PAGE 4

HALSEY ENTERPRISE

to

This was at the bottom of the fight between Ramsey Milholland and Wes ley Bender, and the diplomatic ex changes immediately preceding hostilities were charmingly frank and unhypocritical, although quite as mixedup and off-the-issue as if they had been prepared by professional foreign office men. Ramsey and Fred Mitchell and four other boys waylaid young Bender on the street after school, intending jocosities rather than violence. but the victim proved sensitive. "You take your ole hands off o'-me!" he said flercely, as they began to push him about among them.

"Ole dirty Wes !" they hoarsely bellowed and squawked, in their changing voices. "Washes his ears!" "Washes his neck !" . . . Dora Yocum told his mama to turn the hose on him !

Wesley broke from them and backed away, swinging his strapped books in a dangerous circle. "You keep off !" he warned them. "I got as much right to my pers'nal appearance as anybody !"

This richly fed their humor, and they rioted round him, keeping outside the swinging books at the end of the strap. "Pers'nal appearance'!" "Yow! Ole dirty Wes, he's got pers'nal appearance!" "Who went

and bought it for you, Wes?" "Nobody bought it for him. Dora Yocum took and give him one !"

"You leave ladies' names alone !" cried the chivalrous Wesley. "You ought to know better, on the public street, you-pups !"

Here was a serious affront, at least to Ramsey Milholland's way of thinking; for Ramsey, also now proved sensitive. He quieted his friends-"Shut up!"-and advanced toward Wesley. "You look here! Who you callin' 'pups'?"

"Everybody!" Wesley hotly returned. "Everybody that goes around mentioning ladies' names on the public streets are pups !"

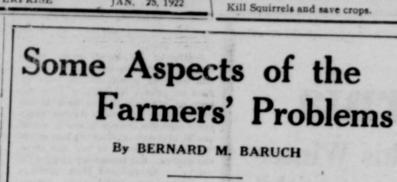
"They are, are they?" Ramsey as hotly demanded. "Well, you just look here a minute; my own father mentions my mother's name on the public streets whenever he wants to, and you just try callin' my father a pup, and you won't know what happened to you !'

"What'll you do about it?" "I'll put a new head on you," said Ramsey. "That's what I'll do, because anybody that calls my father or mother a pup-

"Oh, shut up! I wasn't talkin' about your ole father and mother. I said everybody that mentioned Dora Yocum's name on the public streets was a pup, and I mean it! Everybody that mentions Dora Yocum's name on the pub-"

"Dora Yocum !" said Ramsey. "I got a perfect right to say it anywhere I want to, Dora Yocum, Dora Yocum. Dora Yocum !---"All right then, you're a pup !"

Ramsey charged upon him and received a suffocating blow full in the face, not from Mr. Bender's fist but from the solid bundle of books at the end of the strap. Ramsey saw eight or ten objectives instantly : there were Wesley Benders standing full length in the air on top of other Wesley Benders, and more Wesley Benders zie



JAN, 25, 1922

(Reprinted from Atlantic Monthly)

III Now that the farmers are stirring. thinking, and uniting as never before eradicate these inequalities, they are subjected to stern economic lectures, and are met with the accusation that they are demanding, and are the recipients of, special privileges. Let as see what privileges the government has conferred on the farmers. Much has been made of section 6 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, which purported to permit them to combine with immunity, under certain conditions, Admitting that, nominally, this exemption was in the nature of a special privilege,-though I think it was so in appearance rather than in fact,-we find that the courts have nullified it. by judicial interpretation. Why should not the farmers he permitted to accomplish by co-operative methods what other businesses are already doing by co-operation in the form of incorpora-If it be proper for men to form, tion? by fusion of existing corporations or otherwise, a corporation that controls the entire production of a commodity. or a large part of it, why is it not proper for a group of farmers to unite for the marketing of their common products, either in one or in several selling agencies? Why should it be

right for a hundred thousand corporate shareholders to direct 25 or 30 or 40 per cent of an industry, and wrong for hundred thousand co-operative farmers to control a no larger proportion of the wheat crop, or cotton, or any other product?

