

STATE OF NEW YORK

PUBLIC PAPERS

OF

MARTIN H. GLYNN

GOVERNOR

1913-1914

ALBANY
J. B. LYON COMPANY, PRINTERS
1925

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Martin H. Glynn was elected Lieutenant-Governor November 5, 1912, taking office on January 1, 1913. He became Acting Governor August 18, 1913, and Governor October 17, 1913, on which date he took the oath of office before Edgar M. Cullen, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals.

I
MESSAGES TO THE LEGISLATURE
[7]

I

MESSAGES TO THE LEGISLATURE

Annual Message

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *January 7, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

At a time when the national administration through wise tariff and currency legislation is placing the business of the nation upon a sound and proper basis, it is important that our State administration should supplement these splendid achievements by devoting proper thought and action to the business of the State.

In recent years the attention of New York has been turned almost completely to social and political questions. As a result, the ordinary business of the State has been practically ignored.

The last session of the Legislature settled the more important of these questions and cleared the way for a needed consideration of our financial problems.

The direct primary gave us freedom in the selection of our candidates, and freedom in the election of our officials. The labor measures which resulted from the Wagner-Smith Factory Investigating Commission are progressive milestones in industrial legislation. The reorganization of the State Health Department puts us abreast of the best hygienic standards of Europe, and our Workmen's Compensation Act occupies a prominent place in the nation's progressive laws. The investigation of irregularities in State departments is being vigorously pushed and will not stop until the guilty have been discovered and punished. What is of

equal importance, steps are being taken to prevent a recurrence of such crimes against the State.

THE PROBLEM WHICH CONFRONTS THE STATE

The most serious problem now confronting us is the question of State finances.

The problem is a hard one. It demands careful thought and heroic treatment. For several years our indirect taxes met the running expenses of the State Government and left a comfortable surplus. A prodigality in expenditure, a recklessness in appropriations, the repairs to the capitol, made necessary by the fire, the erection of the State Education Building, permanent improvements on an extensive scale in our charitable and penal institutions, the highway maintenance expense, together with the sinking fund contributions and the interest charges upon the canal and highway debt, have produced an acute financial situation.

This Legislature faces requests for appropriations amounting approximately to \$63,000,000. Our receipts for the coming year from indirect sources are estimated at \$41,000,000.

We cannot materially increase our receipts; we must decrease our expenditures. To meet the difference between our income and the expenditures requested would mean the imposition of a direct tax of two and one-fourth mills upon the taxpayers of the State. The exactions of local taxation are already so burdensome in our various municipalities that such a tax would be a hardship upon our people.

This burden must be avoided by a curtailment in the State's expenses, by the refusal to grant a single unnecessary dollar for any public purpose, and by a determination to see that the State gets a dollar's worth of service or a dollar's worth of material for every dollar expended.

Needless employees must be dropped from the service, unnecessary offices must be abolished, and wherever possible the consolidation of bureaus must be accomplished.

The public service must not be crippled by economy; neither should it be bloated by extravagance. Taxation for extravagance is legislative tyranny.

During the next fiscal year the current expenses of the government should be met by the revenue received from indirect sources.

The direct tax imposed upon the people should not exceed the amount required to pay the interest on our bonded indebtedness, and to provide for the sinking fund contributions. When the people voted upon themselves the expense of the canal and highways they must have known that the indirect revenues of the State could not meet forever the principal and interest on this bonded indebtedness, and at the same time pay the running expenses of the State.

INCREASE IN PER CAPITA EXPENSES

In 1893 New York's total expenditures for all current purposes amounted to \$15,042,310.60. This meant that for every man, woman and child in the State, the State government spent \$2.39. In 1913 the total expenditures for all current purposes amounted to \$50,011,422.53, or a per capita expenditure of \$5.10.

In other words, with a greater population, the State is taking from every citizen more than twice what it took in 1893.

In all fairness it should be borne in mind that this increased expenditure is due, for the most part, to the great public improvements which the people of the State have demanded. Thus the per capita expenditure for 1913 is divided as follows:

For permanent improvements such as new buildings for hospitals, charitable institutions and normal schools, forty-five cents.

For contributions to the sinking fund, sixty-nine cents.

For support of schools, fifty-three cents.

For maintenance and repairs to State highways, fifty-five cents.

For maintenance and repairs to canals, fourteen cents.

For the support of other State departments and institutions, \$2.74.

In 1893 the expenditures from the general fund were \$9,996,108. In 1903 this expenditure was \$15,520,022. In 1913 it was \$41,767,825.

The State's total expenditure for current expenses for the ten years from 1894 to 1903, inclusive, were \$214,923,919.49. These expenditures for the ten years from 1904 to 1913, inclusive, were \$357,141,269.23.

Some of this increase is due to the assumption by the State of new obligations. Canal and highway improvements are responsible for a great part of it. But whatever the causes, the State has reached a point where it must stop and take reckoning of its resources.

A STARTLING REVERSAL

From 1893 to 1906 the receipts of the State mounted rapidly, due to the constant addition of new sources of indirect revenue. During the same period expenditures increased slowly. Consequently in 1906 the indirect receipts were \$6,422.473 greater than the current governmental expenses of the State.

From 1906 to 1913, this condition of affairs has been reversed. Receipts have increased slowly and expenditures have risen with lightning speed. The maximum

indirect revenue has been practically reached, but expenditures have continued to climb. For several years prior to 1906 the per capita revenue from indirect sources increased nearly four times as fast as the expenditures. Since 1906 the per capita expenditures have increased twice as fast as the indirect revenues.

At the present moment the State's expenditures, aside from the millions of fixed charges which the State must meet, have practically overhauled the indirect receipts. The Comptroller estimates that the revenues from indirect sources for next year will be 7 per cent less than the indirect revenues of the current year.

In five years, if the present ratio of increase between receipts and expenses is maintained, the expenditures will be \$4,000,000 greater than the indirect receipts. This of course means that the State will be compelled to raise by direct tax not only the money for its sinking fund but this additional \$4,000,000. Furthermore, the Comptroller estimates that in five years on the present basis, the annual contributions necessary to maintain the sinking fund will have increased \$6,500,000.

To sum up the situation I have figures before me which show that unless New York at once begins to retrench it will be compelled within five years to raise by direct taxation over \$10,000,000 a year more than it does at the present time. This is not a theory, but a fact — a fact which must be ever present in preparing budgets and making appropriations.

There are certain expenditures fixed by law and ordered by the vote of the people of New York. These you cannot alter; the most you can do is to insist that the money you appropriate for these purposes is spent with wisdom and economy.

There is a wide field, however, where in your discretion you can reduce the expenses of the State.

SOME COMPARATIVE FIGURES

In making your appropriations it will be well to remember that while expenditures in the curative division of the general fund increased \$934,036 from 1900 to 1906, they increased \$1,662,869 from 1906 to 1912. That is to say, expenditures in this division mounted twice as fast in the second six years as they did in the first.

Expenditures in the agricultural division increased \$328,092 from 1900 to 1906, and increased \$1,063,848 from 1906 to 1912. In other words, expenditures in this division increased three times as much in the second six years as they did in the first.

Expenditures in the regulative division increased \$226,535 from 1900 to 1906, and increased \$1,218,317 from 1906 to 1912. Which indicates that expenditures in this division increased more than five times as much in the second six years as in the period from 1900 to 1906.

The increase for one year from 1912 to 1913 in the regulative division was \$158,760, in the agricultural \$330,359, and the curative \$632,068.

Which means that the expenditure in the agricultural division increased as much in the last year as it did in the six years from 1900 to 1906, and that the increase in the expenditures of the curative division for the last year was 67 per cent of the total increase for the six years from 1900 to 1906.

The requirements for sinking fund purposes were \$1,518,578.70 in 1905. The expenditures for sinking funds during the year ending September 30, 1913, were \$6,788,983. Under the law this increase could not be avoided.

During this same period, the other increases in expenditure amounted to \$16,000,000. And these in-

creases were due solely and simply to the legislative policy of the government.

AN INVITATION TO EXTRAVAGANCE

The existence of a large surplus from indirect revenues, and the abolition of the direct tax forestalled criticism of the State's expenditures. Departments, institutions and other interests came to the Legislature and secured appropriations which they could not have obtained, if a public burdened with a direct tax had been watching.

For instance, in 1906, after the increase in indirect revenues became known, appropriations began to increase by leaps and bounds. Thirty-nine special bills — local in their nature and carrying large appropriations — were enacted and a policy was adopted of making large appropriations for the construction of new buildings for charitable and hospital institutions.

At the time when the appropriations were made the members of the Legislature may have felt that the public interests required or justified the voting of these vast sums; but we have now reached a point where relief must be given to the overburdened taxpayer, and not a dollar should be appropriated which the interests of the people do not require. Unnecessary expenditures must be prevented; luxuries must be lopped off, sinecures abolished, and the public expenditures reduced to a sum determined only by the prudent needs and just obligations of the people of the State.

The appropriation of \$190,000 from the general fund of the State last session to build a highway from Palenville to Twilight Park should not be followed as a precedent. This sort of legislation is vicious. The people of the State have voted \$100,000,000 for good roads and that is the limit of justice.

Every county is entitled to its proper share of good roads. It can get no less by law; it should get no more by raids upon the general treasury.

OUR MANIFEST DUTY

A general policy of economy must be observed on every hand.

No appropriation should be made which does not benefit the State as a whole. But Statewide movements must, of course, have local beginnings.

No State subsidies should be provided for purely local purposes or purely local institutions.

No new activities or new functions involving appropriations, unless positively demanded by public welfare, should be undertaken by the State until such time as an ample surplus has been accumulated in the State treasury.

No increase in expenditures should be sanctioned except for the purpose of securing greater revenues, compelling greater economy, conserving our natural resources or meeting some extraordinary public emergency.

No appropriations for the maintenance of departments and institutions should be made upon guesswork. They should be based upon actual figures and actual needs.

All appropriations should be for specific purposes and specified amounts.

Every appropriation should be minutely itemized so that not a dollar can be diverted from its lawful purpose.

Above all, appropriations must first be made for necessities. When necessities have been properly provided for, it will be time to consider whether there is any money left to spend upon luxuries.

NO SPECIAL FINANCIAL BILLS BEFORE GENERAL APPROPRIATIONS

I shall feel compelled to veto any special appropriation which reaches me before the imperative appropriations for the necessary maintenance of the government have been made and examined.

DECREASE IN TREASURY SURPLUS

The expenditures of last year were so large, the direct tax so small, that the surplus in the treasury has been cut from \$15,828,960 to \$5,663,618.

The taxpayers of the State must be prepared either to shoulder a large direct tax, or to discourage the illusion that the best legislator is he who brings back the largest appropriation from the State treasury for his home district.

With our indirect revenues decreasing, and expenditures at the zenith, it is necessary to look about us for new sources of revenue, and new methods of economy.

SUGGESTIONS

I suggest, for your consideration, the following fields for revenue and retrenchment:

I. *The Loan Mortgage Lands.* The State now owns nearly 30,000 acres of loan mortgage and school fund lands which cost the State \$350,000. Today these 30,000 acres are bringing in practically no revenue. This is a preposterous situation which should be remedied at once. Through the planting of trees and stocking with game where farming is impracticable, and such other action as naturally suggests itself, these lands should either be converted into a source of considerable revenue, or else sold so that they can be put upon the tax list and thus be a source of profit, instead of loss to the State.

II. *Conservation Generally.* Last year the State received only \$210 for all the vast water power it owns. Words cannot describe this foolish policy. Every water power converted into horse power means employment for our people and riches for our State; every water power allowed to run to waste is a deterrent to the commercial supremacy of New York.

Experts declare that the State is permitting \$50,000,000 to go to waste annually, by its failure to utilize its natural resources. It is certain that through the sale of water power, the salvage of the millions of feet of lumber which annually rot in the State's forests, the decrease of flood losses by reforestation, the planting of productive trees along the State's highways, the leasing of camp sites, and the increasing of game products, the State should command a considerable revenue now lost to it.

III. *The Secured Debt Tax Law.* By proper amendments to this measure, many securities at present not taxable may be compelled to produce added revenues and bear their fair share of the State's expenses.

IV. *Corporation Tax Law.* The Comptroller will shortly submit amendments to the Corporation Tax Law which will overcome difficulties in interpretation and compel a more equitable enforcement of the law to the end that revenue from this source will be considerably increased. In this connection let me suggest that the Private Banking Law needs amendment so that small depositors shall receive better protection.

V. *Distribution of Cost of Permanent Improvements.* At present many institutional buildings, the extensions thereto, and other improvements of a permanent nature are paid for out of the current revenues of government. Steps should be taken to spread this cost over an extended period, through the issuance of

special bonds, so that future taxpayers will be compelled to pay their fair share of these permanent benefits.

VI. *A More Scientific Financing of State Institutions.* A real study should be made of the maintenance of the State's hospitals and prisons. The purchase of supplies, and their use should be scrutinized with the greatest care. The State hospitals should be encouraged to utilize their lands for raising food stuffs. Our charity laws should be revised so that no patient who is able to pay for his maintenance can escape his just obligations.

VII. *Recompense for the Alien Insane.* A report of a special Commissioner shows that of the 32,599 inmates of State hospitals, more than 9,000 are not citizens of the United States. There is no reason why New York should be compelled to bear the expense of their maintenance simply because it is the nation's receiving ground for foreign immigration. A demand should be made upon the Federal government for aid in deporting these aliens, or assistance in supporting them. In ten years — the average hospital residence — the cost of maintaining these helpless aliens amounts to \$18,000,000.

VIII. *The Canal Lands.* There is a growing tendency to give abandoned canal lands to municipalities. This is poor business and worse morals. All the people of the State paid for these lands and all the people should receive some benefit from them. The canal lands shortly to be abandoned are estimated to be worth somewhere between half a million and a million dollars. The State should not relinquish its title to them without an adequate compensation. They should be sold for their full value — not given away.

IX. *Abolition of Supply Bill.* All grants of money should be contained in one appropriation bill. Under the budget system this should be easily effected. Those receiving appropriations from the State, have more and more each year ignored the plain purpose of the appropriation to provide funds for a single fiscal year, and have created obligations in excess of the amount appropriated, so that the Supply Bill, carrying such items has increased from \$3,809,925.60 in 1907 to \$5,709,331.66 in 1913. The Supply Bill is the State's pork-barrel bill. As an invitation to extravagance, it should be abolished.

X. *Care in Appropriations.* One cause for increased expenditures is found in the fact that interested people have presented arguments to the Legislature of more or less force, whereby they secured appropriations greatly in excess of the needs of the fiscal year, only to return the following year and ask a still larger appropriation, notwithstanding the fact that there were in the State treasury large unexpended balances of the previous appropriation. By compelling the use of an appropriation for the payment of obligations incurred during the fiscal year for which the appropriation was made and for no other purpose, it is evident that these practices will cease and the yearly appropriations will represent the real cost of the support of the government. The return of unused appropriations to the treasury must result in a considerable decrease in the total amount of the appropriations required for the coming year.

XI. *Excessive Appropriations.* A remedy for existing conditions is to be found in making appropriations conform to the actual cost of the support of the government. The history of appropriations made for institutions and for departments in a less degree, shows

constant reappropriation of money which they have been unable to use. It must be evident to any one that these excesses should not have been appropriated in the first instance. This is shown by any of the appropriations for the State hospitals. In 1912 the appropriations made for maintenance of the State hospitals were \$6,798,666. The actual expenditures for maintenance were \$6,458,924. By different schemes of shifting the expenditures which were not for maintenance so that they were charged against maintenance appropriations, \$340,000 was used up and the Legislature of 1913 was asked and persuaded to make a deficiency appropriation for maintenance.

XII. *Unnecessary Legislation.* One of the great errors of modern thought is the notion that a people can be made permanently prosperous by legislation. Abuses may be remedied; wrongs may be righted by legislation. But the greatest right possessed by a free people and one with which legislation should not interfere, is that of pursuing without governmental interference their individual fortunes in a manner that preserves to each of the citizens that broad liberty of action within the law which does not infringe upon the rights of another. There is too much governmental activity, and too general a notion that difficulties and troubles essentially belonging to and inseparable from human nature can be removed by legal enactments. I strongly urge upon you, wherever possible in your judgment, the abolition or consolidation of departments or bureaus, rather than the extension thereof.

XIII. *A Short Session.* Long sessions are a drain upon the members of the Legislature, and a source of expense and disquiet to the State. Private considerations and public spirit both urge the Legislature to complete its important work with all possible expedition.

THE SINKING FUND

In addition to the problem of economy, there is another question to which this Legislature should provide a satisfactory answer. State finance will not be placed upon a sound basis until some scientific disposition is made of the contributions to the sinking fund.

SQUEEZING THE TAXPAYERS OF TODAY

The surplus in the sinking fund is of no advantage to the State; on the contrary it represents a serious and unnecessary drain upon the taxpayers of the present generation. The ultimate purpose of a sinking fund is to distribute the cost of permanent public improvements over an extended period. It should provide a means to make the taxpayers of the future share equally with the taxpayer of the present the expense of a lasting public benefit. The fact that there is a surplus in the sinking fund shows that the sinking fund is not fairly distributing its burden. It means that the men of today are paying more than their fair share of the cost of public improvements.

At a time when the entire nation is complaining of the high cost of living it is not wise to allow an unfair discrimination against the present taxpayers of New York. An overburdened present should not be asked to pay the debts of the future.

A PREPOSTEROUS SITUATION

Through mistakes in fixing tax rates, and increases in assessed valuation, several of the sinking funds show accumulations out of all proportion to what is just and equitable. In sinking fund No. 3, for instance, \$21,000,000 worth of bonds have been issued in the last eight years. In that sinking fund to meet a principal of \$21,000,000 we have piled up in eight years

over \$16,000,000, and the bonds still have forty-two years to run. The taxpayers of the present have raised over \$16,000,000 and left only \$4,500,000 for the taxpayers of the next forty-two years to provide. The tax rate was based upon a bond issue of \$99,000,000, when only \$21,000,000 have been issued.

This same unfair situation exists in nearly all the subdivisions of the sinking fund. During 1906, 1907 and 1908, through a mathematical error, we made contributions to the sinking fund for \$78,000,000 worth of bonds which were not issued and never have been issued. All the money necessary to retire an issue of \$21,000,000 of 3 per cent bonds will be raised and in the State treasury thirty-three years before it is needed, unless the State adopts some more scientific method of caring for its sinking fund.

It was certainly never intended that such an absurd and unjust situation should exist. The sinking fund must be placed upon a better basis.

NO RAID UPON THE SINKING FUND

I am opposed to any raid upon the sinking fund. Constitutionally, the State could not, if it would, take over the sinking fund surplus for current expenses, and, even if it could, the spirit of sound finance would oppose molesting the protection which the laws give to investors in State bonds. Not a dollar should be drawn from the sinking fund; not a dollar can be used for the general support of government; not a single security should be touched. New York State bonds rank among the world's best securities, and should be kept in that enviable place. But no investor will object to a readjustment of contributions to the sinking fund which will relieve him, and every other taxpayer, of an unnecessary burden.

A PLAN FOR READJUSTMENT

Various plans for this readjustment have been suggested and discarded in the past because they failed to consider the rights of the holders of State bonds. After conferences with State officials, financial experts and large holders of State securities, I have found a way to readjust the sinking fund with satisfaction to all concerned. The plan is based upon the theory that it is entirely proper to consider part of the bonds as provided for in full, and to pro-rate contributions to the sinking fund for the remaining bonds over the period which these bonds still have to run.

This plan is approved by lawyers, bankers and holders of State bonds, and I shall forward their letters of approval to the finance committees of both houses.

These lawyers and financial experts agree with me that a proper, legal and equitable distribution of contributions to the sinking fund will save the taxpayers of the State over \$2,000,000 a year, for many years to come, and, at the same time, protect the rights of bondholders and uphold the honor and credit of the State.

As I construe the Constitution, it directs the Legislature to provide, by taxation, a sinking fund to meet the obligations chargeable against it as they mature. This the creditors of the State have a right to exact; this the taxpayers have the right to expect.

It is unnecessary for the interests of bondholders and unjust to the rights of taxpayers to maintain a tax rate which accumulates a sinking fund out of all proportion to the debt chargeable against it.

The policy I propose is still further urged by the provision of the Constitution that the sinking fund shall be used for no other object than the specific purpose for which it was created.

Because of the great importance of this subject, I urge it upon you for careful consideration and wise action at this session.

NO NEED FOR PESSIMISM

There are other matters which I shall call to your attention in the near future. The question of State finances, however, is of such vital importance that I prefer not to cloud it with references to other problems.

Though this message places sober emphasis upon the State's financial condition, it is the emphasis of resolution and not of disquiet. There is cause for action, but not for alarm; for earnestness, but not for pessimism.

New York is spending money lavishly, but its magnificent credit is unimpaired. It is attempting, and performing, great things, in public improvements, in charitable works, in every field of social and economic advance. The State is virile and rich, and for that very reason richly deserves prudent government.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

[I append hereto a summary of the State's finances, of receipts and expenditures for 1913, to which your attention is respectfully called. I further append charts illustrating the increase in expenditures between 1893 and 1913.]

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TREASURY DURING THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1913, ARE REFLECTED IN THE SUMMARIZED
STATEMENT FOLLOWING:

Balance of cash on hand September 30, 1912.... \$35,882,937 47

Receipts (including transfers
between funds):

General fund:

| | | |
|--|-----------------|------------------|
| Direct State tax and special tax for court expenses.... | \$11,154,114 25 | |
| Excise tax | 9,280,681 65 | |
| Corporation tax | 10,910,529 13 | |
| Organization of corporations. | 455,512 50 | |
| Transfers (inheritance tax). | 12,724,236 86 | |
| Stock transfer (stamp tax) .. | 2,927,810 88 | |
| Secured debt tax..... | 1,167,476 04 | |
| Mortgages | 1,647,710 82 | |
| Motor vehicles | 1,267,832 95 | |
| Other sources | 3,914,048 16 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total general fund..... | \$55,449,953 24 | |
| Canal fund | 32,087,433 44 | |
| Highway improvement fund..... | 12,123,357 73 | |
| Saratoga Springs State Reserva- tion fund | 385,000 00 | |
| Palisades Interstate Park fund... | 139,032 59 | |
| Trust funds..... | 1,064,217 57 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total receipts | 101,248,994 57 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | \$137,131,932 04 |

Expenditures (including transfers between funds) :

General fund :

For the support of state government, maintenance, construction and betterments of institutions, etc., and maintenance and repairs of canals and highways.....

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Canal debt sinking funds..... | \$42,937,810 91 |
| Highway debt sinking fund..... | 4,442,263 33 |
| Palisades Interstate Park debt sinking fund | 2,237,590 67 |
| Saratoga Springs State Reservation for debt and interest..... | 139,032 59 |
| | 131,100 00 |

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Total general fund..... | \$49,887,797 50 |
| Canal fund | 27,213,579 48 |
| Highway improvement fund..... | 15,947,179 92 |
| Saratoga Springs State Reservation fund | 284,880 76 |
| Palisades Interstate Park fund.. | 100,000 00 |
| Trust funds | 1,547,937 15 |

Total expenditures \$94,981,374 81

Balance of cash on hand September 30, 1913.... \$42,150,557 23

Calling Attention to the Need of Remedial Financial Legislation in Order to Avoid the Levying of a Direct Tax

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *August 27, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Your attention is respectfully called to the pressing need of financial legislation.

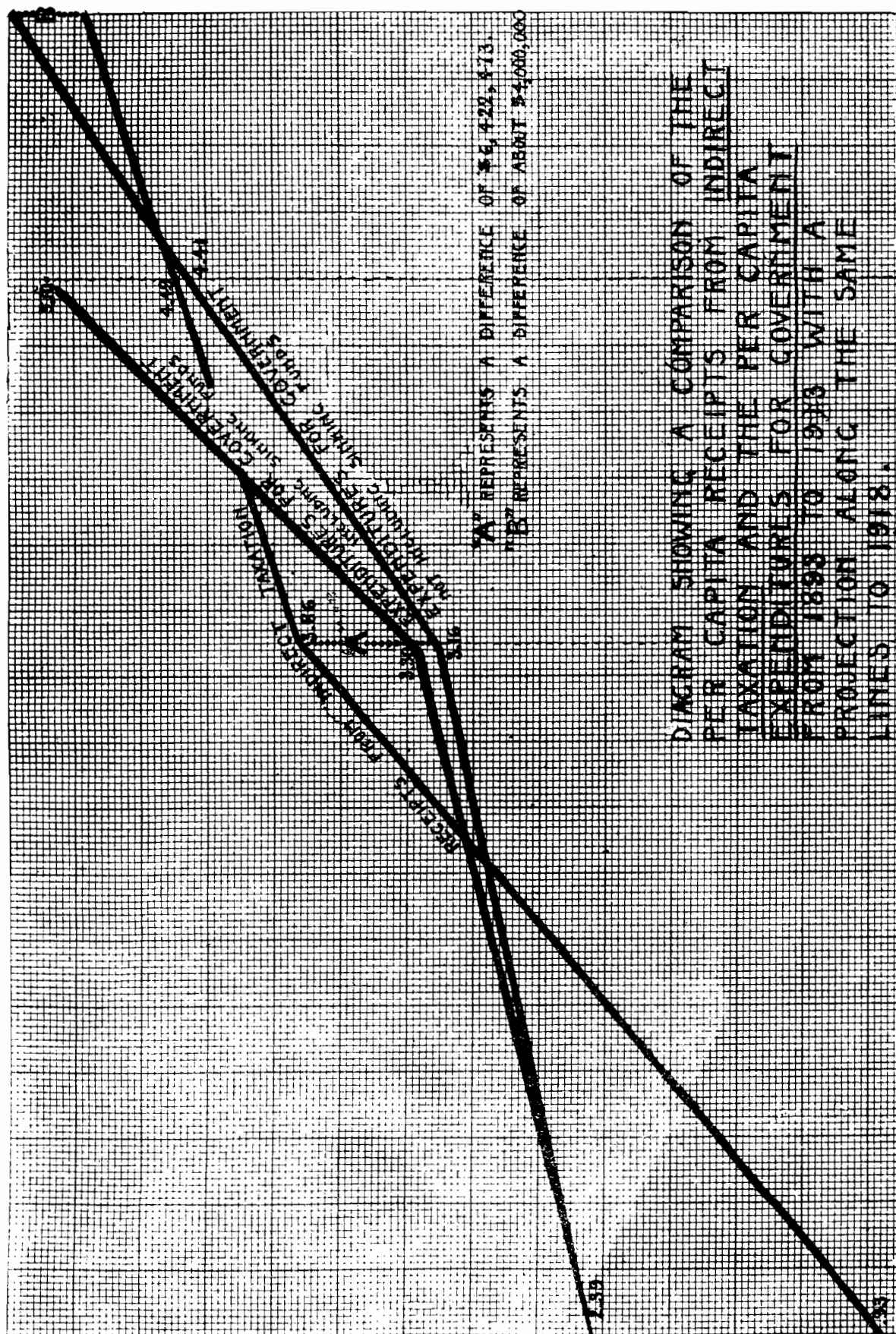
Unless the State is to default in interest payments upon its bonds, it is necessary for the Legislature immediately to make provisions for a direct tax. To avert this stigma upon the majesty of the State, this menace to its credit, the several counties must soon be in possession of authority to levy a State tax.

The condition of the State's finances is the most important problem confronting us. In the tumult of other issues the all-important question of ways and means has been sadly overlooked, and less important questions have forced into obscurity the momentous problem of how the State is going to pay its debts.

Through unusual items in the regular appropriation bills and numerous special appropriations the expenses of the State have been increased to a degree demanding serious consideration. If the present policy is continued the expenses of the State will soon largely outstrip the revenues and necessitate a heavy direct tax. It should be the serious study of all public officials to avoid the imposition of this burden upon the people. The condition of the finances of the State demand a halt for the time being upon the special appropriations except for purposes absolutely necessary.

The appropriations of 1913 from the general fund are \$47,856,595. The sinking fund requirements are \$9,725,398, making the total obligations to be provided for this year \$57,581,994, an increase of \$4,392,759 over

CHART NO. 1



1893

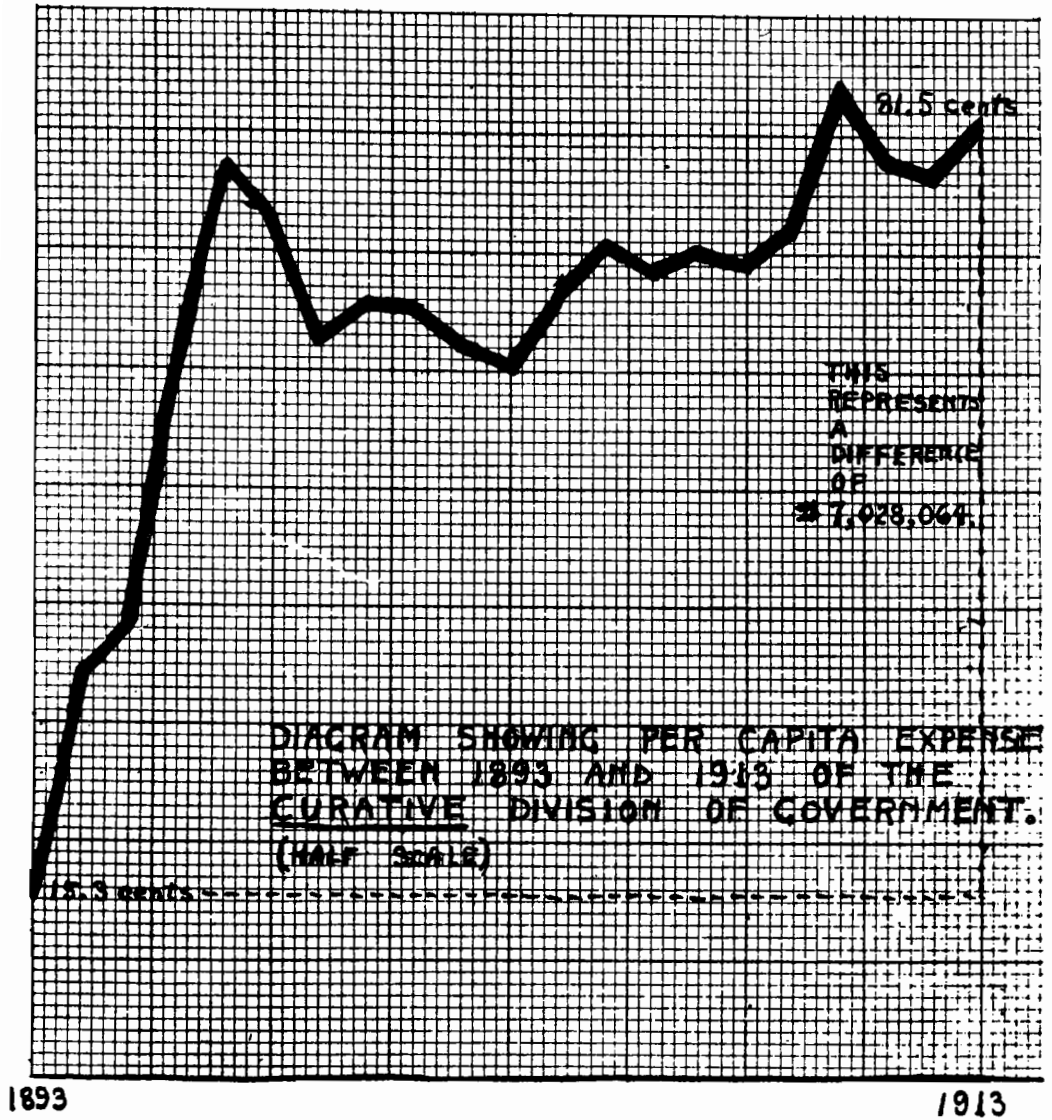
1906

1913

1918

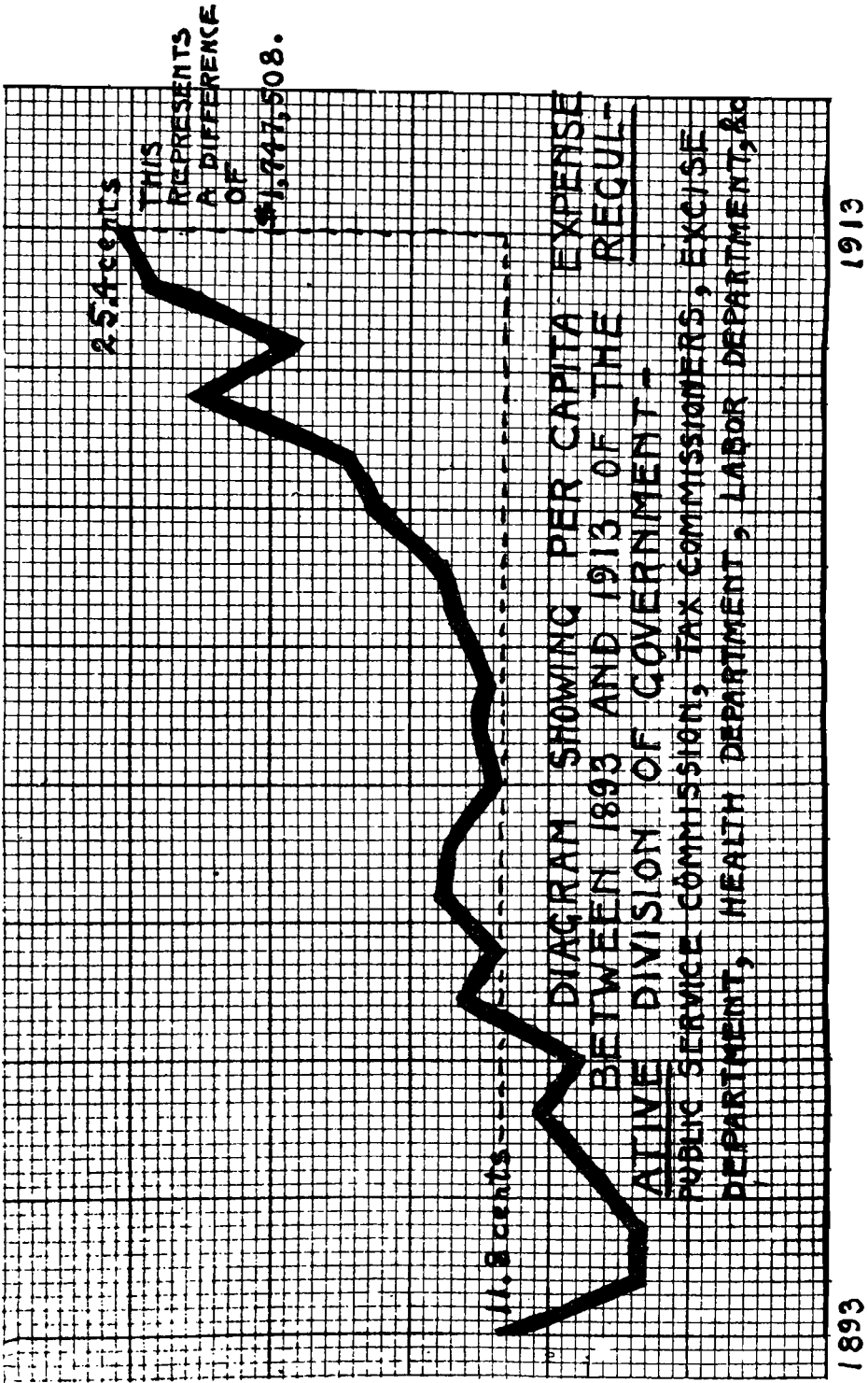
This diagram illustrates how the expenses of State government have overhauled the indirect revenue from all sources. In five years, if the present rate of increase is maintained, expenditures, exclusive of sinking fund contributions, will exceed indirect revenue by \$4,000,000. Including sinking fund contributions, expenditures will exceed indirect revenue by \$10,500,000.

CHART NO. 2.



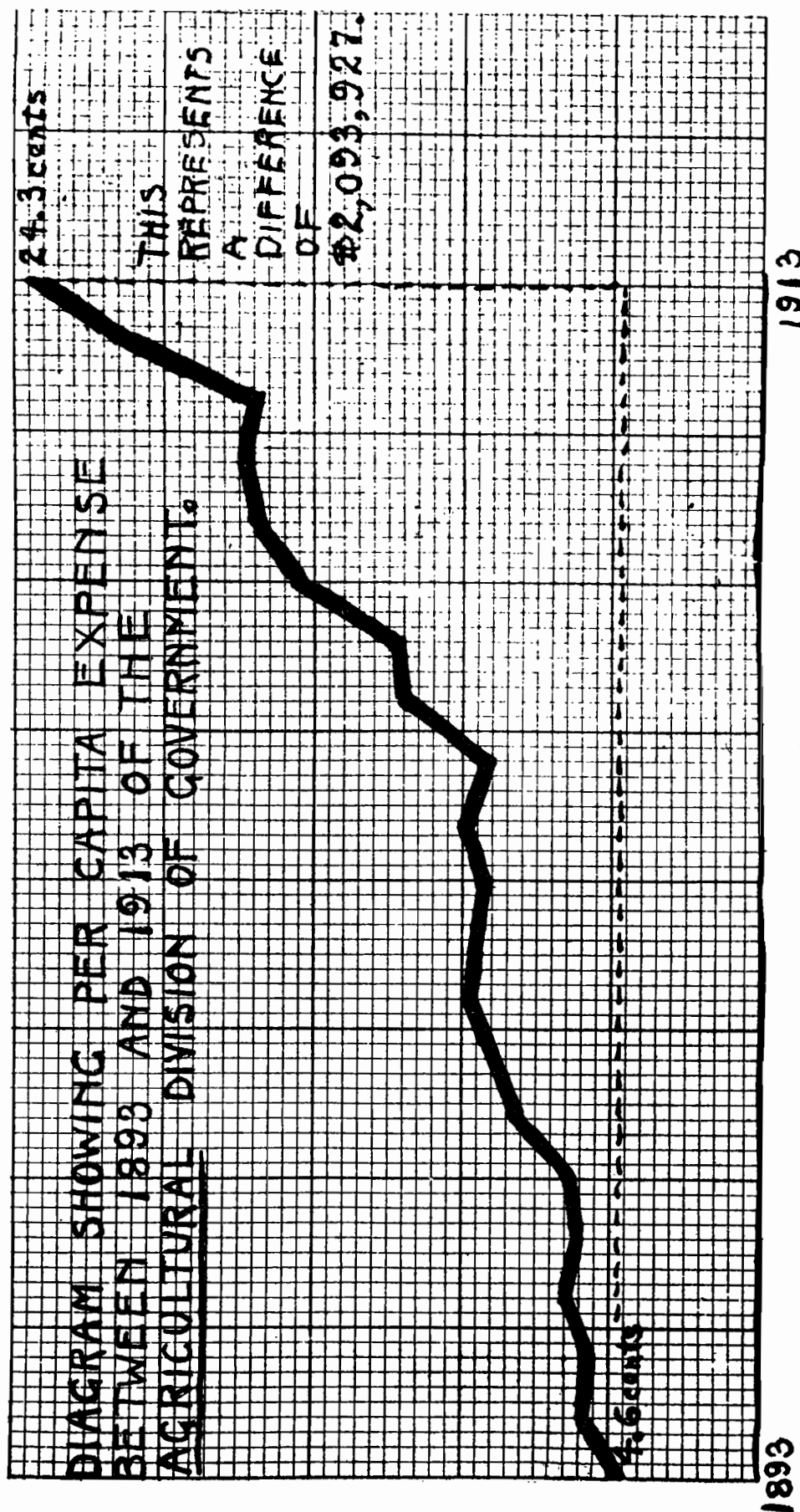
This illustrates the increase from 1893 to 1913 in the annual per capita expenditures of the curative division of government, which includes State hospitals and the maintenance and care of the insane.

CHART NO. 3.



This illustrates the increase from 1893 to 1913 in the annual per capita expenditures of the regulatory division of government, which includes the Public Service Commission, State Board of Tax Commissioners, the Departments of Excise, Health, and Labor, etc.

CHART NO. 4.



