five millions a year for the development of lines to South America, Australia and the Orient would mean the immediate investment of thirty millions in the building of new steamers in American shipyards.

Are we as wise as other nations which aid their ocean marine, or shall we continue to hold back in fatuous folly, in our insistence that the question shall be regarded academically? In the meantime we are at the mercy commercially of foreign nations and are handicapped badly in a naval sense, because of our reluctance to do the only thing possible to be done—to give the ocean marine a start by direct subsidy until the lines have developed sufficient trade to enable them to stand alone.

The Merchant Marine League of the United States is making a hard fight in the behalf of the ocean marine and needs the help of all strong papers. It has been a source of regret to me that The Oregonian, the chief paper of a great Pacific Coast state, takes the editorial position it does. I do not know that this letter will change your editorial attitude, but I should like to see a larger measure of justice shown toward a movement which means as much for American prosperity and progress as any question that now awaits a correct solution by the Nation.

JOHN PENTON.

Secretary Merchant Marine League of the United States.

Praise for a New Oregon Citizen.

Springfield (Mass.) Union.

More than a dozen years ago Fielder Jones, a farmer's boy, came to Springfield to play an outfield position on the team that won the Eastern League championship. "Farmer" Jones, as he was called, played the game well. In the field, at bat and on the bases he won distinction, not only for his cleverness, but for his manly qualities. In his zeal he never forgot to be a gentleman. He had no bad habits, consequently he indulged in none of the excesses that have ruined so many ballplayers. After he left Springfield he rose rapidly until he became the captain and manager of the Chicago Americans, which team, under his leadership, won the world's championship. Throughout his career he remained a gentleman, worked unceasingly for the success of his team and carefully invested his savings.

Today he is at the head of a great lumber business. This Spring the owner of the Chicago Americans offered him a salary greater than that paid to a member of the President's Cabinet, in other words, more than $12,000—how much more is not stated—for only six months of work or play. But tempting as this offer was, Jones refused it, believing that, by strict attention to the lumber business, he could do even better. "Farmer" Jones has set an excellent example to ballplayers and other athletes.

St. Louis' New $50,000 Free Bath.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Water has been turned into the swimming pool at the new municipal free bathhouse, Seventh and Soulard streets. The house cost $50,000 and will accommodate about 100 persons. There are shower baths for nearly 100 and the swimming pool will accommodate as many more. It is the second public bath provided by the city. A third is under contract at the entrance to Carr square, on the Fifteenth and Wash streets side. Bids have been asked for a fourth, an open air pool at the foot of Franklin avenue.

Cinder Wrecks Bishop's Eyesight.

Washington (D. C.) Post.

Protestant Episcopal Bishop Frederick Burgess, of Long Island, who recently got a cinder in his right eye on a train, is said to be in danger of losing the sight of the eye.

HOW THE DIRECT PRIMARY OPERATES

Student of Politics Traces Its Origin and Shows What It Accomplishes and Fails to Accomplish — Some Curious Results in Oregon.

Professor Henry Jones Ford, Professor of Politics in Princeton University, in New York Times.

If the direct primary really tended to establish popular control of public policy and to promote good government, it ought not to be difficult to supply practical evidence of the fact. To justify the claims made for it, order economy and efficiency in government ought to ensue, and these results might then be instanced to silence objection. But, as a matter of fact, we are constantly met not with evidence but apology. It is stoutly maintained that the principle is all right, but it has so far failed to meet expectations because of some defect in procedure, or because of the wickedness of the politicians, or becauses of the supineness of the people.

The system in its present application appears to have originated in Pennsylvania, where it was known as the Crawford County plan. If it has tended to purify politics either in Crawford County or in Pennsylvania, where it was extensively propagated before it spread to other states, no satisfactory evidence to that effect has ever been presented. On the contrary, confused, corrupt and irresponsible politics have apparently been the outcome.

* * *

The social investigator who wrote with the nom de plume of Josiah Flint once made a study of the politics of Allegheny City, where the Crawford County plan was established. He reported that in the under-world that city was known as a snug harbor for criminals, where they were assured of the protection of the Police Department for a consideration, and with the understanding that they did not practice their industry in the local jurisdiction. Robberies were frequent throughout Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio, with Allegheny City as the base of operations. Josiah Flint mentioned a case in which some professional criminals were caught while on a job in Eastern Ohio, and the Chief of Police of Allegheny City appeared in their behalf as a witness to their good character as citizens. A reform organization convicted a Mayor of taking public money, and he was sent to prison. No party organization would have had the audacity to nominate a man of his record. The direct primary gave him his opportunity. After serving his term the ex-convict was again a candidate for Mayor of Allegheny City. He was a free spender and a good mixer, and he made a stirring canvass with the plea "give a man a chance to show that he can do right." He was elected by a big majority.