The Department of Agriculture is often spoken of as a special concession to the farmers, but in its commercial results, it is of as much benefit to the buyers and consumers of agricultural products as to the producers, or even more. I do not suppose that anyone opposes the benefits that the farmers derive from the educational and research work of the department, or the help that it gives them in working out improved cultural methods and practices, in developing better yielding varieties through breeding and selection, in introducing new varieties from remote parts of the world and adapting them to our climate and economic con dition, and in devising practical measures for the elimination or control of dangerous and destructive animal and plant diseases, insect pests, and the like. All these things manifestly tend to stimulate and enlarge production. and their general beneficial effects are

obvious. It is complained that, whereas the law restricts Federal Reserve banks the farmer is allowed six paper. months on his notes. This is not a special privilege, but merely such a recognition of business conditions as makes it possible for country banks to do business with country people. The crop farmer has only one turnover a year, while the merchant and manufacturer have many. Incidentally, I note that the Federal Reserve Board has just authorized the Federal Reserve banks to discount export paper for a period of six months, to conform to the nature of the busi-

eral good than in the case of other industries. The spirit of American democracy is unalterably opposed, alike to enacted special privilege and to the special privilege of unequal opportunity that arises automatically from the failure to correct glaring economic Inequalities. I am opposed to the injection of government into business, but I do believe that it is an essential function of democratic government to equalize opportunity 80 far as it is within its power to do so, whether by the repeal of archaic statutes or the enactment of modern ones. If the anti-trust laws keep the farmers from endeavoring scientifically to integrate their industry while other industries find a way to meet modern conditions without violating such statutes, then it would seem reasonable to find a way for the farmers to meet them under the same conditions. The law should operate equally in fact. Repairing the economic structure on one side is no injustice to the other side. which is in good repair.

We have traveled a long way from the old conception of government as merely a defensive and policing agency : and regulative, corrective, or equalizing legislation, which apparently is of a special nature, is often of the most general beneficial consequences. Even the First Congress passed a tariff act that was avowedly for the protection of manufacturers; but a protective tariff always has been defended as a means of promoting the general good through a particular approach; and the statute books are filled with acts for the benefit of shipping, commerce, and labor.

Now, what is the farmer asking? Without trying to catalogue the remedial measures that have been suggested in his behalf, the principal proposals that bear directly on the im provement of his distributing and marketing relations may be summarized as follows

First: storage warehouses for cot ton, wool, and tobacco, and elevators for grain, of sufficient capacity to meet the maximum demand on them at the peak of the marketing period. The farmer thinks that either private capltal must furnish these facilities, or the state must erect and own the elevators and warehouses.

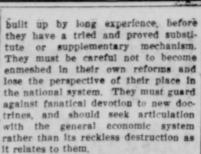
Second: weighing and grading of agricultural products, and certification thereof, to be done by impartial and disinterested public inspectors (this is already accomplished to some extent by the federal licensing of weighers and graders), to eliminate underpaying, overcharging and unfair grading and to facilitate the utilization of the stored products as the basis of credit. Third : a certainty of credit sufficient to enable the marketing of products in an orderly manner. Fourth : the Department of Agriculture should collect, tabulate, summa rize, and regularly and frequently publish and distribute to the farmers, full information from all the markets of the world, so that they shall be as well informed of their selling position as buyers now are of their buying posi-Fifth : freedom to integrate the business of agriculture by means of consolidated selling agencies, co-ordinating and co-operating in such way as to put the farmer on an equal footing with the large buyers of his products. and with commercial relations in other industries. When a business requires specialized talent, it has to buy it. So will the farmers; and perhaps the best way for them to get it would be to utilize some of the present machinery of the largest established agencies dealing in farm products. Of course, if he wishes, the farmer may go further and engage in flour-milling and other manufactures of food products. In my opinion however, he would be wise to stop short of that. Public interest may be opposed to all great integrations ; but, in justice, should they be forbidden to the farmer and permitted to others? The corporate form of association cannot now be wholly adapted to his objects and conditions. The looser cooperative form seems more generally suitable. Therefore, he wishes to be free, if he finds it desirable and feasble, to resort to co-operation with his fellows and neighbors, without running atoul of the law. To urge that the farmers should have the same lib erty to consolidate and co-ordinate their peculiar economic functions. which other industries in their fields enjoy, is not, however, to concede that any business integration should have legislative sanction to exercise mono olistic power. The American people are as firmly opposed to industrial as to political autocracy, whether attempted by rural or by urban industry. For lack of united effort the farmers as a whole are still marketing their crops by antiquated methods, or by no methods at all, but they are surrounded by a business world that has been odernized to the last minute and is tirelessly striving for efficiency. This

efficiency is due in large measure to big business, to united business, to integrated business. The farmers now seek the benefits of such largeness, union and integration.