This illustrates the increase from 1893 to 1913 in the annual per capita expenditures of the agricultural division of government, which division includes the Department of Agriculture, distribution for the promotion of agriculture, agricultural education, etc.

last year. To meet this great demand upon the State's resources it was estimated on January first last that at the beginning of the fiscal year there would be a surplus of \$11,589,758, and that revenues would be increased to the amount of \$40,210,000, and that former appropriations would lapse to the extent of \$625,000. The total estimated resources are \$52,424,759. This amount is almost \$10,000,000 less than the amount required to meet the obligations of the State for the current year. It has happened, however, that the revenue derived from the transfer inheritance tax is now estimated to be at least \$3,000,000 greater than the estimate at the beginning of the year. Therefore, by using at least \$8,000,000 of the surplus, and by the imposition of a direct tax of approximately six-tenths of a mill for the sinking fund requirements of the canal and Palisades bonds, the State will be able to meet its obligations and preserve a surplus sufficient to properly conduct the State's business.

The Legislature of 1914 will be compelled to inaugurate some entirely different policy in the treatment of the State's finances than has been pursued this year.

It is unreasonable to expect that there will be any addition to the revenues from indirect sources another year. The sinking fund requirements alone will amount to about twelve millions of dollars, involving an imposition of a direct tax of at least one and one-tenth mills. There will be no eight millions of dollars surplus another year to be used to meet the expenditures of the government. A continuation of the present fiscal policy of the State means the imposition next year of a two-mill direct tax, a burden which ought not to be imposed upon the taxpayers, if any plan of retrenchment can be adopted to avoid it.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN,
Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor.

**Recommending an Appropriation for the Expenses of
the Legislature During the Extraordinary Session**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *August 27, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend that the Legislature appropriate a reasonable amount of money to pay the necessary expenses of the Legislature during the extraordinary session, and also for the expense of legislative committees which have already been appointed, but are unable to perform any of their duties because of the lack of funds.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN,
Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor.

**Calling Attention to the Need for an Appropriation to
Meet the Liability of the State for the Destruction
of Tubercular Cattle**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *August 27, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend the passage of legislation appropriating necessary sums of money required to pay the damages owed by this State for diseased cattle condemned and destroyed by the Department of Agriculture.

I am informed by the Commissioner of Agriculture that the State at this time owes to various citizens whose cattle have been destroyed the sum of \$217,157.45, as that sum is figured and allowed at the rates provided by statute. It seems unnecessary to argue that the State of New York should not impose upon its citizens unnecessary delay in reimbursing

them according to its statutory requirements for property of which it deprives them. In many instances the owners of the cattle destroyed are citizens who cannot well afford to be deprived of their property and to be compelled to wait an unreasonable time for the reimbursement which the very statute that authorizes the deprivation commands shall be paid to them. The State of New York should not sanction such an injustice. The Legislature at the earliest opportunity should take up the consideration of this matter so that the citizens of the State shall receive at the hands of the government of the State that treatment which fair dealing requires.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN,
Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor.

Recommending Appropriation for the Payment of the Expenses Incident to the Trial by Impeachment

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *September 17, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The expense incident to the conduct of the business of the court for the trial of impeachment must necessarily be provided for by the State. By the provision of the Constitution of the State certain compensation to the members of the court is provided and many incidental expenses must be met. As there is no appropriation now available for the purpose of defraying the expenses mentioned, it will be necessary, in the orderly administration of the government, for the Legislature to make provision therefor.

Therefore I recommend such legislation upon this subject as shall to the Legislature seem wise. All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN,
Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor.

**Urging the Confirmation of James M. Lynch, of
Syracuse, as Commissioner of Labor**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *October 22, 1913*

TO THE SENATE:

Herewith, I am transmitting to your honorable body the name of James M. Lynch, of Syracuse, for the position of Commissioner of Labor. My purpose in sending you this message is to urge his immediate confirmation.

The safeguarding of the rights of the more than a million and a quarter of the inhabitants of this State who are employed in the factories and workshops and in the various occupations and employments which come within the purview of the State labor laws, has been the concern of the Legislature of this State for a number of years past. The lives, health and comfort of these employees have been sought to be protected by wise provisions of those laws. Labor law legislation has necessarily been a development from experience, and it is safe to say that the labor laws of this State have now reached a stage of advancement which puts this State in the front rank among its sister States in the wisdom of this class of legislation. In our recent statutes on this subject, the Department of Labor has been enlarged in the powers and scope of authority which it is authorized to exercise. This

legislative policy has been, in a large measure, the result of much prudent, careful and exhaustive research, and a large share of the credit for this great development is justly attributable to the efforts of the Wagner-Smith factory investigating committee, the results of the investigations by it having been availed of in the amendment of the labor laws.

While much might be said in regard to the perfection of the laws upon this subject in our State, it must suffice for my present purpose to simply call your attention to the fact, which you will readily concede, that the Labor Department in this State is one of the most important instrumentalities of government for the general welfare of the people of the State. A wise administration of this department must insure the betterment of conditions among those who are employed throughout the State and must likewise result in great benefits to those who employ labor. As one of the most important of the State departments this department should be officered and equipped so that the wise laws upon this subject may be administered and enforced for the accomplishment of their beneficent purposes.

Unfortunately, for several months past, the Department of Labor has been in a disorganized condition and without a chief executive officer. The best interests of the State counsel that this condition must not continue for a single moment longer than is necessary for the selection, appointment and qualification of a suitable head for the department. The concerns of the State, the rights of its great body of citizens, embraced in those known as employers and employed, demand at our hands a prompt and efficient solution of this difficulty. I have given to it my most mature and careful consideration. I believe that I have solved

the difficulty to the best advantage of the people of the State in the nomination of the gentleman whose name I have sent to your honorable body. I am convinced that he is a man of such distinguished capacity for this particular work, of such splendid reputation for wisdom in administrative ways, of such high integrity, demonstrated through years of active service in lines which furnish the highest test, that you may readily advise and consent to his appointment in the interest of the Department of Labor and for the prompt attainment of a satisfactory administration and enforcement of the labor laws of the State.

The gentleman whose name I have submitted to you has the highest indorsements, both as to his character and capacity, for this position. I personally regard him, after a knowledge of his semi-public character, covering many years, as an ideal man for the position in question. The State Federation of Labor, at its convention in Utica, last September, did him the extraordinary honor of an unanimous indorsement for this position. More than three hundred delegates, I am informed, attended that great convention, representing the members of organized labor throughout the State. So distinguished an indorsement, coming, as it did, with unanimity and free accord, commands our attention and respect.

There have been presented to me indorsements from many labor organizations pointedly directing attention to the high character and splendid achievements of this candidate. Many distinguished citizens of this State, anxious for the promotion of good government, have urged upon me the wisdom of this appointment. Nearly every newspaper in the great city of New York and a great majority of the newspaper press out-

side of the city of New York have commended Mr. Lynch in the highest terms and seem to favor his appointment.

But his indorsement for this position is not confined to the representatives of organized labor and the newspaper press. I am gratified to know that, by his conservative and wise treatment of the affairs of labor, he has earned the respect and confidence and support of many of those who may be called the employers of the State. From many manufacturers and employers of labor, I am pleased to tell you, have come the most cordial and insistent recommendations for the appointment of Mr. Lynch to this position. He thus stands commended by the great labor organizations of the State, by the newspaper press of the State, by many distinguished citizens and by a great body of the employing owners and managers who have come in contact with him and know his fairness, his justice, his competency and his wisdom.

For this most important position of Commissioner of Labor, with such recommendations carrying, as they must, the weight of certain conviction that the selection is a wise one in the interest of the State, I have no hesitation in urging upon your honorable body the immediate confirmation of the nomination which I have sent to you, both because of the exceptional merits of the nominee, and because of the imperative importance of placing at the earliest moment possible the Department of Labor in a position, manned and equipped, to do its great work to the highest efficiency for the benefit of all the people of the State.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Transmitting Communication from the State Comptroller in Relation to Tax on Transfer of Stock and Recommending Appropriate Legislation

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *November 10, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I herewith transmit to you a communication from the State Comptroller on the subject of the tax imposed on transfers of stock. It is recommended by the Comptroller that appropriate legislation be passed to safeguard the enforcement of the Tax Law in this regard and to prevent frauds against the law.

I, therefore, recommend for your consideration, this subject.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

STATE OF NEW YORK — COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE

ALBANY, *November 10, 1913*

HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN, *Governor, State of New York, Albany, N. Y.:*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR.—The payment of the tax imposed by article 12 of the Tax Law in relation to the tax on transfers of stock is denoted by the use of adhesive stamps. In order to prevent the loss of revenue to the State through fraud, the manufacture of these stamps necessitates great care as it has been found that by the sale and reuse of stamps once used in the payment of this tax, the State has lost considerable tax.

Stamp dealers in Wall street, using the boys employed in brokers' offices as a conduit both for receipt and resale of these stamps, carried on an extensive business from the sale of such canceled stamps, and it was therefore found necessary for me to secure legis-

lation to prevent this abuse. Accordingly, a bill was drawn and presented to the Legislature of 1911 providing against the sale of stamps by others than the authorized agents and banks, except by permission of the Comptroller. This bill was passed and became Chapter 12 of the Laws of 1911, thus adding to the Tax Law a new section known as Section 271-a.

In the enforcement of this section, an arrest was made for the illegal sale of stock transfer stamps. (People ex rel. Isaacs vs. Moran, A. D. 226, reversed by the Court of Appeals in 206 N. Y. 670, on the dissenting opinion of Scott, J., of the Appellate Division.) It was held that this section was unconstitutional as to stamps purchased after as well as before the date of its enactment.

“We, therefore, are of the opinion” (says Mr. Justice Scott) “that the act of 1911 in so far as it forbids the sale of stamps lawfully purchased before its passage by any persons except those specifically enumerated in the act itself is unconstitutional and invalid. The question remains whether or not it is valid as to the sale of stamps purchased after its passage. If the act applied in terms only to such latter stamps, or if it made provision for the redemption of stamps lawfully purchased before its enactment we should find no difficulty in sustaining its validity.”

This department has in process of manufacture a new issue of stock transfer tax stamps, so different in design that they can easily be distinguished from any heretofore used, and it was thought that this new issue would make constitutional section 271-a, but the Attorney-General, in an opinion rendered this Department under date of July 31, 1913, advised:

“Accordingly, in order to render this section free from constitutional objection it would seem to be neces-

sary to amend it so as to make it in terms apply only to stamps purchased after its passage, or by adding a provision for the redemption of stamps lawfully purchased before its enactment."

This latter opinion of the Attorney-General regarding the redemption of stamps would give to the stamp dealers an opportunity to unload their supply upon the State, and it would necessitate a large appropriation, and I, therefore, think it advisable to adopt the following plans.

The plan devised by me is to put this new issue on the market at once, entirely withdrawing the present issue, and give notice that three months from the date of withdrawing the old issue will be allowed the holders of stamps of the present issue to use the stamps in their possession, and as the Attorney-General has advised me that some provision would also have to be made for the redemption of stamps in possession of the users, after the three months allowed for the use thereof, and in order to offset any future questions as to the constitutionality of the act, I suggest that provision be made for the exchange of stamps and that ninety days be allowed after the expiration of the three months for the exchange of stamps of the old issue for those of the new.

As brokers and general users of stamps rarely purchase a supply for more than one month, and as I have never refused a responsible person permission to sell stamps when proper application by letter has been made stating the number and value of stamps to be sold and the name and address of the purchaser, I deem the plan above suggested by me as the most appropriate and safest.

In view of the court's opinion and that of the Attorney-General it will be necessary to amend sections 270

and 271-a of the Tax Law providing for the new issue and the exchange thereof suggested, and the enclosed bill amending these sections has been drawn by the Attorney-General. I, therefore, request that you recommend to the present session of the Legislature the enactment of this legislation.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM SOHMER,

Comptroller.

By E. S. HARRIS,

Deputy Comptroller.

Special Message Recommending Action on the Following Subjects:

1. General Elections for the Substitution of the Massachusetts Ballot
2. Primary Elections and Nominations for Elective Offices
3. Nomination of Senators to the Congress of the United States
4. Workmen's Compensation
5. State Finance: Appropriations for Administrative and Governmental Purposes
6. Constitutional Convention for the Amendment and Revision of the Constitution

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 8, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The Constitution of our State limits the Legislature's power of initiative in legislative matters, during extraordinary sessions, to those subjects of legislation which may be recommended for consideration by the Governor. I take it that this method of the

Constitution imposes upon the Executive the duty to recommend to the Legislature, so in session, all subjects of legislation, for the immediate consideration and determination of which there is imperative public demand and necessity. In fulfilment of this duty, and to invest the Legislature with constitutional power to act upon certain public questions and measures which, I am convinced, require your immediate consideration and wise action in order that our laws and the orderly administration of public affairs may be brought abreast of the advanced thought and the just demands of our modern civilization, I recommend for your consideration and action six separate subjects of legislation, viz.:

Legislation upon and relating to the subject of general elections;

Legislation upon and relating to the subject of primary elections and nominations for elective offices;

Legislation upon and relating to the subject of the nomination and election of Senators to the Congress of the United States;

Legislation upon and relating to the subject of compensation for injuries and death to workmen, including compulsory compensation;

Legislation upon and relating to the finances of the State and making appropriations for administrative and governmental purposes; and

Legislation upon and relating to the subject of a constitutional convention for the amendment and revision of the Constitution.

I have made the subjects of legislation recommended to you broad and comprehensive, so as to enable you to exercise the widest legislative discretion upon them, confident that it will be your patriotic endeavor to reflect in your deliberations and determina-

tions a cordial, ready and efficient response to the wise and humane public sentiment which counsels and demands the prompt solution of the problems involved. I am also impelled to this course because I recognize that, under the Constitution, you are a co-ordinate branch of the government of the State, not subject to any control or direction by the Executive, but invested with your separate constitutional functions, powers and authority, for the exercise of which you are responsible only to the people of the State, your constituents, and your own sense of public duty.

The power reposed in the Governor is exercised when he recommends these subjects to your consideration. The reasons for recommending them should be stated in order that my duty may be fully discharged, and my action justified.

1. THE MASSACHUSETTS BALLOT

Upon the first subject submitted, I am satisfied that the enlightened public opinion of this day demands a change in our election laws that will substitute, in the place of the ballot now in use, the Massachusetts form of ballot, throwing about the changed method of voting all necessary safeguards to make easy, effective and sure the free exercise by every citizen of the State entitled to vote of the right of the elective franchise. The public opinion which demands this change is the development of years of study and experience upon this subject. The selection of elective public officials should reflect the deliberate intention of the voters. In our day, we have come to recognize that it is unfair and unwise to impose upon our electors a method of voting that is designed to limit or make difficult the free expression of individual choice and judgment. The party column in our present ballot promotes party

voting and hampers individual choice and judgment. The Massachusetts form of ballot, safeguarded as I have suggested, will not only enable, but will require the voter to deliberately express his sovereign will with respect to every office and upon every candidate for office. Such is the duty of good citizenship as the public sentiment of today defines it. Far be it from me to minimize the importance of parties in this great country of ours. I have no misgivings as to the great public good that results from party loyalty and party earnestness in the promotion of wise principles and policies of government. But party membership should recognize and, I am sure, in large measure does recognize that, aside from the organized parties, there is a large and controlling citizenship that refuses to ally itself with any party, and demands, as is its right, the privilege of individual choice, judgment and selection. This great body of our citizenship has as much right as party membership to the equal protection of the law in its exercise of the elective franchise. That it has not that equal protection under the existing method of voting is plain, and, in that fact, lies a great public injustice. This should be remedied. Parties and party membership will not suffer from laws that assure equality to the entire electorate. Parties and party membership have no right to preference in the convenience, safety and efficiency of voting.

Therefore, no injustice to parties or to party members is involved in this change, for parties will endure, and party members will readily accommodate themselves to any method of voting. Equality will be accomplished by this change and an injustice, which has doubtless resulted in much or partial disfranchisement of a large body of our electorate, will be overcome. In this great State, where manhood suffrage

is our proud conception of the right of citizens to participate in our free government, a method of voting which insures equality of right to every elector is just and fair and honorable and squares exactly with our American spirit of fair play.

2. DIRECT PRIMARIES

For years there has been crystallizing, and there is today a pronounced and insistent demand for legislation which will insure to members of political parties equality of participation in party activities. Legislation, now and then, in the years that have passed, although wholly inadequate to meet the demand, has nevertheless established it as the public policy of the State to throw around party management and party primaries the protection of the law. At your session in the year 1911, the first direct primary election law was passed. It evidenced in a pronounced degree the advance of public sentiment upon this subject. But it falls far short of the requirements of today. I need not say to you, for it is known of all men, that public opinion will not now be satisfied with less than a direct primary law, state-wide in its application, which will require the nomination of every candidate for public elective office in the organized parties by the direct vote of the enrolled members of the parties in their party primaries, without the intervention of delegates or conventions, and with the absolute assurance of exact equality to all candidates for party nominations. The existing Primary Law has abolished all nominating conventions, except the State convention. Legislation, responsive to unmistakable public opinion, is now demanded which will abolish State conventions and leave to party membership in the party primaries the direct nomination of candidates to be elected by the entire

State. To insure equality among party members in party primaries, this same public opinion demands the simplification of the method of primary voting, such as would result from the requirement of the Massachusetts form of ballot, the withdrawal of the party emblem, the abolition of the system of party designations and the reduction to the minimum of wisdom of the number of electors required upon designating petitions. These changes will unquestionably make for equality. The use of the Massachusetts form of ballot will insure and require deliberate selection of candidates. The withdrawal of the party emblem and the abolition of party designations will prevent, to a great extent, organization preference among candidates. The reduction of the number of signers upon designating petitions will open the field to all aspirants, limited only by the requirement that they show by their designating petitions sufficient popular support to justify the public expenditures involved in printing their names upon the ballot.

Public opinion demands such a direct primary law with the details worked out to make it fair and efficient for the accomplishment of the general purpose. I am well aware that there is a very respectable difference of opinion as to the wisdom of some of these changes, notably as to the abolition of State conventions. I need not recount the arguments, *pro* and *con*, for they are well known. It is my conviction that the people, whose servants we are, have weighed all these arguments and have decided, as unmistakable public opinion clearly evinces, that the State convention, as well as all the other conventions, must be discarded, and that all party nominations for elective office must be made by the enrolled party members directly by their votes in the party primaries. If I am right in my estimate of public opinion, I am sure that you will readily

respond to it by the enactment into law of this public desire. The sufficient reason is that the public demands it. The justification for it, I am confident, will be found in the equality of participation which it will insure to party members, thereby making party management reflect party sentiment, and giving to party activities the vigor, strength, virtue and enthusiasm which will promote the general welfare and make our institutions of government better, safer and more surely enduring.

3. ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

It is necessary that legislative attention should be given to the change wrought in the matter of the election of Senators to the Congress of the United States by the recent amendment of the Federal Constitution which enables the people to directly choose such representatives. I recommend that this wise change, for which we have striven so long and earnestly, be now so regulated and arranged by appropriate laws that our Senators in Congress hereafter shall be the deliberate and direct choice of the electorate of the State.

• 4. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

By chapter 518 of the Laws of 1909, an act, denominated "Workmen's compensation in certain dangerous employments," was passed by the Legislature. The power of the Legislature to enact the features of this law which provided for compulsory compensation to injured employees from their employers was denied by our Court of Appeals in the case of Ives against South Buffalo Railway Company, reported in volume No. 201 of the New York Court of Appeals Reports, at page 271. The effect of this decision was to deprive the Legislature of the power to enact such laws, while the Constitution remained unchanged.

With all the deliberation required by the Constitution, supplemented by the votes of the people at the recent election, appropriate provisions have now been incorporated in the Constitution to invest the Legislature with the power, the absence of which condemned the law of 1909. There is, therefore, apparently now no legal objection to the enactment of a law upon the principle involved. That a workmen's compensation law, compulsory in its character, is demanded by every principle of justice and every consideration of right and humanity will not, I am sure, be gainsaid. Legislation, appropriately recognizing the right to compulsory compensation to injured employees, and to the families dependent upon those whose lives have been lost in their employment, and safeguarded by wise and proper restrictions to prevent injustice, is the demand of modern society. Our State recognized the wisdom and propriety of such legislation in 1909. It recognized it again in adopting by two sessions of the Legislature the proposed amendment to the Constitution to permit the enactment of such a law. And now the people have confirmed and approved this public policy by writing it into our fundamental law. Other States and the nation at large have led us in this humane and salutary policy. We should not lag behind in a matter which so vitally affects the happiness, the hope and the comfort of so large a proportion of our citizens. The State has hearkened to this demand of justice and humanity. The delay has been all too great, but, now that the people have conferred the power, not a minute further should be lost. Let us hope that the delay has not been wholly unprofitable, and that we may now, guided by the experience of other States, enlightened by the growing wisdom of mankind upon this subject and fortified by the unfailing justice of the cause, write upon our statute books a workmen's compulsory com-

pensation law that will place our great State in its proper position, leading in this great cause of justice and humanity, for its own honor and for the beneficent results that such a cause, wisely and intelligently advanced, will bring to all mankind.

5. MATTERS OF FINANCE

Unfortunately, much confusion and chaos was worked in our departmental and fiscal affairs by the manner in which the financial legislation of the regular session of this year was handled. The State has a legacy of debt and financial disorder which it is our duty to pay and rectify. I, therefore, recommend this subject and the general subject of the State's financial condition to your consideration. The details of these requirements have been worked into the form of proposed legislation, which I will cause to be submitted. I need not urge upon you the necessity for careful and prudent attention to these matters. They involve the honor and integrity of the State and call for that wise and fair treatment that will make for order, efficiency and economy in the administration of the State's business.

6. CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Finally, I urge upon you legislation that will bring about an early convention for the revision of the Constitution. The public has demanded this legislation. This Legislature at its regular session passed such a law. The necessity for your favorable action now need not, therefore, be elaborated. Good faith towards the people is involved, for an early constitutional convention to revise and improve the Constitution was one of the pledges upon which the present Democratic administration was entrusted with the powers of government. To redeem that pledge is our duty.

The Democratic State platform of 1912 promised the calling of a constitutional convention "without delay." The Progressive Party State platform pledged itself to the convening of a State constitutional convention "at the earliest possible time." The Republican State platform declared in favor of the determination of the question, as to whether or not there should be a constitutional convention, at the election just passed. Thus these organized parties, dealing with this subject, were in substantial accord, and, in advocating this legislation, I am suggesting the redemption of the pledges of the Republican, the Progressive and the Democratic parties.

The election reforms, recommended in this message, will be brought, in my opinion, to their full fruition for the public good, if a "short ballot," so-called, shall be adopted. The Legislature has not now the power to pass such legislation, for the reason that the Constitution provides for the election by the people of the several State officers. In order that legislative authority may be conferred to enact a short-ballot law, the Constitution must be amended so as to make some of the State officers appointive, instead of elective. Then the Legislature will be at liberty to proceed for the accomplishment of the public desire which now so predominantly favors the short ballot.

This subject is so important an element in the reform of our election laws, and it is of such vital concern to the people at large, that a constitutional convention at the earliest opportunity is urgently needed. There are other subjects demanding this legislation. Many of them call insistently for prompt solution. They cannot be solved promptly, except through the agency of a constitutional convention. Therefore, the recommendation which I make in this regard is demanded by

public sentiment, by the platform promises of the three leading parties, and by a pronounced public opinion.

(Signed) · MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Relative to Title of the Successor to the Office of
Lieutenant-Governor**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 9, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend to you for consideration and action, as a subject of legislation, the amendment of section 291 of chapter 9 of the Laws of 1909, entitled "An act in relation to agriculture constituting chapter one of the consolidated laws as amended by chapter three hundred and sixty-six of the laws of nineteen hundred and ten;" and also an amendment of section 2 of chapter 48 of the Laws of 1909, entitled "An act in relation to public buildings, constituting chapter forty-four of the consolidated laws."

These amendments appear to be necessary in view of an uncertainty in the provisions of the Constitution with regard to the title of the successor to the office of Lieutenant-Governor. In order that there may not be a vacancy left in the Board of Trustees of Public Buildings or in the State Fair Commission, because of these uncertainties, I deem it wise for the proper administration of these boards and commissions that the changes proposed in the amendments to be submitted be enacted into law.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Urging Legislation in Relation to the office of the County Clerk of the County of the Bronx and the Empaneling, Functions and Duties of Grand and Petit Juries

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 9, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

To promote efficient administration by the newly elected county officers in the new county of the Bronx, it is imperatively necessary because of omissions in the present law erecting and creating the said county of the Bronx, that at this time legislation be enacted relating to the office of the county clerk of the county of the Bronx, and relative to the empaneling, functions and duties of the grand and petit juries of said county.

I am advised that at the present time no legislation exists permitting or authorizing any grand or petit juries in the county of the Bronx to transact the necessary judicial business of that county, which is usually performed by such bodies.

It is unnecessary for me to state or urge upon the members of this Legislature that legislation affecting these subject matters should be enacted and in force on or before January 1, 1914.

I shall cause to be submitted bills covering these matters and urge that you give them your favorable consideration, and promptly enact them into law.

For the purpose of speeding their enactment, I shall accompany such bills by emergency messages.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Amendment to Judiciary Law, Relative to Power of Supreme Court Justices in Kings, Queens and Richmond Counties to Appoint Court Officers

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 9, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend to you for your consideration and action, as a subject of legislation, the amendment of section 168 of the Judiciary Law. The necessity for the amendment of this section arises from obscurity and confusion which has arisen from the multiplicity of statutes affecting the subject matter of this section, and their amendment from time to time, so that the status of those concerned is not now clear. An amendment of this section merely declaratory of the legislative intention contained in the several statutes and amendments thereof that have been passed from time to time, will preclude the possibility of unnecessary litigation in the matter.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Amendment of Act Providing for the Representation of the State of New York at the Panama-Pacific Exposition

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 9, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend to you for your consideration and action, as a subject of legislation, the amendment of Chapter 541 of the Laws of 1912, entitled: "An Act to

provide for the representation of the State of New York, at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco, California, celebrating the opening and commercial use of the Panama Canal, and making an appropriation therefor."

The Legislature in 1912 authorized the appointment of a Commission to represent this State at the Exposition referred to in the title of the act. That Commission was appointed and its members are still in office. They should be continued in office. The opening of the Panama Canal for commercial use will rank in history as the accomplishment of one of the greatest enterprises of worldwide importance and of universal benefit. To celebrate this important and historical event in the great city at our country's western gates commands the support and encouragement of the entire nation. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that the State of New York should be represented at this event. The delegates already appointed and in office have taken the preliminary steps necessary to look after the proper appearance of the State of New York at the celebration. I am assured, however, that there should be an increase in the number of representatives in order that the delegation may be widely representative of the various interests within our State to which this celebration is particularly attractive. I have yielded to this suggestion, and therefore recommend that the law be amended so as to allow the appointment of three additional commissioners. In view of the fact that the appointment of these additional commissioners will not increase the appropriation which the State has already made for the purpose of defraying the State's part in the celebration mentioned, there can be no objection to yielding to the apparent requirement of a full and fair representation of the State through commissioners selected with a view to make the representation such and

especially in view of the fact that the aggregate appropriation from the State's treasury in connection with the celebration will not thereby be increased.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Changes in the Military Law, so as to Permit Acquisition of Land to Replace Blauvelt Rifle Range

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 9, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

By Chapter 350 of the Laws of 1913, the Armory Commission was intended to be empowered to replace the rifle range at Blauvelt by another, for promoting and maintaining the efficiency of the National Guard and Naval Militia. The Adjutant-General of the State, relative to this matter, has recommended that certain changes in the present Military Law are necessary to permit the prompt acquisition of land for the purposes stated in the said chapter above referred to.

The Adjutant-General advises me in writing as follows:

“ STATE OF NEW YORK

“ THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE

“ ALBANY

“ I respectfully request that an emergency message be sent to the Legislature advising the passage of the enclosed bill entitled ‘An act to amend the Military Law relative to the condemnation of real property by

armory commissions for the purpose of state camping grounds or for rifle practice or other military or naval purposes.'

" By Chapter 350, Laws of 1913, the Legislature enabled the Armory Commission to replace the rifle range at Blauvelt by another, for promoting and maintaining the efficiency of the National Guard and Naval Militia. It has been found that the titles to some of the land necessary to this purpose are such that we cannot reasonably expect a final adjudication of condemnation proceedings for more than a year, within which time the rifle and field artillery practice must be had. For this purpose the actual construction ought to be begun now.

" The purpose of the present bill is to shorten the judicial proceedings in obtaining the necessary land. Precedents are found in the Barge Canal Act, the Saratoga Springs Reservation Act, and the Forest, Fish and Game Law. The passage of the legislation sought is necessary to give effect to the law now on the statute book."

I respectfully urge that this Legislature immediately give prompt and favorable consideration to the recommendations made by the Adjutant-General of the State and pass the requisite legislation; to speed the passage of it I shall transmit an emergency message.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Recommending Legislation to Provide for the Issue of
Emergency Notes by the City of Binghamton for the
Expenses of its School System**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 10, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The authorities of the city of Binghamton have requested me to recommend for your consideration and action legislation providing for the issue of emergency notes for the purpose of enabling the city to meet a condition with regard to defraying the expenses of the management of its schools, which has unfortunately arisen and which, in the interest of the proper maintenance and management of the schools, requires immediate attention. I am advised by the local authorities that the deficiency which this method of legislation is intended to overcome has grown out of the fact of the increasing necessities of the schools of Binghamton and the further fact that a bill passed by the Legislature in its regular session this year to relieve the condition complained of and which must be overcome in order that the schools may perform their proper function, was vetoed by the Governor. The Board of Education of the city of Binghamton declares that it is absolutely necessary that this legislation be perfected into law at the earliest possible moment in order to avoid injury to the school system in that city. The bill proposed is a local bill advocated by the local authorities who have to do with the matter. They assert that an unfortunate condition, detrimental to the welfare of their school system, has arisen and that this legislation is necessary to relieve it. I, therefore, submit the subject to you for your consideration and action.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Urging Legislation to Provide for the Making and Copying of Legal Instruments and the Publication of Legal Notices in the County of The Bronx

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December* 10, 1913

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I respectfully ask your favorable consideration of two certain measures necessary to be enacted at this time, to permit of the proper and efficient administration of public business in the newly created county of the Bronx.

Up to the present time no legislation exists which makes any proper or adequate provision for the making and copying of records of conveyances and other legal instruments required by law to be kept and recorded in the register's office of the county, as regards the register of the county of the Bronx, and in respect to this subject matter, I am advised that after careful consideration between the authorities of the county of New York and those of the county of the Bronx, that provision for the transfer of certain records now in the register's office of New York county has been agreed to and embodied in a proposed bill which I shall cause to be submitted simultaneously with the introduction of this message. In addition the said bill provides for the making and copying of certain other records necessary for the official records required by law, to be kept in the office of the register of the county of the Bronx, and also in the register's office of the county of New York.

Legislation is also required to permit and authorize the proper and appropriate publication of legal notices in the county of the Bronx, and to accomplish that end a bill will be introduced, for which I urge your favorable consideration at this time.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Recommending Measure Relating to the Salaries of
the Male Teachers in the Greater City of New York**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 10, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I respectfully recommend to your favorable consideration a measure relating to the salaries of certain male teachers serving in the public schools in the greater city of New York.

The bill which I shall cause to be submitted relative to this subject matter embodies provisions and produces a result which has been agreed upon by the educational authorities of the city of New York. In effect a bill identical in purpose was unanimously passed by this Legislature at its regular session, was accepted by the late mayor of the city of New York and transmitted to the then Governor of the State on May 15, 1913. It failed to receive the Governor's approval for the reason that on May 15, 1913, he approved chapter 534 of the Laws of 1913, which affected in a similar manner certain male teachers of the city of New York, but in a different or higher grade than those affected by the present proposed bill. Had the Velte bill, which was vetoed, been approved by the Governor, it would have resulted in the repeal of chapter 534 of the Laws of 1913. The Governor, under the circumstances, deemed it his duty to veto it and did so in the omnibus veto.

I am advised that about forty male teachers are affected by this proposed measure and its enactment into law will be a simple act of justice by removing an inadvertent discrimination against these teachers in the matter of salary, and such purpose has already met with the approval of everyone interested.

Under the circumstances I respectfully recommend that this matter receive your favorable consideration and urge a prompt passage of the proposed bill.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Legislation to Provide for the Validating and Legalizing of Bonds Issued by the City of Geneva, for a New Water Filtration Plant

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 10, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I am advised that a distressing financial condition exists in the city of Geneva. The facts as I am advised are that the city of Geneva through its proper authorities has constructed and desires to put into immediate operation a new water filtration plant to supply its citizens with potable water; and more than two years ago an attempt, through the city officials, was made to issue bonds to the extent of \$40,000, in payment of the said project.

It is proposed at this time to validate the said bonds so issued by the city of Geneva. In this case the officials of the city of Geneva have attempted to validate and legalize these bonds through court proceedings, as prescribed by article 2-a of the General Municipal Law, which was added by chapter 769 of the Laws of 1911, and as I am advised the Appellate Division of the Fourth Department within the past week, after consideration, has determined that the court is without authority and power to validate and legalize these bonds, and that the same must be accomplished by legislative enactment.

Under the circumstances the city of Geneva, having exhausted all of its legal remedies as prescribed by statute, I deem it my duty to submit to this Legislature for its consideration, a measure which will legalize the said issue of \$40,000 of bonds by the said city of Geneva.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Asking for an Appropriation for the Payment of Debts
Unlawfully Contracted Beyond the Amounts of
Appropriations Allowed by Law to the Executive
Department**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

When it became incumbent upon me, nearly two months ago, to assume the duties of the office of Governor, I deemed it wise to take an inventory of the Department and its business and finances for the purpose of ascertaining the duties thus imposed upon me and the means provided for the execution of those duties. The Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy, at my suggestion, immediately entered upon an investigation of the financial situation of the Executive Department under the appropriations made by law for its support. It became at once apparent, as the investigation proceeded, that debts had been contracted in the name of the State for sums far in excess of the amount authorized by law to be expended for the conduct of the business of the Department. The Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy has analyzed and tabulated the various items of indebtedness to which I refer. Many items which do not involve any liability

on the part of the State, but which, nevertheless, are debts charged against this Department, were found and they have been eliminated from all consideration because I will not tolerate the allowance against the State in my Department of any bills that are not properly chargeable to the State. A large amount of indebtedness in excess of appropriations was contracted for purposes which may fairly be said to be within the work of the Department, even though this excessive expenditure is neither justifiable under the law nor apparently necessary for the proper conduct of the Department. However, the merchants and other creditors of the State to whom this indebtedness is due are entitled to be paid, for it cannot be assumed that they were aware that the debts contracted with them were beyond the lawful authority of the Department because beyond the amount appropriated by law for the Department, and these creditors apparently furnished the supplies and extended the credit given in the regular course of their business with nothing appearing to justify a question of their entire good faith and honesty. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of the State to either pay these claims or to repudiate them because they were unlawfully contracted beyond the amounts of the various appropriations allowed by law to the Executive Department. It, in my judgment, would be highly improper for the State to take technical advantage of those who have furnished supplies and rendered services to it in good faith and without any reason to apprehend that there was anything unlawful on the part of the officials who contracted the debts. The State of New York cannot afford to repudiate debts contracted by its officers with citizens to whom no blame can rightfully be attached. Therefore, I recommend the payment of these debts. The Com-

missioner of Efficiency and Economy, upon my direction, has itemized the amounts to which I refer and they are placed in itemized form in a bill which I will cause to be delivered to the Legislature for its consideration. It is unnecessary for me now to call particular attention to any of these items, as they are set forth in the bill referred to in sufficient detail to carry with them each its own explanation.

It is good business principle to start an administration or a period of business with the finances of the Department or concern rectified and in proper form. The bill which I recommend will place the financial affairs of the Executive Department in such condition that I may appropriately be held responsible for what may occur with respect to those finances in the future. I do not assume any responsibility for the conditions which have made the introduction of this measure necessary.

Therefore, I submit the subject of legislation to you for your consideration and action.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Urging the Necessity of Reimbursing the State for Moneys Paid Successful Litigants Before the Board of Claims

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, *December* 11, 1913

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

In the Appropriation Bill passed by your regular session this year, provision was made for the payment of a large number of judgments rendered by the Board of Claims against the State, which, pursuant to law,

carried interest from the time of the rendition of such judgments.

This appropriation failed of Executive approval. The asserted reason for the veto of the item was as follows:

“ I cannot approve of this informal manner of disbursing huge sums of State moneys. If there be actually judgments rendered by the Board of Claims against the State to the amount of a quarter of a million dollars, these should be itemized and presented to the Legislature in a special act, so that the legislators and taxpayers may know exactly to whom the money is paid and the reason for such payment.”

The sum appropriated was actually necessary to pay the awards made by the Board of Claims. An itemized statement of the various amounts making this aggregate was easily obtainable either from the records of the Board of Claims, in its clerk's office, or from the files and dockets in the Comptroller's office, where the awards are public documents and made a public record.

There was, therefore, no just reason stated in the veto message. It is apparent that the veto was the result of some misapprehension, or other reason, not grounded in fact.

The State owed this money to the litigants who were successful before the Board of Claims. The Comptroller, as has been for many years the custom, accepted the awards upon their final determination and paid to the various litigants to whom the awards were made the amounts awarded, borrowing the money for that purpose from various funds in the control of the Comptroller, to which funds the interest upon the items thus paid belongs as well as the amounts paid.

The Comptroller had the unquestioned right to borrow these moneys in the manner in which they were

borrowed for the purpose of meeting these obligations of the State, but the State owed the obligation to the funds from which the moneys were thus borrowed.

Therefore, it is the imperative duty of the Legislature to provide for the reimbursement of the funds without further payment of interest thereon.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Recommending Legislation to Provide for a Penalty
for the Violation of the Taxi Cab Ordinance**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I am advised that the ordinance recently passed by the board of aldermen of the city of New York by a vote of 65 to 1, known as the "Taxi Cab Ordinance," cannot be effectively enforced as the said board of aldermen is without power or authority to create laws or ordinances providing for a penalty for breach or violation of the said ordinance.

For the purpose of providing a penalty for violation of the said "Taxi Cab Ordinance" and thus to permit of its effective enforcement, I respectfully urge the consideration by this Legislature of a measure which will accomplish such end.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Recommending Appropriation to Pay Expenses of The
Workmen's Compensation Commission**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The pending proposed bill relating to workmen's compensation, requires an appropriation to pay the

salaries of the members of the commission authorized to be created by said bill and its employees and its necessary expenses.

Further, the proposed bill now pending provides for the establishment of a State insurance fund, for which purpose an immediate appropriation should be made.

Concerning these appropriations I shall cause to be introduced a bill and urge this Legislature to give the same its prompt and favorable consideration.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Asking for Legislation to Provide for a Permanent Bill Drafting Commission

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend for your favorable consideration and prompt action, appropriate legislation amending the Legislative Law, for the purpose of placing the Legislative Bill Drafting Commission upon a basis of efficiency that will result in the promotion of accuracy and harmony in legislation. The platforms adopted by both the Democratic and Progressive parties at their last State conventions respectively recommend it, and representative members of the Republican party have likewise advocated the creation and establishment of a permanent Legislative Bill Drafting Commission, for the purpose of avoiding confusion and lack of harmony in the laws; and also for affording to the members of the Legislature in the performance of their legislative duties, expert assistance in the preparation of bills, concurrent resolutions and other matters requiring the action of the Legislature.

Such a commission efficient and economically established, organized and maintained, will work a public benefit in making the laws passed by the Legislature more nearly scientific, as is demonstrated by practical experience under similar permanent commissions, in the States of Wisconsin and California. The nearer approach to the scientific in our statutory law, the wiser will be our system of statutory law, and the greater the benefit to be derived by the people at large.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Requesting Appropriation to Pay Debts Unlawfully
Contracted Beyond the Amounts of Appropriations
Allowed by Law to Various Departments**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The Comptroller of the State and the Department of Efficiency and Economy, as the result of the investigations and recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry, and as the result of legislation passed at your regular session this year intended to promote the orderly administration of the financial affairs of the State, have made a comprehensive statement of the general deficiencies in funds appropriated for the various departments of the State which have been carried from year to year, many of these deficiencies having arisen years ago. It is difficult to locate with exactness the immediate responsibility for the existence of these deficiencies. That they were unwise business policy for the State and unlawful treatment of the funds appropriated for their use by the several departments is plain. However, this condition exists and it is

necessary that some appropriate legislation be enacted to dispose of it.

