

The Oregon Statesman

"No Favor Sway Us; No Fear Shall Awe" From First Statesman, March 28, 1851

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The Intelligent Voter

A great deal is heard every year about the intelligent voter. The ignorant voter, it is universally conceded, is the person who persists in voting for the candidate you oppose.

A fairly long observation of political behavior has made this writer very uncertain about the "intelligent voter." This uncertainty is increased by consideration of the poll at Willamette university where 190 students voted for Landon and 187 for Roosevelt. There were 86 for Thomas and four for William Lemke.

Here are students not of equal intelligence to be sure, but about as homogeneous a group as could be assembled. Then how shall we appraise the "intelligence" of the persons who voted for the various candidates? Was the IQ of those voting for Landon higher than those voting for Roosevelt; or does the IQ run in inverse ratio, with the four for Lemke highest, the 86 for Thomas next, and on down the line?

The balloting was secret of course, but the probability is that the gradations of "intelligence" of the students were quite similar for each group, except where the number, as for Lemke, was insufficient for reliable comparison.

So we come down to this: that selections in voting are not determined by "intelligence" so much as by feeling. Students feel the pull of family tradition. Or they feel the attraction of personality. Or they react to personal interest of themselves or their families. In other words voting is quite as much an emotional response as it is an intellectual process.

Which is quite as it should be; because the human animal is governed by his feelings as well as by his reasoning powers. We cannot free ourselves from our emotional responses. Most every voter, if he looks back over his voting record, will realize that his voting has been determined by other considerations than cold, intellectual calculation. The danger however, is for voting to be almost exclusively emotional, with a minimum of honest study. It is among voters with no ballast of intelligence that the demagogue yields his influence. Fortunately, in the past there has been a sufficient diffusion of intelligence that few genuine demagogues have risen to national position.

In the matter of voting on measures the reactions are very different. There the people make a genuine effort to study the proposals and to compare the arguments. Often emotional appeals are made on both sides of these questions. But as a general rule the voters are more inclined to use the brains they have when they vote on the measures than when they pick candidates where they must respond not only to arguments but to personalities.

All of which sums up to this: don't be too conceited when you cast your vote, and brand the guy at the other end of the block as "unintelligent." The "intelligent" voter is a very rare specimen.

Milk Murmurs

NO milk has been spilt, and no blood either, but there is some crying going on. There is an undercurrent of opposition to the raise in price ordered by the milk board, expressed by an appeal to the court. Suppose we review the milk history of recent years.

In 1931 the dairy cooperative was formed, at a time when dairying was in a bad slump after long years of reasonable prosperity. The producers complained they were treated unfairly in the handling of "surplus" and that they had no way of telling what proportion of their milk really was surplus. A brief but tense milk strike was ended by a victory for the cooperative, which has since disciplined the dairy business effectively in the Portland-Salem area.

In 1933 a legislative act created the milk control board with authority to regulate the industry over the state, fixing quotas and prices, and regulating the handling of the surplus from producers of fresh milk. This board fixed the margins for distributors and for stores handling fresh milk. Its powers have never been fully tested in the courts; but a New York milk control act was sustained by the U. S. supreme court.

Under the operation of the law the dairymen have prospered. How much of the improvement is due to the law, how much to the powerful cooperative, and how much to improvement in conditions and increasing demand for milk we cannot say. But we observe two items which are not without significance. One is that a large chain grocery, in Portland has installed its own milk plant. This is evidently its answer to the fixed margin requirement of the state board; it goes into the pasteurizing and bottling business itself, buying milk from the producers instead of bottled milk from the distributor dairies.

The other is the threat of a "consumers' cooperative." A Portland group of consumers proposes to form a cooperative dairy with distributing depot. Whether the idea will be put into practice, and if so whether the cooperative would succeed we do not know.

But these developments or projects indicate the truth of a point frequently reiterated in this column, that in the field of economics nothing may be regarded as static. The inventive mind, working in mechanics or in the law, will constantly make effort to work out some improvement in terms of their own interest. The producing dairymen have to face this fact the same as operators of stores, of factories and of transportation agencies.