The American farmer is a modern of the mo oderns in the use of labor saving machinery, and he has made vast strides in recent years in scientific tillage and efficient farm management. but as a business in contact with other businesses agirculture is a "one horse shay" in competition with high power automobiles. The American farmer is the greatest and most intractable of individualists. While industrial production and all phases of the huge comnercial mechanism and its myriad ac-

cessories have articulated and co-ordinated themselves all the way from natural raw materials to retail sales, the business of agriculture has gone on in much the one man fashion of the backwoods of the first part of the nineteenth century, when the farmer was self sufficient and did not depend upon, or care very much, what the great world was doing. The result is that the agricultural group is almost as much at a disadvantage in dealing with other economic groups as the jay farmer of the funny pages in the hands of sleek urban confidence men, who sell him acreage in Central Park or the Chicago city hall. The leaders of the farmers thoroughly understand this, and they are intelligently striving to integrate their industry so that it will be on an equal footing with other businesses. As an example of integration, take

the steel industry, in which the model is the United States Steel Corporation, with its iron mines, its coal mines, its lake and rall transportation, its ocean vessels, its by-product coke ovens, its blast furnaces, its open hearth and Bessemer furnaces, its rolling mills, its tube mills and other manufacturing processes that are carried to the highest degree of finished production compatible with the large trade it has built up. All this is generally conceded to be to the advantage of the consumer. Nor does the steel corporation Inconsiderately dump its products on the market. On the contrary, it so acts that it is frequently a stabilizing influence, as is often the case with other large organizations. It is master of its distribution as well as of its production. If prices are not satisfactory the products are held back or production is reduced or suspended. It is not compelled to send a year's work to the market at one time and take whatever It can get under such circumstances. It has one selling policy and its own export department. Neither are the grades and qualities of steel determin ed at the caprice of the buyer, nor does the latter hold the scales. In this sin gle integration of the steel corporation is represented about 40 per cent of the steel production of America. The rest is mostly in the hands of a few large mpanies. In ordinary times the steel corporation, by example, stabilizes all steel prices. If this is permissible (it is even desirable, because stable and fair prices are essential to solid and continued prosperity) why would It be wrong for the farmers to utilize central agencies that would have similar effects on agricultural products? Something like that is what they are aiming at. Some farm compactness and contiguity, such as the citrus-fruit-raisers of California, already have found a way legally to merge and sell their products integrally and in accordance with seasonal local demand, thus improving their position and rendering the con sumer a reliable service of ensured quality, certain supply, and reasonable and relatively steady prices. They have not found it necessary to resor to any special privilege, or to claim any exemption under the anti-trust legislation of the state or nation. Without removing local control, they have built up a very efficient marketing The grain, cotton, and to agency. bacco farmers, and the producers of hides and wool, because of their numbers and the vastness of their regions. and for other reasons, have found integration a more difficult task ugh there are now some thousands of farmer's co-operative elevators. warehouses, creamerles, and other enterprises of one sort and another, with a turn-over of a billion dollers a year They are giving the farmers business experience and training, and, so far as they go, they meet the need of honest weighing and fair grading; but they do not meet the requirements of rationally adjusted marketing in any large and fundamental way. The next step, which will be a pat tern for other groups, is now being prepared by the grain-raisers through the establishment of sales media which shall handle grain separately or collectively, as the individual farmer may elect. It is this step-the plan of the Committee of Seventeen-which has created so much opposition and is thought by some to be in conflict with the anti-trust laws. Though there is now before congress a measure designed to clear up doubt on this point, the grain-producers are not relying on any immunity from anti-trust legisla-They desire, and they are ention. titled, to co-ordinate their efforts just as effectively as the large business interests of the country have done. In connection with the selling organizations the United States Grain Growers Incorporated is drafting a scheme of financing instrumentalities and auxiliary agencies which are indispensable to the successful utilization of modern business methods It is essential that the farmers should proceed gradually with these plans, and aim to avoid the error of scrapping the existing marketing machinery, which has been so laboriously



HUBUES AVENGE BENEFACIOR Down-and-Outers Drag In Man for

Stealing Stickpin From Social Worker.

New York .- The down-and-outers of the Bowery scoured lodging houses and poolrooms and then dragged before the police a man whom they ac used of having snatched a \$125 stickpin from Herman Muller, a social vorker, in an east-side restaurant early today.

Muller was following his weekly cusom of distributing free "feeds" to the onomically unlucky, with the an forturate ones telling him their troubles during the meal, when two of his guests set upon him and escaped with the pin.

A detective to whom Muller reported his loss climbed on a table and told the down-and-outers that it was a shame for their benefactor to be treated so shabbily and that if they did not get the culprits they would have him to reckon with.

Fumes From Still Kill Girl.

Detroit, Mich .- Fumes from a whisky still killed Grace Bartoleta, three years old. Little hope is held for the recovery of her two sisters and mother. who were also overcome.