The Comptroller, pursuant to law and in conformity with wise business principles, has established and put in force at the beginning of the current fiscal year a policy for the control of expenditures in the various departments by the appropriations made therefor, which policy is correct and beneficial to the State, and pursuant to it, the Comptroller has announced that he will refuse to pay any moneys out of the appropriations for the current fiscal year upon deficits or deficiencies previously made or accumulated in the years gone by. These deficiencies arose from time to time because departments incurred debts in excess of the moneys appropriated for the conduct of the business of the departments. The officials now in office are not to be held responsible for this condition. Some of these deficiencies are years old and have been carried along by the use of the appropriations for a succeeding fiscal year serving to wipe out the deficiencies at the time but leaving them as a continuing legacy at the end of that new fiscal year. The new policy established by the Comptroller leaves these deficiencies as they were on the 30th of last September to be considered and disposed of in such manner as shall appear wise to the Legislature. The new policy requires the solution of this question of accumulated deficiencies in the various departments of the State. It is a problem which confronts us and which must be solved either by the appropriation of moneys necessary to pay up and discharge these deficiencies or by the refusal of the Legislature to furnish moneys for their payment because of the unlawful conduct out of which they grew.

Section 35 of the State Finance Law, which in substantially its present form has been upon the statute

books since 1899, makes this very plain and unmistakable provision:

“ Section 35. Indebtedness not to be contracted without appropriation. A state officer, employee, board, department or commission shall not contract indebtedness on behalf of the state, nor assume to bind the state, in an amount in excess of money appropriated or otherwise lawfully available.”

The deficiencies to which this message refers were contracted in violation of this very wise, prudent and proper legislation. It announces as the policy of the law that State officers and departments shall be restricted in the matter of incurring indebtedness against the State to an amount within the amount of the appropriation granted by the Legislature for the conduct of the public business committed to them. Notwithstanding this very plain provision of the law and the wise policy that it was intended to enforce, these deficiencies have arisen and have accumulated during all the years while this law has been in force. The plain meaning of this situation is that public officers and departments have openly set the law at naught and violated it, hoping through the leniency of the Legislature from year to year or through the complacency of the Comptroller to carry the deficiencies along until such time as the matter might rectify itself.

No department or officer has any right to contract debts in excess of the amount which the Legislature fixes as the total amount allowed in its view of the necessities of government for the conduct of the business of that department or office. When debts in excess of the appropriations thus made are contracted, the department or officer doing so, except in cases of

extraordinary emergency not possible of prevention, usurps the powers of the Legislature by practically forcing an additional appropriation to the extent of the excess without the action of the Legislature and without the matter even having been submitted to the Legislature for its action. This practice evidences a disregard of public duty as well as a failure to show proper appreciation of the fact that a department or officer is simply an agency of the government and is required to exercise the agency within the control and subject to the limitations prescribed by the Legislature, which is the representative body given the power of principal in this case. A disregard of the proper relations which an agent bears to his principal in the matter of the financial concerns intrusted to the agent's charge should be regarded in public affairs with the same censure and condemnation which it would unquestionably invite and receive in the case of a private agency exceeding the authority of its principal. There is no excuse for such conduct on the part of public officers. I am convinced that a public officer who contracts debts in the name of the State in excess of appropriations made by the Legislature for the conduct of the business intrusted to him evinces a disregard for the proprieties of his position, an incompetency in the management of his department and an unworthiness for the trust reposed in him. While I am administering the executive functions of the State I shall consider the continuance of this deplorable practice by any officer subject to my power of removal as sufficient justification for his removal from office. If the plain language of the law does not restrain these officers from this form of violation of the law, I shall endeavor to supplant them by officers who will recognize the law, live up to it and coöperate in the enforcement of its wise provisions.

The Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy, at my suggestion, has prepared a bill in the form of an appropriation bill containing a detailed itemized statement of the existing deficiencies at the end of the last fiscal year. The condition thus disclosed is in this bill presented to the Legislature in such detail that it may readily understand just what has happened in this regard. I have no recommendations to make in favor of the passage of this law. I believe that it is a matter that should receive the serious and careful consideration of the Legislature and that after such serious and careful consideration such action should be taken upon this bill as will in the judgment of the Legislature best serve the public good.

I, therefore, submit this matter to the Legislature for its consideration and for such action upon it as will meet the approval of its judgment.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Legislation to Provide for the Appointment of County Officials by the District Attorney of the County of Bronx

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December* 11, 1913

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I am advised that it is expedient and necessary to submit to this Legislature for its consideration, bills affecting the administration of the county of the Bronx, in the following particulars:

Relative to authorizing the district attorney of the county of the Bronx to appoint county detectives, stenographers and interpreters; concerning certain ap-

pointees in the sheriff's office of the county of the Bronx, and also in relation to the power of appointment of the county clerk and the county judge of the county of the Bronx.

I respectfully urge your favorable consideration of these matters at this time.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Transmitting to the Legislature for its Consideration
the Subject of a Supplemental Appropriation Bill**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 11, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

In the appropriation and supply bills passed by you at the regular session this year, many items were incorporated which subsequently met with executive disapproval for various reasons. Many of these items provided for increase in the salaries of subordinate officers and employees of the State. I understand that it was the policy of the then executive to veto these items because under the Constitution he had not the power to reduce them so as to eliminate the increase in salary. I also understand that it was his intention to submit the matter again to the Legislature in extraordinary session so that the necessary provisions for the business of the several departments might be continued with a proper force employed, continuing the officers and employees in question at their former salaries without the increase attempted to be made. Other items appropriated by the Legislature were vetoed which the various departments now claim are absolutely necessary for the conduct of their public

business. Some of these items were unquestionably disapproved through some misunderstanding with reference to them. Others were doubtless properly disapproved. In addition to these considerations, it is insistently urged upon me by the various departments that emergencies have arisen and necessities of the business of the departments exist which require further consideration of these various matters of appropriation to the end that appropriations may be made which will suitably equip the departments for the performance of the duty assigned to them. Many of these vetoed items should be reinstated in proper form and at the proper amounts. As to others, the judgment of the Legislature should be exercised for the purpose of determining whether or not they should be again appropriated. The necessities of the departments should, of course, be provided.

The matters referred to in this message have been grouped into the form of an appropriation bill by the Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy with the various items stated in such detail as to carry their own proper explanations. Supplementing these explanations, I transmit herewith a communication from the Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy by which he submits the detailed information gathered with respect to the several items incorporated in the bill.

Wherever necessary, these explanations and an investigation of the items may readily be exacted by the Legislature. The financial concerns of the State are so important that I have decided to submit this proposed measure to you for your examination, investigation and determination so that whatever may be necessary for the public business may be appropriated and so that you may have an opportunity to deliberately and intelligently pass your judgment upon the

propriety and necessity of the proposed expenditures. Therefore, without recommendation one way or the other from me, I submit this subject to your consideration, confident that you will take it up, and dispose of it in such manner as will best serve the welfare of the State and the good order of the State's business.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Recommending Appropriation for the Payment of
Expenses Incident to the Trial of the Articles of
Impeachment**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 12, 1913.*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I respectfully recommend for your favorable consideration at this time, legislation to make an appropriation for compensation of counsel to the board of managers of the Assembly, for services in preparing for the trial and upon the trial of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the Assembly of the State of New York against William Sulzer, and for the expenses of such board of managers, for officers and employees of the Court of Impeachment, for stenographic services, transcribing testimony and evidence, witnesses fees, printing, travelling and other necessary expenses, incident to and in connection with the performance of the functions, powers and duties of such court, and of such managers; and also for compensation of counsel for the respondent, for services in preparing for trial and upon the said trial of the said articles of impeachment.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Legislation Providing for a Commission for the Celebration of the Centenary of the Battle of Plattsburgh

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *December 12, 1913*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Chapter 730 of the Laws of 1913, created a commission to provide for the celebration of the centenary of the battle of Plattsburgh.

Requests have been made, upon reasons which seem to justify them, to increase the citizen members of this Commission from five to eight and to permit the appointment of a vice-chairman to facilitate the business in hand. The proposed change will not alter or increase the appropriation already made by the State for the execution of this project.

Believing that the amendment of the law, as now proposed, is desired by a large number of citizens laudably interested in this celebration, and will subserve the public purpose contemplated, I recommend this subject of legislation to you for your consideration and action.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Calling Attention to the Necessity for Amendments to the Law Relating to the Control of the Small Loan Business

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *January 19, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I respectfully suggest for your consideration proper changes in the law relating to the control of the small

loan business. This is a matter which demands immediate consideration, not only because the present laws are unsatisfactory, but because the entire matter of regulating small loans is being held up pending your action.

The Legislature has recognized in the past the necessity for proper supervision of small loans and under the original Weil Law an attempt was made to protect the borrower of small means from the extortions of greedy lenders. Because this law proved inadequate the Levy-Brooks Law, chapter 579 of the Laws of 1913, was passed, but this substitute is even more unsatisfactory than the original law. The Levy-Brooks Law was intended to be a constructive measure allowing a reasonable rate of interest on small loans, and providing proper supervision. It is now conceded that this law merely legalizes the very evils it sought to eliminate.

Under the guise of "the investigation charges" it permits a rate of interest from 124 to 270 per cent per annum to be levied on small loans. It frees usurious lenders from criminal prosecution, and substitutes in its place an inadequate fine. It repeals the provision of the original law which made it compulsory upon lenders to notify employers when employees borrowed with future salary as security, which provision prevented usurious lenders from threatening borrowers with the loss of their position.

Furthermore, the Levy-Brooks Law has created the office of supervisor and at the same time has tied the incumbent's hands by refusing him the power to inspect the books of loan companies.

These facts have compelled me to hold up the operation of the Levy-Brooks Law by refusing to name the supervisor.

The problem of regulating small loans still awaits a satisfactory solution. It is a matter which should enlist not only the interest but the active sympathy of every legislator. The men and women who are driven to the loan sharks by sickness and want are in no position to protect themselves. Their very helplessness should prompt those in authority to come at once to their assistance. The man of large means who needs money to tide him over a certain crisis can borrow money at a low rate of interest, but the man of small means to whom a temporary loan frequently means food and shelter for his family, and even life itself, is made to pay interest amounting often to two or three times the amount of the loan.

The loan sharks find the poor man easy prey. Distracted by his necessities, whipped on by the call of those dependent upon him, the struggling borrower is ready to accept any condition or make any sacrifice for the little money he needs. He cannot stop to look about him for the most favorable method of raising money; he turns to the first avenue of escape he sees, and he finds the loan shark waiting.

The loan shark has money to lend, but he takes the very heart of his victim in payment. He writes his own bond and he exacts his pound of flesh, remorselessly and with infinite cunning.

The contest between the need of the borrower and the greed of the lender is unequal. Legislation cannot prevent the necessities of poverty, but it can curb the rapacity of its parasites.

Small loan money is entitled to a fair return, but no lender should legally be allowed to compound the troubles of the poor.

There is no way in which loans without adequate security can be placed upon the same basis as loans

where the security is sufficient and certain, but it is possible to make sure that the interest charged upon small loans shall be no greater than the circumstances and risks of the small loan business actually justify.

Provident loan societies and philanthropic organizations generally are doing what they can to supply those who need assistance with small loans at a reasonable rate of interest. The State of New York should not permit private philanthropy to outstrip it in protecting the helpless and affording justice to those who need it most.

There should be a careful and immediate revision of the laws applying to small loans.

I would suggest to the Legislature that in this revision the following propositions should be kept in mind:

First.—That the small loan business is a necessary business, and should be recognized as such.

Second.—That the first essential to the regulation of small loans is that the rate of interest should be no greater than that which permits a reasonable return to those engaged in this business.

Third.—That instead of making it difficult to secure small loans, the Legislature should endeavor to make matters easy for those who urgently need temporary accommodation.

Fourth.—That the scandalous conditions under which usurious lenders have been able to extort interest, out of all proportion to the loans made, should be immediately changed.

Fifth.—That a criminal prosecution as well as a fine should be made the penalty for violation of the small loan law.

Sixth.—That the State Supervisor of small loans should be clothed with power not only to enforce the

law, but to discover in the first instance whether the law is being violated.

Seventh.— That it is for the best interests of employer and employee that the employer be notified whenever an employee is obliged to hypothecate part of his future wages for a temporary loan.

Eighth.— That some means should be found to provide evidence of all transactions under the small loan law so that violations may be immediately detected and easily prosecuted.

Ninth.— That all charges over and above interest, such as charges for investigation of the applicant for a loan, shall be as carefully watched as the rate of interest itself.

There is no justice so real as that which follows the broader dictates of humanity. Justice and humanity alike urge the Legislature to shield the honest borrower from the clutches of the loan shark.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Calling Attention to the Desirability of Amending the Insurance Law, in Relation to the Approval of Premium Rates of Corporations and Associations Transacting the Business of Workmen's Compensation Insurance

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *January 21, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

At the recent extra session of the Legislature of 1913, a bill was passed which provided that insurance corporations and associations carrying on the business of workmen's compensation insurance should file with the Superintendent of Insurance their classifications of risks and premiums, together with their basis rates

and schedules, and that these should not take effect until the Superintendent of Insurance should have approved them as adequate for the risks to which they applied.

I felt constrained to veto this bill when it came before me for executive consideration, because I felt that the State insurance fund shortly to be inaugurated under the provisions of the new Workmen's Compensation Law might be regarded as being included among the "associations" over which these large supervisory powers were given to the Superintendent of Insurance, and it seemed to me undesirable that there should be any conflict of authority between the Insurance Department and the new Workmen's Compensation Commission in respect to this State fund. Except for this feature, the bill which I vetoed met with my warm approval, and I so stated in my veto memorandum.

This bill, modified so as to exclude the State fund from its operation beyond any possible questions, is about to be introduced at the present session of the Legislature, and in my judgment it should, in its present form, be immediately passed. I shall certainly give it my approval if it comes before me after favorable action by the Legislature. The reason why the passage of such a law is highly desirable at this time is plain. Experience has shown that under stress of competition between different insurance organisms, inadequate rates are likely to be charged, and that in the end this is very apt to result in an inability on the part of the insurers to fulfill their policy obligations. At the present moment we are about to establish in New York a State administered fund to insure compensation risks in competition with privately managed insurance companies and associations. If by so doing

they could eliminate this competition it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the stronger stock companies would at the beginning be willing to take heavy losses in their compensation business, by cutting rates to a point which the State fund could not, with safety, venture. A well established, rich company might carry this practice a considerable distance without imperilling its own solvency. It is a possibility which should be guarded against. The proper solution, it seems to me, is that the Insurance Department shall possess power of approval of the rates which shall be charged by the stock companies and mutual associations. This is now being done in Massachusetts with excellent results. On the one hand, the charging of excessive premiums by the powerful companies acting in combination with each other is prevented; on the other hand, the charging of a sufficient rate is insured, so that the insurance will remain safe and dependable. In the case of compensation insurance the ultimate sufferers from unsafe insurance conditions are the workingmen of the State. I deem it absolutely essential in their interest that the insurance protection upon which so many of them will rely—that afforded by the stock companies and the employers' mutual associations—shall be safeguarded in the manner provided for by the bill to which I refer.

I, therefore, respectfully urge your honorable body to give immediate consideration to the measure which is to be introduced to accomplish this very desirable purpose. In its present form it applies, plainly and unmistakably, to the compensation insurance rates of the stock companies and mutual associations only. It does not apply to the rates which shall be charged by the State insurance fund.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Urging Upon the Legislature the Need and Advisability
of the Adoption of a Concurrent Resolution Calling
Upon Congress to do Justice to New York State in
Caring for the Alien Insane**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *February 2, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Nearly a third of those committed to New York's hospitals for the insane are citizens of foreign countries. More than a third of the money spent in the maintenance of New York's hospitals for the insane is devoted to the care of aliens.

Statistics compiled last year show that in 1912 there were 31,624 insane inmates of New York's hospitals. Of these, 13,728 were foreign born. Only 4,487 of the foreign born had been naturalized, so that 9,241, or 29.2 per cent of the total insane population were aliens.

In 1912, out of 4,570 insane patients in Manhattan State Hospital, 2,526 were foreign born and only 708 had been naturalized. Out of 4,438 patients in the Central Islip Hospital, 2,803 were foreign born and only 891 had been naturalized. In other words, 39.8 per cent and 43.1 per cent, respectively, of the patients in these two metropolitan hospitals were aliens.

The average length of hospital residence is 9.85 years. Consequently, on the basis of the figures for 1912, the 9,241 aliens in the State's hospitals represent a total burden upon present and future taxpayers of \$25,412,038.44.

This \$25,000,000 represents a burden, the weight of which is made apparent when we compare this sum with what the State is spending on its necessary activities.

This \$25,000,000 would run the entire Executive Department of the State for 300 years.

It would support the Educational Department, including the State's contributions to the common schools for six years.

It would pay the salaries of the Assemblymen and Senators of New York, and all incidental expenditures of the entire Legislature, for eighteen years.

It would support the institutions in the charitable department of the government for two years.

It would pay the current expenditures of the entire State government for seven months.

The money New York will be compelled to set aside for the support of the alien insane now in its hospitals is equal to the entire sum the State has spent on the maintenance of its highways during the past ten years.

This burden is unnecessary and unfair. In the last census of the alien insane of the nation it was shown that New York was caring for one-quarter of all the alien insane in the United States.

As the principal seaport of the nation, New York city receives 76 per cent of all foreign immigration. In 1912, 28.5 per cent of all the immigrants who came to this country announced their intention of residing in this State. Geography and commerce have made New York a gigantic filter through which the immigration from European countries passes into the United States.

New York proposes to do its duty to the nation, to itself and to the unfortunates of other lands who are thrown upon its charity. But every principle of equity and justice demands that New York should be freed from the necessity of meeting a national problem with the resources of a single State.

Immigration is a matter over which the State has no control. It cannot regulate the conditions under which citizens of foreign countries enter the United States. It cannot impose mental tests upon immigrants or examine into the sanity of those who seek to take up a residence within its borders. These are the duties and prerogatives of the Federal government, and if the Federal government fails to exclude the mentally afflicted, the State has no recourse except that which the Federal government allows it.

The fact that there are 9,241 aliens in New York's hospitals for the insane is eloquent proof that the Federal government has failed to provide New York with the means to cope with the problem of the alien insane.

New York has neither the right to prevent insane aliens from entering its borders nor the authority to remove them after their entrance. The National government has assumed legislative responsibility for the alien; it should be willing to assume the financial responsibility.

The present Immigration Act, so far as it bears upon insane aliens, is inadequate. Section 20, which provides for the deportation of aliens, permits the deportation of but two classes—first, those “who shall enter the United States in violation of law,” and secondly, “such as become public charges from causes existing prior to landing,” but neither class may be deported except “within three years after entering into the United States.”

The unfairness of these regulations is apparent, in view of the fact that it requires five years for the alien to become a citizen. After the three-year period has expired, an alien may become insane and yet escape deportation. He is insane, he is not a citizen, he does

not contribute to the support of the government by direct taxes, he is unavailable for the discharge of the military or civil duties of a citizen, but the State is powerless to send him back to his native country so long as he chooses to remain.

The Federal government has tied the hands of the State, but it has refused to make adequate compensation for the alien insane it forces upon the State's charity.

In the past the cost of deporting aliens, committed to a State hospital within three years of their arrival, has been borne by the Federal government. But the deportation of such aliens has been hampered by two provisions of the Immigration Law.

In the first place the State has been compelled to furnish proof that the alien was insane "from causes existing prior to landing." In the second place the burden of proof that such causes existed prior to landing is placed upon the State.

It is clear that it is in many cases impossible for the State to secure information as to the alien's condition before he reached this country, and placing the burden of proof on the State is in many cases equivalent to denying the State proper redress.

At one time the Federal government reimbursed the State from the day a deportable alien was admitted into a State hospital. But by successive modifications, each resulting in lesser payments to the State, the State has been finally cut off from any Federal assistance.

The Commissioner of Immigration notified the State Hospital Commission on December 24th last that owing to lack of appropriation by Congress, the immigration authorities could afford no further assistance and pointed out that "There is no requirement of law

which obligates the government to pay these bills, and the only remedy for the situation lies in an increased appropriation by Congress.”

During 1913 the Federal government contributed \$8,290 to New York for the care and deportation of aliens. Compared with the \$2,579,902.38 paid out by the State in 1912 for the same purposes, this \$8,290, of course, is insignificant. But even this trifling assistance has now been discontinued.

New York is performing a national service by receiving and caring for 25 per cent of the alien insane. It lacks the power to exclude the insane alien from entering the country—it lacks the power to deport him. It is spending \$2,500,000 a year to care for those who are properly the charge of the Nation, because the Nation has, and asserts, the right to regulate their entrance and deportation.

Consequently, I urge upon the Legislature the need and advisability of adopting a concurrent resolution calling upon Congress to do justice to New York. That resolution should recite the facts I have pointed out, and such further information as the Legislature may secure from the State Hospital Commission and the conclusions of the special commissioner who recently made his report on the alien insane.

The Legislature should petition Congress to place the burden of caring for the insane alien where it properly belongs, upon the Nation as a Nation and not upon individual States. And the petition should incorporate the following suggestions:

First. That the cost of maintaining the alien insane be made a National and not a State charge.

Second. That the period during which an insane alien may be deported, be extended from three years to five years, the time required to become a citizen.

Third. If it is deemed just and expedient to retain the provision prohibiting deportation except for causes existing prior to landing, that the burden of proof be shifted from the State to the insane alien and his friends.

Fourth. That a more thorough supervision of the mental condition of all immigrants be made at all ports of entry.

Fifth. That the transportation companies be compelled to examine all alien applicants for passage to this country and report upon their mental condition. This examination can be more thorough and satisfactory where it is possible to communicate with the family and friends of the immigrant.

Sixth. That transportation companies be made guilty of a misdemeanor in refusing to provide passage for any alien desiring to return to his native country from a State institution when the institution has certified that such alien is competent to travel alone.

Seventh. That when the officers of a public institution certify that an alien is a public charge therein, it shall be the duty of the nearest immigration commissioner to make an investigation and determine if such alien is deportable.

Eighth. That the United States provide a suitable attendant to accompany to his destination a deportable alien who is mentally unfit to travel alone.

These and such other recommendations as will suggest themselves to the Legislature may assist Congress to a proper disposition of the problem of the alien insane.

New York is not an applicant for national charity. It is able and determined to discharge its duties as a State without assistance from any quarter.

New York is more than ready to care for its own, but it is reluctant to continue to assume the proper obligations of the National government.

I believe that the fairness of the American nation will incline Congress to take up the matter of the alien insane if the Legislature of New York brings it to the attention of Congress.

New York is acting as a shield and a melting pot for the United States, and the least that the Nation can do to show a proper appreciation is to relieve New York of the burden of the alien insane.

New York is proud of the fact that it has not waited for the Nation to come to the assistance of the unfortunate aliens in its hospitals for the insane. It is glad that its resources have permitted it to provide suitable care for the mentally afflicted, cut off from the friends and relatives of their native country. If the National government refuses to do justice to New York this State will continue to deal with its insane aliens with kindness, patience and generosity. But the rest of the nation should not permit New York to bear a burden that is unjust and inequitable.

I shall call the attention of New York's representatives in Congress to the facts I am transmitting to the Legislature and shall request them to assist the Legislature in effecting a satisfactory disposition of this matter.

New York confronts a situation where it must spend \$25,000,000 of its own money for those who are properly the charges of the National government.

The Nation is too strong and too just to permit this situation to continue..

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending an Appropriation for the Creating and Organizing of Agricultural Credit Unions and Co-operative Marketing Societies

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *February* 10, 1914.

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

There is no proposition better deserving of the earnest and careful attention of the Legislature than the development of the State's agriculture and the extension of its agricultural facilities.

The present condition of agriculture in this State is far from satisfactory. In the last ten years the urban population of New York has increased 25 per cent while the increase in rural population has been less than 1 per cent.

Where in 1900 New York had 226,720 improved farms, in 1910 it had only 215,557, a decrease of 5 per cent; where in 1900 there were 15,600,000 acres of land under cultivation, in 1910 there were but 14,888,000 acres. In other words, so far as agriculture is concerned, New York is not gaining the ground that is to be desired.

Because there has been a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation, New York's food supply has remained practically stationary, while its population has steadily increased; but in addition to this fact the cost of bringing the farmer's products to the consumer's table is greater than ever before.

For every dollar that the consumer of New York pays for his food the farmer receives but thirty-five cents; 65 per cent of every dollar paid for food represents merely the cost of distribution.

With twentieth century facilities at hand, New York is still in the seventeenth century so far as its system

of marketing food is concerned. The farmer is a manufacturer, but he operates at present under a system which would drive any other manufacturer into bankruptcy.

The farmer now is a manufacturer who buys his raw products at retail and sells the finished product at wholesale. Instead of dealing as directly as possible with the man to whom he sells his products he turns them over at wholesale prices to commission merchants and large buyers, or else pays necessarily extravagant freight rates on small shipments of food.

So unscientific is the present system of food distribution that in some cases after the farmer's products have reached the centers of distribution they travel for miles in a roundabout fashion where they should properly go but a stone's throw.

In many cases farmers' products are shipped to some distant center only to return to a neighboring village in a few days.

In this transaction there is always a loss of quality and the extra expense of transportation and profit which the ultimate consumer must pay.

The reason for these disturbing facts is apparent. The farmer at present deals as an individual; because his time is taken up with production he has no time or chance to attend to the numerous phases of distribution. And so long as this is true the middleman is not to blame, because he merely takes conditions as he finds them.

The farmer shipping individually to distant markets necessarily pays the highest rate of transportation and does not get as good service as is accorded car-load shipments. His products are handled with greater expense in the city and naturally bring the producer smaller returns than large shipments. By

his failure to supply the State markets in a satisfactory fashion, the farmer of New York leaves his principal market open to the products of the world.

The better organized industries of other States and other countries have already succeeded in establishing a regular trade in our own local markets, in many cases for goods which are of inferior quality to the product of the neighboring New York farms.

There is no need for me to call your attention to the importance of finding a suitable remedy for present conditions. The food supply of 10,000,000 people is too important to be managed without skill or forethought.

I do not believe there is any pressing need for new legislation in the matter. New York already has upon its statute books laws which, if properly applied, would stop the present waste and mismanagement.

In the Coöperative Marketing Law of last year and the Credit Union Law, the State has the means for enabling the farmer to buy at wholesale and sell at retail. A few farming communities have already taken advantage of these laws and discovered that they met the farmers' problems, but through the State generally, because of indifference and a failure to appreciate what these laws mean, there has been failure to take advantage of them.

This has been the history of agricultural legislation throughout the world. In Ireland, under Sir Horace Plunkett, after a coöperative law had been passed, it took fifty meetings to organize the first coöperative society. As a result the government undertook to send out organizers to form these societies and to educate farmers generally in the purposes and advantages of the coöperative law. Today there are in Ireland a hundred thousand farmers engaged in vari-

ious forms of coöperative effort and the total business transactions of these various associations amount annually to some \$15,000,000.

In France and in Germany those who secured the enactment of coöperative laws discovered that those they sought to benefit were slow in appreciating what this new legislation meant. It was not until the government had undertaken a campaign of education and organization that the coöperative societies were formed which now are the very basis of agricultural progress in Europe.

Massachusetts enacted a Credit Union Law for its farmers in 1909, and in 1911 the following report was submitted by a committee who had it in charge:

“Your Committee deplores the fact that the provision of Chapter 419 of the Acts of 1909, being ‘an act to authorize the coöperation of credit unions,’ has not had more general advantage taken of it.”

After two years of effort Massachusetts discovered that agricultural legislation without proper organization and education was practically useless.

What New York most needs, therefore, is not legislation but organization. It already has the necessary ground work of laws. It must now make these laws walk.

The farmer either has no time to form coöperative societies himself or he lacks the necessary initiative and must be assisted by capable organizers sent out by the State.

In the few instances where farming communities in New York have organized coöperative societies under the present laws, the results have been most satisfactory.

A coöperative association in the Hudson Valley, incorporated something over a year ago, has actually

reduced the prices of many farming supplies 50 per cent. It was able to reduce the price of oats for instance, from sixty cents a bushel to thirty-eight cents for its members; it was able to reduce the price of lime and sulphur solution from nine to five dollars a barrel, and it is able, with profit, to market the produce of its members at 3 per cent of the gross price.

A coöperative company organized last year in one of our large industrial cities has applied the benefits of the law to the consumer. It has for its directors men who work in the shops of the city during the day and at night are the directors and storeclerks in the company's coöperative store. They have been able to make a reduction of 18 per cent in the price of necessities of their members, and at the same time have paid their stockholders 6 per cent, the limit permitted in a coöperative company.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society has established coöperative societies under the present laws and the results have been most satisfactory and beneficial.

From these facts it would appear that further legislation is unnecessary, but that what the State needs is a campaign of organization, which will bring to every farming community in the State the benefits which at present only a few have had the forethought to seize.

I therefore recommend that the Legislature appropriate the necessary funds to conduct such a campaign.

The Legislature should secure for the State the services of men who will make it their sole duty to go through the State explaining these coöperative laws and assuming the responsibility for creating and organizing credit unions and coöperative marketing societies.

These men should make it their business to organize markets and shipping stations under the control of

local coöperative marketing associations. One large receiving center in cities and towns of medium size will answer all the purposes of a packing, grading, shipping and marketing station.

Here the produce will be delivered by the neighboring farmer and credited to his account. The goods will then be graded, packed and labeled. Pains will be taken to supply first of all the demands of the local town. The balance can then be shipped in carload lots to the centers of best demand. One central station equipped with cold storage facilities can accommodate the surplus products of several smaller stations.

These various associations throughout the State can organize a selling agency in the city of New York which will keep itself advised on the condition of domestic and foreign markets and be in a position to direct the shipments to centers where the demand is strongest and where the best prices prevail.

From the experience of other states and countries, I am certain that the farmers of New York will respond to any invitation to coöperate which is made in the way I suggest. Furthermore when New York's farmers realize that such a movement is definitely under way, no single community will handicap itself by permitting other communities to enjoy a monopoly of scientific credit and proper marketing facilities. In Minnesota 600 coöperative creameries were organized in ten years, with a total membership of 50,000 farmers. In California more than 20,000 fruit growers are coöperating and a third of the entire fruit business of that State is handled coöperatively.

The Commissioner of Agriculture informs me that at least \$25,000 and not more than \$50,000 would be sufficient to undertake a campaign of organization and education. Compared to the tremendous saving to the

producers and consumers of the State which is being sought, the sum is trifling.

The results we desire cannot be achieved in a day. We know, however, that they can be achieved by diligence and earnest effort and we should take the means which experience and reason alike convince us to be the best.

The United States already leads the world in coöperative insurance. There is no reason why it should not strive for similar leadership in coöperative agriculture.

At a further date I shall suggest to the Legislature certain additions to the agricultural and banking laws intended to enable those not already farmers to purchase farm land on long time loans and to assist present farmers to extend their operations. But before we proceed to new laws we should be sure that we are making the best use of the laws we already have.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Suggesting That the Legislature Create a Court of Inquiry to be Composed of the Living Ex-Judges of the Court of Appeals

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *February 23, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I respectfully suggest a way to take investigations out of politics and politics out of investigations.

I respectfully suggest a way to have investigations within reason and reason in investigations.

I suggest that the Legislature create a Court of Inquiry to be composed of the living ex-Judges of the Court of Appeals.

They are seven in number, and three of them now serve the State as official referees. These three are Judge Albert Haight, Judge Irving G. Vann and Judge John Clinton Gray.

The other four—Judge Charles Andrews, Judge Edgar M. Cullen, Judge Alton B. Parker and Judge Charles H. Brown—or as many of them as necessary, could probably be induced from a sense of civic duty to serve when absolutely needed.

At present New York State is conducting a “four-ring circus” of investigations. The taxpayer is not only paying the price of admission, but is hiring the performers as well. Carried to its logical conclusion, the present situation would soon demand an investigation to investigate the investigators.

During the next year the Highway Department of New York will be called upon to expend approximately fifteen million dollars for the construction, improvement and maintenance of the State’s highways.

Unless the Legislature is prepared to let a perplexed department spend fifteen million dollars of the State’s money, it must turn the present epidemic of investigations into a single deliberate and impartial inquiry.

Where matters have progressed far enough to be the subject of a grand jury proceeding, neither the Governor nor the Legislature should attempt to interfere.

We can, however, consolidate three State investigations into one, and make that investigation such that it will command the confidence and approval of every citizen.

If the public were convinced that our present investigations are impartial and thorough, if it were sure that a desire to get at the truth is their inspiration rather than an unworthy hope to secure political capital; there might be some excuse for the piling of one investigation upon another.

At present, however, the average citizen is convinced that findings are colored by politics, and results obscured by partisanship.

I, therefore, call upon the Legislature to bring order out of chaos: I request it to create a Court of Inquiry that will give the public the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Instead of four or more investigations, let us have one. Let that investigation be so thorough and impartial that no public officer can believe himself persecuted, and no private citizen consider himself deceived! Let the State enlist the assistance of the ex-Judges of its Court of Appeals! It will no doubt be a distasteful task to the judges, who have retired from the highest court of the State, to turn their attention to work of this kind. I have confidence enough, however, in their patriotism and public spirit to believe that they will take this burden upon themselves when they realize that it is the only way to restore the good name of the State and permit great public improvements to be completed with economy and dispatch.

By chapter 229 of the Laws of 1911, Judges of the Court of Appeals retiring from that court by reason of the age limit of seventy years, are made official referees of actions in which the people of the State of New York are a party, by filing their consent so to serve. This consent has already been filed by Judge Irving G. Vann, Judge Albert Haight and Judge John Clinton Gray. They are paid for their services an annual salary of \$6,000 each.

I urge upon the Legislature the advisability of broadening chapter 229 of the Laws of 1911, and of constituting these eminent judges into a tribunal of inquiry for the investigation of all matters concerning any department of the State service, or the administration of any law which the Governor or Legislature

or the taxpayers believe important enough for judicial attention.

Such a tribunal would entail no additional expense on the State.

Such a tribunal would be of a character to command universal respect. Its work would be promptly, efficiently and honestly performed.

Such a tribunal would understand the questions that need investigation. It would understand the law and know when it is violated. It would understand the obligations upon public officers and know when those obligations have been ignored. It could carry on its investigations pursuant to well-understood rules of procedure. It would apply to those investigations proper rules of evidence. It would understand the environments which the Constitution places around the citizen, and save him from unnecessary annoyance and persecution. It would understand and uphold the interests of the people. It would be a welcome substitute for the sensational investigations that long have agitated the public mind.

To this tribunal I would give the fullest power of subpœna, the fullest power to employ whatever attorneys, experts, investigators or assistants it may require.

At the present time there are four separate and distinct investigations pending of public affairs and departments in the State of New York. An investigation is being carried on by a Commissioner appointed by me under the Moreland Act. A Senate investigating committee has been in existence for some time and has been conducting investigations. A third investigation is planned by the Assembly. Various grand juries throughout the State are making inquiries on precisely the same subjects of investigation, dealing with the

same evidence, seeking to expose the same allegations of graft. These investigations have already disturbed the orderly administration of some of the departments, and have thrown the work of the State into confusion without reaching the wrong-doings aimed at, and without bringing offenders to justice.

While it is important to discover and punish past offences against the State, it is equally important to prevent their repetition. While it is prudent to learn how much of the State's money has been misapplied in the past; it is equally prudent to make sure that public money is not being wasted at the present time, and to prevent its waste in the future. The money of the taxpayers of New York can be conserved only when those in charge of that money are able to perform their duties efficiently and well. A public officer cannot discharge his official duties satisfactorily when his department is being torn and distracted by a constant succession and a needless duplication of investigations covering the same ground and repeating the same facts.

In the Highway Department, which has faced investigations during the present year from four different quarters, records which should be here in Albany are scattered miscellaneously throughout the State; its employees have been taken from their regular occupations, not to attend upon one tribunal, but at different times to attend before several; going over precisely the same questions, examining the same evidence, threshing over old straw, and giving sensational statements to the public often unsupported by facts, often contrary to law, leading to no good, punishing no crime, saving no money, and furnishing to the State no information upon which additional safeguards may be built.

No one with experience in great undertakings, especially in public office with its manifold responsi-

bilities and almost infinite details, can believe that men thus harried and persecuted and subjected to duplicated distractions and thrice-told humiliations can discharge their duties with a high degree of efficiency.

Justice does not require sensational means to reach its ends. The detection of crime does not require, indeed it forbids, partisan or personal means of detection. The law must be upheld. Dishonesty must be driven out of public life. Efficiency must be substituted for inefficiency. These needs are self-evident. The time has come in this State to appeal to the law and to the common sense and patience of our people. The time has come to stop persecution under the guise of prosecution which brings only calamity in its train, and to substitute honest investigations regulated by legal procedure and made to conform to rules of justice.

Justice does not require, the people do not want, innuendoes and covert attacks whose only purpose is possibly to glorify the investigator, to answer some partisan ends, and through suggestion and innuendo to drive men to distraction, catastrophe and ruin.

If our present system of inquisitorial investigation continues, only those men will seek public office who are incapable of appreciating, or insensible to, such malicious attacks.

Crime cannot be pursued by hue and cry. Dishonest men cannot be driven out of public life by head-hunting. In the pretense of punishing malefactors, innocent men should not be destroyed. For the purpose of detecting guilt, Truth must not be crucified. The public mind must not be confused by insinuations that have no basis, by innuendoes that have no facts behind them and whose only purpose is to destroy those against whom they are aimed. Truth and justice can only pre-

vail when set out in accordance with those principles and in accordance with those institutions which represent the growth and stability of government by law.

The Temple of Law should not be desecrated into a hippodrome of politics. Prosecution should not be dragged down into the mire of persecution. Partisan malevolence should not be allowed to tip the scales of justice for sinister purposes. The sword of justice should not be sharpened on one side by political grindstones, nor dulled on the other by political mechanics. Justice should see with both eyes, or with neither eye; but never with one eye.

Every end of justice would be served, every motive of partisanship frustrated by the formation of this Court of Inquiry composed of the living ex-Judges of our Court of Appeals.

Such a tribunal would command public respect and merit universal confidence.

Such a tribunal would injure no man but the dishonest, and protect none but the honest; and that is what New York needs today.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Suggesting a Plan Whereby the Farmers of New York
Can Enjoy Credit Facilities by the Establishment
of the Land Bank**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 2, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

The Democratic State platform urges a better system of agricultural credit for this State, as does the Progressive State platform, while the Republican State platform stands for the general improvement of our agricultural conditions.

The national platforms of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties urge an improved system of agricultural credit for the nation.

The farms of New York State, according to the last United States census, are mortgaged for approximately \$100,000,000.

I respectfully suggest to the Legislature that it can institute a system of agricultural credit which will save the farmers of New York \$24,000,000 if present mortgages are converted into ten-year amortization loans, and \$82,000,000 if converted into fifty-year amortization loans.

By amortization loans I mean that system of loans now used in Europe, under which the farmers of Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy borrow money on their land and pay it back in instalments at easy rates of interest.

For a thousand dollar loan at 6 per cent for fifty years, a German farmer pays \$63.44 annually, or only \$3.44 over the interest. But these small additional sums, insignificant to an American farmer, wipe out the debt.

For a loan of \$1,000 at 6 per cent for ten years an American farmer pays \$600 interest and the principal at the end of the term, or \$1,600 all told. If the European system were available he would pay \$135.86 each year. During the ten years he would pay only \$1,358.68 or \$241.32 less than under our present system; yet his debt would be completely paid.

If New York's mortgage indebtedness of \$100,000,000 were converted under the European system into ten-year loans the farmers of the State would be saved \$24,132,000; if converted into fifty-year loans they would be saved \$82,800,000.

Under this system of amortization loans, the European farmer pays a small sum each year in addition

to his interest, and by continuing these small payments for periods ranging from ten to fifty years, is able to pay off the principal of his loan with little difficulty. Instead of having a large indebtedness to meet at the maturity of his loan and running the risk of foreclosure through hard times or failure of crops, he pays in instalments and has no greater burden to bear at the end than at the beginning of his loan.