The Pipeline Contract

MONDAY night the city council in all probability will award the largest contract in the history of the city, that for constructing the pipeline for the water system. We can think of no other job in the city's history running to so much money save the deal for the purchase of the water plant. With so much money involved the temptation is bound to be strong for exerting ulterior influence to swing the contract.

Saturday The Statesman was informed on very reliable authority in no way connected with the city government or any of the interests involved that an agent of special interests (not a member of the council) was prepared to distribute several thousand dollars among councilmen, and that certain "deals" had been made. We realize fully the gravity of these charges; but connecting them with other facts learned from independent sources we incline to give them credibility.

Therefore we publish this warning both to the private interests concerned and to the councilmen as well. Let there be no corrupt influence in the awarding of the waterline contract. The city council and mayor have only one interest to serve, and that is the interest of the people of Salem. Select for the material for the line that which will give the best service at the lowest cost for the longest period of time. A few thousand dollars for the initial cost is not the determining factor but the computation of cost over the life span of the material used. The council must make the decision; let them do so with an eye single to the public interest.

The water project promises to stand as a fine memorial for this city administration, an achievement for which every individual who cooperated may well take pride. Let it not be sullied by corruption; for the scourge on the offenders will be merciless.

Bits for Breakfast

By R. J. HENDRICKS

Medora C. Foley, first practical printer in Oregon, leading pioneer; does his house still stand?

This letter came to the writer's desk from James T. Matthews, Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, Oct. 8:

"Can you answer this question? Perhaps you would like to write a column about this man:

"Is the Foley home still standing in French Prairie west of Gresham? I may not have the name—Foley, Foisey, Medora, Medorm Foley. It is something like that. For you I think the clue is sufficient."

Thanks to Prof. Matthews. Of course, the compliment is appreciated. It so happens that this column contained a series on Medora G. Foley taking up five issues, March 20-24, 1935, so part of the answer is already published.

The series was largely made up of a tribute to Foley by Willard H. Rees, 1844 covered wagon immigrant, who became prominent in pioneer Oregon, a resident of the lower French Prairie section near Butterville, south of the St. Louis Catholic church, secretary of the Oregon Pioneer association, etc., etc.

Rees and Foley had made a mutual promise that whichever died first the other would write his obituary. This was at Oregon City, while Foley was serving in the memorable 1845 provisional government legislature.

Foley died June 11, 1879, on his French Prairie farm, and so the pledged duty fell to Rees.

Very briefly: Foley was born in Quebec, Canada, in 1816. He was apprenticed to a printer at 18. The business of the office was in the French vernacular, while he longed for an opportunity to improve his English, having for a short time attended an English school in Vermont.

Accordingly, at 21, he traveled to Louisville, Kentucky, to join a printer friend there, and soon went to St. Louis, Mo., where he worked for Mr. Chambers, editor of the Republic of that city, which had been started in 1835, and has long been the great newspaper of that section.

In 1844 he surrendered his type "case" for a journey to the ultimate west.

He traveled with Rev. Joset and two other Jesuit fathers, going to the Plattehead country, and from there Foley made his way to the Spalding mission at Lapwai, among the lower Nez Perces.

In the fall of 1844, Foley was engaged by Rev. Spalding to print in order the little printing press and cases of type which the American Board mission had sent from Hawaii in 1839 by E. O. Hall, the first of all men having a slight knowledge of the printing trade to come to the Oregon country.

Rees said Foley "did the first printing for the Nez Percé mission, consisting of school books, portions of the New Testament and hymns, all in the Nez Percé language, from copy by Mr. Spalding."

He added: "This was the first printing performed by a practical printer west of the Rocky mountains and north of the Mexican republic."

Mr. Rees said Foley reached French Prairie in December, 1844, and the following spring was elected a member of the legislative committee from Champego (now Marion) county, which convened at Oregon City June 24, 1845.

Wrote Rees: "It was at this session that the amended organic law was drawn up and passed, authorizing the election of a governor instead of the old executive committee, all in the Nez Percé language, from copy by Mr. Spalding."