More Teachers Than Soldiers, Costa Rica is unique among modern nations, inasmuch as it has more teachers than it has soldiers.

loss.



Keep Your Eyes Young

Since so many young people wear glasses, the old idea tqat they make a person look old is seldom mentioned. The truth is that putting off wearing glasses when they are needed is what makes many people's faces look older than they are.



C. P. STAFFORD, Agent.

zagged out sidewise from still other Wesley Benders; nevertheless, he found one of these and it proved to be He engaged it wildly at fisticuffs; pounded it upon the countenance and drove it away. Then he sat down upon the curbstone and, with his dizzy eyes shut, leaned forward for the better accommodation of his ensanguined nose

Wesley had retreated to the other side of the street, holding a grimy handkerchief to the midmost parts of his pallid face. "There, you ole d-n pup!" he shouted, in a voice which threatened a sob. "I guess that'll teach you to be careful how you mention Dora Yocum's name on the public streets !"

At this, Ramsey made a motion as if to rise and pursue, whereupon Westey fled, walling back over his shoulder as he ran, "You wait till I ketch you out alone on the public streets and I'IL-'

His voice was lost in an outburst of hooting from his former fliends, who sympathetically surrounded the wounded Ramsey. But in a measure, at least, the chivalrous fugitive had won his point. He was routed and outdone, yet what survived the day was a rumor, which became a sort of tenuous legend among those interest ed. There had been a fight over Dora Yocum. It appeared, and Ramsey Milholland had attempted to maintain something derogatory to the lady. while Wesley defended her as a knightly youth should.

The boys, unmindful of proper gallantry, supported Ramsey on account of the way he had persisted in lickin the stuffin' out of Wesley Bender after receiving that preliminary wallop from Wesley's blackjack bundle of bocks The girls petted and championed Wesley; they talked outrageously of his conqueror; flercely declaring that he ought to be arrested; and for weeks they maintained a new manner toward They kept their facial expres him. cept as impediments to the advance of learning, she did not even look demure

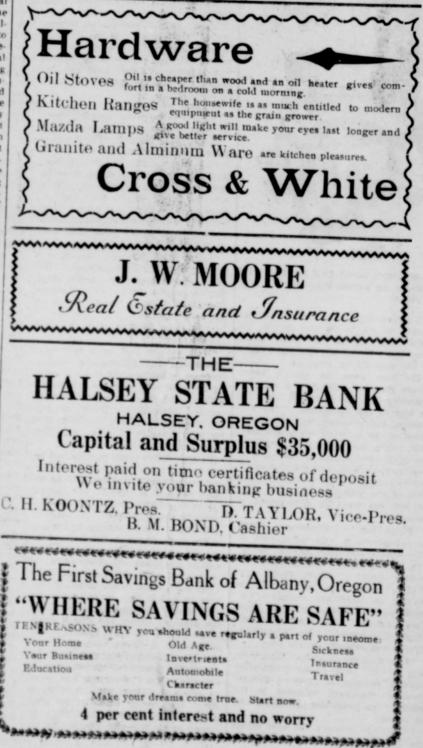
(To be continued)

Advice That Country. Advice is like snow; the softer it falls, the longer it dwells upon and the deeper it sinks into the mind -Coleridge.

The Farm Loan banks are pointed to as an instance of special government favor for farmers. Are they not rather the outcome of laudable efforts to equalize rural and urban conditions? And about all the government does there is to help set up an administrative organization and lend a little credit at the start. Eventually the farmers will provide all the capital and carry all the liabilities themselves. It is true that Farm Loan bonds are tax exempt; but so are bonds of municipal light and traction plants, and new housing is to be exempt from taxation, in New York, for ten years.

On the other hand, the farmer reads of plans for municipal housing projects that run into the billions, of hundreds of millions annually spent on the merchant marine; he reads that the railways are being favored with increased rates and virtual guaranties of earnings by the government, with the result to him of an 'ncreased toll on all that he sells and all that he buys. He hears of many manifestations of governmental concern for particular industries and interests. Resuing the railways from insolvency is undoubtedly for the benefit of the country as a whole, but what can be of more general benefit than encouragement of ample production of the principal necessaries of life and their even flow from contented producers to satisfied consumers?

While it may be conceded that special governmental aid may be necessary in the general interest, we must all agree that it is difficult to see why agriculture and the production and distribution of farm products are not accorded the same opportunities that are provided for other businesses; especially as the enjoyment by the farmer of such opportunities would appear to be even more contributory to the ges-



100