Not only will the introduction of this system reduce the weight of existing mortgages, but by placing capital within easy reach of New York's farmers it will have the effect of stimulating the agriculture of the State in all its branches.

It is evident to every observer that some such stimulation is necessary.

In the last ten years the urban population of New York increased more than 25 per cent. But in the country districts the increase was less than 1 per cent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that during this same period the number of cultivated farms decreased 5 per cent.

While the nation as a whole increased the area of its improved farms 15 per cent, the area of New York's improved farms decreased 4 and eight-tenths per cent.

Neighboring states also lost in farm acreage, but New York lost a greater area of cultivated land than Pennsylvania and New Jersey combined.

A loss in the area of food-producing land is a serious problem for any State.

It is a matter which demands the attention of every class and division of the population, of the merchant no less than the farmer, of the city man no less than those who till the soil. And it is a problem which calls especially for broad and statesmanly action by those charged with direction and leadership in governmental activities.

I have already called the Legislature's attention to the measures that the State should adopt to provide its farmers with facilities for short-time loans and a better marketing system.

Short-time loans, however, will not enable a farmer to make extensive improvements on his land. They will not permit a prospective farmer to secure a farm.

If New York would stem the tide from the country to the city, if it would halt the decrease in the acreage of its farms, it must provide a system of credit which will enable the farmer to secure capital at a low rate of interest and for a considerable period of time.

The value of the credit system I suggest must be measured by the needs of the man who is struggling to maintain a foothold on the land. It is not a system to help farmers who do not need help. They can help themselves. It is a system to assist farmers who need assistance. It is a system to help small holders of land acquire more land. It is a system to help the man with a little money secure a farm. The way to make a people collectively the masters of the world is to make them individually masters of a few feet of earth.

The easiest way to possession of land is through the long time loan.

The long time loan gives the advantage of compound interest to the debtor instead of the creditor.

It enables the borrower to pay his principal on the instalment plan so that the burden is scarcely felt. It is a forced system of saving which, drop by drop, will wear away the disheartening rock of the farmers' indebtedness.

It makes the farmer the master instead of the slave of his mortgage.

There is nothing revolutionary or strange in the system of agricultural credit I propose. It is simply a

plan for affording the farmers of New York the credit facilities enjoyed by the farmers of other countries.

We have provided America's industries with a credit system suited to their needs. Surely New York's agriculture is entitled to a credit system which meets its necessities.

There is no politics in what I suggest. All three parties, represented in the Legislature, are committed to it by their national platforms; all three committed to it by their State platforms, two of them specifically and the third generally.

There is no trace of class legislation in what I suggest. A plan which benefits the agriculture of the State must benefit commerce as well as agriculture, must help the man in the city no less than the man in the country; must assist those who consume food as well as those who produce it.

France is using long time loans to enable its people to acquire homesteads. The young men of France after they have served their time in the French army find these long time loans of great assistance in making a fresh start.

Ireland is solving the problem of absentee landlordism and of tenant congestion by a system of long time loans. Since this plan was put into operation the English government has purchased and resold to small holders 8,000,000 acres, valued at \$450,000,000.

The government has purchased the land from the original owners and transferred title to the small purchasers on loans and mortgages spread over an average period of sixty-two years. The purchaser pays 3 per cent interest on the purchase price and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to pay off the principal. At the end of sixty-two years the land will be owned free and clear by the purchaser without further payment. The $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year is sufficient to amortize this long time loan.

What is most significant there have been practically no defaults in payment or foreclosures on mortgages amounting to \$450,000,000, during the twelve years in which this system has been in operation.

Germany has used the long time loan to such good advantage that the short time loan is practically unknown in agricultural mortgages. Germany's farmers have been able to increase the efficiency and output of their farms by the liberal use of capital, made available for other purposes by long time loans; so that at present Germany raises twice as much per acre as the United States on average poorer soil.

For instance, from 1900 to 1909, the average yield of potatoes per acre was 91.4 bushels in the United States and 200 bushels in Germany; of rye, 15.7 bushels in the United States and 25.6 in Germany; of wheat, 14.1 in the United States and 28.9 in Germany; of oats, 29.3 in the United States and 50.7 in Germany.

I urge permissive legislation to allow the formation of land banks in this State.

There are two ways to do this. One is by the establishment of a large central bank issuing debentures to be secured by mortgages placed by savings and loan associations acting as feeders for the central bank. In this system existing associations together with savings and loan associations to be organized among farmers would be stockholders in the central bank. The members of these associations would be allowed the privilege of borrowing money on the long time amortization plan. This system is favored by leading members of the State Agricultural Society and of the State Grange as well as by the Committee on Rural Credit appointed by the Commission to revise the banking laws.

The other system authorizes the formation of land banks as stock institutions by the subscription of pri-

vate capital. This system is advocated by many leading agriculturists and financial experts who have devoted much time to the study of agricultural credit abroad and to our need for it at home.

Bills advocating each of these systems will be offered for the consideration of the Legislature and I urge the passage of either or both of these bills.

Experience, necessity and self-evident economy all urge the introduction of a system of long time loans, based upon the amortization plan. It is not for me to impose my views as to the details of that system upon the Legislature, but there are certain basic principles underlying all systems of long time amortization loans which must be observed in any successful plan.

In the first place there must be some association or corporation to make these loans. Individuals cannot wait fifty years for the return of their money. To make sure that the land bank thus organized shall devote the necessary attention to agriculture there should be a provision in the law creating it, providing that part of its mortgages should be made on farm land.

Finally, the law should incorporate a provision which will give the borrower the right to extinguish his entire debt at any time he desires and is able to do so.

The United States has achieved commercial supremacy largely because its commerce has been equipped with an admirable system of credit. In its building and loans associations, it has proved its understanding of, and capacity for coöperative credit. There is every reason to believe that if this State turns its attention to a proper system of agricultural credit, it will obtain satisfactory results.

Our agricultural problem may not be as serious as

that of Europe, but it is grave enough to demand intelligent attention.

Whereas, in 1899, 658,652 acres of New York's farm lands were devoted to raising corn, in 1909 only 512,442 acres were so employed.

Land devoted to raising oats decreased from 1,329,753 to 1,302,508 acres.

Wheat acreage decreased from 557,736 to 289,130 acres.

Buckwheat acreage decreased from 289,862 to 286,276 acres.

Hay and forage acreage decreased from 5,154,965 to 5,043,373 acres.

Potato acreage decreased from 395,640 to 394,319 acres.

During a decade in which the population of New York increased 25 per cent the farm lands devoted to crops decreased as follows:

Corn, 2 per cent; oats, 2 per cent; wheat, 48 per cent; barley, 28 per cent; buckwheat, 1 per cent; rye, 26 per cent; hay and forage, 2 per cent; potatoes, $\frac{3}{10}$ of 1 per cent.

Inasmuch as the decrease in the acreage of improved land occurred in the State's most important crop, hay and forage, as well as in cereals and small fruits, it is evident that there has been no equivalent increase in other departments of agriculture to compensate for these losses.

Those who look for the causes of the high cost of living will find a partial explanation in these figures. With more people to feed, we are devoting less land to feeding them. Instead of turning our surplus population back from the cities to the land, the cities are draining already depopulated farms.

If these conditions are permitted to continue New York must eventually face a situation where it will

not only cease contributing to the nation's exports, but will be compelled to go outside for the food that its own people require.

The State has already felt the effect of the lessening supply of food in the prices which the consumer is now obliged to pay.

Since 1900 the price of potatoes has increased 56 per cent; flour has increased 35 per cent; eggs have increased 41 per cent; corn meal has increased 60 per cent; butter has increased 40 per cent.

The law of supply and demand has inexorably enforced itself.

From the facts I have called to your attention, the need, the advantage and the practicability of the long time agricultural loans should be evident. The system which has been successful in Europe will be successful here if its introduction is accompanied by wisdom and foresight.

The proposition is as simple as it is far-reaching. We face a situation where we must turn our attention for a time from the industries which have drained our farms to the farms which must feed our industries.

We must provide the means to assist the movement from the city back to the farm, which all thinking men foresee, by providing capital with which this transformation may be achieved.

It is not a problem that can be solved by fads or faddists. It is one which demands and is well worthy of the earnest and patriotic attention of every man who would keep this country from an economic crisis.

We know that our farmers are industrious and intelligent and that any plan which requires only industry and intelligence for its success may be safely entrusted to their hands.

The Legislature of New York has the opportunity to benefit not this State alone, but every State in the

Union by giving the farmers of New York a chance to demonstrate that their fertile acres afford a safe and satisfactory field for investment.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Recommending Legislation to Provide for the Acceptance and Proper Recognition of the Gift to the State of the "John Boyd Thacher Park"

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 4, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

It is my happy privilege to inform the people of the State of New York through your honorable body, of a voluntary gift to the people of the State of a tract of about three hundred and fifty acres of land in the town of New Scotland and Guilderland in the county of Albany, to be dedicated for the purposes of a public park.

This tract embraces the famous "Indian Ladder" section in the Helderbergs a few miles west of Albany. It has long been noted as one of the beauty spots of the State. Naturalists have agreed that here is found some of the grandest scenery in the State. We find numerous caves, great precipitous cliffs, waterfalls and pine forests. The region is rich historically and around it cluster many legends of the original owners of the soil. To its natural wonders is added the charm of romance. Its rich scenery is not surpassed even in the Adirondacks, and the "Ladder" itself looks more like a bit of the Rocky Mountains than a part of the Helderbergs. It is a veritable wonderland, and in my opinion this property will make the most picturesque park in the State of New York.

This generous gift is inspired by a benevolence which cannot fail to receive the grateful appreciation of the people and will permit this area where peculiarly attractive natural scenery abounds, to be conserved and preserved for public enjoyment, subject only to such restrictions as make for the public pleasure.

It is another evidence that the principle of conservation attempted to be made effective through enlightened legislation meets with a quick response by men and women, in generous gifts of their private resources to meet these desirable ends.

This substantial response to public spirited legislation is gratifying, and this notable gift will conspicuously contribute to the promotion of the health, happiness, education and patriotism of the people of the present and future generations.

This gift is the generous and patriotic action of Mrs. Emma Treadwell Thacher of Albany, New York, widow of John Boyd Thacher.

John Boyd Thacher died on February 25, 1909, at the age of sixty-two years, having distinguished himself not only in business, but as an author, and in the public service. He served for four years as mayor of Albany, and represented Albany county in the State Senate. From his entrance into public life he was closely identified with the political history of his county; was a public speaker of wide repute and an ardent advocate and supporter of all measures proposed for the benefit of workingmen and women. President Harrison appointed him a member of the World's Columbian Exposition and he became Chairman of the Executive Committee on the Bureau of Awards. His knowledge of men and affairs was comprehensive; his charitable gifts marked him as a broad-minded philanthropist, having a warm sympathetic nature for the misfortunes of his fellow men.

He was a learned historian and all his writings were marked with a fine power of expression.

His "Christopher Columbus, his Life, his Works, his Remains," the "Continent of America, its Discovery and its Baptism;" "Cabotian Discovery;" and "Charlecote," may be named as among his prominent literary contributions.

This gift of his widow should be very appropriately designated as "John Boyd Thacher Park."

Mrs. Thacher has already executed and delivered to me, as custodian, a duly executed deed from herself to the people of the State of New York of this wonderful tract.

I respectfully recommend that this Legislature make appropriate recognition of this munificence and enact suitable measures in order to provide for the acceptance of this gift, to the end that this land be forever dedicated to and used exclusively for the purpose of a public park and natural scenic reservation to be always known as the "John Boyd Thacher Park."

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Transmitting Report in Relation to the Affairs and
Accounts of the Office of the Late State Treasurer,
John J. Kennedy**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 5, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I herewith transmit for your consideration a communication from the Department of Efficiency and Economy, containing the report of Wood D. Loudoun, Chief Accountant of the Department of Efficiency and Economy, relating to the affairs and accounts of the

office of the late State Treasurer, Hon. John J. Kennedy, of Buffalo.

This report by Mr. Loudoun states that the accounts of Mr. Kennedy were in excellent condition.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Urging the Enactment of Legislation for the Development of New York's Waterpower, the Protection of its Forests, and for the Propagation of the Fish and Game of the State

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 5, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

By their platform pledges to the people, the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties are committed to the conservation of the natural resources of the State.

“ We recognize that the national resources of the forests, mines, fish and game should be conserved by their scientific development and protection,” declares the Democratic State platform. “ Water power can only be conserved by its use and it should be developed to its maximum efficiency so that our citizens may obtain cheap electric power.”

“ Our water power and other natural resources,” declares the Progressive State platform, “ should be dedicated to a common benefit and developed under State control. The State holdings and the forest reserve should be greatly extended and so administered as to combine intelligent conservation and a wider popular use.”

“ We favor,” declares the Republican State platform, “ such regulation of our rivers by storage reservoirs and otherwise, as will multiply and equalize the hydraulic power, and we pledge ourselves to the prompt adoption of such constitutional and statutory enactments as will accomplish this end. We favor the utilization of the natural resources of the State for the benefit of all its people.”

These platform declarations are simply a response to the public demand for better use of the natural wealth of the State. There has been an awakening all over the nation to the necessity of utilizing natural resources. And the people of New York are determined to use for themselves the forces which a generous nature places at their disposal and to preserve the natural resources of the State unimpaired for their children and their children's children.

WATER POWER

Conservation has a particular meaning when applied to water power. The only way to conserve water power is to use it. The progress of electrical science has made plain that wherever water flows from a higher level to a lower, it is possible to turn this flow into electricity, and the electricity thus generated may be used to turn the wheels of a factory or light the homes of a city one hundred miles away.

Every day that the waters of New York are permitted to escape without paying their toll in electrical power represents a distinct and measurable loss to the citizens of the State. Failure to take advantage of our natural water power is the worst sort of extravagance because it is unintelligent.

The citizens of New York have protested against this extravagance. In the platforms of their various

political parties, they have expressed their desire to use their wasted waters. At the last election they gave their approval of a plan to make better use of the waters in the Adirondack watershed. And no legislator will have discharged his full duty to his constituents until he has done his part in providing the means to make the waters of New York work for the comfort and prosperity of New York's citizens.

Next to California, New York possesses the greatest water power resources of any State in the Union.

Including the boundary waters at Niagara, existing plants now develop 1,000,000 horsepower. This power has been handed over to private corporations without making provision for adequate compensation to the State. This is not the sort of conservation that the citizens of New York demand. Conservation to enrich private individuals is no conservation at all. But in addition to the 1,000,000 horsepower, unwisely handed over to private ownership, and which the State should endeavor to recover, New York still possesses waters capable of developing 1,500,000 horsepower.

Before private capital can step in and seize this latent power the State should act for the benefit of its citizens. Every hydraulic horsepower used represents a yearly saving of ten tons of coal. The development of 1,500,000 horsepower which now lies fallow, would save 15,000,000 tons of coal annually. At the average price of fuel today, this means an average saving in fuel expense of not less than \$50,000,000.

Until twenty years ago our water power could be used only where nature placed it. Today power from a single source can reach a marketing area of not less than 150,000 square miles. One and one-half million of our people along the Erie Canal are consuming electricity generated by the Canadian Niagara Falls. Oswego uses electricity from Niagara carried over 200

miles of wire. Water power formerly as stationary as the pyramids is now as mobile as the lightning.

The State should harness its waters before it is too late. It should provide the means to turn waste water power into electricity and it should enable its citizens to secure this electricity at the lowest possible cost. Both these ends, I believe, may be attained through the hydro-electric bills now pending in the Legislature. These bills reserve for the State and its citizens the benefits of the water power belonging to the State. They provide not only for a revenue to the State, but for a tangible benefit to citizens in reduced bills for electricity, light, heat and power.

OUR UNDEVELOPED FORESTS

Outside of the Forest Preserve the timber of New York is being cut five times as fast as it grows. Inside the Forest Preserve valuable trees are allowed to fall and rot, endangering the healthy trees about them, increasing the fire hazard, and representing an absolute waste so far as the State is concerned.

The protection which the Constitution throws around the Forest Preserve has been invaluable. Our great Adirondack and Catskill parks have remained free from the woodman's axe and from the exploiter of State property. But in protecting the Forest Preserve, the Constitution takes away from the friends of the forest, the right to apply to it the methods of modern woodcraft.

Rotting and decayed trees are a menace to any forest, but under our Constitution we cannot remove them. Where trees are permitted to grow too closely together, no single tree can attain its full growth and beauty. But under the provisions of the Constitution we cannot thin out the Forest Preserve where such thinning out is conceded to be necessary.

In other words, because we have feared to trust ourselves to deal justly by our forests, we are denying to the Forest Preserve of New York that intelligent care which its importance demands.

Experts have informed me that four hundred million feet of timber annually rot in the Forest Preserve. This rotting timber is of no use to the State. It is a menace to the preserve. If the Constitution were amended so that responsible State officers could direct the cutting of this matured timber an annual revenue of \$1,600,000 could be obtained for the State and thousands of men would find employment in our forests.

The best friends of New York's forests have declared for a program of forest conservation such as I have outlined.

The Conservation Conference held in the Executive Chamber last December, the New York State Fish, Game and Forest League, The New York State Forestry Association, The Camp Fire Club of America and many other representative organizations have signified their readiness to support any plan which has for its object the utilization of New York's waste timber and the improvement of forest conditions.

Before New York permits a single tree in its Forest Preserve to be touched, however, it must provide a system of State supervision. The interests of the forest itself must be the first consideration.

Germany cuts the mature trees in its forests, scientifically and well, by placing lumbering operations under the care of State foresters. New York must surround its Forest Preserve with similar safeguards.

It is possible for the State to derive a considerable revenue from a scientific disposition of the mature trees in its forests, but it would be better to lose this revenue than to endanger in the slightest degree the in-

tegrity of the State's magnificent Preserve. "Safety first" should be the watchword in any plan to dispose of New York's waste timber.

I urge that the Legislature take these facts into consideration and attempt to devise some broad and statesmanly amendment to the Constitution which will intelligently protect the forest preserve, and, at the same time, yield a considerable revenue to the State.

REFORESTATION

New York is producing only one-fourth of the lumber which it annually consumes. Our timber production has decreased from 1,250,000,000 feet in 1908 to less than 1,000,000,000 in 1913. The value of our annual timber cut, and the products into which it is manufactured, amounts to \$88,000,000. Nearly forty thousand men receiving \$18,000,000 a year in wages, are engaged in the lumber industry.

As I pointed out, we are now cutting each year five times as much timber as we grow. Obviously this means the extinction of a great industry unless radical steps are taken to check the present drain on our forests and to compensate for past inroads.

The State must be taught to look upon timber as a crop; a crop which takes thirty years to mature, but which will mature as certainly as any other crop. Land which is not suited for farming may be made to yield a valuable crop of timber with intelligent care, but no crop can be raised unless the seeds are first sown.

What New York must do is to provide for the reforestation of forest land. Within the forest preserve itself there are 120,000 acres of land denuded by fire and decay. The State should reforest this great area. But in addition to taking care of its own trees, the State should do what it can to assist private citizens

to reforest private land. Wherever a tree stands, whether on public or private land, it represents a protection to the State.

Forestry has demonstrated that timber regulates the ravages of freshets and floods, insures a sufficient water supply through times of drought, and prevents the erosion of fertile land.

Wherever it is possible to plant a tree the State should encourage that planting. It should not only offer young trees to private citizens who desire to plant them on their property, but it should do that planting, itself, at cost.

The State now has fifty acres of tree nurseries but these nurseries are totally inadequate to supply the needs of New York's forest land, which is equal in area to the entire States of New Hampshire and Vermont.

Switzerland maintains 600 acres of tree nurseries, or twelve times as much as New York. Populous Germany has one-fourth of its entire area planted with trees, while New York has but one one-thousandth of its area so planted.

Reforestation cannot be accomplished in a day or for nothing. To carry out their pledges to the people the members of the Legislature should provide the necessary funds to carry on a practical and consistent campaign of reforestation.

New York may be eventually forced to use its own trees for whatever lumber it needs. It should prepare for that day by arranging for a scientific system of cutting and planting which will perpetuate its magnificent forests.

LEASING CAMP SITES

To make the forest preserve of New York the great recreation center for which it is designed, the State

should provide some satisfactory method of enabling its citizens to get upon the State's land.

Some system of leasing camp sites in the forest preserve should be commenced so that those who seek health and recreation in the Adirondacks and Catskills can secure proper locations at a nominal rental. Any amendments, however, which provide for such leasing should prevent this privilege from being abused.

Choice locations should not be given over to those who would take toll of the vacationist. No individual should be given special privilege on the State's property in order to turn that privilege into private profit.

FISH AND GAME

The conservation of fish and game is important because it touches on the food supply of our people. The question of protecting and propagating fish and game should be considered first in its relation to the needs of the consumer.

Wherever the State can increase the number of fishes in its streams, or birds in its forests, it owes a duty to its people to do so.

Last year the Conservation Department distributed 1,250,000,000 fish from its hatcheries. Past experience has shown that the pollution of streams and other unfavorable conditions will prevent all but a small percentage from reaching maturity.

I suggest to the Legislature that it amend the law so that the pollution of the streams shall be presumptive evidence that such pollution is deleterious to fish life. The burden of showing that such pollution is harmless should be placed upon those responsible for it.

I further suggest that the Legislature provide for a scientific investigation of the waters of the State to

ascertain what fish are best adapted to survive in each particular stream or lake.

I also suggest that the Legislature encourage private owners to stock ponds upon their farms with fish by giving these private owners every assistance in this direction.

There are four bills before the Legislature making appropriations for game farms and refuges. Unless the State would see its birds disappear it must take some such action. Several public-spirited citizens have already offered their properties as game refuges and the State should set aside part of its own land for similar purposes.

So far as the conservation of fish and game is concerned, the Legislature should so frame the laws that the interest of farmers and land owners should be protected on the one hand and the rights of the sportsmen conserved on the other.

I urge upon the Legislature the need of more game protectors and the advisability of licensing guides, the practicability of planting productive trees along the State's highways and the necessity for coöperation between this State and the Federal government in the protection of migratory birds.

Whatever time and energy, thought and care the Legislature may devote to the subject of conservation will yield a two-fold return. Conservation is more than economy. It not only saves wealth, but creates it.

We cannot accomplish everything in a day, but this Legislature may discharge its duties and earn the gratitude of the State by outlining and commencing a program of conservation suited to the needs of New York.

I assure the Legislature that any broad action it may take to utilize New York's water power, to pro-

tect its forests and make them productive, to multiply its fish and game, to give, in short, the full benefit of New York's natural resources to the people of New York will meet with my hearty approval and earnest assistance.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**In Relation to the Unemployed and the Bill Now Before
the Legislature Creating the Bureau of Employment
in the Department of Labor**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 6, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Public attention has been forcibly turned to the fact that a large number of men are unable to find employment. During the past fall and winter the problem of the unemployed has steadily grown more acute.

For the man who is not sincerely anxious to secure work the public has no sympathy. For the man who is anxious to work, but cannot find employment, the State has sympathy and a very real concern.

While I do not believe that the present situation is as serious as some would have us believe, I am persuaded that it is serious enough to demand our consideration. Whatever the State as a State can do to provide work for the unemployed it is morally bound to do.

The present situation is not new. Unemployment is an evil which is always present in a greater or less degree in our industrial system. Where there is no work to be done the State can rarely create work. But there are many times when although there is work to be done and men anxious to do that work, the

employer and the man who wants to work cannot get into touch with each other.

This latter situation the State can remedy.

After consultation with the Commissioner of Labor and a study of employment systems which have proved successful abroad, I have caused a bill to be prepared which embodies a plan to reduce unemployment to a minimum.

This bill adds another bureau to the Department of Labor—a Bureau of Employment. The bill provides that this bureau shall be under the immediate charge of a director “who shall have recognized executive and managerial ability” and “technical and scientific knowledge upon the subject of unemployment.”

This director is to be chosen by a civil service examination. He must be a man who has had wide experience, and a part of his examination shall be to submit a detailed plan of “organization and administration of employment offices such as are contemplated by this act.”

The Commissioner of Labor is empowered to establish public employment offices wherever he deems them necessary, and the purpose of these offices shall be to bring together all kinds and classes of workmen in search of employment and employers seeking labor.

The superintendent of every public employment office is to receive applications from those seeking employment and from those seeking employees, and must register every application.

The superintendent must further supply the director of the bureau with periodic reports of the employment conditions in his territory.

An advisory committee, composed of prominent employers and representatives of labor, will be appointed by the Commissioner of Labor for each public

employment office. The duty of this advisory committee shall be to give the superintendent advice and assistance in connection with the management of his office.

Provision is made in the bill for strikes, and no applicant for labor shall be deprived of the assistance of the employment office because of his refusal to work in an establishment where a strike is in progress. Before any applicant for labor may be sent to such establishment he must be notified of the strike.

Separate departments for men, women and children in the employment office are created by the bill. It further provides that all minors between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years may register from the schools that they attend.

Under the bill the various public employment offices scattered through the State are required to coöperate with one another in order that the employment office which has a surplus of work offered may draw additional applicants for work from employment offices where there is no work obtainable.

In this way the worker will be put in touch with localities where there is a demand for labor, and the employer will have the advantage of a State-wide canvass in his search for workers.

The public employment office is empowered to advertise, wherever necessary, for positions or for workers; provided that the expenditure for advertising is not more than 5 per cent of the employment office's total expenditures.

The Commissioner of Labor is empowered, under this bill, to secure whatever information he may desire from private employment agencies, and the service of the public employment agency is to be free to all applicants.

New York must deal with an ancient problem in a modern way. If, through the creation of these public employment offices, the State of New York can bring the worker and employer into closer touch, it will have done a necessary duty in reducing the evil of unemployment.

One of the purposes of government is to supply its citizens with information necessary to their welfare. There is no information more vital to the citizen of the State than knowledge of where he may obtain work to feed and clothe himself and his dependents.

(Signed) **MARTIN H. GLYNN.**

**Recommending the Enactment of Legislation for the
Further Prevention of Frauds at the Primaries and
General Elections**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 9, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I recommend, for your consideration, the enactment of suitable legislation for the further prevention of frauds at primary and general elections.

The Democratic Legislature of 1913 enacted a Massachusetts Ballot Law for general elections and a Direct Primary Law, providing for a comprehensive and workable system of direct primaries, applying not only throughout the State but to State officers as well as local officers, adopting an official primary ballot in the Massachusetts form; depriving the machine of the right to the party emblem as against anti-machine members, and, in fact, dispensing with emblems at primaries altogether; abolishing designation committees and requiring all designations to be made by

petition; recognizing only two party committees, the State committee and the county committee, and requiring that the members of both be elected at direct primaries; and prohibiting the use of party funds at primary elections. Lawyers and public-spirited citizens, who were reputed as the most familiar with the Election Law, were consulted in the drafting of these laws and all suggestions had the most careful consideration by the bill drafting department. I believe that the best interests of the public will be subserved by giving these laws a fair trial at the primary and general elections to be held next fall without further amendment affecting the substance thereof.

In the matter of the enforcement of these substantial amendments so enacted, however, I have received a number of suggestions which I deem to be of first importance, and I herewith urge you to give the same your prompt consideration. In particular, I specifically recommend:

1. That the election district be made the primary district, so that primary elections will be conducted by bipartisan instead of partisan boards of inspectors.

2. That primary day be held on the first day of registration and the hours during which the voter may register, enroll and vote materially lengthened.

3. That the application of the signature law be extended to primary elections.

4. That voters be furnished by mail with sample ballots not later than the day before each primary and general election.

5. I also recommend Senate Bills Nos. 676 and 677, introduced by Senator Herrick on February 25, 1914; the latter provides that statements filed by candidates under the Corrupt Practices Law shall have attached thereto affidavits subscribed and sworn to by the per-

sons making such statements, and the former prohibits contributions by contractors or other persons furnishing labor or materials to the State or political subdivisions thereof.

These various amendments I regard as of great public importance and I urge their enactment into law.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Approving Request of the Public Service Commission,
for the Appropriation of \$100,000 to Investigate Com-
plaints Against the New York Telephone Company**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 12, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

There are pending before the Public Service Commission for the Second District eight separate complaints against the New York Telephone Company in respect to its operation and schedule of rates within the city of New York. In order to make a proper determination in the matter the Commission finds it essential to make certain appraisals of the company's property and examination of its accounts. The Commission is without funds to prosecute such inquiry. It has unanimously decided that it is not authorized by law to accept the company's offer to supply the funds needed to meet the expenses of this inquiry, and it has accordingly requested me to transmit a special message to the Legislature recommending an immediate appropriation for the purposes stated.

The Commission advises me that the sum of \$100,000 would be sufficient to meet the expenses of such an inquiry, and that with such a sum at its disposal the inquiry can be consummated within a period

of six months. I approve the Commission's request and recommend to the Legislature an appropriation of the sum of \$100,000 or as much thereof as may be necessary to be used by the Commission for the purpose stated, the disbursement thereof to be under precisely the same conditions, checks and safeguards as already provided by law in cases of expenditure of moneys appropriated generally to meet the expenses of the Commission.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Urging the Passage of a Measure to Provide for Local Co-operative Markets and for General Auction Markets for the Sale of Farm Products by Licensed Auctioneers

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 13, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

To create a better system of marketing farm products I urge upon the Legislature the passage of a law which will provide for local coöperative markets as heretofore recommended, and in addition provide for general auction markets where farm products may be sold by licensed auctioneers.

Complaints have reached me from time to time that under present conditions consignees of farm goods frequently speculate in such goods to the disadvantage of both the producer and the consumer, that they misstate the condition of the goods when received; and that they return an inadequate price for the grade and quality of goods consigned to them. At present the farmer has no adequate means of redress.

No honest consignee of farm produce has anything to

fear from the measure which I propose. Twenty years ago France established such auction markets and provided for publicly licensed auctioneers. Although only a comparatively small percentage of all the produce sold by farmers in France now passes through the hands of these public auctioneers, the fact that this method of selling is open to all producers and is comparatively free from abuses and establishes prices and definite grades and measures, compels all produce dealers to treat their shippers with fairness. The system also eliminates the abuses of the present system where dishonest and unscrupulous dealers practice methods detrimental to the honest dealer. It evades the temptation that an honest dealer has to meet competition by following the questionable methods of an unscrupulous competitor as a means of self-defense. Under the auction system, the commission man or dealer treats the shipper unfairly, the business automatically passes into the hands of the licensed auctioneer.

A constant complaint from both producer and consumer is that dealers and manipulators of farm food products prevent the regulation of prices through the natural channel of supply and demand. A shortage of supply is invariably followed by an advance of price to the consumer; but an increased supply does not result in so prompt a reduction of the price established in times of scarcity, and frequently no reduction whatever is made. As a result of this policy the finest food products often rot on the farms because the producer is not able to obtain enough for them in the wholesale markets to pay the cost of transportation and marketing, to say nothing of the cost of production. While the city consumer is obliged to pay for this identical kind of produce the highest prices demanded in seasons of small production, both producer and consumer are denied the benefits of a bountiful crop. Under the

French auction system of marketing this condition does not exist, and cannot exist, because the low price of a flush market stimulates the demand, increases the consumption of the products, and automatically increases the price again as the surplus disappears.

I propose to give the farmers of New York the same measure of protection which licensed auctioneers afford the French farmers. After much consideration and extended interviews with representatives of farmers' and consumers' organizations, I have reached the conclusion that this can be best effected through a single-headed food and market commission. The commissioner to be designated should be authorized to assist and encourage the establishment of local markets under the control of coöperative associations of producers or consumers, and to help them in the establishment of grades and standards of farm food products. And he should be empowered to establish general auction markets at such points in the State as he deems advisable, and to provide suitable premises for the purpose.

To those in a city, town or village, where the market is located, who are qualified and ready to act as a public auctioneer, the Commissioner of Agriculture should be empowered to issue licenses. Proper safeguards should be thrown around the appointment of these auctioneers. In order that the men best qualified for these position may be obtained, every auctioneer should be bonded.

The Commissioner should be required to adopt a schedule of the commissions which the public auctioneer may charge for his services. In connection with these markets some system of inspection should be provided so that disinterested State officials could pass upon the grade and condition of all food products as they enter the public markets.

The markets of France, similar to the markets I now urge, are not only self-supporting, but actually return the municipality in which they are located a substantial revenue above the expense of operation and maintenance.

Ultimately, our markets will be on the same basis of sustaining themselves from a small and legitimate charge to the shipper for the service rendered him in the marketing of his products. This result can be reached and should be reached within a comparatively short time after the establishment of the markets. But in the establishment of the markets and in the development of the system, the State will necessarily incur some expense, and I recommend an appropriation of \$35,000 to cover this initial expenditure.

What New York needs is a reliable meeting ground for the man who has produce to sell and the one who wants to buy, a place where they can make their exchanges through a reliable intermediary with a fair charge for the services, and a place where prices must follow the natural law of supply and demand.

Such a market system can be provided by the measure I suggest, and I urge it upon the earnest consideration of the Legislature.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Calling for Immediate Action to Protect Depositors in Private Banks

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 16, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Every new development in the investigation of the affairs of the large private bank in New York city which failed several months ago brings to light a new

reason why immediate action should be taken to protect depositors in private banks from the disaster which befell the depositors of that bank. It must be clear to everyone now that the present law in relation to private banks gives no real protection to depositors, that while these banks use the fact that they are licensed by the State as an inducement for making deposits with them, the State has no effective means, under the present statute, to preserve the integrity of deposits.

The State occupies the unenviable position of being no more than the purveyor of bad news, the present law merely permitting the State to determine when a private banker is about to become insolvent. To permit such a situation to continue for an unnecessary day would be a mistake. No personal regard for some of the private bankers or any insincere argument for delay should prevent the immediate enactment of legislation which will afford depositors in private banks the same protection which is given to depositors in savings banks. The State cannot afford to lend itself to the continued recognition of a business system attended with grave danger to thousands of its citizens.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**Asking for Support and Assistance in Securing for
the State the Construction of Permanent Highways
and Favoring the Adoption of Vitrified Brick in Their
Construction**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *March 23, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

New York is engaged in building 12,000 miles of road which will wear out forty years before they are paid for.

Unless the State makes a radical change in the type of road it builds, it will cost from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 yearly to maintain and rebuild New York's highways when the present system is completed.

This is the real highway problem.

It costs New York approximately \$12,000 to build a mile of macadam road which, under present traffic conditions, will not last more than ten years. It costs a thousand dollars a year to maintain and resurface these macadam roads. And, at the end of ten years when these roads are worn out it will cost at least \$6,000 a mile to rebuild them.

One hundred million dollars has been voted for the construction of New York's highways. If the roads we build in the future cost as much as those we have been building in the past, it will require an additional \$30,000,000 to complete the proposed system. On New York's 12,000 miles of macadam roads the annual cost of maintenance will be \$12,000,000, the total cost of the roads will be \$130,000,000 and at the end of ten years from the date of completion the State will have little to show for an expenditure of \$250,000,000.

In the twenty years thereafter the tax for highways will be at least \$20,000,000 each year, if our roads are to be kept in proper condition.

Every year the taxpayers of New York will be compelled to pay \$12,000,000 for maintenance. Every year they will be forced to pay \$5,000,000 in interest charges on their bonds. Every year they will be compelled to contribute \$2,500,000 to the sinking fund to take up these bonds when they mature. And every year they will be required to pay additional millions to rebuild part of the roads on which they are lavishing these tremendous sums.

In other words, New York must either change its road policy or prepare to levy a perpetual and yearly

road tax of \$2 on every man, woman and child within its borders.

When the State planned its highway system it did so without knowledge of the motor traffic that these roads would later be asked to withstand.

Following the lead of Massachusetts it adopted a system of macadam roads eminently fitted to light horse traffic but utterly unsuited to the wear and tear of the heavy automobile. The result has been that an ever increasing motor traffic is pounding the roads of New York apart almost as fast as they can be built. What the State has saved in the initial cost of its roads is more than lost in the great and increasing cost of maintenance.

New York's experience has simply been that of adjoining States but upon a larger scale.

New York pays no more than Massachusetts does for the same kind of macadam road. New York's macadam roads last as long as roads in Massachusetts that are subjected to the same degree of traffic. Last year Massachusetts spent over \$800 a mile for repairing and resurfacing and many older roads needed rebuilding at a cost of \$6,000 to \$10,000 a mile.

New Jersey builds its roads at an approximate cost of \$10,000 a mile, but it is fortunate in the possession of domestic road material which other States must import. For repairs and resurfacing New Jersey spends over \$1,500 a mile.

I do not believe that when the taxpayers of New York voted \$100,000,000 for a system of good roads they realized that they would be compelled to spend more than \$20,000,000 a year to perpetuate these roads. And in fairness to these taxpayers and to the various governmental activities to which the State's money ought to be devoted, those in authority must devise

some way to reduce the cost of keeping New York's highways in repair.

Instead of roads that wear out in ten years, New York must build roads that will last from twenty to thirty years. Instead of building highways that cost \$1,000 a year to maintain, New York must construct roads that can be maintained at a moderate annual cost. Instead of putting down roads that cannot withstand the traffic that passes over them, the State must find some way to build roads that are fitted for present conditions.

Two types of road with which this country has had experience answer these requirements. One is the concrete road, the other the brick road with the concrete foundation.

In the past New York has been slow to adopt concrete or brick roads because of their high initial cost. Where a macadam road costs from \$10,000 to \$13,000 a mile to build, a concrete road costs from \$12,000 to \$16,000 a mile, and a brick road costs from \$20,000 to \$25,000.

Unfortunately, the experience of the modern road builder with concrete has been rather limited. Michigan has built concrete roads in one county and thus far has obtained very satisfactory results, but these roads have not been down long enough to justify any positive conclusion as to their permanence and economy. Brick roads, however, have been laid in hundreds of cities and have everywhere demonstrated their durability. Brick roads have been down for twenty-five years and have admirably stood the test of the hardest kind of traffic. The annual cost of maintaining these brick roads has been remarkably low, ranging from practically nothing to from ten to fifty dollars per mile.

Even if New York were compelled to pay \$25,000 a mile for brick roads it would be economy to build such roads instead of macadam roads in all places where the State's highways are subjected to heavy automobile traffic.

The total expenditures for twenty years on a macadam road amount to \$36,000. This includes \$12,000 for building, \$18,000 for maintenance, and \$6,000 for rebuilding at the end of the first ten years.

The total expenditures for twenty years on a vitrified brick road amount to \$26,000 if we allow a maximum of \$25,000 for building and \$50 a year for maintenance.

On these outside figures the difference in cost for twenty years between the macadam and brick roads shows a balance of \$10,000 in favor of the brick road even if New York pays the market price for brick.

I believe, however, that by judicious legislative action it is possible for New York to build brick roads for a little more than it now costs to build macadam roads.

The greatest item in the construction of brick roads is the cost of the vitrified brick. If the State can secure this brick cheaply its road problem will be solved. In a brick road costing \$25,000 a mile the brick itself costs \$12,000.

New York can make its own brick by utilizing the splendid deposits of shale which are found in profusion all through the southern half of the State and by using prison labor to turn this natural resource into paving blocks.

I respectfully suggest to the Legislature that it amend the Prison Law so that the State's prisoners may be employed in the manufacture of brick for the State's highways.

The State Geologist informs me that: "New York State has an inexhaustible and widely distributed resource in shale which may be made the basis of an industry large enough to supply all the local requirements in paving material of the best quality. The value of this resource has been recognized by private enterprise, and for the last twenty years paving brick have been manufactured on an increasingly large scale. The local product comes in competition with that made in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and other States, and the test of experience generally appears to justify the opinion that the brick made in New York plants compare favorably with the best in the market. Practically the whole of the southern half of the State between the meridian of Buffalo and Albany and the Pennsylvania State line is underlaid by formations that include shale among the more important members."

We have the material for brick highways at hand. We have labor waiting within our prisons to transform this material into the finished product. Seemingly, all that is needed is the wisdom to turn these facts to advantage.

This is not a matter that can be settled off-hand, but the least that faithful public servants can do is to give it their serious and immediate consideration.

At Elmira, where the State Reformatory is located, there are deposits of shale particularly fitted for the purpose I suggest. It would be easy to make an experiment there to determine beyond any doubt the feasibility and economy of using prison labor in the manufacture of paving brick. The plant necessary for the manufacture of vitrified brick is comparatively simple and inexpensive.