"The legislative committee then adjourned for one month in order to submit the proposed system of government to a vote of the people, which was adopted by a majority of 203. (It was 232, the vote being 255 ayes to 22 nays.)"

"Mr. Rees served during the remainder of this adjourned session. He was also a member of the first annual session under the reorganized government, which convened December 2, 1845. . . . After the close of the first annual session under THE NEW OREGON REPUBLIC, for such it was, Mr. Foley joined a party going overland to California."

He had decided to revisit St. Louis; but the party he joined (in the spring of 1845) found the 1845 Rogue River Indian war still going, and it was attacked by the hostiles and one man killed and several wounded.

And when he reached California he here met the northern limits of the Mexican war and took an active part in the Sacramento valley and the bay region around San Francisco.

He accompanied a troop sent by John C. Fremont to open communication with Monterey, where Commodore Sloat had previously hoisted the American flag.

At Monterey he spent some of the most eventful years of his very eventful life. He enlisted as a soldier; acted as interpreter with the land and marine forces of the United States; became alcalde at Monterey; worked on the first English paper published in that city which was five times capital of a different government.

As soon as peace between the United States and Mexico was declared, in February, 1848, Foley, still anxious to reach St. Louis, sailed from Monterey on the ship Aneta, bound for Central America; the vessel putting into the harbor of San Blas, Mexico—and while there the port was blockaded.

He was detained there until taken off under protection of the American flag by Capt. Ballew of the U. S. Navy, and taken to Monterey.

(Concluded on Tuesday.)

On the Record

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

THE RELIEF PROBLEM Governor Landon's criticism of the relief administration rests upon ten points. They are as follows:

(1) No census has been taken and the Administration does not even know its own problem. (2) Relief money is being used to build up a political machine. (3) The relief clients are supported by a policy of work from the normal body of employed people. (4) Cracking down on business has created an uncertainty which hinders relief employment. (5) Relief, which is a temporary problem, is treated as a permanent one. (6) The country is kept in the dark regarding the appointment of expenditures, despite demands that the figures be published. (7) Relief money has been used for social experiments. (8) The Federal government has sabotaged the attempt of the Pennsylvania State Senate to investigate. (9) The cost of relief is growing and will be believed in complete and 1935. (10) Not enough goes to the relief clients, too much to the "favored few."

The Governor's proposals to reform are as follows: (1) Find out the facts. (2) Return relief to the states, with the states deciding what work relief projects, if any, shall be used. (3) Federal grants in aid to the states, providing they contribute a "fair proportion of the funds" and "qualify for competition with certain reasonable conditions." (4) All relief officials held to strict accountability. (5) All who are engaged, to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness. (6) No relief money to be used for private employment. (7) Special training for those long unemployed or ill-fitted for employment. (8) Federal public works undertaken on merit and not confused with relief. (9) An appeal to relief labor relief was for the construction of such works.

When the Governor promises to free relief from partisan politics and its administration to make it to the states, with grants in aid providing that the local administrations conform to certain reasonable conditions, one wonders precisely how he is going to accomplish this aim. There is no reason to believe that the decentralization of relief will take it out of partisan politics. On the contrary, the worst abuses of relief have come from local politicians. They are Mr. Harry Hopkins in California, representative of the trade unions and business, and the most competent citizens who can be drafted for the job. It ought to be given plenty of time—a year perhaps—and it ought to have access to all the books and power to call witnesses. It might investigate what other countries have done and what results of their policies have been. Its investigation, I believe, should proceed without delay until the report is ready for publication. Then let us have the report, in full detail, and over the signatures of the members of the commission. After that we may have a clearer idea of how best to proceed. Since all parties are committed in principle to a relief program with Federal funds, it ought to be possible to secure agreement on a procedure.

Relief money has been used to make social experiments, in production-for-use, for instance. Also, there was originally a strong desire on the part of some members of the relief administration to use its funds to raise the wage level in certain areas. Since a very questionable thing for a relief administration to do, desirable as the objective is. Whether unemployment relief needs a temporary or permanent nobody knows. But they are certainly recurrent. As for the question whether any administration would open its files in the middle of a heated campaign to people whose interests are frankly partisan.