It has been argued that the results of the Crawford County plan ought not to weigh against the direct primary system, because the protection of the election laws was lacking, and there was no means of excluding the adherents of one party from voting in the primary of another party. The case of Oregon has been offered as an instance of how the system works when subject to proper legal regulation. It is therefore desirable to examine it in some detail.

* * *

The Oregon act of 1904 provided for joint primaries, conducted under general election laws, with an official ballot, on which names may be placed by petition of 2 per cent, not to exceed 1000 for state or Congressional office or 500 in other cases. Names are printed in alphabetical order. Candidates may file 100-word platform and 12 words printed on ballot.

A primary election was held April 17, 1908, for party nominations for these offices: United States Senator, Representative in Congress, Justice of the Supreme Court, Dairy and Food Commissioner, two Judges of the Circuit Court in one district, and one Judge in each of two other districts, Prosecuting Attorney in each judicial district, State Senator and State Representative. In addition to these state and district offices, nominations were made for these county offices: County Judge, Sheriff, Clerk, Recorder, Treasurer, Assessor, School Superintendent, Surveyor, Coroner, Commissioner; and of these precinct offices: Justice of the Peace and Constable. Few Democratic candidates came forward. None at all for United States Senator, Justice of the Supreme Court, Railroad Commissioners, and in only a few districts were there any candidates for Judge or Prosecuting Attorney. At the general election various Democratic, Prohibition and Socalist candidates appeared who got on the ballot by petition. But the primary election, conducted at public expense, seems to have been almost wholly confined to the Republican Party.

I have been unable to obtain complete returns of the primary elections, but it appears that it is an advantage to have alphabetical priority. Cake defeated Fulton for the Republican nomination for United States Senator, Campbell defeated Carter and Robertson for Railroad Commissioner in the First District, Bailey defeated Reid for Dairy and Food Commissioner. This alphabetical advantage seems to be one of the features of the system. Professor C. Edward Merriam, in his work on the "Direct Primary," says:

"Where there are many offices to be filled and where there are many aspirants for each office it is contended that the leading names possess a distinct and appreciable advantage. If any such unfairness is seriously feared it may be obviated by providing that the order of arrangement should rotate. For example, if there are five candidates for Sheriff, A, B, C, D and E, the order of printing may be changed in such a way that the name of each of these candidates shall appear first an approximately equal number of times."

* * *

A bill for this reform has been introduced in the Missouri Legislature, but if it does equalize the alphabetical chance of candidates, does it make the result any more an expression of public judgment than before?

The state election was held on June 1, 1908. I have before me a specimen of the official ballot used in Salem, Third Precinct, Marion County. It contains the names of 64 candidates for 23 offices, and in addition 10 constitutional amendments and nine statutes proposed under the initiative or the referendum. The total number of ballots cast was 116,614, a majority of which was 58,308. Chamberlain, the Democratic candidate for United States Senator, nominated on petition, defeated Cake, the Republican candidate, nominated by the direct primary, but Chamberlain received only 52,421 votes—almost 6000 less than a plurality. The total vote for candidates ranged from 110,262 to 98,617. The total vote cast on abstract propostions ranged from 92,937 to 70,726. One constitutional amendment was carried by a vote of 41,975 to 40,868—a total of 82,843, showing that 34,306 voters avoided any expression of opinion. Was the result the expression of public choice or public non-choice? It may be contended that those declining to vote on the proposition were culpable. But human responsibility does not extend beyond human capacity, and a sensible and conscientious man might well decline to express an opinion on matters he does not understand.

Only five out of 19 constitutional amendments and statutes were carried by an absolute majority. The woman suffrage amendment drew out the largest vote on propositions of this class, and it was defeated by 58,607 to 36,858.

At the Presidential election in November, 1908, the Republican electoral ticket received 62,538 votes and carried the state by a plurality of 24,481. The Legislature stands 74 Republicans to 16 Democrats on joint ballot. And yet the system requires the Legislature to elect to the United States Senate a Democrat—Chamberlain—who had received 52,421 out of 112,364 votes in the June election.