I urge the Legislature to appropriate, at once, enough money to try out at Elmira the plan I have outlined.

Furthermore, I recommend that the Legislature appoint a legislative committee to investigate the entire question and to gather data upon which the Legislature may act advisedly at its next session.

New York would be merely following the enlightened and economical system of sister commonwealths if it employs its prisoners to make the brick needed for its highways.

In Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Utah and Wisconsin prisoners are used in the preparation of road material.

Many States go further. Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming employ the prisoners of the State to a greater or less extent in the building, repair and maintenance of their roads.

I am not suggesting that New York employ its convicts in the actual construction of its highways. To do this would mean an entire change in the State's attitude toward prison labor and would bring convicts into positive competition with free citizens.

I firmly believe that the State's roads should be constructed by free labor, either working under contractors or in the employ of the State itself, but I also believe that the State should, so far as practicable, secure the material for its highways by the labor of its prisoners. At present the State is employing prison labor in the manufacture of supplies for State

institutions and there is equal reason why such labor should be employed to manufacture the bricks for the State's highways. This would be simply applying to our highways the system we now apply to State and municipal institutions.

Those who are qualified to speak, inform me that by securing the vitrified brick for New York's roads in this manner brick roads can be constructed at a cost of \$15,000 a mile.

On this basis the total cost of a mile of brick road for twenty years would be \$16,000, including \$15,000 for building and twenty years' maintenance at \$50 a year. The total cost of macadam road for the same period, as I pointed out, is \$36,000.

An idea of the importance of the economy I propose may be gained from the fact that the total saving in the 7,300 miles of road yet to be constructed would amount to \$146,000,000 in the twenty years after their completion, or more than the total cost of constructing our entire system of highways.

Surely it is worth while to turn this possible economy into an accomplished fact.

In connection with the construction of permanent highways a careful study should also be made of the feasibility of utilizing Medina sandstone blocks for road construction. This stone has been used for permanent pavement for a great many years. Main street in the city of Rochester, and a number of streets in the city of Buffalo and elsewhere have been successfully paved for twenty or thirty years with this material. The State in acquiring lands in connection with the Barge Canal has obtained property from which this stone can be procured and cheaply transported where desired. Medina sandstone blocks, I am advised, can be made with convict labor and the use of machinery

as cheaply as brick and affords as good, if not a better wearing surface.

Our State has been more backward than other States in the attention which it has given to the study of road building. The Republic of France maintains a permanent representative at the city of New York to study road conditions in America. Delegations from Belgium, Canada, Japan and other countries have visited our State Highway Department recently to study conditions here, and we are justified in asking to have our own State, through a legislative committee, make a careful study of our own road problems.

I believe there is other important work for a committee such as I suggest. I believe it could, without interfering with the provisions of the highway referendum, or the constitutional amendment for highways, save the State at least \$15,000,000 by a readjustment of designated highways, many of which needlessly parallel one another. It should also be able to map out a plan, satisfactory to the State and profitable to the towns, for the construction and maintenance of bridges in connection with the highways.

There is sad need of uniformity in this policy. It is unfair to compel towns of small financial means to build and maintain expensive bridges used by the people of the State at large. We need a new system of highway patrol and section supervision similar to the systems of England and France, and this a legislative committee should satisfactorily devise.

Far-seeing, constructive legislation is needed to prevent the squandering of millions of dollars of the people's money upon roads which are not needed in some instances, and which in all instances will not stand up under the present grind of heavy automobile traffic.

New York should have good roads, but the only way to have good roads is to have only roads that New York can afford to maintain. A friend of good roads would rather see one road maintained in splendid condition than five roads gaping and neglected.

I shall expect and shall exact results from the Highway Department during the coming summer. I shall do whatever I can as Governor to see that the State receives the full value of its money in all roads built during my administration. But the highway problem cannot be settled in any single administration if the general plan is wrong.

In view of the facts that I have presented for your consideration in this message it must be conceded that our present methods of construction for most of our roads are unfitted for existing conditions.

I ask the Legislature for its support and assistance in securing for New York the kind of roads that the State ought to have.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

TO THE LEGISLATURE IN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION

Calling Attention to the Need of Appropriations to Meet the Expenses of Government, Which Appropriations Failed of Passage During the Regular Session; Also Suggesting the Consideration of a Referendum to the People for the Authorization for a Proper Expenditure of Moneys for the Construction and Equipment of State Humanitarian Institutions

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *May 5, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

Article III, section 21, of the Constitution declares that "no money shall ever be paid out of the treasury

of this State or any of its funds or any of the funds under its management except in pursuance of an appropriation by law."

This constitutional provision, linked with the failure of the Legislature to provide for the fixed charges of the State government for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1914, has compelled me to call this special session of the Legislature.

If the Legislature had made the necessary appropriations for the running expenses of the State government, there would be no need of this session. Needed financial legislation is its only excuse and should be its only consideration.

The tendency of the times is for retrenchment. Local taxes, already high, should not be made more burdensome by the addition of a direct State tax. I believe that a reasonable and non-partisan economy can obviate every necessity for a direct State tax and provide all money required for the proper working of the government with hardship to none and with benefit to all.

For the coming year the expenses of government can and must, so far as the Executive is concerned, be held within the revenues of the State. After a careful and systematic study of the needs of the several State departments, I have reached the conclusion that all proper expenditures for the coming year can be met by an appropriation \$1,000,000 less than the total of either of the appropriation bills passed by the Senate and Assembly at the regular session.

I am convinced that the State can go through the next year with \$11,000,000 less than the appropriation made last year. The Legislature has the opportunity to reduce the expenses of government to what they were in 1908, and in justice to the taxpayers of the State it should do so.

The Comptroller estimates that the State's revenues for the coming year will be \$42,000,000. By justifiable economies the Legislature can keep appropriations below \$39,000,000 and enable the State to take care of its sinking fund without resorting to a direct tax.

I ask the Legislature to apply to general appropriations the rule which I felt compelled to adopt in passing upon special appropriations. By vetoing every special bill that was not demanded by the necessities of the State I was able to make a reduction of \$6,000,000 in these special appropriations.

Corresponding economies may be made by the Legislature if it restricts its general appropriations to those absolutely necessary for the maintenance of State credit and the redemption of State pledges.

No plan for the reduction of the State's expenses and for a businesslike administration of the State's finances can be worked out, however, if the Legislature permits political differences to color its consideration of these important matters.

The Legislature is dealing not with Democratic dollars or with Republican dollars, but with dollars that belong to the people of the State of New York.

In making appropriations for State institutions, the Legislature should take care to provide for every necessary requirement of its wards, but the best interests of the inmates of the State's institutions forbid the Legislature to appropriate haphazard sums for isolated improvements. An enlightened view of what the State should do for its dependents requires some thorough and systematic plan for improvement and development.

I respectfully suggest to the Legislature that it consider ways and means for further construction and equipment in the State's humanitarian institutions.

The piecemeal attempts of recent years to provide for institutional needs have been both wasteful and inefficient.

To carry to its logical conclusion any comprehensive plan for the development of these institutions will require from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

The contributions which the highway statutes and the Canal Law exact from the general treasury make it impossible for the State treasury to contribute this immense sum at the present time without a burdensome direct tax. Even if it could meet this obligation with facility, the policy would be an imposition upon the present generation. The present should not alone bear all the expenses of improvements which the future will mainly enjoy. Permanent additions to the State's humanitarian facilities should be paid for by bond issues and not by raids upon the current revenues.

I respectfully suggest the consideration of a referendum to the people upon the specific question of the authorization of a large expenditure for the construction and equipment of State humanitarian institutions, and the creation of a commission composed of the Trustees of Public Buildings, the State Commissioner of Education, the President of the State Board of Charities, the Chairman of the State Hospital Commission, the Superintendent of Prisons, and such other persons as the Legislature may deem desirable, for the general supervision of this work.

With only the question of State finances to be considered it would seem that the Legislature should dispose of all necessary business within a week. The prolongation of the session beyond a week would seem unnecessary and its additional expense inexcusable and indefensible.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

**TO THE LEGISLATURE IN EXTRAORDINARY
SESSION****Recommending a Change of Date for the Holding of
Fall Primary in 1914**

STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, *May 20, 1914*

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

I have convened you in extraordinary session in order that you might take needed action to provide for expense of government.

I do now recommend for your consideration a law changing the date of the fall primary in the year 1914 from September 29, 1914, the fifth Tuesday before the general election, to September 28, 1914, the Monday before such Tuesday.

All questions which can be disposed of at the next regular session, other than questions relating to State finance, must wait until that time, but since the adjournment of the regular session, it has been brought to my attention, for the first time, that under existing law, in the year 1914, primary day, the fifth Tuesday before election, and the day of the commencement of the Jewish Yom Kippur, or Day of Atonement, fall on the same day; and I am informed that, on Yom Kippur, no orthodox Hebrew is permitted to work, eat or wash, to write his name, or make a mark upon an election ballot.

The necessary effect, therefore, of failing to enact a law changing the day of the fall primary this year would be to prevent orthodox Hebrews from participating this year in the fall primaries, thus unjustly discriminating against the members of the Hebrew faith.

I am informed that, for the next ten years, at least, there will not be another conflict between the day of

the fall primary and a Jewish holiday, so that there is no necessity of making a permanent change in the date of the fall primary. I, therefore, submit the proposition that you change the date of the fall primary for this year only, from Tuesday, September 29th, to Monday, September 28th.

(Signed) MARTIN H. GLYNN.

II

ADDRESSES

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II ADDRESSES

AN ACCOUNT OF MY STEWARDSHIP

Address Delivered at Poughkeepsie, October 15, 1914

Into the hands of the Governor of New York is entrusted the welfare of 10,000,000 people. The powers of his office clothe him with direction of the administrative forces of the State government, and by his vetoes he may exercise a considerable influence upon legislation. He is the one ultimately responsible for the protection of public health and public safety. Through his appointive and remedial powers he is charged with the responsibility for the great public improvements to which the State has set its hand in its system of canals and highways.

As Chief Executive it is his duty to supervise the activities of the banking and insurance departments in their relations with public and private business, and to watch over the operations of the labor department, to make sure that the interests of labor are properly protected.

By virtue of his office, the Governor may and must keep a watchful eye upon the State's expenditures and prevent unnecessary burdens from being placed upon the taxpayers. And, by coöperation with both branches of the Legislature, the Governor may inaugurate and assist the legislative reforms which he believes of benefit to the commonwealth over which he presides.

For twelve months the responsibilities of this great office have rested upon me and it is proper that the people of New York should know and understand the manner in which I have met these responsibilities.

It is not in a spirit of self-praise, but as a solemn and necessary public duty, that I propose today to set forth as briefly as I can the performances of my administration. In everything that has been accomplished by that administration I have had the support and the assistance of the members of my party in the State departments and the legislative chambers, and the record I present must be understood as their record as well as mine.

The past year has witnessed important changes in matters relating to the machinery of government. The popular desire for a change in the manner of selecting and voting for political candidates has at last found expression in the law of the State. What other administrations have talked of doing the present administration has actually accomplished and I have had the pleasure of seeing my advocacy of the direct primary and the Massachusetts ballot crystallized into law.

I signed the law providing for the direct election of United States Senators and waged a successful campaign to hold a Constitutional Convention in a year when its deliberations would not be disturbed by national issues.

The principle of home rule has found wider expression under my administration through the Optional City Charter Act, demanded for a considerable period by the cities of the State, and advocated by the State Conference of Mayors and the Municipal Government Association. This act gives home rule to every city of the second and third class, and permits each municipality to select a charter best suited to its particular needs.

A Bill Drafting Commission, long advocated by all parties, has at last been created, and this Commission has in charge the drafting of all laws submitted to the

State Legislature, in order that improperly drafted measures may not delay the orderly progress of legislation.

A law has been passed revising the practice and procedure in all Surrogate's Courts, which simplifies the Surrogate's practice, increases the jurisdiction of these courts and frees the public from much unnecessary red tape.

Altogether the present administration has endeavored to make an honest and intelligent response to the popular demands for political reforms and has endeavored to render the machinery of government more simple and effective.

There are two classes of our population whose interests demand the sober and friendly interest of those in authority. One class is the vast army of workers who have built up the State's industries, and the other class comprises the farmers of the State, upon whose progress and prosperity depend the progress and prosperity of every other class. The present administration has loyally endeavored to assert the rights and protect the best interests of both of these classes.

The industrial legislation enacted during the past twelve months marks a new era in the relations between capital and labor. In the first place, to minimize the evil of unemployment, we have created a new bureau in the Labor Department known as the "Employment Bureau." This bureau is to conduct free employment agencies in every part of the State, which agencies are to keep in touch with each other and direct labor to points where it is most needed.

The Workmen's Compensation Law, which I advocated and signed, is perhaps the most important piece of industrial legislation in recent years. This law pro-

vides that every employer of labor must insure his employees against accident either in a private insurance company or in an insurance system organized and conducted by the State. Every affected interest was represented in the conferences which I called to draft the Workmen's Compensation bill, and no better proof of its essential fairness could be found than the fact that in its final shape it was indorsed by the State Federation of Labor on the one hand and by the New York Chamber of Commerce on the other.

Abraham Lincoln said: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free." Nor can it endure in a community where property is greedy for privilege and neglectful of responsibility, where the worker is denied justice and his protection depends on charity and not on right.

In striking the shackles from the slave the chains were stricken from the master. In giving protection to the employee we give peace to the employer, and in meting out justice to both we give tranquillity and security to the State.

Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers. The knowledge of social conditions and human needs preceded the coming of the Workmen's Compensation Law, and the wisdom of the law lingers in every heart made happier by its justice and humanity. This law secures relief from the tight fist of greed and justice from the reluctant hand of power. It is the friend and comforter of the toiler and makes him forgive and forget the evils of the past. It may not conquer human greed or cure human selfishness, but it cures one and restrains the other.

There is no law without a flaw; no work without its imperfection. The niggardly and the avaricious seek for blemishes and defects in the Workmen's Compensation Law and find them; but the useful, helpful, red-

blooded, broad-minded man finds the good things in it with little trouble.

Civilization is the work of the constructor, not the critic; of the builder not the breaker. The broken workers, the torn and crippled soldiers of industry ask no dole from pity, no bribe or benevolence from charity. If the captains of industry receive the prizes of victory, justice demands that they must pay for the pains and penalties of the wounded in the fight—humanity insists that the maimed of the battle and the dependents of the dead shall be borne upon the pension rolls of industry.

I believe that labor is the lever that has lifted man from barbarism to civilization. The mission of labor has been the mission of man and only as its dignity has been recognized and its toils rewarded has the race advanced and civilization expanded.

In a free country, ruled by free people, whether the worker be the tiller in the fields or the toiler in the mills, only as labor is honored and conserved is 'freedom secure and good government possible.

A law that is not leavened with religion and pulsed with good red blood will not do much for humanity: and the need of a democracy, conscious of its dignity and destiny are laws made to enlighten and uplift the people and not to furnish quip and quibbles, precedents and pennies to lawyers.

For years the Republican party discussed compensation, investigated compensation, promised compensation, platformed and resolutioned compensation, but it remained for a Democratic Senate and a Democratic Assembly, it remained for the Democratic party under my leadership to make workmen's compensation a reality in the law of this State.

It is "The Sermon on the Mount" translated into legislation. It allays contention and attains content-

ment in the industrial relations between employer and employee and thus preserves the peace of the State and perpetuates its prosperity.

It writes into our laws the great sentiment of the Magna Charta, "To none will we sell, to none deny or delay right or justice." It puts into force the maxim of Herbert Spencer that "society exists for the benefit of its members; not the members for the benefit of society."

Various changes in the Labor Law have been made during the past year to meet the best thought of labor on the one hand and of employers on the other. Two amendments to the Labor Law were passed to grant relief from the stringencies of the law relating to builders and dealers in real estate. While retaining the safeguards of the old law in regard to fire escapes and sanitary regulations, these amendments removed certain restrictions which discourage builders without affording any added safety to the occupants of buildings.

The many protests against the Housing Law, enacted last year, led to the enactment of a law deferring the operation of the Housing Law and creating a commission to look more thoroughly into the subject.

Another amendment was passed to enable the pharmacists of the State to meet the demands of the public without violating the Labor Law, and finally the law regulating the hours in mercantile establishments was changed in several respects. Hours during which children under sixteen years of age may work was changed from fifty-four to forty-eight hours in any one week, and from nine to eight hours in any one day; and the employment of children was prohibited after six o'clock in the evening.

Furthermore, the employment of female employees

in cities of the second class was restricted to fifty-four hours and nine hours respectively, and the time allowed for lunch was extended from forty-five to sixty minutes.

Agricultural legislation during the past year has been both remedial and constructive. When I took office I discovered that the farmers of the State whose diseased cattle had been destroyed had not been compensated for their loss. Their claims amounted to \$217,000 and one of my first official acts was to send an emergency message to the Legislature, urging that this amount be appropriated in order that prompt payment might be made.

Upon consulting with representative farmers and agricultural experts I made up my mind that there were two respects in which the agriculture of New York needed stimulation. First, the financial system under which New York's farms were being operated was archaic, and, secondly, there was no adequate system of distributing farm produce. To meet the first problem, I advocated and secured the adoption of a farm credit system which had been tried with success in Europe. This was the system of long time agricultural loans through a land bank accessible to all farmers.

This land bank is to issue long time loans on agricultural holdings, which loans may be amortized and paid for over an extended period of time. There are at present \$100,000,000 worth of mortgages on New York's farms, and if these present mortgages are changed into ten-year land bank loans the saving to the farmers of the State will amount to more than \$24,000,000 in ten years.

That system of distribution is wrong which compels the consumer to pay a dollar for farm produce for which the farmer himself receives but thirty-five cents,

yet that is precisely the system under which the farmers of New York have been laboring for many years. It is this system which I believe is largely responsible for what we call "the high cost of living." After securing the best thought of many minds on this subject I decided that there was need for coöperative effort among the farmers in the distribution of their foodstuffs and of a State department which could supervise public markets where the farmer and consumer might be brought into immediate touch. There were already upon the statute books of the State laws providing for coöperative societies of farmers, but with rare exceptions the farmers of New York had failed to take advantage of this law.

What was needed was an external stimulus and to provide this stimulus I secured an appropriation of \$20,000 from the Legislature to send experts throughout the State to conduct a campaign of education and organization along coöperative lines.

Then turning to the question of better markets I urged and secured a law providing for a marketing commission which would establish and supervise auction markets throughout the State where the farmers' products may be sold directly to the public by regularly licensed auctioneers.

Finding that the apples grown in the orchards of this State were being discriminated against because they were not graded and packed as well as the apples from other States, the Legislature passed, and I signed, a law providing for the standard packing and grading of New York's fruit.

At the request of many other fruit growers, other laws were passed to prevent fraud in the sale of young trees and prohibiting the sale of seeds which were not as represented.

Some of you may remember the grasshopper plague which visited several counties of the State during the past summer. It was just such emergencies that I had in mind when I urged and secured a law enabling the Comptroller to borrow \$50,000 at any time to prevent insect pests from ravaging New York's farms. This law received its first trial during the past summer, and the success which attended the prompt preventive measures which the Agricultural Department was able to take under this law, proved its value beyond all possible question.

Dean Swift wrote that the farmer who could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than all the politicians put together. Agriculture is civilization: It is the basis of all progress, production and prosperity. The burdens of agriculture are handicaps to civilization. Mortgages and middlemen are the makers of high prices and lean purses. They crush the farmer and crowd the consumer. A free farm makes a free farmer. The man who works the soil should own the land. Freedom from debt means funds for larger production; and by minimizing the middleman, larger production means larger profits for the rural producer and better prices for the urban consumer. The man at the bottom of the social structure, the tiller of the soil, and the toiler in the town, in the end pays for everything with his sweat, from profits to taxes. The farm is the foundation of all industry. Everything springs from the soil. The farm feeds the farmer and the farmer feeds the world. When the foundations of society are safe, society is secure. No law can cure poverty, but good laws can kill pauperism. Penniless men pay no taxes. To help

poverty, abolish pauperism, increase production and put pennies in the pocket of every worker in town and county should be the object and the aim of every public official. The law that puts hope in the heart, pennies in the pocket, meat in the pot, and independence in the home of the farmer is better than a thousand empty words of advice and counsel. A man in debt is a man in a net. The mortgage is the debt about the farmer's feet. A mortgage is a manacle on the farmer and a load on his farm. It never sleeps; it always works; it limits harvests and eats profits; it discourages labor and arrests progress. It is a money monster which must be tamed and subdued.

High prices are the penalty of bad business method. The cure for the evil lies in bringing producer and consumer closer together, and in getting rid of the tolls and taxes piled on produce en route to the producer. When the middleman is minimized, and farmer and feeder stand together, fair prices will be the result — higher prices for the producer, lower prices for the consumer.

The mortgagee, the middleman, and the money-monger are the men who eat up the producer and the consumer. When these three are side-tracked and eliminated by coöperation and common sense, living prices will walk in the front door and high prices steal out the back door. The sweat of the farmer sweetens his toil and fertilizes his fields. From the fruits of his labor and the profits of his harvest he builds a home, raises a family, educates his children and erects a station of civilization in the bosom of nature. The farmer feeds the world; his harvests are the foundation and beginning of all wealth; when harvests fail hunger stares at all, industry ceases to hum and commerce is palsied on its routes. Anything and everything that the State can do to help the farmer ought to be done.

Since I have been Governor the State has done things to help the farmer. We have placed the fate of the farmer in his own hands. We have established the Market Bureau which will bring the farmer a bigger reward for his labor and bigger profits for his produce.

We have fostered agricultural coöperation. I know there are conservative souls who look askance at the word coöperation. To them it represents something new and experimental, something unusual, dangerous and revolutionary; yet coöperation is the keystone of civilization, government, business, industry and every human activity. In its bones coöperation is two men, or two million men working together for some common purpose. But with this difference—the coöperation which is plain business means profits for one man, one firm, or one corporation; coöperation which is true coöperation means profits for everybody.

We have established the land bank to make the payment of mortgages easy; and a better thing than this was never done for New York State. Debt and disaster are twin brothers, welcome in no home. A mortgage gives a farmer sleepless nights and toilsome days to carry its load and pay its toll. A solvent farmer and a free farm are the best assets of New York State or any other State. A mortgage on a farm is the skeleton in the farmer's closet; the wolf in the farmer's sheepfold. It starves his fields and reduces his crops; it puts a bend in his back and a patch on his coat; it adds an ache to his heart, a wrinkle to his face and a chain to his foot. The law that helps to lighten and lift the mortgage is the farmer's friend, and that's what our Land Bank Law does. A farmer free from debt is a good citizen. His acres are well tilled and well cared for; he is independent and master of his own; he is the first to feel bad government and wasteful admin-

istration, for the taxes he pays for the extravagances of government are filched from his fields, taken from his harvests and made a burden on his home.

What the farmer needs and what he can secure by utilizing the agencies provided for him in the past year by a Democratic administration, is a free farm, pastures and orchards without pests, markets without middlemen, profitable prices, constant consumers, cash for confiscated consumptive cattle, light mortgage loads, long loans, work well rewarded, a balance in the bank and a happy home — all the fruits of honest and economical government and good laws. No man is born wise; wisdom comes from experiment and experience. The farmer is never too old to learn, as long as he is young enough to labor. The best friend the farmer has is he who brings him new ideas and new ways to improve old methods, and this we have done in the past year.

The present administration has made a particular study of the great system of State roads now under construction and has bent every effort toward its completion. Realizing the necessity of utilizing the moneys appropriated for the highways with economy and skill, I personally conducted an elaborate investigation into the methods of road construction and discovered that the macadam roads on which the State had been expending its money were unduly expensive because of the high cost of maintenance. After examining every known type of road, I recommended to the Highway Department that in the future, on highways subjected to heavy automobile traffic, it construct roads of vitrified brick. Figures compiled for me by road experts show that the change from macadam to brick on the 12,000 miles of State roads would mean a saving of \$146,000,000 in the next twenty years, because of the

lower cost of maintenance. I also recommended a trial of concrete roads along the line of the Michigan experiment.

The next problem was the method of securing this vitrified brick at the lowest possible cost, and upon learning that within the borders of the State there existed an abundant deposit of the shale necessary for the manufacture of this brick, I recommended to the Legislature that the State employ its prisoners in the manufacture of vitrified brick.

I secured an appropriation of \$75,000 for the construction of an experimental brick-making plant at Elmira, and if this plant proves a success, as I have every reason to expect, we shall have solved two problems at once by giving healthy outdoor occupation to our prisoners and cutting down the expense of road construction.

When I took office the various investigations of the Highway Department had left many questions still unsettled, and in order to discover and punish those who had been guilty of misconduct in the building of our roads, I appointed a special commissioner to make a thorough investigation, and requested the district attorneys of the various counties to act upon the findings of this investigation. As a result, grand jury proceedings were instituted in Warren, Broome, Rensselaer and Montgomery counties.

In order to facilitate the labors of the Highway Commissioner I scoured the State and the country for an engineer qualified to act as an adviser to the commissioner, and was fortunate in securing the services of General Rosselle, formerly ranking engineer of the United States Army.

Time does not permit me to make a complete summary of the other activities, legislative and adminis-

trative, of my administration and I shall content myself with referring only to the more important of them.

In my message to the Legislature last January I pointed out that the State was supporting in its institutions a vast number of insane aliens, who should either be maintained by the Federal government or sent back to the countries from which they came. The aliens at present in State institutions represent a burden upon present and future taxpayers of at least \$25,000,000. At my suggestion a joint resolution was passed by the Legislature calling on Congress to take action, and a committee was appointed to urge suitable legislation by the national Congress.

In response to the growing realization of the importance of dealing with the problem of feeble-mindedness, I advocated and signed a law providing for a commission to investigate this problem, and another law permitting any judge of a court of record to commit mental defectives to the proper institutions.

Among other laws which were passed and received my approval during the past year was a law providing for more reasonable rates and better regulation of taxicabs; a law appropriating \$50,000 for the investigation of telephone rates; a law increasing the penalty for placing an explosive near a building from seven to twenty-five years; a law creating pensions for the families of volunteer firemen killed in the performance of their duties; a law regulating the business of pawnbrokers and protecting the public from usury, and a law restricting the sale of habit-forming drugs by enabling the authorities to trace illicit sales.

The present administration has not permitted its zeal for legislative and administrative reform to blind it to the necessity for a businesslike administration of the ordinary business of the State.

In my message to the Legislature last January on the State's finances I pointed out that State expenditures were increasing faster than State revenues and that, unless a policy of retrenchment was adhered to, it would be necessary to levy a large direct tax during the coming year.

I showed that from 1893 to 1906 the receipts of the State mounted rapidly, due to the constant additions of new sources of indirect revenues, and that during the same year expenditures increased slowly.

On the other hand, I showed that from 1906 to 1913 this condition of affairs had been reversed, and that receipts had increased slowly while expenditures rose with lightning speed. I urged upon the Legislature the wisdom of conforming the State's expenditures to the State's revenues, and of avoiding every expense not demanded by actual necessities. For my own part I made it clear that I would veto any appropriation which I deemed unnecessary.

I discovered that the Financial Law had been violated by past administrations, and that unpaid debts amounting to \$1,300,000 which should have been paid out of past appropriations had accumulated. It was necessary to secure a clean slate before we could write a program of economy, and at my request the Legislature passed a deficiency appropriation, clearing up the accumulated indebtedness of many years. To prevent a recurrence of this situation I served notice on every State department that I would tolerate no debt to be contracted which could not be met by money already available.

In spite of my warning to the Legislature that I would veto any appropriation bill not justified by the State's needs and the State's revenues, nearly \$6,000,000 in special bills reached me before the neces-

sary expenses of government had been met. There was but one thing for me to do and I did it promptly. I attacked these special bills with the executive blue pencil and when I finished there were no special bills to form the nucleus of a direct tax.

After a war over economy lasting for three months, the Legislature in special session passed an appropriation conforming in a measure to the program I had outlined at the beginning of my administration, but I discovered that unless I made a still further reduction it would be necessary to impose a direct tax. And, thirty days after the Legislature adjourned, I reduced its appropriation bill more than \$1,500,000.

Altogether my vetoes totaled over \$7,000,000.

For many years the surplus in the sinking fund had been a source of great anxiety to previous Comptrollers and Governors. This surplus amounted to over \$3,000,000, and was of no use to any one. It was merely an indication that the taxpayers of the present had been paying more than their share of the cost of permanent public improvements. After a consultation with members of the Legislature, the Comptroller and holders of State securities, a plan was evolved whereby this surplus could be used in lieu of this year's contribution to the sinking fund and the taxpayers of the State were saved raising this sum this year.

Finally by vetoing lapses and enforcing the letter of the Financial Law, I made more than \$600,000 available and reduced the total of what the taxpayers of the State would have been obliged to raise by direct tax \$11,000,000. As a result of this financial policy the appropriations which I signed amounted to only \$47,000,000, just \$10,000,000 less than the appropriations signed last year, and \$1,500,000 less than those signed by Governor Hughes in the last year of his administration.

To sum up my financial policy, in its relation to appropriations, I reduced the State's budget \$10,000,000 and prevented a direct tax of \$11,000,000.

When I took office I found that the State was about to default the interest charges on its bonds. As a former State Comptroller I realized the danger presented by this situation and sent an emergency message to the Legislature which saved the credit of the State.

I found that there was no provision for awards made by the Board of Claims, amounting to \$250,000, long overdue and drawing interest at the rate of 6 per cent, and immediately urged upon the Legislature the necessity of making provision for these awards.

Again, a law came to me permitting the municipalities of the State to purchase abandoned canal lands for less than their real value and, by the use of the veto power, I saved the State at least another million dollars.

Not the least of the achievements of the present administration is the act revising the Banking Law. In this revision additional safeguards are thrown about the depositors in savings banks; private bankers are prohibited from converting to their own use deposits received by them, and depositors in private banks receive a first lien upon all assets purchased with their money.

Thus in matters affecting the private business, as well as the public business, of the State the past year has witnessed readjustment, reform and progress.

It has been my aim to make my administration a progressive administration and a business administration. I have endeavored to give expression to what I believed to be the desires of the people of the State. I have sought to make the State's laws reflect the most advanced thought of the majority of our people. I

have withheld my approval from no law which I thought to be for the public interest, and I have given my approval to no law which seemed to impose undue hardship on any class or division.

I have attempted to make legislation reflect the ideals of New York and have sought to make administration mirror its sound business interests. I have tried to maintain the Empire State with its feet on solid earth, but with its head among the stars. And if the verdict of time shall prove that my efforts were successful I shall have achieved the hopes and vindicated the resolves that filled my breast when I took the oath of office.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Address Delivered by Governor Glynn at Plattsburgh,
October 19, 1914

If I were asked to select a single achievement of the past year which would typify the ideals and spirit of my administration, I should point without a moment's hesitation to the Workmen's Compensation Law. And it is my purpose tonight to set forth as briefly and as clearly as I can the reasons which prompted its enactment, the forces that strove for its passage and the revolution it works in the attitude of society toward those who are injured in the course of their employment.

So far as I am personally concerned the genesis of the Compensation Law is to be found in the experiences of my boyhood. I was raised in a locality where many of my boyhood associates found employment in nearby mills. The wheels of those mills have turned times without number since my departure, but I have never forgotten the times that they stopped while the

crippled forms of those who had been my friends and companions were carried from the factory doors. Some of the finest lads I knew, and some of the prettiest girls, were maimed and crippled in those factories, and I saw those who had no families to care for them or families too poor to carry helpless burdens, go to the poorhouse because the laws of New York gave them no adequate redress for the injuries they had suffered. And, boy that I was, I made a vow that if power ever came to me I would write a law which would give to every working boy and every working girl who was injured while at work compensation for the wrong that industry had done them.

Years passed and I visited Germany. I found that Germany had solved the problem that occupied my mind by establishing a governmental system of compulsory insurance for workmen and had done away with the technicalities, the uncertainties and the delays which marred the course of justice in New York State.

When, therefore, I was elevated to the Governor's chair I had a mission and an example. I knew that what Germany had done the great State of New York could do. I knew that the political party to which I belonged had pledged itself to give to the workmen of New York a system of compensation for injuries, and I found that representative employers and organized labor alike were demanding that this pledge be redeemed.

I felt that no law which was not as just to the employer as it was generous to the employee, could long survive. I believed that it would be useless to write a law which did not embody the best thought and ripest judgment of those who had familiarized themselves with the subject of industrial insurance, and I determined to gather about me representatives of cap-

ital and representatives of labor, and to draft a law which would be essentially just and effective.

By day the men I had called together conferred with me in the Executive Chamber, and by night they discussed the proposed law with me at my home. At first it seemed that there could be no substantial agreement, because the representatives of labor appeared to ask too much and the representatives of capital seemed prepared to concede too little. But as conference succeeded conference and those on both sides began to perceive that nothing could be achieved without a willingness to look at the law from the standpoint of the other side, harmony gave place to bickering and enthusiasm replaced suspicion.

A week before the law was finally agreed upon, word came to me that the State Federation of Labor would not indorse the proposed law, and from another quarter I was advised that the New York Chamber of Commerce was prepared to oppose it. Later the State Federation of Labor unanimously indorsed it, and the following night a committee from the New York Chamber of Commerce declared that that representative association of employers would favor its passage.

This change was brought about through my insistence that not a single word should be incorporated in the law which would tend to impair the prosperity or hamper the legitimate functions of business, and that not a syllable should be written into the law which would take from the workingmen of New York the opportunity to secure prompt and sufficient compensation for the injuries sustained in the course of their employment.

The law was introduced and debated, and it was with mingled feelings of happiness over a good deed accomplished and of pride that I had been permitted

to work for its accomplishment, that I learned on the night that the Legislature adjourned for the Christmas holidays in 1913 that the Assembly had passed the Compensation Law without a dissenting vote. That law was the greatest Christmas present the working people of this State ever received.

The Compensation Law which New York has placed upon its statute books is the answer of modern industry to the imperfections of the old Employers' Liability Law. Under the old law the workman who was injured in the course of his employment was granted the right to appeal to the courts for redress. But the path to justice was strewn with technicalities and turned and twisted through the desert of delay and the swamp of uncertainty. One workman might be injured and secure adequate redress; another workman could be injured in the same way and be turned from the doors of justice without a single penny. At best the old law brought relief when relief was almost too late. What did it benefit the family of a workman killed at his post to secure a verdict from the courts five years after the breadwinner's death? What did it profit a widow whose home had been broken up, whose children had been taken from her and placed in charitable institutions, who had endured misery and want for half a decade, to learn at last that the courts were ready to do her justice?

What organized charity has failed to provide, what legal justice has failed to secure, what philanthropists and lawyers alike have been unable to achieve, has been made an actual, vital, inspiring fact through the Workmen's Compensation Law.

Injured workmen as a body have never been able to secure prompt and adequate redress through the law courts. Dependent widows and helpless orphans have

never received relief from organized charity until their need became almost a matter of life and death. Private philanthropists have aided many unfortunates but their benefactions have been but a drop of comfort in an ocean of misfortune.

Lawyers have secured verdicts for many injured workmen, but their legitimate fees have depleted the total amounts paid to their clients and more workmen have failed to secure compensation in a law court than have gone triumphantly through the mazes of legal procedure.

The principle of workmen's compensation embodies everything that the jurists, the philanthropists, the lawyers and the charitable workers have been working toward since the dawn of history. It is justice in its most enlightened form. It is justice which deals generously with the one who seeks justice. It is charity which is swift and prompt, and which maintains the self respect of the one who finds justice and charity synonymous.

For the first time in the history of New York's legislation the principle of industrial fraternity and human brotherhood has been written into the relations between the man who toils and the man for whom he labors.

In the folk lore of China there is a story of an old philosopher who met a little girl carrying a boy on her back. "Little girl," said the philosopher, "isn't that boy too heavy for you to carry?" "No," said the little girl; "this boy is not too heavy to carry, this boy is my brother."

The man who toils in our factories and in our mills, who produces the garments and the thousand and one commodities necessary to our civilization by the toil of his hands and the sweat of his brow, is a brother

asking and deserving fraternal sympathy, consideration and encouragement. And whatever burden may be imposed upon the rest of us by giving him justice when he is well and human sympathy when he is maimed and torn, must be a light burden, an easy burden, a burden to bear with smiling eyes and willing hearts, unless our civilization is a sham and human brotherhood a lie.

The Workmen's Compensation Act marks the noblest height which social justice and industrial progress have yet reached. Based on law, speaking through the statutes of a sovereign State, the Workmen's Compensation Law gives to every man who toils the assurance that his misfortunes will not be visited upon his loved ones.

As the Compensation Commission day by day sees the victims of industry's battles pass before them, they gain an insight into the human side of the law which is denied those who think of it in terms of legal phrases.

The law to them does not mean a mathematical apportionment of so many dollars for a particular accident; it means, rather, that the weeping woman who stands before them with a fatherless child in her arms may have a roof over her head and the wherewithal to feed her little ones.

It means that the crippled boy who drags himself into the Commission's presence may be told that life for him does not mean a beggar's place on a windy corner, but rather the opportunity to turn his weakened body to some useful pursuit while the great State of New York keeps him from hunger and want.

It means that the orphan who has just sobbed out the story of the bread-winner's death may be sheltered and clothed until strong enough to meet the

world again. It means that human beings with all their human needs and desires may be treated with that gentle humanity which is the boast of modern justice.

Stories of those who come before the Compensation Commission illustrate better than any text-book what the Workmen's Compensation Law is and what it means. Scarcely a day passes in the Commission's rooms without some soul-moving incident which throws into bold relief the real meaning of the Compensation Law.

Here are a few examples taken at random from the thousands of cases upon which the Compensation Commission has already passed.

Thomas Jones, of 422 Humboldt street, Brooklyn, was employed as a coal trimmer on the barges of the Scranton and Lehigh Coal Company. In the course of his employment his leg was badly crushed and Jones was taken to the hospital where his leg was amputated. While Jones was in the hospital his wife and four small children were left without support.

A neighbor who knew of the Compensation Law and the distress of the family notified the Commission, which sent Charles Stabile, one of its interpreters, to investigate. The investigator found that the facts justified the action of the Commission and the case was put upon the calendar. •

The Commission heard the case in due course and promptly made its award.

The friendly neighbor again took occasion to notify the Commission that the wife and four small children of Jones were in a bad way for lack of money. Accordingly the Commission prevailed upon the insurance carrier to agree to an advance to the wife; that is, instead of paying a percentage of Jones' weekly

salary each week, the insurance carrier agreed to pay the award for several weeks in a lump sum.

A check was given to a representative of the Commission who went at once to the Jones home. When he arrived he found nearly all of the furniture on the sidewalk, and the representative of the landlord was bringing down the last piece of household goods. The sight of the check, backed by the State of New York, through its Compensation Commission, put a different complexion upon the matter and back went the Jones furniture into the old quarters. The timely arrival of the representative of the Compensation Commission saved the little family from further embarrassment.

The rent was paid, the larder was stocked with needed food, and the babies that night went to bed, their hunger satisfied for the first time in days. In the hospital the husband and father received the news that his family was provided for until he was able to provide for them himself.

In September, 1914, two headlines appeared in a New York newspaper. One read, "Girl starving, \$14,000 verdict due seventeen years." The other read, "Widow gets award five days after husband's death."

The one headline told the story of the experience of Hattie Galloway, who, as the result of an accident, had a \$14,000 verdict due her from a street railway company, but which, owing to the law's delay had not been paid. After seventeen years of waiting, she dropped in a Brooklyn street after many days without food. Miss Galloway was run over by a street car when three years old, and it was necessary to amputate a leg. The story of the delay in her case was tearfully repeated by her after she had been taken to the hospital.

The second headline told the story of John Massett, an employee of the National Fireproofing Company of

949 Broadway. Massett was killed by falling through an elevator shaft on September 18th. Five days later the widow was awarded a bi-weekly payment for life.

Any one wanting a concrete example of how the new law works as compared with the old law, should find the case of Miss Galloway contrasted with that of Mrs. Massett sufficiently convincing. In the case of the widow Massett, there were no bills, no legal fees to deduct, no red tape. The accident happened; the man was killed; the widow received the financial assistance to which she was entitled and which the Compensation Law provides.