The suggestion that relief for the unemployed should be coordinated with efficient public labor exchanges is excellent. Registering for work with a public employment agency ought to be a condition of unemployment relief. In this way one could find out how many people on relief are employable and looking for jobs, when they worked last, and how long they have been unemployed. But if Governor Landon is elected and tries to do this, he will run up against powerful trade union opposition, for the unions want a labor shortage to keep the labor surplus, which pressure explains the present government's failure to do this.

With Governor Landon's insistence that Federal Public Works should be undertaken on their own merit and not done by relief labor at relief wages, I am in hearty agreement. So, for that matter, is Secretary Ickes. But that—if it is to be a means of countering unemployment in times of depression—is not compatible with balancing the budget at such times. Also, in order to function, it would demand that public works should be planned in anticipation of crises, and planned by a board of public works and engineers as divorced from politics as is the war college. Then, when it became apparent that unemployment was beginning these works, already carefully planned, could be put into immediate operation absorbing labor as it comes on the market and before it is subjected to paupers' tests. But that kind of action requires social planning, and the Republicans shy at the word. It is a social planning, and the Republicans shy at the word. It is a social planning, and the Republicans shy at the word.

The reason why the cost of relief per case doubled between 1932 and 1935 was that in May, 1935, the Administration shifted from home relief, which was cash and groceries, to work relief, which was wages and materials. It costs about twice as much to put a man to work as it does to maintain him in idleness. The community does, however, get some return from his work, and the work certainly contributes to his morale, in spite of the red tape and investigation which surround it, and the secular wage conditions which set him in a separate category from the rest of workers. This point was well taken by the Governor and is worth much thought. I believe that both the country and the worker would get better returns from work relief, and would get them in a better psychological atmosphere, if the work, which for the most part is of the kind normally undertaken by states, counties, municipalities and towns—road building, flood control, drainage projects, park extension, repair and embellishment of public buildings—were administered by the localities and voted by them in the manner of normal times. It would also be good for the local governments to have the responsibility, and get for the work, what they can only function personally in the smaller civic unit.

The whole relief situation is a mess. The public not only is in general hostile without very definitely knowing why. In spite of the corps of press agents attached to every branch relief agency, the public is certainly not "sold." And the fact in itself is a criticism of the relief methods. For it depends upon the public and its representatives, public sympathy. But we will get, I think, nowhere, by investigations of a Democratic program by Republican state legislatures. That simply sinks the whole program deeper into partisan politics.

Our hope lies in a non-partisan approach at the outset. I urge the League of Women Voters and the Federation of Women's Clubs, who have done so much for the cause of Civil Service, to make an organized insistence that our next President, whoever he may be, appoint a National Commission to make a survey of the relief and unemployment problem, analyze the present means of meeting it, and bring forward proposals for a policy. The commission would have to include important members of all political parties, representatives of the trade unions and business, and the most competent citizens who can be drafted for the job. It ought to be given plenty of time—a year perhaps—and it ought to have access to all the books and power to call witnesses. It might investigate what other countries have done and what results of their policies have been. Its investigation, I believe, should proceed without delay until the report is ready for publication. Then let us have the report, in full detail, and over the signatures of the members of the commission. After that we may have a clearer idea of how best to proceed. Since all parties are committed in principle to a relief program with Federal funds, it ought to be possible to secure agreement on a procedure.

"I don't think of it! It does not follow that because a good many of the intellectuals are in the 97 per cent of the broke—that plenty of actors and teachers and nurses and musicians don't get any better paid than stage hands electricians, therefore their interests are the same. It isn't what you earn but how you spend it that fixes your class—whether you prefer bigger funeral services or more books. I'm tired of apologizing for not having a dirty neck!"

"Honestly, Mr. Jessup, that's damn nonsense, and you know it!"

"It is? Well, it's my American covered-wagon damn nonsense, and not the propaganda-seroplane damn nonsense of Marx and Moscow!"

"Oh, you'll join us yet."

"Listen, Comrade K.A.R.L. Windrip and Hitler will join Stalin before the descendants of Dan'l Webster. You see, we don't like murder as a way of argument—that's what really marks the Liberal!"