Those who value elections as a means of defining public policy and declaring with decision and effect the will of the people must regard such results as at least nugatory. And yet there are those who point to these results as a vindication of the direct primary. The case recalls Bonaparte's characterization of "idealogues" as people who see things as they wish them to be and not as they are.

GETTING OFF STREETCARS RIGHT

Every City Needs a Campaign for the Education of Women.

Worcester Gazette.

The accidents of getting off streetcars "the wrong way" probably cause the largest proportion of mishaps and should be the easiest remedied. This is peculiarly a woman's error. One collector of statistics asserts that the habit is due to tight corsets and inability to step and bend the body lithely, and asserts that fashionable women are always more helpless than those poorly dressed.

However this may be, the women's difficulty plainly arises from poor physical training. Where any boy would know instinctively that he must let go the handle with his left hand, many grown women thoughtlessly use their right. The result is a fall backward, if the car has not stopped.

To teach its million or more women how to alight, the City of Chicago has opened a systematic campaign. The president of the city street railway, which pays 55 per cent of gross receipts to the city, thought he could save money for the company and the city by placing large signs on cars. Accordingly he wrote: "Don't get hurt when alighting; wait till the car stops; always get off facing forward." In addition, he made two large pictures, which were spread on the sides of cars beside the big lettering. One represents the wrong way of dismounting, the other the right way.

Besides this, the education has been carried into gymnasiums. The physical culture department of the public high schools has had apparatus constructed resembling a streetcar step and a handle. These platforms are dragged around the gymnasiums by part of the girls, while others, under tutelage, practice getting on and off.

A campaign of this kind need cost but little. It requires but some public-spirited citizen or railway officer to set it going. And where is the city that does not need it?

Strawberries at $2.40 a Portion.

New York Dispatch.

Fresh strawberries from the vines is the latest wrinkle of the Ritz-Carlton restaurant on board the Hamburg-American liner Kaiserin Auguste Victoria, which arrived from Hamburg, Southampton and Cherbourg, and they only cost the modest sum of $2.40 a portion. Having introduced trout pools, flower stalls and sun gardens on the Kaiserin and her sister, the Amerika, the line has now gone into the truck farm and small fruit business. The vegetables, greens and strawberries are cultivated on the sun deck.

Bites Pearl in Oyster Sandwich.

Baltimore News.

Lieutenant of Police John Turley, of New York City, in eating an oyster sandwich last night bit down on a big pearl. It is said to be worth $150.

MAY 9 IS TO BE LABOR SUNDAY

Opportunity for Churches and Organized Workers to Get Together.

Congregationalist.

We are glad that a Sunday in May, the ninth, has this year been selected as Labor Sunday. The day hitherto generally observed has been the first Sunday in September, preceding the holiday known as Labor Day. In many cases pastors had not returned from their vacations in season to make a profitable use of the day; but now a more seasonable Sunday is selected in accordance with the wish of the American Federation of Labor. The department of church and labor in the Presbyterian Church is promptly in the field with an excellent order of worship, on the first page of which is a drawing that locates in close proximity a great factory and a church. Mr. Stelzle's department is ready to furnish ministers at a small cost these programmes, and to supply literature that may help the minister in preparing addresses on such subjects as The Early Church and the Working Man, The Breadwinner and the Soulwinner, Jesus Christ as a Social Reformer.

Such an institution as Labor Sunday, whenever it comes, does not solve all the problems in behalf of which it is set apart; but it does help to call attention of the churches to various phases of the labor movement in this country, and to consider what more it may do to prove that it is the friend and servant of all classes, that it includes already in its membership men who toil with their hands, and that it has a place for all who will come, however grimy their hands, however limited their wardrobe. The church and the organized labor movement in this country are, we believe, coming closer together, and we trust that on this May Sunday, or about that time, special consideration will be given to subjects that have to do with the working man's welfare, his responsibility for a more efficient church as well as the church's responsibility for him and his family.

Bull Trots Mile Under 2:30.

Pittsburg Dispatch.

Dr. Joseph D. Chaney and John H. Ross, who have for the last three years been training a bull near Waynesboro, Pa., have issued a challenge to trot the bull against any 2:30 horse in this end of the state for a large stake. They assert that the bull has frequently trotted a half mile to sulky in 1:22, and that he can do the mile in less than 2:30.

Exalted Modesty.

New York Sun.

They went up in an aeroplane,
He and his beauteous bride,
And presently, as if in pain,
She somewhat deeply sighed.

"What do you want?" he softly asked.
"What do I want?" with mirth
That fright but very slightly masked,
She said: "I want the earth!"