Another case that might be cited is that of Samuel Sussman of 159 Belmont avenue, Brooklyn. In the course of his work a falling board injured his foot in such a way that amputation was necessary. He died on July 8, 1914, of septic poisoning. The case was presented to the Compensation Commission. Within a few days thereafter the Commission made the award. Sussman left a widow and four children. Mrs. Sussman sent a letter to the Commission telling of her poverty and inclosing a dispossess notice from her landlord. The urgency of the situation impressed the Commission with the importance of immediate action. In order to relieve her of her temporary embarrassment the Commission gave her a check for \$184.68, and in the future she will receive every two weeks \$30.78; \$13.84 of which will be for her compensation and \$16.94 for her children.

Under the old law this family would have been dispossessed and thrown upon the street, with no protector or breadwinner to look to for comfort or support. No one can contemplate the contrast between the Compensation Act and the old law—happiness instead of sorrow upon the face of the widow, the

faces of the four children dimpled with smiles instead of stained with tears—and withhold approval from the Compensation Law.

Scarcely a day goes by that the Compensation Commission does not receive some striking example of what the Compensation Law means to its beneficiaries.

Let me read you a letter received on October 8th by the Commission from a man in Niagara Falls.

“STATE WORKMEN’S COMPENSATION COMMISSION,
New York City:

“RESPECTFUL SIRs.—May God bless you for saving our home. Your kind check came in the nick of time to save us from eviction. We have paid our rent, our grocery bill, and have got shoes and clothes for our children. Our hearts are full of gratitude and we ask God to bless you all and the noblest cause that this world has ever known.

“I tried hard to go to work Monday but my poor hand is not fit. I have no grip. I can’t drive a nail, because I can’t hold and grip the hammer. I am trying hard to get some light job and if I succeed will inform you at once. In the meantime do please protect us till I am able to work. Will write you every few days, and I will thank God when I start on duty again, and we ask you on our bended knees to still protect us till I do get better.

“In closing, myself, wife, John, Fred, May, Anna, Quentin, Roland, James, Philip—this is the whole family, offer to the Compensation Commission our sincere and heartfelt gratitude.

“Your obedient servant,

“JOHN HARDING.

“307 Seventh Street, Niagara Falls.”

It seems to me that it is better for industry and for society that men like John Harding, on whom falls the duty of caring for future American citizens, should be protected and safeguarded after an injury, in order that they may take up the burden of providing for their families without a handicap of misery and debt.

There is another phase of the Compensation Law which must command the admiration of all who hold human life higher than dollars. The Compensation Act not only compensates for injuries—it prevents them.

The law provides that any employer who surrounds his machinery with modern safeguards and who takes jealous care of the life and limb of his employee may secure compensation insurance cheaper than the employer who needlessly exposes his employees to danger. All over this State the owners of factories are installing safety appliances in their shops because it is cheaper for them to put them there than to continue without them. And a measure of the advance made along this line is afforded by the fact that rebates amounting to over \$250,000 have already been given to employers who have paid heed to the State's warning of "safety first."

It is time that society in general, and industry in particular, should adopt intelligent and effective methods of reducing the number of industrial accidents. The mortality among our armies of peace exceeds that of the armies of war. Our peaceful vocations cost more lives every two days than all that we lost in battle during our war with Spain. Every four years the industries of this country take toll of 80,000 people more than all who were killed on both sides during the four years of the Civil War. We are killing more than twice as many every year as perished in the French

and English armies during the Crimean War. Every ten years industry claims the lives of enough people to populate cities the size of Indianapolis, Kansas City and Denver.

If the strict enforcement of the Compensation Law can reduce the number of industry's victims it would justify its enactment if it accomplished no other good. And it is significant that during the short time the Compensation Law has been in operation the number of industrial accidents has been less than in any corresponding period for the past fifteen years.

There is nothing mysterious or intricate in the workings of the Compensation Law. It starts with the premise that every man who is injured at work and the family of every man who is killed, shall receive a definite amount of compensation fixed by law and depending in amount upon the nature of the injury and the needs of the dependent family.

The weekly wages of the injured workman are made the basis of his compensation. In cases of total permanent disability, such as the loss of both hands, or both arms, or both eyes, two-thirds of his average weekly wages must be paid to the employee during the continuance of his disability.

In cases where the injuries are permanent but the injured workman is not incapacitated for useful employment, the law fixes a schedule of compensation in accordance with the injury. For instance, for the loss of a thumb the injured workman receives two-thirds of his weekly wages for sixty weeks. For the loss of a hand he receives two-thirds of his weekly wages for 244 weeks, and every injury that he may suffer is classified and the compensation definitely fixed.

Death benefits are based upon the earning power of the employee and upon the number of dependents he

leaves behind. A death benefit can never exceed two-thirds of the deceased workman's average weekly wage and it continues, if there be a widow, during the widow's lifetime or until her remarriage, and if there be dependent children until they attain the age of eighteen years.

Having fixed a definite scale of compensation, the Compensation Law provides that the funds for this compensation shall be raised by the employers of labor through a system of compulsory insurance. Every employer who maintains what is known under the law as a hazardous occupation, must insure his employees against accident. He may insure in one of three ways; in a private insurance company; in an insurance fund maintained by the State or he may insure himself by complying with certain provisions of the Compensation Law, intended to guarantee his financial standing.

In the few months that the Compensation Law has been in operation, it has abundantly justified its enactment. Where the law courts have disposed of two or three liability cases in a day the Compensation Commission has disposed of three or four hundred cases under the Compensation Law. By exercising its discretion the Commission has increased the effectiveness of the law by giving special consideration to cases where delay might produce especial hardship.

Did I believe that New York's Compensation Law imposed an undue burden upon New York's employers, I should be reluctant to approve or espouse it, but I know that other States have passed compensation laws without disturbing the industries within their borders, and I know that the employers of other States must follow where the employers of the Great Empire State have seen fit to lead.

I believe in the Compensation Law, because it removes the handicap which the humane employer has labored under in competition with unscrupulous employers who were unwilling to take the care of their injured workmen.

I believe in the Workmen's Compensation Law, because I believe that the poor man's wife is entitled to the same protection that the rich man's wife receives.

I believe that the children of the laborer are as much entitled to food and shelter as the children of the capitalist. I believe that the State should give to the poor man assurance that his family will be protected after his death just as the private insurance companies give assurance to the families of the rich. If the rich man with his opportunities to provide for his family feels called upon to insure his life in private insurance companies so that his family may not want, surely the poor man, with less opportunity to make provision for those he loves should have the same means of knowing that when he dies his wife and children shall be cared for.

The opponents of the Workmen's Compensation Law, who view it through eyes of partisan criticism, would speak of it in terms of dollars and cents. They would paint it as a cold balancing of industrial accidents against mathematically calculated insurance premiums. But to those who have watched the Workmen's Compensation Law in operation it is more than a dry and dusty statute; it is more than a collection of legal phrases; it is more than a mathematical abstraction; it is a living, glowing, vital tribute to the humanity and justice of the twentieth century.

The Compensation Law is New York's emancipation proclamation. It frees the man who toils from the awful fear of leaving his family destitute; it frees the

toiler's family from the shadow of the poorhouse by giving them the certainty that whatever misfortune may come to the breadwinner, those dependent upon him will be cared for by the generous justice of a sovereign State.

I know of no nobler duty to which a public man may devote his energies than the protection and defense of the helpless. I know of no higher ambition than to wipe away the tears of the orphan or to abate the anguish of the stricken widow. And in all my public career there is nothing half so precious as the thought that when I leave the Governor's chair, I shall leave it with the knowledge that my labors may have helped to make life a little easier, a little better, for the millions of women and children who are protected by the Workmen's Compensation Law.

COMPENSATION INSURANCE RATES

Extract from Speech Delivered at Troy, October, 1914

The Workman's Compensation Law is a piece of legislation of which I am more than proud; for, as a result thereof, one hundred thousand families each year in the State of New York will be relieved from the losses arising from industrial accidents. Consider the magnitude of such loss, and consider the tremendous suffering that hitherto has gone unalleviated, then you will know why I am glad that through my efforts the great principle has been embodied in the laws of New York State. It is true that the states of our country have lagged behind the other states of the civilized world in adopting compensation laws, and I was determined, if possible, that no further delay should ensue in New York.

There have been so many opinions concerning the proper form of a compensation law—opinions resulting from diverse interests—that there was every danger that the Legislature would adjourn without enacting remedial legislation along the line, and to bring the warring factions together, I invited representatives of the various ideas into a conference and actually locked them into a room one evening, told them that they should not get out until they had agreed—and, behold, you have the New York law.

In many respects it is the finest statute on the subject and especially is this so in its schedule of benefits. The New York law grants the highest measure of compensation, by fully 20 per cent, of any law in the United States, and yet no man can say that it is too high. Indeed, it is not too high, and time will demonstrate the truth of my prediction that employers themselves, before ten years have passed, will consent to a higher award.

They will consent to a higher award because they will have discovered that the money hitherto paid out for liability insurance, for time off and for medical services, will more than accomplish the full measure of compensation under the New York law. In other words, it does not mean an added burden upon the industries of the State, but as soon as it is in proper working order it will mean a diminishment of burden.

Let me explain. The experience under the Massachusetts law was taken as a basis for the calculation of the cost under the New York statute. The experience of Massachusetts at the time available showed the cost there to be about 34.6 cents per hundred dollars of wage expenditure. Expert talent was in agreement that the New York law ought to cost about twice as much, but in the making of the rates I took the matter

in hand and insisted upon a specific agreement as follows:

That (1) to the Massachusetts experience should be added 8 per cent to cover error, then (2) that two should be used as a multiplier on account of the difference in schedule of benefits; then (3) that 50 per cent be added to cover the expenses of the stock companies plus the reasonable amount for a profit. This, if you will figure it, will show that the cost to the industries of the State of New York should be about \$1.12 per \$100 of wages expenditure.

Now, if this differential agreed upon was accurately and honestly applied, then the amount in dollars and cents to be raised on account of the Workmen's Compensation Law will represent a diminished burden upon the industries of the State.

The compensation law will forever stand a credit to the State of New York and a monument to my own administration, of which I may justly be proud. And here and now I call you to witness — you who are the employers of the State, that, in securing the differential agreed upon with a view to the future business of the State, the statute as written is written for employers as well as for employees. It is intended not only to compensate for losses arising from industrial accidents, but it is equally intended to free industry from the harassment of law suits and from the outrageous practices which obtained under the old liability plan, in which men for money trafficked in the distress of the people of this State.

That the law is a practical statute is evidenced by the fact that, although it has been in operation less than four months, the commission is able to take care of cases as fast as they are filed. Of course, for a few months longer there will be some crudities in the work

and a few exasperating delays. This is to be expected when the vast volume of business done is considered. But I venture to predict that if the statute is allowed to stand and the commission has a free hand in its administration, that by July 1, 1915, which is one year from the beginning of the operation of the law, that we shall have an institution created under the supervision of New York State that will reflect credit upon the State — a statute founded in justice and administered without prejudice by commissioners who, under the inspiration of a great work, are giving ungrudgingly of their time, even far into the night, to the accomplishment of the great ends of a great law.

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

Address Delivered at Rochester, October 26, 1914

A shrewd observer once remarked that the English House of Commons greeted no matter with more applause than economy in the abstract and received no subject with more earnest groans than economy in the concrete. In view of the fact that I propose to discuss economy in the concrete this evening, I trust that this audience will not feel bound by the authority of the precedent I have just cited.

The purely political and social phases of government have engaged the attention of the people of New York during recent years to the exclusion of the ordinary business of government. In the heat of questions which seemed more pressing and more important, proper consideration has not been given to the manner in which the business of the State has been transacted. While the public eye was diverted to direct primaries, workmen's compensation and other political and social

reforms, the State expenditures were permitted to increase until they outstripped the ordinary revenues of the State.

When I became Governor my first thought was to secure the enactment of the laws which the people of the State demanded. My next concern was the condition of the State's finances.

As a former Comptroller I realized the necessity for sound business methods in the administration of the State government. On examining into the business affairs of the State I discovered that New York was living beyond its income and in a message to the Legislature I pointed out that unless the people of New York were to suffer the imposition of a large direct tax, a program of economy and retrenchment must be instituted by the Legislature and the Governor.

I called the Legislature's attention to the startling reversal in the condition of the State's finances during recent years. I showed that from 1893 to 1906 the revenues of the State mounted rapidly, due to the constant addition of new sources of indirect revenues, and that during the same period expenditures increased slowly so that in 1906 the indirect revenues were \$6,000,000 greater than the current expenses of the State. From 1906 to 1913, however, this condition of affairs had been reversed. Revenues increased slowly and expenditures rose with lightning speed.

Where the per capita expenditure for every man, woman and child in the State was \$2.39 in 1893, the per capita expenditure for 1913 amounted to \$5.10. The change in the condition of the State's finances was strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Legislature of 1914 faced requests for appropriations amounting to approximately \$63,000,000; while the Comptroller's office estimated the State's revenues for the fiscal year at \$41,000,000.

I recommended to the Legislature that a general policy of economy must be observed on every hand, and that no appropriation should be made which did not benefit the State as a whole. I submitted that no new activities or functions involving appropriations, unless positively demanded by public welfare should be undertaken by the State until such time as an ample surplus had been accumulated in the State treasury. No increase in expenditures should be sanctioned, I declared, except for the purpose of securing greater revenue, compelling greater economy, conserving our natural resources, or meeting some public emergency. I further recommended that all appropriations should be for specific purposes and specified amounts, and that every appropriation should be minutely itemized so that not a dollar could be diverted from its lawful purpose.

As an earnest of my determination to restrict State expenditures to State necessities, I informed the Legislature that I would feel compelled to veto any special appropriation which reached me before the imperative appropriations for the necessary maintenance of government had been made and examined.

It is one thing to outline a program of economy and quite another to carry that program into effect. But from the moment when this message was transmitted to the Legislature I left no stone unturned to make State economies square with the promise I had made to the people of the State. I caused a careful examination to be made of the actual needs of every department and of the work which the departments contemplated during the coming year. I notified heads of departments that they must restrict their expenditures to funds already available, and announced that I would not permit any department to contract debts beyond their appropriations.

There was need of this admonition, because I discovered that the financial law had been violated by past administrations and debts aggregating over a million dollars had been contracted with the expectation that money would be provided in the future.

It had been the custom for many years to carry over departmental debts from one year into the next. Because this was not only repugnant to my business sense, but positively illegal, I took steps to put an end to this practice. I requested each department to furnish me with a list of its unpaid obligations and segregated them from the current expenditures. Then, after every unpaid obligation of past years had been scrutinized I urged the Legislature to pass a deficiency appropriation bill to take care of these obligations. The Legislature promptly responded, the old bills were paid, and for once the current year stood financially upon its own legs.

When the Assembly and the Senate dead-locked over appropriations for the support of government, they adjourned without providing for the necessary running expenses of the State departments. But they left behind them appropriations amounting to over \$11,000,000.

Some of these appropriations were special appropriations and in view of the stand I had taken in my message to the Legislature, namely, that I would veto any special bill which reached me before the appropriations for the support of government had been made, I acted upon these special bills without loss of time. Sixty special bills carrying appropriations of over \$4,000,000 which ranged from an appropriation of \$5,000 for the erection of a monument to one of \$150,000 for straightening a creek were immediately vetoed. In addition, fifty-five separate items in the

reappropriation bill, amounting to \$1,705,534 appeared to me to be unnecessary and opposed to a real program of economy, and to these the executive blue pencil was unhesitatingly applied.

By cutting out waste and eliminating special bills, I was able to veto appropriations amounting to \$5,764,128.35 with the knowledge that I was not hampering the legitimate functions of government.

I realized that these vetoes were more sweeping than those of any other Governor. In 1904 the vetoes of Governor Odell amounted to \$2,255,323. In 1909 the vetoes of Governor Hughes amounted to \$4,488,886, and in 1910 to \$4,713,747, although these vetoes included action on both special and general appropriations. But because I had been aiming at a specific result since I first took office, and because I knew what each department required I felt justified in every one of my vetoes.

Last year the special bills signed by the Governor outside of highway and canal appropriations amounted to over \$8,000,000. In recent years such special bills receiving executive approval have never totalled less than a million dollars. This year, exclusive of canal and highway appropriations and the payment of outstanding obligations, the total of special bills signed by me was \$126,000.

My action on the reappropriation bill was based on my knowledge of the manner in which these appropriations had been originally secured and on my acquaintance with the actual needs of the various departments.

For years past departments and institutions have gone to the Legislature at opportune times and secured the appropriation of large sums of money which could not be used for many years. Once an appropriation had been secured, the legislative custom of reappro-

priating without question money already appropriated kept these appropriations alive. As a result of this custom great sums of money have been lying idle while the taxpayers of the State were required to raise additional sums for current expenses.

I permitted each department and institution to retain every reappropriation that was necessary for a continuance of its proper activities, but vetoed those reappropriations which could not be used during the next fiscal year. In some instances where, in my opinion, the money should not have been appropriated in the first instance I disapproved the entire reappropriation. In cases where changes of the law had made old appropriations superfluous, I vetoed them as unnecessary. An instance of the slipshod way in which these reappropriations were made is shown by an item of \$25,000 for Albion which I vetoed. This \$25,000 was originally appropriated for the purchase of a farm adjoining the State institution. Since the appropriation was originally made however, the farm has changed hands and is no longer for sale, but without regard to this fact the money was reappropriated by the Legislature.

When I called the Legislature together in extraordinary session to make appropriations for the maintenance of government, I explained to the legislative leaders that I would tolerate no appropriations which did not conform with my knowledge of the actual necessities of the various departments.

I told them first, that the amount of money appropriated for any department or institution should represent the exact amount needed for the fiscal year and should not represent the extent of political influence of the department or institution seeking the appropriation; secondly, that large lump sum appropriations in-

viting waste and extravagance would no longer be permitted; third, that appropriations for purposes which were not State-wide in their benefits would not be approved and that the legislative pork barrel must be forgotten; fourth, that the total expenditures for the support of government must not exceed the revenues received.

Before the Legislature had adjourned from its ordinary session the Senate had submitted an appropriation bill conforming in most respects with the program of economy that I had outlined. When, in the extraordinary session the Conference Committee of the two houses started to draft an appropriation bill, they were wise enough to model it upon the original Senate bill. When this bill reached me it amounted to \$34,500,000 and upon careful examination of every item I decided that \$1,582,203 could be vetoed from the general appropriations without hampering the activities of a single department and this was accordingly done. Altogether my vetoes of general and special bills amounted to \$7,276,312.43.

There was another matter concerning State finances which had engaged my attention since my term as Comptroller. That was the surplus in the State's sinking fund.

The sinking fund, as you know, consists of money raised each year and set aside to redeem the State bonds issued for the construction of permanent public improvements. The fundamental purpose of the sinking fund is to distribute the cost of these permanent public improvements over an extended period of time.

When a surplus is created in any part of the sinking fund, it means that the sinking fund is failing of its purpose and is not distributing the burden of taxation fairly. Such a surplus is of no advantage to the State.

On the contrary it represents a serious and unnecessary drain upon the taxpayers of the present generation. It means that the men of today are paying more than their share of the cost of lasting public benefits. Consequently, when I took office I decided to make a determined effort to adjust the surplus in the sinking fund and to remedy a situation which compelled an overburdened present to pay the debts of the future.

Various plans for this readjustment had been suggested and discarded in the past because they failed to consider the rights of the holders of State bonds. After conferences with State officials, financial experts and large holders of State securities, a plan was agreed upon and adopted whereby the surplus in the sinking fund could be adjusted with satisfaction to all concerned. That plan was simply to take part of the surplus and use it in lieu of the contributions which otherwise must have been raised by direct taxation this year.

We took nothing out of the sinking fund that would imperil the value of a single State security, but with one stroke we remedied the unfairness of the past, prevented the further accumulation of an embarrassing surplus and avoided a direct tax to that extent. In other words, instead of asking the taxpayers of New York to raise \$3,279,249 by direct tax this year, we reduced sinking fund requirements in that amount and used it in place of this direct tax.

There is no reason why you and your fellow taxpayers should pay more than your share of the cost of the entire Barge Canal or of the entire system of highways. You will have the use of the canal, it is true, and you will have the use of the highways, but the men of the next generation will enjoy even a greater use of it.

After vetoing appropriations amounting to \$7,276,312.43, and after avoiding a direct tax of \$3,279,249 by adjusting the Sinking Fund surplus, I insisted upon the strict enforcement of the financial law in regard to lapses, which made \$481,000 more available for this year which otherwise must have been raised by direct tax. Altogether by my vetoes, by my adjustment of the Sinking Fund and by my enforcement of the financial law, I prevented the imposition of a direct tax which would have amounted to \$11,106,579.

Had it been necessary to impose this direct tax, the taxpayers of each county would have been compelled to raise, in addition to their other taxes, sums ranging from \$5,000 in the smallest county to \$5,000,000 in the largest. Albany county would have been asked to raise \$139,064; Allegany, \$19,269; Broome, \$49,722; Bronx, \$645,434; Cattaraugus, \$31,981; Cayuga, \$42,136; Chautauqua, \$58,901; Chemung, \$34,063; Chenango, \$17,028; Clinton, \$10,132; Columbia, \$27,347; Cortland, \$17,103; Delaware, \$16,123; Dutchess, \$66,883; Erie, \$398,051; Essex, \$13,523; Franklin, \$12,895; Fulton, \$16,747; Genesee, \$27,509; Greene, \$13,003; Hamilton, \$4,961; Herkimer, \$32,278; Jefferson, \$47,751; Kings, \$1,726,310; Lewis, \$11,182; Livingston, \$28,280; Madison, \$21,559; Monroe, \$251,488; Montgomery, \$30,157; Nassau, \$103,200; New York, \$5,392,454; Niagara, \$73,752; Oneida, \$80,798; Onondaga, \$184,832; Ontario, \$35,769; Orange, \$53,219; Orleans, \$19,506; Oswego, \$32,806; Otsego, \$25,011; Putnam, \$14,932; Queens, \$484,533; Rensselaer, \$85,593; Richmond, \$83,335; Rockland, \$33,273; St. Lawrence, \$46,588; Saratoga, \$27,815; Schenectady, \$65,279; Schoharie, \$11,877; Schuyler, \$6,859; Seneca, \$16,838; Steuben, \$44,469; Suffolk, \$93,130; Sullivan, \$7,210; Tioga, \$14,182; Tompkins, \$21,460; Ulster, \$32,518; Warren, \$11,869;

Washington, \$21,016; Wayne, \$27,996; Westchester, \$391,739; Wyoming, \$18,467, and Yates, \$11,897.

The present administration, as I have explained, prevented a direct tax of more than \$11,000,000, and in doing so it reduced the total appropriations for the present year to \$47,000,000. This is \$10,000,000 less than the total appropriations made last year, and more than a million dollars less than the total appropriations for general purposes of the last year of Republican rule under Governor Hughes in 1910, in spite of the various new activities to which the State has set its hand since that time.

Beyond the reduction of the State's expenses and beyond the adjustment of the Sinking Fund surplus, we have instituted a new Budget system whereby before a single appropriation is made by the Legislature, the Governor and the Legislature may know the total amount of the State's obligations.

Before the Legislature started to make an appropriation bill for the maintenance of government I summoned the heads of every department to public hearings where they were asked to explain the purpose of each appropriation they desired, to make an exact statement of the funds they had on hand and the purposes to which they proposed to put these funds, and out of these hearings we evolved a budget system similar to the famous English system.

Instead of permitting lump sum appropriations to be made, a system which has enabled schemers and manipulators to deceive the Legislature and the Governor, as to the real purpose of appropriations, we have itemized appropriations so that every member of the Assembly and every member of the Senate, as well as the Governor may know the precise purpose to which every cent that the State appropriates will be put.

We have impressed upon every department and every institution that they will not be permitted to create deficiencies in the future, and that they must live within the appropriations made for the current year. We have insisted that moneys appropriated must be used within the life of the appropriation, and thereafter unused portions should be made available for general purposes.

To sum up, we have administered the expenditures of the State during the past year in such a manner that instead of the \$5,000,000 surplus which the Comptroller estimated at the beginning of the year, we had on October 1st, the end of the fiscal year, a surplus of \$12,000,000.

Instead of the slipshod, wasteful and extravagant methods of raising and spending State money which had been tolerated in the past, we have placed the finances of the State on a sound and business basis.

We have done more than accomplish a saving of \$10,000,000 for this particular year. In bringing about this reduction we have done more than save the difference between last year's appropriations and this year's appropriations. There is nothing so contagious as a good example, unless, perhaps, it be a bad example, and now that the State's finances are once more on a practical basis a Governor who permits them to fall back into the slipshod and wasteful methods of the past, will bring down upon his head a flood of righteous indignation.

If the financial reforms I have instituted have brought a saving to the State of \$10,000,000, and the prevention of a direct tax of \$11,000,000, in one year, you may conjecture for yourself the saving that this economy must lead to during the next ten years, yes, during the next fifty years.

If I am fortunate enough to retain the confidence of

the people of the State, I shall not be content to rest upon the financial record already made.

Hercules cleaned out the Augean stables in a day, but Hercules himself could not have made a complete reform of New York's mismanaged finances in the short twelve months that have elapsed since I ascended the Governor's chair.

The big reforms have already been made. I have guaranteed to every taxpayer that when he dips into his pocket to pay his taxes, he may do so with the assurance that the money he has toiled and sweated to earn will not be wasted through extravagant appropriations or frittered away through disregard of the consideration due to public money. Instead of acting on the theory that public money deserves less consideration than private money, I have insisted that the public officers responsible to me must guard the money of their fellow-citizens more zealously and more watchfully than they guard their own.

I have applied to the business of the State the same principles which every successful business man applies to his personal and private affairs.

As I say, the big reforms have already been made, but if I am elected Governor this fall, I shall go into every department of the State government and institute in these departments in detail the sort of reforms which I have instituted in the State as a whole.

In one sense, the State government is nothing less than a gigantic business house. It has clerks, it has stenographers, it has auditors, it has cashiers, and each department is supposed to be working toward the same end as every other department, namely, the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the people of the State of New York. In this vast business house with its tremendous expenditures and its tremendous possibilities, there should be the same regard for sound busi-

ness methods that there is in the smallest and most conservative private business in the State.

If the people see fit to select me as their Executive for the next two years, those two years will be devoted to the establishment of sound business methods in the routine of every department. If I am Governor I shall lay before the Constitutional Convention now approaching, a detailed and itemized explanation of the workings of each department. I shall show how economy is prevented by needless duplications and how efficiency is crippled by unnecessary red tape. And it shall be my aim, so to administer the financial affairs of the State that for every dollar's worth of taxes they pay, the citizens of the State shall be assured of a dollar's worth of good government.

While I occupy the Executive chair, there will be only one guiding principle in the administration of the State finances. That principle shall be, "Millions for State necessities but not one cent for extravagance."

So long as I am Governor, that principle shall be affirmed and respected. And I ask the people of New York to remember that that principle should be upheld by them as vigorously and as earnestly as I have endeavored to uphold it during my term as Governor of the State.

LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

Speech Delivered at the Inauguration of Dr. John Huston Finley as Commissioner of Education, January 2, 1914

Tonight we honor a man and pay tribute to an idea. Our public schools are the idea and Dr. Finley the man. The man illustrates the idea and the idea typifies the man.

Upon that idea the thing we call civilization is based. Upon it depend all enlightenment and all progress. Where that idea is voiced the world goes forward, where it is obscured the world stands still. Were it not for that idea the centuries would be but idle moments moving in a little circle; because of it, man is master of time, climbing heavenward with the years. That idea, that concept, is education.

Education is the link which binds the hope of one generation to the achievements of the next. It gives to the eager youth of the present the fruits of all that men and women have done since the morning of the first day. It keeps imperishable the contributions of every age to the pleasure and profit of the race. It makes the revolutions of yesterday the conventions of today. It proclaims consideration for humanity, but preaches love for man. It provides the wine of poetry and the nutriment of science. It conquers force by persuasion and slays wrong by irony and wit. It fetters prejudice with logic and liberates reason with rhetoric. It is the eternal ocean, fed by rivers of the forgotten past, on which sail the argosies of the future.

To educate—to draw forth all the splendid possibilities of a human being—is the noblest task that any individual or any nation can attempt. To educate—to place the hard-won truths of vanished years before the questioning and aspiring mind—is a responsibility that rests upon every State and every nation. Barbarism cannot compete with civilization, ignorance cannot match strength with intelligence. The nations which have acted upon this fact have flourished and gone forward; those which have neglected it have been compelled to yield and to recede.

It is not enough that a select and distinguished few should be admitted to the benefits of education. Just as no nation can be contented where hundreds gorge while millions starve, so no nation can be intelligent where the elect are educated and the multitude ignorant. Education itself cries out against a monopoly of education; the more we know the more we realize how necessary it is for others to know.

Education, which reaches from the highest in the State to the lowest, which knows no distinctions of race or class, which is made the rightful heritage of every child and becomes the reliance of every citizen, is the greatest influence for good that any nation can possess. Where such education flourishes, there liberty breathes; where it grows and spreads, there tolerance and humanity will be found. No man whose intelligence has been quickened into life is willingly a slave; no man who does not know the reasons for his enfranchisement is really free. Ignorance and tyranny go hand in hand, liberty and enlightenment are brothers.

We of the republic have cause to congratulate ourselves on the wisdom and foresight of those who established our common schools. We have grown great and prosperous because, after this nation put its hand to the proposition that all men are politically equal, it made the proposition something more than an assertion by providing the surest means of preserving that equality. One of the most significant facts in the history of our country is that the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence was one of the men who blazed the way for the country's system of common schools. And when Thomas Jefferson proclaimed to the world that America's men demanded freedom of conscience and of action, he performed no greater service than when he sought for America's children

that freedom of education without which all other freedom is insecure.

New York led the rest of the country with the first public school, and it leads today as it did 280 years ago. John Millar, deputy commissioner of education for Canada, recently declared that "No part of the republic presents a more valuable study to the educationist than New York;" that its public schools "bid fair to put New York educationally in the front place of the United States as it is already commercially and politically."

In 1633 Holland was two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe in education, and the New Amsterdam Dutch brought to this country the educational spirit of the fatherland. In 1633 they opened America's first public school and made Rollandsen its master.

Between that first crude attempt at general education and New York's present school system there is the same difference as between the *Half Moon* of Hendrick Hudson and the ocean liner of today. Rollandsen, we are told, supplemented his slender salary by running a laundry. One of his successors was removed because he came out second best in a suit over the price of a hog. Another entered the educational field because his tavern was not sufficiently patronized. New York's first educational system had thirty masters in as many years. Tonight we venture the hope that thirty years will not see a single change in the presiding genius of the present system.

The first act of Governor Clinton after the British Army of occupation had cleared from Staten Island, was to urge the Legislature to provide a suitable system of education. Governor Lewis, who took up the work where Clinton left off; Joseph Lancaster, who opened a free school in his own home; Gideon Hawley, whose

labors earned for him the title of "Father of New York's Public Schools," these are educational pioneers whom the State has reason to hold in affectionate esteem.

To speak of the schools of New York without dwelling for a moment upon what religious and charitable organizations have done for the cause of education in the State would be unfair and shortsighted. No inconsiderable part of the children of the State have received their schooling at the hands of private and denominational teachers. Religion has performed additional service to the State by opening the doors of knowledge to all who came within its influence. Charity has been open-handed, not only in answering the needs of the body, but in striving to provide the necessities of the mind. The school-master and the clergyman have worked hand in hand for the betterment of those about them. And in many cases the clergyman and the schoolmaster have been one and the same.

Education, as we know it, is under obligations to many men and many influences, but there is no single factor to which education owes a greater debt than it does to religion. The shrine and the schoolhouse have never been very far apart at any stage of the world's progress. Education is the natural consequence of a desire to help one's fellowman.

For those more fortunate in this world's goods, who do not need to turn to the State for education, or for those who received their training in denominational or charitable schools, the public school may not mean the beginning and the end of education. But to the millions who have found it the only place where they could slake their thirst for knowledge, the "Little Red Schoolhouse" is a sacred temple that no man dare profane.

Within its friendly walls a message of hope and inspiration has been brought to the American boy. There he has learned that no task is too hard for him to attempt, no height too lofty for him to scale. There he has found the universal key that unlocks all the mysteries of science and of art, the magic key of study. There he has discovered that two and two make four, and that neither chicanery nor dishonesty can alter the result; there he has learned that this fine old world is round, and that its unyielding corners and cruel angles are only superficial. And beyond all the reading, all the writing, all the arithmetic that have taxed his patience through snowy winter mornings and sultry summer afternoons, the American boy has learned something else in the public school. He has learned the American's first lesson, the lesson of equality and equal opportunity.

There are no favorites in "The Little Red Schoolhouse." The son of the banker and the son of the mechanic meet there upon a common footing. Each school is a miniature republic where industry and ability are the only roads to favor and success. As every one of Napoleon's soldiers carried in his knapsack a field marshal's baton, so each American boy carries in his school bag a title to the Presidency of the United States.

Every boy who has fought and laughed his way through "The Little Red Schoolhouse" knows that all class distinctions are artificial and that merit is the measure of the man. Whatever else they do, the schools of America produce real Americans fit for the duties and the responsibilities of American citizenship.

I know whereof I speak when I talk of the public schools. It was in one of this State's public schools that I learned to read and write. It was in a public school that I caught my first glimpse of the broad

world beyond the circling hills and mountains about my native town. It was in a public school that I discovered the glorious world where the greatest men of all the ages live and talk—the world of books; and I would be ingrate and recreant if I let this occasion slip without humbly acknowledging some part of the debt I owe to a “Little Red Schoolhouse” in the town of Kinderhook, some twenty miles from here.

Little old Kinderhook has played large in the school history of New York. In Kinderhook Washington Irving found Ichabod Crane, the typical schoolmaster of literature, and in Kinderhook’s graveyard sleeps Ichabod Crane, immortalized by Irving, memorialized by a marble shaft and revered by every true Kinderhookian. It was a “Little Red Schoolhouse” in Kinderhook which gave all the education he ever had to that master of men and formulator of issues, who lifted himself by his own bootstraps from a barefoot boy to the Presidency of the United States—I refer to the Chesterfield of American politics, Martin Van Buren, one of the best friends of public education that America ever had. Van Buren never forgot what he owed to education and education will never forget what it owes to him.

I know the public schools, and, because I know them, I refuse to be disturbed by those who seek, from time to time, to alarm the nation with gloomy forebodings and dire predictions. For when they tell us that danger threatens the institutions of the republic, when they warn us that the ship of state is drifting into perilous waters, when the cynic grows faint-hearted and the credulous become discouraged I hear the bells ringing from ten thousand public schools and my heart grows warm again.

I see 20,000,000 children marching into the schools that dot the hills and valleys from Maine to Mexico.

I watch them conning their readers and thumbing their histories. I see them being molded into American citizens and I know that America can make no mistake which America cannot rectify.

As I talk to you now there comes back to my mind's eye a picture of the little country school I attended as a boy :

“ It stood on a bleak country corner,
The houses were distant and few,
A meadow lay back in the distance,
Beyond rose the hills to our view,
The roads crossing there at right angles,
Untraversed by pomp and array,
Were cropped by the cows in the summer;
I've watched them there many a day.

In memory's hall hangs the picture,
And though years of sad care are between,
It hangs with a beautiful gilding,
And well do I love it, I ween.
It stood on a bleak country corner,
But boyhood's young heart made it warm,
It gloried in the sunshine of summer,
'Twas cheerful in winter and storm.

The teacher, oh well I remember;
My heart has long kept him a place;
Perhaps by the world he's forgotten,
His memory no time can efface.
He met us with smiles on the threshold,
And in that rude temple of art,
He left with the skill of a workman,
His touch on the mind and the heart.

Oh, gay were the sports of the noontide,
When winter winds frolicked with snow;
We laughed at the freaks of the storm king,
And shouted him on, all aglow.
We dashed at his beautiful sculptures,
Regardless of all its array,
We plunged in the feathery snowdrift,
And sported the winter away.

We sat on the old-fashioned benches,
Beguiled with our pencils and slate;
We thought of the opening future,
And dreamed of our manhood's estate.
O, days of my boyhood! I bless you;
While looking from life's busy prime,
The treasures are lingering with me
I gathered in life's early time.

O still to that bleak country corner
Turns my heart in its weariness yet,
Where leading my gentle young sisters
With youthful companions I met.
I cast a fond glance o'er the meadow;
The hills just behind it I see
Away in the charm of the distance,
Old schoolhouse a blessing on thee!"

It is a great task, Doctor Finley, a noble duty with which the State of New York charges you today. You are being placed at the head of the schools in the greatest State of the Union. New York is giving into your keeping the eager minds of its children; it is entrusting you with the care of its future citizens.

New York does so with confidence. It has studied you and knows you. It has reviewed your record and found it inspiring, it has inquired into your capacities and is convinced that they measure up to the full dignity and importance of your office. You have been successful in everything else you have undertaken; we know you will be successful in the duties you assume today.

Sparta's education made soldiers; Rome's education made orators; New York's education, under your guidance, must make men. The three R's have long been the square and the compass. The time has come when they should be superseded by the three H's, Head and Heart and Hand. Times change, sings the poet, and we change with them. The romance of

chivalry is giving way to the poetry of mechanism. Kipling's "Song of Steam" supplants Tennyson's "King Arthur and His Table Round;" the "Man on Horseback" salutes "The Man With the Hoe." And we must meet the change.

May all good fortune attend you in your task. May you find on every hand the support and encouragement that your solemn duty deserves. And may all who serve under you remember that the real temple of the State's liberties is not the Capitol, where the State's laws are made, not the courts, where the State's laws are interpreted and enforced, but rather this beautiful building in which we are gathered, from which the truths that underlie all law and all discipline will be carried to the future citizens who must obey and defend those laws.

Our hopes, our aspirations and our prayers accompany you as you enter upon your labors, and, with confidence and pride, we salute you, caretaker of our liberties, guardian of our children, keeper of our pathway to the stars.

THE DEPARTMENT OF FOODS AND MARKETS

Speech Delivered by Governor Glynn at Binghamton

A government may be expensive for the people who live under it in two ways: first by the extravagant and unnecessary use of public money, secondly, by failing to assist its citizens in their efforts to secure the necessities of life with the least possible outlay.

Those of you who are acquainted with the facts, know that in the first regard the present administration has not represented an expensive government. It has spent \$10,000,000 a year less than the previous administration, and it has prevented a direct tax of \$11,000,000.

Tonight I propose to take up the other side of the question and to lay before you what has been done at Albany during the past year to reduce the cost of living for the people of New York. In a general way the easiest and surest means of reducing the cost of any product is to increase the supply. To secure more and better food for the people of New York it is essential that agriculture should be stimulated, intensive farming encouraged, and more land placed under cultivation.

To this end during the past year earnest consideration has been given to the problems that press upon the farmers of New York. We have encouraged the formation of coöperative societies to purchase farm supplies at wholesale, and to ship farm produce in car-load lots. We appropriated \$20,000 to send expert organizers among the farmers to form coöperative societies and gave the Comptroller power to spend \$50,000 more to combat the insect pests which attacked the farms of several counties last summer. Best of all in our revision of the State's banking law, we provided for a land bank which would give the farmers of the State a scientific and flexible system of credit with which to develop, improve and extend their farms.

It is not enough however to increase the supply of food on the farms,—the crying need is to increase the amount of available food in our cities. For, when all is said and done, the chief factor in the present high prices of food stuffs is the cost of distribution.

At present between the producing farmer and the consumer there are seven intermediaries all of whom add their charges to the ultimate cost of food.

First is the local country buyer or shipper. Secondly is the railroad or steam shipping line. Third is the drayman who transports the farm produce from the railroad to the commission warehouse. Fourth,

is the commission merchant. Fifth, is the warehouse man. Sixth, is the jobber. Seventh is the retailer. In some cases two or even three of these intermediaries are combined in one agency, but whether performed by the same or separate individuals each movement of farm produce entails its additional cost.

As a result of this system of distribution government investigators have discovered that out of every dollar that the consumer pays for his food the farmer himself receives but thirty-five cents. Or to put it conversely, for food which the farmer can profitably raise for thirty-five cents, the consumer now pays a dollar.