About his future Father Perseus was brief: "I'm going back to Canada where I belong—away to the freedom of the King. Hato to give in. Doremus, but I'm no Thomas a Becket, but just a plain scared, fat little clerk!"

The surprise a month old acquaintance was Medary Cole, the miller.

Think Hard, Mr. Twenty-One!



"It Can't Happen Here" By SINCLAIR LEWIS

"Look here, Karl: you've always said the difference between the Socialists and the Communists was that you believed in complete ownership of all means of production, not just utilities; and that you admitted the violent class war and the Socialists didn't. That's poppycock! The real difference is that you Communists serve Russia. It's your Holy Land, Wells Russia has all my prayers, right after the prayers for my family and for the Chief, but what I'm interested in civilizing and isn't Russia but America. Is that so banal to believe that the Russian is banal for a Russian comrade to observe that he was for Russia? And America needs our propaganda more every day. Another thing: I'm a middle-class intellectual. I'd never call myself any such damn silly thing, but since you Reds coined it, I'll have to accept it. That's my class, and that's what I'm interested in. The proletarians are probably noble fellows, but I certainly do not think that the interests of the middle-class intellectuals and the proletarians are the same. They want bread. We want—well, all right, say it, we want cake! And when you get a proletarian ambitious enough to want cake, too—why, in America, he becomes a middle-class intellectual just as fast as he can—if he can!"

"Look here, when you think of 3 per cent of the people owning 90 per cent of the wealth—"

"I don't think of it! It does not follow that because a good many of the intellectuals are in the 97 per cent of the broke—that plenty of actors and teachers and nurses and musicians don't get any better paid than stage hands electricians, therefore their interests are the same. It isn't what you earn but how you spend it that fixes your class—whether you prefer bigger funeral services or more books. I'm tired of apologizing for not having a dirty neck!"

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A little younger than Francis Tasbrough and R. C. Crowley, less intensely aristocratic than those noblemen, since only one generation separated him from a chin-walkered Yankee farmer and not two, as with them, he had been two of his satellite at the Country Club and, as to solid virtue, been president of the Rotary Club. He had always considered Doremus a man who, without such excuse as being a Jew or a Hun or a scoundrel, was yet flippant about the sanctities of Main Street and Wall Street. They were neighbors, as Cole's "Cape Cod cottage" was just below Pleasant Hill, but they had not by habit been droppers-in.

Now, when Cole came bringing David home, or calling for his daughter, Angela, David's new mate, toward supper time of a chilly fall evening, he stopped gratefully for a hot run punch, and asked Doremus whether he really thought inflation was "such a good thing."

He burst out, one evening, "Jesus, there isn't another person in this town I'd dare say this to, not even my wife, but I'm getting awful sick of having these Minnie Moises dictate where I have to buy my gynecicals and what I can pay my men. I won't pretend I ever cared much for labor unions. But in those days, at least they union members did get some of the swag. Now it goes to support the M.M.'s. We pay them and pay them big to bully us. It don't look so reasonable as it did in 1936. But, golly, don't tell any body I said that!"

And Cole went off shaking his head, bewildered—he who had occasionally voted for Mr. Windrip.

How to End Crime

On a day in late October, suddenly striking in every city and village and back-hill hide-out, the Corps released all crime in America, so titanic a feat that it was mentioned in the London Times. Seventy thousand selected Minute Men, working in combination with town and State police officers, all under the chiefs of the government secret service, arrested every known or faintly suspected criminal in the country. They were tried under court-martial procedure; one in ten was shot immediately; four in ten were given prison sentences, three in ten released as innocents. . . . and two in ten taken into the M.M.'s as inspectors.

There were protests that at least six in ten had been innocent, but this was adequately answered by Windrip's courageous statement: "The way to stop crime is to stop it!"

The next day, Medary Cole crowded at Doremus, "Sometimes I've felt like criticizing certain features of Corp policy, but did you see what the Chief did to the gangsters and racketeers? Wonderful! I've told you right along what this country's needed is a firm hand like Windrip's. No shilly-shallying about that fellow! He saw that the way to stop crime was to just go out and stop it!"