The high cost of distributing farm produce works hardship not only upon the consumer but upon the producing farmer. It has been estimated on the prices paid farmers for their food stuffs and figuring on the total value of the year's crops that where the mechanic who makes the farmers' wagon works three hours to earn a dollar, and the railroad employee who transports the farmer's produce works two and one-half hours to earn a dollar, the farmer himself before he can earn a dollar is obliged to work ten hours.

To attack this problem of distribution, and to reduce the ultimate cost of food, it is necessary that the producing farmer and the distant consumer should be brought into closer touch.

In its report made in 1912 the New York State Food Investigating Commission declared that the annual food supply of Greater New York alone cost at the transportation terminals \$350,000,000, and that in the consumer's kitchen it costs \$500,000,000.

In other words, between the time that New York's food supply arrived in the city, and the time it reached the people for whom it was intended, there was an addition to its price of approximately forty-five per

cent, or more than the total cost of raising the food itself.

“The ideal system of food distribution from the producer direct to the consumer,” says this report, “is illustrated by the farmer’s household delivery in many country towns. The city’s substitute for this ideal should be to maintain as direct and unbroken a flow as possible from the producer to the consumer, cutting out all unnecessary handling or storage charges.”

In its recommendations this Committee advocated the establishment of a Department of Markets with plenary powers. Among the duties which the Committee suggested for this Department the following are worthy of notice in the light of what has recently transpired at Albany.

“This Department,” says the Committee, “should procure data and statistics on annual total food production. Secondly, it should regulate the distribution of produce. Third, it should send out educational bulletins to farmers. Fourth, it should acquaint all producers with the advantage of sending their produce direct to licensed auctioneers and wholesale public markets. Fifth, the department should keep daily quotations and price lists of food stuffs. Sixth, it should receive and investigate complaints against railroads and other carriers for unjust discrimination in shipping food products and unjust competition or unjust combination of dealers. Seventh, it should provide rules governing auction sales and markets.”

To cite another instance where a skilled and trained investigator has made plain that the high cost of food

is largely due to faulty methods of distribution, let me read you what the horticulturist of the Bureau of Plant Industry says in the year book of his Department of Agriculture for 1912:

“A careful analysis of trade conditions indicates that from 33 to 36 per cent of the price which the consumer pays for a perishable product reaches the producer. This must cover the cost as well as the risk of growing, and must also provide the profit on the ‘know how’ and money invested. About 26 per cent of the cost to the consumer is required for transportation and from 5 to 10 per cent for commission. Dealers’ profits range from 50 to 100 per cent, for it is maintained that every time perishable goods change hands the selling price must double the purchase price in order to meet losses. As the retailer receives the goods he again adds 100 per cent or thereabouts to the cost to the consumer. It is easy to see how high costs necessarily follow such methods of marketing. If, in addition to these costs, terminal storage and cold storage charges are added, as is often necessary in order to maintain even distribution, and the retailer sells the goods by telephone and delivers them by horse or motor vehicle, all of these so-called conveniences must ultimately be paid for by the consumer. Under the present system it is possible for some of the common perishable products to carry eight distinct charges before they reach the consumer, all of which are legitimate; and as these charges on perishable products must be high in order to fortify the owners against loss, the reason for high prices for standard vegetable crops is easily explained.”

I cite these authorities to fix in your mind the fact that an imperfect, unscientific, and faulty method of distributing farm produce is costing the people of our cities at least 65 per cent of what they pay for their food.

For those who are fortunate enough to have incomes which can meet this added burden without difficulty, the situation may not be alarming, but for that vast army of citizens who find it hard to maintain their families on what they earn, the added cost of distribution represents the difference between poverty and comfort, between plenty and want.

Some time ago the Bureau of Labor at Washington made a canvass of more than twenty-five thousand households in all parts of the United States averaging approximately five persons to the family and the result of its investigation was contained in the announcement that the average annual income was \$751.34 a year, and the average annual expenditure \$689.61 leaving a margin between income and expenditure of \$61.73.

This same investigation disclosed that 42.54 per cent of this annual expenditure, by far the largest single item, was for food. In the light of this fact the importance of providing a means whereby the cost of food may be reduced must become apparent to every thinking man.

As I have already pointed out the State has taken steps to stimulate agriculture and to form coöperative societies among farmers so that the supply of food may be increased, and the farmers may ship their produce in a wholesale way with a corresponding reduction in cost. But not content with this, New York has passed a law which provides for a better distribution of this produce after it has arrived at its destination. This

law is the law providing for the State Department of Foods and Markets.

Last March I transmitted a message to the Legislature urging the Legislature to enact a law providing for local coöperative markets and for general auction markets throughout the State where farm products might be sold by licensed auctioneers.

I pointed out that there were constant complaints from both producer and consumer to the effect that dealers and manipulators of farm products prevented the regulation of prices through the natural channel of supply and demand.

I suggested that all these matters should be placed under the jurisdiction of a single-headed Foods and Market Commission and that the Commissioner should be authorized to assist and encourage the establishment of local markets under the control of coöperative societies of producers and consumers, to help them in the establishment of grades and standards of farm food products.

I suggested that it was advisable to empower this Commissioner to establish general auction markets and to license auctioneers to supervise their activities. In response to this message the Legislature passed the law and gave to the Commissioner of Foods and Markets, ample powers to carry out the duties entrusted to him.

In urging upon the Legislature the creation of this new department I was fortified by the success which has attended the establishment of public markets for farm produce both here and abroad.

Here in America, the many advantages of public markets where the profits of the middlemen might be eliminated have led to the establishment of these public markets in many cities. Baltimore has had for many years a municipal market and this market has

proved of advantage not only in reducing the cost of food, but in providing a large variety of carefully inspected produce for the housewives of that southern city. Public markets have been established in Buffalo, Cleveland, Champaign, Chester, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Denver, Des Moines, Duluth, Dubuque, Fort Plain, Grand Rapids, Greensburg, Hagerstown, Hamilton, Indianapolis, Joliet, Kalamazoo, Kansas City, Lancaster, Lincoln, Madison, Memphis, Milwaukee, Nashville, New Orleans, Newark, Niagara Falls, Norfolk, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Portsmouth, Raleigh, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Antonio, Schenectady, Seattle, South Bend, Syracuse and Zanesville.

It would be unfair to say that the success which has attended these markets, taken as a whole, has been great enough to justify the more rosy expectations of their founders. In many instances, however, these markets have materially reduced the price of food and have brought in a substantial revenue to the municipalities which maintained them.

Europe has had a longer and a wider experience with public markets. In Great Britain extensive markets are owned by the municipalities of Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bradford, Bolton, Wolverhampton, Exeter, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Shrewsbury and by the corporation of the city of London.

Germany perhaps more than any other country in the world, places reliance on municipal markets because of the peculiar pressure of the high cost of living.

Berlin has fourteen markets which are able to handle about fifty carloads of food produce a day. Cologne completed a million dollar market in 1904 with a cold storage plant and connections with the state railway. Frankfurt's market system dates back to 1870 when

the first hall was erected at a cost of \$375,000. It has 548 stands with space for 374 more in the gallery.

Munich with a population of only half a million people has the most modern of all European municipal markets which cost nearly a million dollars to construct.

Austria-Hungary has established public markets at Vienna where there are forty-five of them, and at Budapest where the city's revenue from its municipal markets amounts to \$100,000 a year.

Holland and Belgium have also sought to reduce the cost of food products through the medium of these markets.

The farmers of Denmark received \$12,000,000 thirty years ago for butter, eggs and bacon. Organized marketing societies now bring over \$100,000,000 a year for the same products. There is no talk of the high cost of living in Denmark because they have a system of economical markets. Commercial waste in the distribution of farm products is reduced to a minimum.

France has established municipal markets in several places, notably at Havre, Lyons and Paris.

Paris has one of the most famous and successful public markets in the world.

An observer has given us the following graphic picture of a Paris public market.

“ The produce consisting of cabbages, turnips, tomatoes, asparagus, artichokes, carrots, beans, peas, plums, currants, etc., is brought into the city during the earlier hours of the night in the growers' own carts, and simply dumped in piles in the roadway. Most of the goods is arranged in groups according to class. There are no signs of stalls or tables or other form of stands in this part of the market and only the fruit is placed in boxes.

“ The vegetables as a rule are stacked in beautifully built piles, generally in the form of solid squares rising pyramidically. Narrow pathways are left between for the porters removing the goods when sold, and for the passage of buyers and sellers.

“ The whole arrangement of the outdoor market is most primitive and apparently rough and ready, but in reality everything is thoroughly well organized on a systematic basis.

“ The venders are peasants and small proprietors practically all owning the land they cultivate who come in from the surrounding country every night and sell their own produce to the shopkeepers and restaurant keepers and in some cases to the private consumers.

“ In all the markets the public auction is carried out by a ‘ mandataire ’ who has the right to sell as he pleases, either to the trade, at a stall in the market, or by public auction. There are also special official auctioneers who are not government officials who do the selling in some of the markets. A manditaire who acts for butchers at the slaughter house may have five hundred or a couple of thousand pounds of meat a day to sell. They all have stalls and the restaurant keepers come down here to buy.

“ The weighing in the central markets is done by an independent public officer, appointed by the Prefect of the Seine.”

It may, and will be urged, that the prices current in the public markets of Paris are no smaller than the prices charged by the Parisian retail dealers but it must be remembered in this connection that the re-

tailers are forced by the very existence of the public markets to reduce their own prices to a minimum.

In establishing a Department of Foods and Market therefore, the State of New York has acted upon sound precedents. Public markets have served to reduce the charges of the middlemen elsewhere,—if properly conducted they cannot fail to reduce the prices of the middlemen here.

It is worthy of note that in the law providing for its Department of Foods and Markets, the State has incorporated practically every suggestion made by the New York State Food Investigating Commission in the report to which I have alluded before.

Under the law creating the Department of Foods and Markets, the Commissioner is empowered to investigate the cost of food production and marketing in all its phases; to aid and assist in the organization of co-operative societies among producers and consumers; to hear complaints and suggestions; to advise and assist in the location of local markets whenever he determines public necessity or the welfare of the community requires such markets; to make rules and regulations for the grading, packing, handling, storage and sale of all food stuffs within the State, and to enforce such rules and regulations by proceedings in any court of competent jurisdiction.

The Commissioner is directed to establish auction markets at such points in the State as he deems advisable, and to supervise and license auctioneers to sell goods consigned to these markets. He is also empowered to regulate the commissions these auctioneers may charge; to determine the grade and condition of farm produce and to determine the zones from which produce may be consigned to any particular auction market.

Furthermore, the Department of Foods and Markets is required to publish a daily bulletin setting forth the quotations for which produce has been sold on the preceding day in all the principal markets of the State, including the auction markets and giving advice as to the available supplies of farm produce and the demand in the several markets.

The law further provides for the punishment of any licensed auctioneer who is derelict in the discharge of his duties.

When this Department of Foods and Markets is in operation it will devote itself to the task of finding a profitable market for the products of New York's farms and of securing a system of distribution under which the farmer may receive more and the consumer pay less.

The Department can keep the farmer advised upon the demand for every kind and grade of products and direct his produce to points where it is most needed. It can instruct him in proper grading and packing and assist him to organize local coöperative associations through which he may develop and supply his local market. It can assist local organizations of farmers to build central shipping stations where they may deliver their produce in bulk to be sorted, packed and consigned to its ultimate destination.

It can supervise local markets presided over by a co-operative association of consumers, and encourage the creation of storage facilities in the cities to absorb surplus products in times of over-production and prevent perishable goods from waste in a glutted market.

It can encourage individual farmers to deal with individual consumers where such procedure is practical and profitable.

It can establish auction markets to which the farmer may send his produce confident of fair treat-

ment and where the consumer may purchase the food for his table with the knowledge that he is not paying extravagant prices to unnecessary middlemen.

To sum up, the Department of Foods and Markets may exert its influence upon the farm as the representative and friend of the farmer and in the city as the friend and representative of the consumer and at all times and in all places exert its full powers for the overthrow of the common enemy—the high cost of living.

With the proper man at its head, this Department of Foods and Markets may be made of tremendous advantage to every citizen and to every household. It can stimulate the flow of food from the farm to the city. It can break down the artificial barriers which have been erected between those who raise and those who consume the products of the soil. It can protect the farmer from the imposition of unreliable or unscrupulous commission men, and shield the city dweller from artificial corners in food.

The high cost of living is not an academic question, it is a problem which presses upon every citizen of our State. It confronts the children in our schools, and the toilers in our factories. It presses upon the clerk and the mechanic, upon the bread-winner and the housewife. And if, as I confidently believe, the new Department which the State has created to grapple with the high cost of living is successful in its effort, the saving which the present administration has instituted in the expenses of government, will be multiplied many times by the saving which it will have opened up to every private citizen in his private affairs.

THE REVISION OF THE BANKING LAW

Address Delivered at Malone, October 22, 1914

Credit is the foundation stone of modern business and an efficient, flexible and stable banking system is the first requisite for the development of credit.

One of the reasons that New York has forged to the fore as a manufacturing State, one of the reasons that its industries have expanded and its cities have developed is that from the earliest times the people of this State have been provided with satisfactory banking facilities.

As business has developed and banking has grown more complex, new laws have been placed upon the statute books to regulate the operations of New York's banks.

Prior to 1882 the various statutes relating to banks and bankers had not been assembled in one comprehensive statute and in that year certain of these miscellaneous statutes were embodied in a banking code.

Ten years later this code with various other statutes adopted from time to time were incorporated in the State's first comprehensive banking law. There was no attempt in this revision to adjust various parts of the law to every other part and even the obsolete provisions for the issuance of State currency were retained.

Even in 1909 when the Banking Law was embodied in the Consolidated Laws no attempt was made to simplify and revise the scattered provisions of the Banking Law. And, as a result of the crudities contained in the statute, banks and banking corporations were obliged to conduct their business under rulings of the Superintendent of Banks and opinions of the Attorney-General as to the real meaning of ambiguous laws.

Last year the Legislature determined to bring order out of this confusion and a commission was appointed by Superintendent Van Tuyl to provide, for the first time, a systematic, thorough and comprehensive revision of New York's banking laws.

This commission consisted of practical bankers, representatives of trust companies and savings banks, private bankers, business men, students of banking and lawyers with technical knowledge of the Banking Law. Every statute relating to banking was thoroughly examined in the light of modern conditions, by this commission. Not only the laws of New York, but the laws of sister States were assembled and considered in the desire to provide New York with the best banking law in the country. And when this commission finally handed in its recommendations, the Legislature had before it in concrete form suggestions for the most practical and effective banking law enjoyed by any State in the Union.

The motto of the commission to revise the Banking Law was "Safety First." Safety for the business interests of New York; safety for the stockholders in banking corporations, and finally, and most important, safety for the depositors in New York's banks.

One of the provisions of the revised banking law passed by the Legislature this year concerns the operations of private bankers. While it is true that private bankers, in many cases, have built up sound and influential institutions which have assisted in the progress and prosperity of the State, it is also true that other men have entered into the private banking business whose interest in, and influence upon, legitimate business has been sinister and disastrous.

For many years the State exercised no jurisdiction or supervision over private bankers and, as might be

expected, this freedom from restraint resulted in the grossest abuses. Tricksters have beguiled the savings of poor immigrants unacquainted with the customs of this country, and manipulators, posing as private bankers, have gambled in the hopes, the frugality and self-denial of their helpless depositors.

In the present revision of the Banking Law the State has steered a middle course. It has not attempted to take from reputable private bankers the opportunities which these bankers used with legitimate skill and trained care. But, on the other hand, it has insisted upon its right to supervise the operations of private banks which have no real financial standing and which might easily become a menace to the community in which they operate.

Most of you will recall the facts which were disclosed recently in the trial of a New York merchant who was accused of investing the deposits left with his private bank in his own business without adequate security. When he failed his failure brought misery to thousands of innocent depositors. This was under the old banking law. It should be impossible under the new law.

The revised law takes from the Comptroller, who formerly had the responsibility for the operations of private bankers without any proper authority over them, and has placed upon the Superintendent of Public Banks the responsibility for the observance of the law by private bankers.

New York's revised law provides for the least amount of supervision that is compatible with protection, and, at the same time gives ample freedom to reputable and responsible private bankers.

One provision of the new law is especially strong and timely and prohibits private bankers from converting to their own use or using in a business controlled by

them, the deposits in their institutions. They are required to invest a percentage of their deposits in the same securities as savings banks and to deposit these securities with the Superintendent of Banks in the same manner as a trust company.

Furthermore, depositors are given a preference in case of liquidation and have a first lien on all assets purchased by a failed private bank with their money.

Just as new provisions are thrown about the operations of private banks, so new safeguards are created for the stockholders and depositors in savings banks. While the savings banks of the State, considered as a class, have maintained a reputation for solidity and strength, some of them have unfortunately been conducted with a view to securing deposits rather than with a view to safety.

The Superintendent of Banks has called attention to the need of protecting depositors in these institutions, and the State Savings Bank Association, jealous of its own reputation, has seconded the efforts of the Superintendent.

In the present revision of the Banking Law there is provision that all savings banks must establish a guaranty fund.

The requirements of this fund are so moderate that in all probability they will not affect any institution at the present time. On the other hand gradual additions to this guaranty fund will be established to protect depositors in the future.

Not only does the revision of the Banking Law protect depositors in private banks and in savings banks, but it goes farther and protects the public against usury by giving the Superintendent of Banks supervision over loan brokers as well as over remedial loan corporations and throws proper restrictions about this business.

It is notable that since New York first started to regulate the small loan business the number of corporations doing this business has dropped from 128 to 19. There is no doubt that there is a legitimate need and a legitimate field for small loan brokers, but it is equally true that the needy borrower should be protected from the selfish and the unscrupulous who prey upon his needs. And in establishing stricter supervision and better regulation of the small loan business, the Revised Banking Law will prove a welcome protection to those whose necessities make them at times the victims of unscrupulous lenders.

There is no need for me here to discuss two other provisions of the Revised Banking Law, one providing for the formation of credit unions under which farmers may secure short time loans on easy terms, and the other establishing a State land bank where the farmer who desires to mortgage his property may secure the accommodation he desires and wipe out his indebtedness by making small payments each year.

I cannot refrain from pointing out, however, that in these two sections of the Revised Banking Law, New York has proffered to its agriculture facilities for that easy and flexible credit which has built up the State's great industries.

As a business man I rejoice in the efficient and effective revision of the Banking Law, and as Governor of the State I am proud in bringing this great revision to a happy conclusion. I treasure the approval of New York's foremost financiers, which approval was shown in the following telegram from the Chairman of the Revision Committee:

“ The Commission to revise the banking laws of this state, with Superintendent of Banks Eugene L. Richards, Ex-Superintendent George W. Van

Tuyl, Jr., and Senator Pollock, at banquet assembled as guests of Frank M. Patterson, send greetings, good wishes and appreciative thanks for the great service you rendered in consummating their labors and enacting the revision reported by them into law.

“A. BARTON HEPBURN,
Chairman.”

The Revised Banking Law not only writes upon the statute books of the State new provisions calculated to improve and extend New York's banking facilities, but because the revision has been made in a careful, systematic way a definite plan is discernible all through the revised law, conflicts and ambiguities have been done away with, inconsistent statutes have been harmonized and the great banking system of New York may now proceed with its important business secure in an accurate knowledge of its opportunities, limitations, its internal relations, and its relations with the State.

\$25,000,000 FOR NEW CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

Address Delivered at Utica, October 21, 1914

Those who for partisan motives desire to discredit the financial reforms inaugurated by the present administration have declared that the saving which has been made during the past year has been effected through disregard of the legitimate needs and the necessary improvements of State institutions for the insane, the feeble-minded and the criminal.

As a wielder of the veto power I have been singled out as the target of these assaults.

Without attempting to be specific my partisan critics have declared that I vetoed appropriations for the enlargement and improvement of State institutions.

I shall not content myself tonight with resting my case on the record of my vetoes. I might challenge my critics to produce proof of their charges in the record of the appropriation bills I signed and the bills I refused to sign. I might point out that during my occupancy of the Governor's chair I vetoed only one bill for the construction of a new institution and my reason for withholding my approval was that the bill itself proposed to destroy an institution already in existence.

If my critics mean that in a few isolated instances I have vetoed appropriations for repairs and incidental expenses of a few institutions, I readily admit the charge, for, in every instance where I wielded the blue pencil, my controlling motive as my veto memoranda will show, was a desire to prevent these institutions from spending money on temporary expedients at variance with any broad plan to improve conditions or enlarge accommodations.

For instance, I vetoed an appropriation of \$2,500 for enlarged electric equipment at the Rome Custodial Asylum and I vetoed it because we provided this year for a new building at the Custodial Asylum and any electrical work that was done now would have to be changed within a short time.

When political opponents tell you that I have economized at the expense of State institutions they carefully refrain from telling you that the single request which I made to the Legislature at its extraordinary session, when the question of appropriations was before this body, was that the Legislature should pass a referendum looking to a bond issue of \$25,000,000

for the construction of new state hospitals, new state asylums, and new state prisons. And tonight I propose to set before you my attitude upon institutional improvements, not only to vindicate my personal position, but to enlist you, if I can, in the cause of better prisons, better hospitals and better asylums.

No penny wise and pound foolish policy can cope with the conditions which New York must face if it would do justice to its humanity and its charity in the care of those who are the charges of the State. In whatever direction we look, whether it be to our prisons, to our hospitals for the insane, or to our asylums for the feeble-minded, we find that the accommodations provided by the State are not in keeping with the State's express purpose to deal with its helpless charges in a modern and enlightened way.

Our prisons are crowded and unsanitary. Sing Sing is a disgrace to an enlightened commonwealth. Instead of providing every means of reformation for our prisoners we are compelled to herd them in quarters where disease makes confinement more terrible and where segregation of the vicious from those who are simply unfortunate is made impossible.

Our State hospitals for the insane are likewise embarrassed by lack of accommodations. At present New York is caring for more than thirty thousand insane charges in quarters that were never meant for more than two-thirds of that number.

This year, through the coöperation of various State officers, we were able to institute a plan whereby the accommodations in the State hospitals will be increased with money already available. This plan, in brief, is to remodel hospitals already in existence, and to provide additional accommodations by the simple and logical expedient of cutting away sloping roofs and adding new stories.

The architects who have had this matter in hand estimate that these alterations can be made easily and cheaply and will save the State the expenditure of at least \$7,000,000 for new buildings.

The Commissioner of Efficiency and Economy, the State Architect, the Comptroller, the Hospital Commissioners and myself determined that it was practical and feasible to provide additional accommodations by altering institutions already in existence.

Several of the most crowded institutions had funds available "for increased accommodations."

We determined to do away with expensive high-peaked roofs and substitute flat roofs. This will give plenty of space for wards and day rooms where there are now empty floors. Many of the State hospitals were built at a time when present day needs were not foreseen. Nearly all of them have useless attics. Some of them are only one story high, and besides representing wasted space, the old-fashioned attics are filled with wooden trusses and other inflammable material.

A plan has been worked out in detail for the three hospitals most in need of relief from over-crowding, Manhattan State Hospital, Kings Park State Hospital and Central Islip State Hospital.

At the Manhattan State Hospital there is \$365,000 now available for increased accommodations. The hospital authorities were planning to erect two buildings with this sum to accommodate 350 patients. By taking this money to alter buildings already in existence we can provide accommodations for 500 patients and in addition install and equip a new power plant.

Kings Park State Hospital has \$90,000 available and \$80,000 of this had been set aside for a new building to care for 115 patients. By using this money for

altering old buildings instead of building a new one, we can provide room for 500 beds instead of for 150. Instead of spending \$700 per bed as under the original plan, we will spend under the new plan only \$150. In every case we can increase the accommodations of our State hospitals cheaply and quickly. In some cases we can practically double the capacity of our buildings, and best of all we do not need to wait for the Legislature to act.

While in some respects I believe that the location of a State Hospital at Mohansic was a mistake, I vetoed the bill which would have torn down Mohansic and erected a new hospital in its stead. We have had experience of the time it takes to find a site for new institutions and of the delays attendant upon construction. A new hospital could certainly not be completed in less than four years, if our past experience is any guide, and it seemed to me that it would be better to retain the present Mohansic Hospital and to complete it as expeditiously as possible than to waste money already expended and delay the day when more room can be provided for the patients already in our hospitals.

But with Mohansic completed and filled to capacity, with the contemplated additions made to every State hospital now in existence, New York will still be conspicuously backward in provision for its insane charges. Just as we need new and better prisons, so we need new and better hospitals.

Although, as I say, New York has not yet provided sufficient accommodations for the insane, it has at least attempted to provide institutional care that would be proportionate to the number of the insane.

There is another class of unfortunates, however, equally, if not more menacing to the health and safety

of the State, and no serious effort has as yet been made to provide institutions where they may be segregated and cared for. I refer to the class known as mental defectives.

In recent years public attention has been forcibly turned to the problem presented by the mentally deficient. The State is awaking to the fact that the ranks of the immoral and the criminal are largely recruited from those with dwarfed and stunted intelligences.

The imbecile lend themselves to exploitation by the vicious more readily than the insane. Insanity may be detected by the ordinary observer and the insane person may be placed in safekeeping where he can do no harm to himself or to others, but the mental defective, being more nearly normal, escapes observation until he has run foul of the law or has clearly demonstrated in some other way that he is unfit to be at large.

Crime, disease and immorality are the price that society pays for its failure to meet the problem of the feeble-minded. The fire-bug, the gunman, the woman of the streets, are in many cases mental defectives according to those who have had the courage and the public spirit to grapple with this problem.

Without a system which would insure the detection and segregation of mental defectives and institutions where they could be cared for, New York has permitted these unfortunates to roam the State bringing disease and crime into every community that they touch and transmitting their sub-normal tendencies to their progeny. Normal homes have been contaminated by mentally defective servants; intelligent criminals have perpetrated their crimes through these helpless tools.

New York is now taking steps to meet the problem presented by its feeble-minded. This year the Legislature passed, and I signed, a bill providing for a com-

mission to investigate this problem and report upon the best means of meeting it. I have appointed this commission and it is now endeavoring to ascertain the actual number of the feeble-minded, the nature of present facilities for care and training, and how these facilities may best be improved and extended.

When the commission reports our information will be more accurate than at present, but those who are best informed on the matter have told me that there are at least 30,000 mental defectives in the State of New York, and at present the State has accommodations in its asylums for less than 3,000.

If we are to grapple with the problem of mental deficiency we must provide institutions to which the proper authorities may send the feeble-minded, where they may be segregated, cared for and trained. At large the mental defective is a burden upon his family and friends, and a menace to himself and to society. Properly cared for the mental defective may be removed from temptation and made useful and happy. But to provide proper care New York must plan and build a chain of new asylums with all needed equipment and facilities.

Just as the State needs new and better prisons, just as it needs new and better hospitals so it needs new and better asylums for the feeble-minded.

At the present moment there is urgent need for greater accommodations. Think what the urgency and the need will be ten years from today.

During the past ten years the number of persons in the State's penal institutions has increased from 4,708 to 6,302. The number of dependents in the institutions reporting to the Fiscal Supervisor's office such as the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford; the Custodial Asylum at Rome; the Colony for Epileptics at

Sonyea; has increased from 8,137 to 10,677. The number of the insane in the State hospitals has increased from 25,019 in 1904 to 33,357 in 1914.

In other words during the past ten years there has been an increase of 32 per cent. in the number of those for whom the State must find room in its institutions.

There is no way to judge the future but by the past. If the number of the State's charges has increased one-third in the past ten years we may expect the present number to increase one-third in the next ten years.

There were 37,000 people in State institutions in 1904. There were more than 50,000 on October 1, 1914. Ten years from now with a corresponding rise in population we may expect more than 65,000.

As I have said, to accommodate those who are at present under the State's care the accommodations of every institution are taxed to the utmost. If the State of New York fails to awaken to its responsibilities,—if it fails to begin at once upon a broad scheme of institutional extension, what will it do with the 65,000 people demanding institutional care in 1924?

In the light of the facts I have pointed out, no man may deny that it is the duty of the State to begin the construction of many new institutions. The next question, therefore, is the manner in which the funds for the construction of these institutions should be raised by the taxpayers of the State.

At present the indirect revenues of New York barely pay for the current expenses of government. The cost of adequate institutions will be so large that it would be an imposition upon the taxpayers to attempt to pay for these new institutions out of current funds. This procedure would involve the imposition of a direct tax out of all proportion to the responsibilities of the individual citizen.

When these institutions are built they will be built not for a year or for two years, but for fifty or a hundred years. They represent permanent public improvements which will benefit the taxpayers of tomorrow as much as they benefit the taxpayers of today. The duty of providing accommodations for the State's helpless charges is the duty of the next as well as the present generation. There is but one equitable and logical method of providing money for these new institutions and that is through a bond issue which will be paid for, not this year or next year, but during the next fifty years, so that the burden may be justly and equally distributed.

With a bond issue of \$25,000,000 the State could establish a system of State institutions, each institution planned and arranged with relation to every other. Instead of haphazard, unscientific and wasteful appropriations for temporary improvements the State could make one appropriation for each institution which would consider and provide for every contingency.

Instead of putting in a lighting system one year to tear it out the next, instead of erecting a State hospital, for instance, to discard it after it is half completed, New York could build its necessary institutions scientifically and not by guess-work,—in the light of accurate knowledge rather than in the dark of conjecture and surmise.

When I first made public my proposal to meet institutional needs with a bond issue, those who favor temporary and costly expedients over permanent and effective improvements raised the cry of "Constitutionality." They declared that the Constitution required all bond issues to be for "specific purposes" and insisted that a bond issue for scattered institutions did not conform to the constitutional provision.

I maintained that the erection of a definite number of institutions at a definite and fixed cost constituted a "specific purpose" within the meaning of the Constitution and in this contention I was upheld by no less a jurist than Joseph H. Choate.

This plan of constructing new institutions by bond issue was the plan I submitted to the Legislature at its extraordinary session. In that message I said:

"I respectfully suggest to the Legislature that it consider ways and means for further construction and equipment in the State's humanitarian institutions. The piece-meal attempts of recent years to provide for institutional needs have been both wasteful and inefficient.

"To carry to its logical conclusion any comprehensive plan for the development of these institutions will require from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

"The contributions which the highway statutes and the canal law exact from the general treasury make it impossible for the State treasury to contribute this immense sum at the present time without a burdensome direct tax. Even if it could meet this obligation with facility, the policy would be an imposition upon the present generation. The present should not alone bear all the expenses of improvements which the future will mainly enjoy. Permanent additions to the State's humanitarian facilities should be paid for by bond issues and not by the raids upon the current revenues.

"I respectfully suggest the consideration of a referendum to the people upon the specific question of the authorization of a large expenditure for the construction and equipment of State humanitarian institutions, and the creation of a commission composed of the Trustees of Public Buildings, the State Commissioner of Education, the President of the State Board of

Charities, the Chairman of the State Hospital Commission, the Superintendent of Prisons, and such other persons as the Legislature may deem desirable, for the general supervision of this work."

Unfortunately the Legislature did not see fit to act upon this suggestion and the first step has yet to be taken in this great and very necessary work. But I feel that it is only a matter of time when the logic of the situation must appeal with irresistible force to those who are responsible to the people for the further extension of the State's institutional system.

In no uncertain terms the people of New York have declared that they hold themselves responsible for the care of those who are unable and unfit to care for themselves. No State in the union is more generous in its expenditures for humane and charitable objects than this great State of ours. No people are more ready than the people of this State to meet the responsibilities which civilization imposes upon an enlightened commonwealth. And tonight I call upon my fellow citizens for their support and their assistance in carrying through a plan for institutional reform which will be scientific as well as humane, effective as well as generous, and just to the taxpayer as well as charitable to the dependent.

THE NEED OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the State Committee
in the Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y., March 21,
1914**

The Democratic State platform of 1912 promised the calling of a Constitutional Convention "without delay."

The Progressive State platform pledged itself to the convening of a State Constitutional Convention "at the earliest possible time."

The Republican State platform declared in favor of the determination of the question, as to whether or not there should be a Constitutional Convention, at the election last fall.

"Without delay" is now. "The earliest possible time" is now: and now is the earliest possible time to redeem a pledge promised for redemption last fall.

We propose to give all three parties a chance to make good their party pledges on April 7th next, and if all three parties are true to their platform promises the constitutional referendum will be unanimously carried.

It is the duty of the Democratic State committee to see that, so far as the Democratic party is concerned, its pledge is redeemed.

Partisanship has no proper place where the Constitution of a sovereign State is concerned. The importance and the far-reaching effects of any changes in the fundamental law of the State should prohibit any motive but the public good from having weight in their consideration. The only interest that the Democratic party, as a party, can have in the question of a Constitutional Convention, is to see that its platform promise is observed and that the best qualified men in the party are recommended to the voters of the State as delegates to the convention.

In our present Constitution provision is made for the calling of a Constitutional Convention in 1916, and every twenty years thereafter. There is a further provision that a Constitutional Convention may be held at any time that the Legislature and the people may decide. The Legislature has already voted to

submit the question of holding a Constitutional Convention to the people on April 7th. It is now the duty of leaders in public thought to air the entire question thoroughly so that the voters may pass upon the matter with full knowledge and discretion.

If on April 7th the people of the State vote to hold a Constitutional Convention, delegates to this convention will be elected next November and the convention will convene in April, 1915. If the question of holding a Constitutional Convention is postponed until 1915 the delegates will be chosen in 1916 and the Constitutional Convention held in 1917. If the vote is delayed until 1916 delegates will be elected in November, 1917, and the convention will not be held until April, 1918.

It is my belief that the best interests of the State require certain changes in its organic law, and that these changes can be most soberly and effectively considered by a Constitutional Convention meeting next year.

Some people are apparently of the mistaken idea that a Constitutional Convention means two conventions, one next year and another in 1918. This, of course, is not so. If a convention is held next year it will make provision for the holding of its successor. The real question, therefore, is: "Shall we have a Constitutional Convention in 1915 or in 1918?"

Nineteen hundred and fifteen will be an off-year in politics. The year 1918 will be a year in which the State will be agitated over a gubernatorial election. I believe that the people of the State should vote upon the recommendations of a Constitutional Convention in an off-year, and not at a time when they are occupied with a partisan struggle.

In naming 1916 as the year in which the question of calling the convention should be submitted to the people, the framers of the present Constitution evidently overlooked the fact that it precipitated the question in a presidential year.

The question of changing the organic law of the State is too important to be confused with the issues of a national campaign. Partisan advantage, political ideas from outside the State, national personalities and national problems are all to the front in a presidential year.

It would, therefore, be unwise to pass upon constitutional questions at such a time. It would be unwise to pass upon the holding of a Constitutional Convention. It would be more unwise to vote upon the holding of the convention in 1915 and to elect delegates to that convention in 1916. The further apart we keep the presidential election and the Constitutional Convention the better it will be for the State.

I cannot understand the attitude of those who would postpone the Constitutional Convention until after 1916 on the ground of its attendant expense.

The only possible difference in cost would be the difference between the cost of the election on April 7th and the cost of considering the question at the general election in 1916. This expenditure has already been passed upon by the Legislature which called for this April election.

As I indicated in a message to the Legislature last January, at present the taxpayers of the State are losing millions of dollars each year because of the absurd provisions in the present Constitution relating to contributions to the sinking fund. A Constitutional Convention could readily change this situation and

save the taxpayers of the State in one year as much as the cost of ten Constitutional Conventions.

Furthermore, a Constitutional Convention will cost as much in 1918 as in 1915. The cost of such a Constitutional Convention may be postponed, but it cannot be escaped.

The question properly arises whether there are sound reasons for holding any Constitutional Convention, either in 1915 or in 1918. This query may be answered by a brief survey of the political and social questions which are agitating the public mind, and which can only be settled by possible changes in the State's Constitution.

Constant suggestion has been made by each succeeding Legislature since 1895, including the Legislature now in session, for changes and enlargements of the structure of our Constitution. Since 1895 over 600 bills have been introduced in the Legislature seeking to amend the State Constitution.

The fact that at nearly every election we have from two to six constitutional amendments submitted to the voters is proof that the citizens of the State are chafing under the restraints of a Constitution adopted twenty years ago.

The fact that only a trifle more than a majority of the people during the past few years have voted upon any of these amendments, and that every amendment carried or defeated was carried or defeated by a minority vote, proves that at a general election the people are not sufficiently aroused to the importance of these constitutional questions to have them submitted and considered at such time. Our Constitution has been amended in some very important particulars in recent years by a minority vote of the people cast at a time when the question was not thoroughly dis-

cussed by them, and when the popular mind was not sufficiently educated to properly determine changes in the organic law. In the fall election of 1912 four propositions amending the Constitution were submitted to the people. In favor of the first proposition there were 424,928 votes cast, and 270,000 votes cast against it. This proposition was carried, although only a quarter of the voters of the State voted for it. On proposition No. 2 there were 510,914 votes for, and 194,497 against. This proposition was carried by less than a third of the qualified voters of the State. In respect to propositions Nos. 3 and 4 there was evidenced the same want of interest on behalf of the people. Each proposition was carried by a minority vote. Upon each of these propositions the void and blank ballots nearly equaled the vote cast for the proposition. This latter fact is an argument against voting on the question as to whether or not there shall be a Constitutional Convention at the time of the general election. Were the vote simply upon that question alone, there would not be this quantity of void and blank ballots, in all probability.

The advance in social consciousness in twenty years has been enormous. We have a sense of human values in our industries and in all our social relations which did not exist twenty years ago, unless it were in germ. During this score of years it has grown to maturity and is one of the greatest forces in our civic life. Our great State should not be shackled against its will by requirements that were drawn before this great movement had taken shape.

We require a Constitution which will give guarantees of all that is recognized today the world over as civilized government—the protection of life, limb and property, not only from those injuries which oppressed

our ancestors in the colonies, but also the things from which experience has taught us our later day civilization suffers. By these I mean the problems that have been thrust upon us by our industrial conditions as revolutionized by modern methods, by our tremendous and diversified immigration and its proper absorption, the consolidation of our courts, the reduction of the right of appeal as has been done with such success in England, the simplification of legal procedure which now makes justice a luxury only to be indulged in by the opulent.

The act of the Legislature in calling for the submission of the question of convention or no convention, to the people in 1914, is only carrying out the principle of government recognized as necessary by the Constitutions of all States. For example, the following States provide practically that the question of Constitutional Convention shall be submitted to the people whenever two-thirds of the members of both houses of the Legislature shall deem it advisable, namely, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. The following States require only a majority vote of the Legislature to call for a decision by the people, namely, Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia and Wisconsin, while Maine, by act of the Legislature, may call the convention without submission of the question to the people. Maryland and Virginia provide for the submission every twentieth year, Michigan every sixteenth year, Iowa every tenth year, New Hampshire every seventh year.

The Constitution is the declared form of government adopted by the people, and they alone have the right to amend. Every State has recognized the fact

that such necessity for amendment arises within twenty years. Many States have deemed it advisable to set no limitation, but to submit the question for determination whenever the representatives of the people see the necessity therefor; and some States have provided for the submission to the people every sixteen years, or ten years, or even so short a period as every seven years. The people only pass on the question as to whether a convention shall be called to alter or amend the Constitution, and surely the people are entitled to pass upon this question within reasonable periods. Every State has practically recognized a period of limitation extending beyond twenty years as unreasonable and has placed the duty upon the various Legislatures of securing a vote of the people within shorter periods.

These principles are as old as government.

DeTocqueville says: "The people reign in American politics just as the Deity itself in the Universe. They are the cause and the aim of all things—everything comes from them and everything is absorbed in them." George Washington says: "The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of government." Benjamin Harrison says: "The broad foundation upon which our Constitution rests being the people, a breath of theirs having made, a breath can unmake, change or modify it." Woodrow Wilson says: "The Constitution cannot be regarded as a mere legal document. It must of necessity be a vehicle of life. As the life of the Nation changes, so must the interpretation of the document which contains it change by a nice adjustment determined not by the original intention of those who drew the papers, but by the exigencies and the new aspects of life itself."

The world has moved since New York's present Constitution was adopted. It is a tribute to our social and economic progress that we realize the need for change.

The spirit of 1914 is not the spirit of 1894.