Then was revealed the New American Education, which, as Sarason so justly said, was to be ever so much sner than the New Educations of Germany, Italy, Poland, or even Turkey.

The authorities abruptly closed some scores of the smaller, more independent colleges such as Williams, Bowdoin, Oberlin, Georgetown, Antioch, Carleton, Lewis Institute, Commonwealth, Princeton, Swarthmore, Kenyon. . . . It vastly different one from another but alike in not yet having entirely become machines. Few of the state universities were absorbed; they were merely to be absorbed by central Corp universities, one in each of the eight provinces. But the government began with only two. In the Metropolitan District, Windrip University took over the Rockefeller Center, and Empire State buildings, with most of Central Park for playground (excluding the general public from it entirely, for the rest was an M.M. field ground). The second was Macgoblin University, in Chicago and vicinity, using the buildings of Chicago and Northwestern universities, and Jackson Park. Park President Hutchins of Chicago was rather unpleasant about the whole thing and declined to stay on as an assistant professor, so the authorities had politely to exile him.

Each of the two pioneer universities started with an enrollment of fifty thousand, making ridiculous the pre-Corpo schools. None of which, in 1935, had had more than thirty thousand students. The enrollment was probably helped by the fact that anyone could enter upon presenting a certificate showing that he had completed two years in a high school or business college, and a recommendation from a Corp commissioner.

Dr. Macgoblin pointed out that this founding of entirely new universities showed the enormous cultural superiority of the Corp state to the Nazis, Bolsheviks and Fascists. Where these amateurs in re-civilization had merely kicked out all treacherous so-called "intellectual" teachers who mulishly declined to teach physics, cookery and geography according to the principals and facts laid down by the political bureaus, and the Nazi had merely added the sound measure of discharging Jews who dared attempt to teach medicine, the Americans were the first to start new and completely orthodox institutions, the very first of any taint of "intellectualism."

All Corp universities were to have the same curriculum, entirely practical and modern, free of all snobbish traditions. . . . Entirely omitted were Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Biblical study, archaeology, philology; all history before 1500—except for one course which showed that, through the centuries, the key to civilization had been the defense of Anglo-Saxons, a party against the barbarians. Philosophy and its history, psychology, economics, anthropology were retained, but, to avoid the superstitious errors in ordinary textbooks, they were to be covered only in new books prepared under the direction of Dr. Macgoblin.

Students were encouraged to read, speak and try to write modern languages, but they were not to waste their time on the so-called "literature"; serious literature newspapers were used instead of antiquated fiction and sentimental poetry. As regards English, some study of literature was permitted, to supply quotations for political speeches, but the chief courses were in dictating, party journalism and business correspondence, and no authors before 1800 might be mentioned, except Shakespeare and Milton.

In the realm of so-called "pure science," it was realized that only too much and too confusing research had already been done, but no pre-Corpo university had ever shown such a wealth of courses in industrial engineering, lakeshore-cottage architecture, modern foremanship and production methods, exhibition gymnastics, the higher accountancy, therapeutics of athletes' feet, canning and fruit dehydration, kindergarten training, organization of chess checkers and bridge tournaments, cultivation of will power, band music for mass meetings, schnauzer-breeding, stainless-steel formulas, cement-road construction, and all other really useful subjects for the formation of the new-world mind and character. And no scholastic institution, even West Point, had ever so richly recognized sport as not a subsidiary but a primary department of scholarship. All the more familiar games were earnestly taught, and to them were added the most absorbing speed contests in infantry drill, aviation, bombing and operation of tanks, armored cars and machinery. . . . All educational carried academic credits, though students were urged not to elect sports for more than one-third of their credits.

What really showed the difference between an old-fogy inefficiency was that with the educational speed-up of the Corp universities any bright lad could graduate in two years.

As he read the prospectus for these Olympian, these Ringling, Barnum and Bailey universities, Doremus remembered that Victor Loveland, who a year ago had taught Greek in a little college called Isalah, was now grinding out reading and arithmetic in a Corp labor camp in Maine. Oh

(Continued on page 5)