When article 1 of the Constitution was adopted no one dreamed of the lengths to which the grand jury's power to indict might be carried. Since 1894 public opinion has undergone a marked change on the features of our bill of rights and 1914 demands that it be considered in keeping with the spirit of the times.

When article 2 was drawn woman suffrage was a theory, not a fact.

When article 3 was written the legislative abuses which have crept into our system of government were not foreseen.

When articles 4 and 5 were drafted New York would have looked upon the short ballot with distrust.

The hopes and intentions that inspired article 6 are alive today, but article 6 does not meet them. Our legal procedure is still uselessly knotted and complicated. Our judges are still overwhelmed with work. Article 6 regulates the organization and jurisdiction of our courts, and while much thought was given by the last convention to the framing of this article, every practicing lawyer knows that the experience thereunder has been such as to render further revision essential. Much is still to be done with reference to the powers of the Appellate Division as an intermediate court of review, and a permanent numerical membership of the Court of Appeals should be determined.

The State Bar Association has prepared and submitted to the Legislature a comprehensive plan for reform of our surrogates' courts and procedure, but I

have already received many protests from distinguished members of the bar who assert that true reform in this direction can only be initiated by a constitutional amendment.

When article 7 was adopted its framers placed in it one brief but comprehensive paragraph on the forest preserve. Today the conservation of natural resources is the most inspiring problem of government. This article also contains provisions relative to the canals and highways, but these provisions were framed before even the Barge Canal or our State highway development were seriously contemplated.

When article 8 was adopted corporations were just beginning to influence the management of our industries. Today our industries are just beginning to influence the management of our corporations.

When article 9 was written our present State educational system was in its infancy. Twenty years' growth asks for constitutional garments twenty spans broader than those placed upon our educational system in its infancy.

When articles 10 and 12 were adopted the local interests of our cities did not rival those of the State itself.

When article 11 was framed the National Guard and Naval Militia were not a part of the nation's martial forces.

And when article 13 was adopted to prevent bribery at election and malfeasance in office many practices were silently endured, which are no longer tolerated.

Let us consider for a moment the constitutional questions which the proposed convention would be asked to pass upon. They represent the change in public thought from 1894 to 1914.

Every man who has observed at close range the

workings of the State government knows that there is in it a needless duplication of offices and a useless over-lapping of effort.

As the State government is now organized there is a lack of system; there is a failure to grasp opportunities; there is a lack of coöperation which would not be tolerated for an instant in any private enterprise. In many instances several departments do the work which should properly belong to one of them. Instead of purchasing supplies for the entire State at wholesale, the State now purchases it practically at retail. Instead of accomplishing its results directly and rapidly, the State's activities are bound up with red tape, which in many cases is not a protection to the State, and in every case is annoying and cumbersome to all concerned.

Part of this may be remedied without constitutional changes, but there should also be a revision from the ground up, which can only be accomplished through constitutional amendments.

The Barge Canal nearing completion makes necessary a constitutional provision about the sale of canal lands. Certain canal lands will be useless after the Barge Canal is in operation and provision should be made for disposing of such land and for the use of the funds secured therefrom.

After spending approximately \$200,000,000 for canals and \$100,000,000 for highways, the State should throw about these great public improvements constitutional protections which will insure that they are maintained and perpetuated as befits their importance.

The provisions of the Constitution respecting the issue of bonds and the manner of their payment have led to confusion in our financial system. We have striking evidence of this in the present condition of our sinking fund.

There is a great surplus in the sinking fund which is of no advantage to the State. On the contrary it represents a serious drain upon the taxpayers of the present generation for the benefit of future generations. The fact that there is a surplus in the sinking fund shows that the sinking fund is not fairly distributing its burden. It means that the men of today are paying more than their fair share of the cost of public improvements.

In one part of the sinking fund, for instance, to meet a principal of \$21,000,000 we have piled up in eight years over \$16,000,000, and the bonds still have forty-two years to run. The taxpayers of the present have raised over \$16,000,000 and have left only \$4,500,000 for the taxpayers of the next forty-two years to provide. During 1906, 1907 and 1908 we made contributions to the sinking fund for \$78,000,000 worth of bonds which were not issued.

To prevent the recurrence of such preposterous conditions and to distribute the burden of taxation more equitably, the Constitutional Convention should be asked to revise the financial system of the State.

A sample of the waste that is committed under the existing constitutional provisions is found in chapter 363 of the Laws of 1910, relative to the issuing of bonds for the Palisades Interstate Park. The bond issue was \$2,500,000 and the bonds were made payable not in installments within fifty years, but it was directed that they "shall be issued for a term of fifty years from their date of issue." They are 4 per cent bonds, so that by the time the bonds become due there will have been extracted from the people, in the form of taxation, \$5,000,000 of interest to be added to the \$2,500,000 of principal. It should be impossible to create such a situation under any constitutional provision.

In connection with the State finances there is another serious problem which deserves prompt and thorough consideration. New York has reached the point where its indirect revenues just about meet the current expenses of government. All money for new buildings and public improvements in the future must be raised by direct taxation. In other words, if we are to give to our charitable and other institutions that earnest and enlightened support to which they are entitled, if we would make the improvements in our institutions which their necessities demand, if we would give to the unfortunate charges of the State that kindly and generous care their affliction deserves, we must devise some way to meet the expenses for permanent improvements by judicious bond issues. The State is already overburdened with taxes. It would be a hardship to ask New York's taxpayers to raise the money in two or three years for improvements that are intended to last perhaps for fifty. This very important matter can best be considered and intelligently determined by a Constitutional Convention.

The revision of the Constitution is also desired from the standpoint of those engaged in agriculture. The cultivation of the soil as a means of livelihood of a large portion of our population antedates every written Constitution, and the science of agriculture is now fundamentally a part of the body politic, touching and affecting the lives and welfare of every citizen.

Heretofore there may have been no necessity for constitutional enactment safeguarding agricultural education or agricultural production. But at the present time great movements are under way affecting the production and marketing of agricultural products which are of the most vital interest to every citizen

of the State, whether a producer or consumer of the products of our farms. It is of the utmost importance that this great movement should be safeguarded by constitutional provision in such a manner that it may never become the football of politics or dependent upon the caprice of Legislatures.

The establishment of an adequate system of marketing farm products, by which the products of our farms may reach the individual consumer in the shortest possible time and with the least possible expense; the establishment of adequate means by which the business of farming may be economically financed, and the numerous questions involved in the production and marketing of agricultural products, which affect the health, happiness and prosperity of all our people, may well be the subject of careful consideration by a convention to revise the fundamental law of the State.

When the present Constitution was adopted "Conservation of Natural Resources," as we now understand the term, was practically unknown. In creating the safeguards that the present Constitution throws about the State's forests, there was no thought of the legitimate use of the State's great preserve which is now sought on every hand. The citizens of the State are now ready to make an intelligent use of their natural resources, but under their Constitution they cannot do so.

Timber which might be turned into a source of great profit is allowed to rot and burn because the Constitution prohibits its removal. The water power in the Adirondack Preserve must remain untouched and unused until present constitutional restrictions are amended. Those who seek recreation and health on the State's lands find themselves cut off from the advantages that they should properly enjoy by unnecessary prohibition in the State Constitution.

A Constitutional Convention could devise a way to change these conditions without lessening the protection which the Constitution gives to the Adirondack and Catskill Parks.

The question of a proper system of roads will apparently not be solved until a Constitutional Convention establishes certain definite routes and makes them the official State routes of the State. There has been a constant juggling of the road map of New York State ever since the good roads movement was started, and as long as Legislatures or boards of supervisors are constantly permitted to shift, change, and add to the system conditions will never be improved. If my recommendations for a legislative investigation of the road situation are carried out, this commission will be enabled to report to the next Constitutional Convention suggestions concerning State routes which can be permanently incorporated into the fundamental law of the State.

In the past eleven years there have been nine different heads of the Highway Department, which has resulted in a constant change in organization and in not following up a system over a period of years. The question as to whether or not the Highway Commissioner should be a constitutional officer is one that deserves careful consideration. If his term of office were fixed in the Constitution and his powers prescribed, it would eliminate the practice of changing the commission whenever there is a change of administration.

The question of equal suffrage for men and women has reached a point where it deserves a sincere and thoughtful determination in New York. Various States in the Union have adopted equal suffrage. There has been a demand for it in this State. Woman

suffrage has won to an open day in court. Any question that receives thirty-four out of sixty-nine votes in the United States Senate for a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution is entitled to serious and early consideration in a Constitutional Convention of this State.

We have recently enacted a law providing what is known as the "Massachusetts Ballot" whereby a voter is required to vote separately for each office for which candidates are nominated. Many citizens are convinced that the efficacy of this law and the efficiency of government may be increased by limiting the number of elective officers and giving the Governor power to appoint officials whose offices are now elective. This can only be accomplished through a change in the Constitution.

Restrictions in the Constitution have prevented the Legislature from delegating powers of legislation to cities, which powers the cities earnestly desire to have and which the Legislature earnestly desires to grant. Local autonomy has been repeatedly sought by various cities and each time blocked by constitutional provisions. The precise extent to which home rule should be granted to New York's cities can be definitely determined in a Constitutional Convention. Municipalities should be given absolute guarantees of self-government. The time has long since gone by when great cities like New York, Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester and Albany should be regarded as incapable of conducting their own affairs without constant interference and obstruction. We have outgrown the idea that great cities of our State are to be treated as conquered provinces by the political party in temporary control of the Legislature. Over 1,000 special bills are presented to the Legislature each year tinkering with the charters

of cities. This vast volume of proposed municipal legislation not only greatly interferes with the general legislative business of the State, but it shows the imperative necessity of giving larger powers to the cities in dealing with their own affairs. No proper home rule measures can be passed by the Legislature until there is a constitutional amendment authorizing the removal of present restrictions.

Under the present apportionment a gross injustice is being worked in many communities in this State. For instance, Schuyler county, with a population in 1910 of 14,004, has the same representation in the Assembly as Schenectady county, with a population of 88,000.

The 78,809 residents of Broome county have no more voice in the Assembly than the 14,665 residents of Putnam county. Yates, with a population of 18,642, has the same representation as the 23d Assembly District of Kings county, with a population of 156,652. Schoharie, with a population of 23,855, has the same representation as the 32d Assembly District of Bronx county, with a population of 131,248. These disapporportionments apply with equal force to the Senate districts of the State. Is this popular rule? Are we giving to all the people of the State equal voice in our legislative halls? These are most serious questions for the consideration of a Constitutional Convention.

These examples could be multiplied in nearly every county in the State. Their ultimate effect is to deprive many of our citizens of their legitimate influence in State affairs. This injustice could be remedied through a Constitutional Convention.

Much dissatisfaction exists today with our judicial procedure, with the law's delays, the triumph of

technicalities over justice, the multiplicity of and opportunity for appeals. Justice delayed is justice denied. Some way must be found to simplify both the Civil and Criminal Code in order that property rights may be speedily enforced and defended, and that those charged with crime may have their guilt or innocence established without delay. What commissions have failed to accomplish a Constitutional Convention can effect. Our courts no less than our citizens will welcome constitutional changes that will make the wheels of justice revolve more speedily.

A change in the geographical territory now covered by the different Appellate Divisions may be found to be necessary because of the disproportion in the work that now comes to each. Some of the departments are crowded beyond their capacity, a fact that does not exist in respect to others; and a realignment of the territory covered by each might furnish at least a partial remedy for this situation.

If law is dear we should make it cheap, and make it equally the heritage of the rich and poor. Instead of being a sealed book it should be a living letter. Instead of a two-edged sword of craft and oppression, it should be the shield of innocence and the staff of truth.

That abuses have crept into the civil service system is admitted on every hand. That these abuses should be remedied and that the original purposes of the Civil Service Law should be more strictly observed, is a matter beyond contradiction. This question deserves the intelligent and conscientious attention of a Constitutional Convention.

As Executive of this State in whom is lodged the power of pardon, I have become convinced that this power more properly belongs to a body which is not

distracted by the numerous problems which press upon a Governor. I believe that this view is shared by the majority of the citizens of this State and the question of creating a pardon board, organized in the manner of the present parole board, should be submitted to a Constitutional Convention.

Other constitutional questions than those I have mentioned may suggest themselves to the citizens of the State. Certainly the importance of those I have touched on amply justify the calling of a Constitutional Convention.

New York has changed since 1894. New York will change again in the next generation. And it is no more just that the men and women of tomorrow should be governed by our ideas and our conception of their future difficulties and ambitions than that we should allow ourselves to be needlessly hampered by the precepts of yesterday.

Our Constitution itself offers us a relief from constitutional hardships. We can amend it by submitting separate propositions to the people at each election. But how much wiser it is to plan for new conditions, to accommodate ourselves to a new environment in a Constitutional Convention, than to take chances in the hurly-burly of casual elections. If, as we believe, the times are changed, and old suns rise with newer fires, we can view the approach of a Constitutional Convention with satisfaction and hope.

If there are wrongs to be righted we can right them better today than tomorrow. If there are heights to be achieved the quicker we plan to climb the sooner we will scale the mountain top.

Let us have a Constitutional Convention next year instead of waiting four years to plan for future progress. Let us approach this question with sober judg-

ment and with full knowledge. Let us be careful how we tread upon the precincts of our fundamental law, but let us remember that no Constitution has a dignity which transcends the sanctity of human progress.

COOPERATION AND THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

Speech Delivered at the Conference of Cooperative Farm Societies in Utica, July 22, 1914

I am here tonight because I believe in coöperation, and especially because I believe in the particular form of coöperation which is the object of this conference.

If I were a producing farmer, I would be here to discuss the best means of distributing the produce of my farm. If I were a private citizen, anxious to find an economic answer to the rapidly mounting cost of living, I would be here to assist in devising an effective method of purchasing the necessities of life with the least possible outlay. In either case, I should have my shoulder to the wheel, ready to prove, by deed as well as by word, that I believe in the principles of coöperation.

As a public officer, responsible on the one hand to the producer and on the other to the consumer, sworn to promote the best interests of both, I have a two-fold concern for the success of this conference. And whatever influence I may possess by virtue of my position, I am here to exert on behalf of the practical coöperation which you are planning.

The forces which have brought you together are not confined to this State or to this Nation. In every quarter of the world men are striving to achieve the ends at which you aim. German farmers are borrowing money through coöperative banks to purchase seed

from coöperative societies for crops which are marketed through coöperative channels. In Ireland, the pioneer in coöperative agriculture, the Irish farmer is making coöperative farming pay. In England a coöperative society with 2,000,000 members, is doing a yearly business of nearly \$176,000,000, with a profit to its members of over \$5,000,000 a year. And Japan can point to coöperative silk stores more than two centuries old.

True, the history of coöperation is marked with wrecks of coöperative enterprises. The failures along the road indicate the difficulty which must be met and surmounted by each new venture. But the fact that the principle of coöperation has survived a thousand disasters is sufficient proof that it contains a promise which will in time bear abundant fruit. For with Tennyson

I hold it truth, with him who sings
To one clear harp in divers tones
That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things

For centuries brave men offered up their fortunes and their lives in vain attempts to construct machines that would fly. Today we dare to cross the ocean in an aeroplane with every assurance of success. And though particular coöperative ventures may fail, the time must come when others will succeed, because the principle which underlies the coöperative movement is sound, its necessity is paramount and its desirability undeniable.

The argument against coöperation is never against coöperation as an ideal but simply against it as a practical method of social reform. And the practical argument against it may be summed up in the statement that the average man is not ready for the duties and responsibilities of coöperation.

Even if this were true, the only way to make the average man ready for coöperation would be to encourage him to attempt it. But I believe that the average farmer of New York is ready for coöperation and that the time is at hand to put into successful practice the coöperative ideas which have been maturing for nearly a century.

During the past year I have been powerfully reminded that the farmers of New York are alive to the necessity of some radical change in the methods of distributing and selling farm produce. Farmers in every quarter of the State have informed me that the number of abandoned farms will be increased unless, in some way, the farmer is enabled to secure a better return for his labors. The fact that for every dollar the consumer pays for farm produce the man who raises it receives but thirty-five cents indicates that there is something radically wrong in our present methods of distribution. And it is significant that in this conference there are representatives of coöperative consumers, as well as of coöperative producers. The need and the demand for change is evident, in this place, from two sides of the economic triangle.

Legislation can do something to assist in the change to better things, but all it can do is to assist. The real progress must come from those who will win or lose by their own activities. No assistance can match independent effort; there is no help like self-help.

During the past year the State has done its share in assisting the farmer. Among other things it has created a Department of Foods and Markets, which will supervise all places where farm produce is sold, which will provide licensed and responsible auctioneers, which will regulate the grading, handling and storage of all food stuffs, and which will publish a daily bulletin to keep the farmer posted on the current

prices and the markets of best demand. Furthermore this department is especially empowered "to assist in the organization of coöperative societies among producers and consumers."

In addition to the establishment of this department the State has taken steps to provide the farmer with a credit system suited to his needs. It has made provision for a Land Bank organized on the coöperative basis of the saving and loan association, which can make long time loans to the farmers of New York. The mortgages on the farms of New York amount to approximately \$100,000,000. This Land Bank would save the farmers of New York \$24,000,000 if present mortgages were converted into ten-year amortization loans and \$82,000,000 if converted into fifty-year amortization loans.

By amortization loans I mean that system of loans now used in Europe, under which the European farmer pays a small sum each year on the principal in addition to his interest and by continuing these small payments for periods ranging from ten to fifty years, is able to pay off the principal of his loan with little difficulty. Instead of having a large indebtedness to meet at the maturity of his loan and running the risk of foreclosure through hard times or failure of crops, he pays in installments and has no greater burden to bear at the end than at the beginning of his loan.

For instance under our present system the American farmer pays \$600 interest for a ten-year loan of \$1,000 at 6 per cent and the principal at the end of the term, or \$1,600 in all. If he borrowed on the amortization plan he would pay \$135.86 each year on his thousand dollar loan. During the ten years he would pay only \$1,358.68 or \$241.32 less than under our present system, yet his debt would be completely paid. For a

thousand dollar loan at 6 per cent for fifty years on the amortization plan, the farmer would pay \$63.44 annually, or only \$3.44 over the interest. But this small additional sum is enough to wipe out the principal.

A long time loan on this basis gives the advantage of compound interest to the debtor instead of the creditor. It enables the borrower to pay his principal on the installment plan, so that the burden is scarcely felt. It is a forced system of saving which, drop by drop, will wear away the disheartening rock of the farmer's indebtedness. It makes the farmer the master instead of the slave of his mortgage.

This is the credit system which the Land Bank will give to the farmers of New York. Europe has had it for fifty years. Our Federal Government has talked of establishing it for ten years. But while Uncle Sam has talked, New York has acted, and New York is the first State in the Union to provide modern farming with modern credit facilities. Where New York has led I believe every other State must eventually follow.

Besides the Department of Foods and Markets and the Land Bank, New York has given definite and practical proof of its desire to secure for the farmer the benefits of coöperation. It has appropriated \$20,000 for the express purpose of organizing coöperative agricultural societies in every part of New York, and a corps of men are now going through the State to give practical and immediate assistance to the coöperative movement.

The State has done its part to make easy the farmer's progress toward coöperative independence. But it has merely opened the road; the farmer himself must walk it. You can't legislate a man prosperous any

more than you can legislate him happy. And the cornerstone of coöperation is the activity of the individual.

This Conference is a cheering indication of the individual activity demanded by coöperation. If the representative men of the State, the men who must form the nucleus of any active organization for economic betterment, are prepared to enter into a broad plan for coöperative progress, then coöperative results are assured.

You have a definite object to obtain; you must agree on a definite policy, and a definite division of energy. Your object is to bring the producing farmer and the distant consumer into closer touch. Your method is through the formation of coöperative societies of farmers on the one hand, and of coöperative societies of consumers on the other.

Pooling their efforts, the coöperative farmers will send their produce to a central shipping station under the control of the local association. Here their produce will be graded, packed and labeled. Arrangements will be made to supply first the demands of local consumers. The balance can then be shipped in car-load lots to the centers of best demand. One central station, equipped with cold storage facilities, can accommodate the surplus produce of several smaller stations. The various coöperative associations throughout the State can organize selling agencies in the larger cities, which will keep themselves advised on the condition of domestic and foreign markets, and be ready to direct all shipments to centers where the demand is strongest and where the best prices prevail.

In the past the farmer has been a manufacturer who has bought his raw material at retail and sold his finished product at wholesale. It is small wonder that he has found it hard to keep a balance on the credit side of his ledger. This method of doing business

would bankrupt the Steel Trust, pauperize John D. Rockefeller and start Andy Carnegie building a thatched cottage for himself among the hills of Scotland, instead of erecting marble libraries in the cultured centers of the world.

The coöperative plan will permit the farmer to purchase his feed and fertilizer in carload lots and sell his ripened produce at a price approximating what the consumer pays for it. In his turn the coöperative consumer will reach out to meet the coöperative farmer. Through coöperative stores the consumer will purchase his food-stuffs at wholesale prices and secure for himself whatever profit there may be in the retailing of this produce. Eventually, if the initial efforts are successful, the coöperative farming societies and the coöperative societies of consumers will deal directly one with the other, on a basis which experience may show to be most equitable to both.

There is nothing vague or chimerical in the program I have just outlined. There is not a single detail which is beyond the power of coöperation to effect. There can be no question of the benefits to be secured through this coöperation. All that is needed, and this is the foundation of the whole coöperative structure, is a wide-spread appreciation of the methods and objects of coöperation and a lion-hearted determination to overcome every difficulty in the path of coöperative success.

With this wide-spread and intelligent appreciation, most of the difficulties will vanish. The failures of coöperation have seldom been due to any other cause than indifference and defection on the part of the coöperators. Against every outside force coöperation can successfully battle. I recall an instance in Kansas where some fifty farmers established a coöperative

grain elevator. The Grain Trust tried to break it down by buying grain above the market price. The farmers sold to the trust but for every bushel they sold they paid a cent into the treasury of their coöperative venture, and the trust gave up the fight.

The dangers to coöperation come from within, not from without, and a coöperative movement is no weaker and no stronger than the intelligent determination of those engaged in it.

Coöperation is not intended to destroy the middleman. The service which the capable and efficient middleman renders to society cannot be wholly duplicated by any coöperative system. There will be competition between the private and the coöperative store but I believe it will be a healthy and not a destructive competition. When coöperation is an established fact, the slack ends of distribution will be taken up and the consumer and producer will share in the benefits of greater efficiency. But beyond securing the benefits of intelligent distribution and healthy competition the average consumer will continue his relations with the alert middleman who supplies his wants with graciousness, ease and dispatch.

I am told that this is the first conference ever held in the United States between coöperative producers and coöperative consumers. And this fact imposes a proud responsibility upon each man who has taken part in it.

You have placed yourselves in the vanguard of a mighty movement which is circling the world, gathering strength with each new dawn. Coöperation is in the air. We find it in the office of business and in the halls of legislation; we find it in the new gospel of social justice and the old epistle of human brotherhood.

Coöperation may be an echo of socialism but it is

not socialism any more than the roar of thunder is the flash of lightning. Coöperation finds hope and peace through a readjustment of things as they are; socialism sees no readjustment except through inverting the pyramid of civilization by standing it on its apex, there to let it wobble between the eddying currents of need and desire.

You have assumed the responsibility of assisting the people of New York to the realization of practical coöperation. I hope with all my heart that you will carry from this conference a practical conception of the difficulties that confront you and the rewards which wait upon intelligent success.

It is your duty to impress upon the members of your several societies that the only way to coöperate is to coöperate. Coöperation must walk upon its own legs. Its only salvation is independence. When it goes tangoing into politics, flirting with feminism, chumming with pietism, and winking at communism, destruction awaits it just around the corner. It is a business proposition pure and simple, not a tittle more, not a whit less. It cannot convert earth into heaven, Utica into Utopia or a St. Lawrence County farm into Fifth avenue. It waves no magic wand. It has no prestidigitator's art. It possesses not the alchemist's trick of turning stone into gold. But it does do what Benjamin Franklin said every man had to do to become a millionaire—it takes care of the pennies and through this care the dollars take care of themselves. Extravagance may be a virtue among the rich. It is a crime among the poor. Thrift is more lucrative than luck. Efficiency is the slogan of the hour, and efficiency means saving from waste. Not long ago the whole country was interested in saving the useless motions a mason makes in laying bricks. We have

passed a Workmen's Compensation Law to save a waste of limb and life and energy. And by coöperation we propose to save for the farmer the just return for his labors of which he is robbed by wasteful and extravagant methods of distribution.

Society suffers more from waste of money than from want of money. The sky is good, the earth is good; the only thing bad, the only thing foolish lies between earth and Heaven. Out of our economic conditions money is becoming part of character and ought never to be treated with levity. Coöperation means economy, and economy is the daughter of Prudence, the sister of Temperance, and the mother of Liberty. Self-love and social love are one and the same. The man who improves himself improves the world. Social advancement is the consequence of individual advancement; for in the words of the Bible, "if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." Life is short and we ought to make hay while the sun shines. Those who fail to do so should read Addison's "Vision of Mirzah" and get busy. People who cry for help in life's battle can generally find it within themselves if they look hard enough. Those who need coöperation, and fail to coöperate, are as fantastic as the author Savage who decked himself out in a scarlet coat trimmed with gold lace while his naked toes stuck out of his shoes, and as whimsical as the poet Spenser who died from the lack of bread while refusing twenty shillings from a friend because he had no time to spend them.

There is nothing new or untried in the broad principle of coöperation. In the last analysis coöperation is only another name for civilization. As John Stuart Mill has said "Almost all the advantages which man

possesses above the inferior animals, arise from his power of acting in combination with his fellows, and of accomplishing by the united efforts of numbers what could not be accomplished by the detached efforts of individuals." From the dawn of history men have coöperated to secure the benefits of safety, progress and justice and have called that coöperation Government. They have united to produce the manifold necessities and luxuries of life and have called that coöperation Industry. They have talked together of the eternal mysteries, they have gathered together to worship the Supreme Being, and their name for this sacred coöperation is Religion. The greatest and most lasting undertakings of the human family have come in accordance with the Biblical injunctions "Bear ye one another's burdens;" "Ye are members one of another."

What has been accomplished through coöperation in other fields can be accomplished through coöperation in the field of agricultural reform. All that is needed is the intelligence to perceive the benefits to be derived, and the determination to secure these benefits. Today there are half a hundred coöperative societies making successful progress in this State where a short year ago there were but three. The hour has struck; the time is ripe for an extension of coöperative efforts which will place New York where it belongs, in the front rank of the coöperative movement.

Our fields are fertile, our people are the peers of any in intelligence and industry. And there is no better cause in which to struggle than the cause which has for its end the easing of the burdens which press upon the heavy laden. There is no worthier fight than the fight to secure more and better food for a people who are clamoring for relief. And those who are engaged in the good fight, who are dedicating their efforts

to coöperation as the surest and wisest medium of economic progress may well take for their motto the inspiring words of Edward Everett Hale:

“Look up and not down, look out and not in, look forward and not back — and lend a hand.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Speech Delivered on Lincoln's Birthday at the Christian Brothers' Alumni Banquet and at the State Normal College, Albany, N. Y., February 12, 1914

Out of the billions of people of this earth there was born today one of the few that have attracted and held the attention of mankind.

Wherever men read, Abraham Lincoln is known.

Ordinary human qualities possessed in almost superhuman quantities made Abraham Lincoln the most unique and most lovable character in the history of statesmanship.

In the fall of an apple from a tree Newton perceived the law of gravitation; in the sprouting of a seed Spencer saw evolution; in the heart of man Shakespeare saw a picture of the world; in taxation without representation Thomas Jefferson saw a revolutionary crime; in penalizing men for their religious belief Daniel O'Connell saw the throttling of manhood; in the denial of freedom of worship Charles Carroll of Carrollton saw the refusal of a God-given right; in the color of a man's skin Abraham Lincoln saw no excuse for one man making a slave of another.

In tears Abraham Lincoln saw the pathos of life; in smiles he saw the philosophy of a story or the lesson of a joke. His was “the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.” Abraham Lincoln was

a mixture of sadness and of joy, of wit and of wisdom, of comedy and of tragedy. In him Socrates and Democritus, Aesop and Marcus Aurelius were made one.

Men of greater intellectual brilliancy may have scintillated across history's page, but as a combination of head and heart Abraham Lincoln stands beyond comparison. Brain power begets greatness, but brain power alone never ruled the world. In the average man there is more heart than head, just as in great men generally there is more head than heart. That is why humanity finds in Abraham Lincoln a picture of itself; this is why humanity loves Abraham Lincoln for humanity's virtues and humanity's faults.

Abraham Lincoln came from the plain people, understood the plain people, and the plain people understood him. He stands as an everlasting refutation of the divine rights of kings. He proclaims that the way to reach an eternity of fame is to hitch your wagon to a star. He shows that greatness does not exist in spasmodic effort but in perpetual endeavor to perform the work that lies next to a man's hand. All his career drives home the fact that of all laws the great law is to do unto others as you would have others do unto you. This law is the keynote of Lincoln's character and the source of his strong humanity. A thousand pleasant incidents in his career emphasize this humanity and make us love him not as a demigod but as a red-blooded man who knew poverty and pitied it, who knew weakness and sorrowed for it, who knew toil and respected it, who craved liberty and would die for it, who revered law and would live by it.

The story of his love for the unfortunate Ann Rutledge; his manly conduct toward Mary Owen; his cherishment of Mary Todd, the girl he married, form

a lovely chapter in the history of romance. Edgar Allan Poe makes the heart beat in sorrow as he sings of the lost Lenore. The note of sadness running through Lincoln's life seems a dirge for the lost Ann Rutledge, the love of his boyhood, whom death snatched while youth bloomed. I know no more pathetic picture than Abraham Lincoln spreading his coat over the grave of Ann Rutledge to keep the rain from reaching her. Father Ryan wrote a beautiful poem on "Their lives runneth thus." It yet remains for some poet to embalm in the eternal amber of rhyme the romance of Ann Rutledge and Abraham Lincoln. His political career, his public deeds are known by all men and to repeat them would be superfluous.

Abraham Lincoln loved life. Like Ovid's true man he kept his head among the stars, but his feet were on the earth. His physical strength was marvelous. He could outrun and outwrestle any boy in his neighborhood. He liked a horse race and was fond of a cock-fight, but he never smoked, never chewed and never drank. His sense of humor was unrivaled. He is the sole man in our history whose reputation as a storyteller did not prove an obstacle to political preferment.

Abraham Lincoln has set the world an example of filial piety. He idolized his mother, Nancy Hanks, and said that all he was he owed to her. In her dying hours no doctor was near. Little Abe and his sister Sarah were doctor and nurse. They smoothed her pillow, soothed her spirit and closed her eyes in death. When dying she said: "Be good to each other." Little Abe never forgot his mother's wish. He was always good to every sister and every brother of his in the whole human family. Because his mother was buried without religious ceremony little Abe's heart almost broke, and three months later, in answer to the

boy's piteous appeals, a Kentucky clergyman traveled one hundred miles through the wilderness to say a prayer over Nancy Hanks' grave.

Like Daniel Webster, Lincoln was not an omnivorous reader, but what he read he made his own. Other men may have read more widely, but none thought more deeply than Abraham Lincoln. The Bible was his favorite book. He recited its proverbs by heart and on its teachings moulded his conduct and his thought.

The world has long wondered where Shakespeare got his education, but has seldom inquired where Lincoln got his. He would split rails by day and study books by night, but this does not explain his wonderful knowledge or marvelous power of speech.

Abraham Lincoln was a graduate of the University of Nature. He found "sermons in stones, books in running brooks, and good in everything." So did Shakespeare.

The untutored Shakespeare wrote the greatest of dramas, but the untutored Lincoln wrote the greatest of orations.

Victor Hugo has been hailed as the master of the terse style, but in hammering a world of thought into a few words Abraham Lincoln was Victor Hugo's superior.

Dickens could make the tears come by his magic words, but nothing in Dickens can match the pathetic note of Lincoln's letter to the mother who lost three sons on the field of battle.

Stephen A. Douglas was Lincoln's rival in love and in politics. Yet with the fire of Demosthenes and the polish of Cicero, Douglas called upon the country to uphold Lincoln's hands as president. Nor is this all. While Lincoln delivered his first inaugural address,

Douglas, the aristocrat, felt himself honored to hold the hat of the rail-splitter, who had thrice defeated him for the big prizes of life.

His enemies called Lincoln a hard-headed man. He early gave proof of hard-headedness. One day while a lad he was driving a mule. With a careless, "Get up, you old hussy," he applied a whip to the mule's back. In the middle of this exclamation the mule kicked him in the head. Young Abe lay unconscious all night. When he came to he finished the sentence which the mule's kick had interrupted, by exclaiming, "You old hussy." Yes, Lincoln was a hard-headed man. A kicking mule could not knock out of his head what he had in it.

He was postmaster of New Salem and carried the office around in his hat. He bought a store with a man named Berry. Lincoln was too busy studying Shakespeare to attend to business and Berry had too many encounters with John Barleycorn. The firm went bankrupt. Years afterward, while a Congressman, Lincoln sent his salary home to pay the firm's debts. When first elected to the Illinois Legislature he had to borrow money to buy an appropriate suit of clothes. He was ahead of his time, a hundred years ahead of his time. In 1856 he visited the city of Buffalo and ran out to see Niagara Falls. Afterward he said the thing that struck him most forcibly about the falls was, "Where in the world did all that water come from." In 1836 he declared for woman suffrage and ever talked in its favor.

He kept no books; never knew what any one owed him, and never cared. He stood six-feet-four in his stocking feet and said shorter people were better off because they required less wool and wood to make them comfortable. At the height of his fame as a

lawyer he weeded his own garden, milked his own cow, sawed his own wood, and fed and curried his own horse. His old silk hat was his library and his safe. Into it were poked important papers until the hat would not go on his head. The papers were removed and placed in a small bag marked, "When you can't find it anywhere else look here." He was regularly irregular in his habits, but a more self-reliant man never lived. He never asked advice from any man. He listened to every one, but once he made up his mind the whole world could not convince him he was wrong.

Cause and effect were the rules of his life. He was a fatalist and, with him, what was to be would be. He never believed in political combinations. If elected to office he believed no person or class of persons could have defeated him; if defeated, he believed nothing could have elected him. He was no saint. He had his faults.

"Faults, yes his heart throbbed warm with pulses human,
But carping envy's self might scarce deplore
The faults that vouched him staunch and true man
And only made men love him more and more.

"Motes in the sunshine, foam bells on the ocean,
Cloud shadows flitting o'er the mountain crest,
His faults but marked the mighty play, the motion,
Of a grand nature in its grand unrest."

He feared the danger of stagnation, but was unafraid of innovation. He believed that sometimes the longest way round is the shortest way home. He blazed new paths, and shunned antiquated routine. He dreaded the sterilizing touch of Time's dead hand and believed in acting in the present, "heart within, and God o'erhead." He proclaimed that to legislate upon precedent alone was to make the error of yesterday the law of tomorrow. He once said:

“I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.”

His rules for living he thus expressed in a letter to a friend:

“Do not worry, eat three square meals a day, say your prayers, be courteous to your creditors, keep your digestion good, steer clear of biliousness, exercise, go slow and go easy. Maybe there are other things that your special case requires to make you happy, but, my friend, these I reckon will give you a good lift.”

In company with some other candidates who were out on a political campaign over a half century ago in the wild West, he saw, in the woods near the close of the day some baby birds that had been blown out of their nest. Asking to be allowed to get down from the carriage, which passed on ahead, Mr. Lincoln picked up the tiny creatures and restored them to their little home. On reaching the inn, he was asked the cause of his delay, and astonished his hearers by telling them of his humane act, declaring that, had he not returned the birdies to their mother's care, he could not sleep at night. What a tender, loving heart!

Sad himself, he wanted everybody else happy, and he remarked, “When I die I want it said of me that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower when I thought a flower would grow.”

His mind acted slowly, but as accurately as the logic of mathematics. He saw things through a perfect mental lens. He was so truthful he never deceived

himself. He was as shrewd as he was honest. He was militant, but never insolent. He commanded by suggestion and ruled through love. Indifferent as to non-essentials, he was immovable as to principles. Fixed as the polar star, he said: "I have never turned an inch out of my own way to gain a favor." A slave girl whom he saw auctioned off in New Orleans planted in his breast the seed of the Emancipation Proclamation. As her new master led the girl away Lincoln exclaimed to his companions: "Boys, if ever I get a chance to hit slavery, by God I'll hit it hard."

To the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," Abraham Lincoln, the friend of labor, added: "Neither shalt thou steal the product of labor, nor shalt thou steal labor itself."

Abraham Lincoln "lived as he did and died as he did, because he was what he was." He carried through life the shield of a clean conscience and the sword of a clear brain. He was broad, he was liberal, he was radical. Disraeli was first a liberal and then a conservative; Gladstone was first a conservative and then a liberal, but Abraham Lincoln was never a weathercock in politics. He was always the same. He was not a Republican, not a Democrat. He was a humanitarian, and humanitarianism was his politics.

As God brought David up from the sheep-folds to feed Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance, so God brought Abraham Lincoln up to save this Union and prevent a single star from falling from the blue of our glorious flag. Abraham Lincoln looked upon the close of the Civil War as Moses looked upon the Promised Land. Abraham Lincoln delivered the black man from a bondage, one hour of which, according to Thomas Jefferson, was worse than ages of oppression which the colonial fathers rose in rebellion

to oppose in 1776. Abraham Lincoln vindicated republican institutions as no other man ever vindicated them. His father caught the fish and shot the game and raised the vegetables that fed the family, and he made the little cradle in which Abe slept. His mother patched her own quilts, spun her own garments and made little Abe's swaddling-clothes, and yet this son of poverty climbed a mountain-peak whereon no scion of kings will ever set foot. Sacrifice greeted his entrance into the world. Sacrifice walked all life's journey at his side. Sacrifice for liberty and sacrifice for the life of a nation closed his eyes in death. Lee surrendered on Palm Sunday and Abraham Lincoln was shot on Good Friday. The hosannas and the dies irae were not far apart. In the glory of the one and the anguish of the other, Lincoln stands like

"Some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

NEW YORK'S RECOGNITION OF LABOR

**Speech Delivered Before the Annual Convention of the
New York State Federation of Labor at Schenectady,
August 25, 1914**

Today the welfare of the world is in the hands of the American worker. Today civilization's sole hope lies in the spirit and energy of those who labor in America's industries. Today the manhood of America guards the gates of peace to keep the world from famine and to preserve for all mankind the accumulated achievements of centuries of endeavor.

With Europe plunged into bloody strife, with its manhood removed from useful production, its intelligence devoted to destruction and its farms and industries lying idle, the burden of human progress at this time rests upon the men and women of America.

It is a time that should call forth the best in every American citizen. It is a time for the people of America to stand shoulder to shoulder. It is a time for every class to forget petty differences and to unite to meet the great emergency and the greater responsibility confronting the nation.

Just as there is not a single European nation which has failed to contribute to the progress of America, so there is not a single European nation involved in the present struggle which is not bound to this country by ties of blood and mutual esteem.

In the veins of America courses the blood of England, of France, of Russia, of Austria and of Germany. The men who are fighting and dying across the ocean are the brothers of those who are peacefully gathered here today, and the time has come for America to pay back to the mother countries of the old world the debt which European progress has imposed upon America.

It is no time for the industries of America to think of petty advantage or to quarrel over trifling differences. It is unthinkable that the masters of industry should seek to forget the responsibilities that rest upon them; it would be unpardonable for the workers of America to seize the present situation as a pretext for extravagant demands upon the industries in which they are employed. And it is greatly to the credit of the American employer and the American workman that no disposition is evident on either hand to make petty capital out of a worldwide calamity.

Here in New York there is every reason for cordial and friendly coöperation, for in the period which has

elapsed since the last convention of the State Federation of Labor, the people of New York have united to give to the workingmen of the State the rights and privileges sought for half a century.

Our government is such that no class of our population can secure new rights without the consent and assistance of every other class. The laws which have been placed upon the statute books of the State during the past year were not secured alone by the energetic efforts of labor's friends in the legislative halls or by the united forces of labor itself. They were obtained because the people of New York, recognizing that labor's claims were just, added the force of public opinion to the appeals of the workers of the State.

These laws may be broadly divided into two classes.

The first class includes those laws which have for their object the securing of employment for those in search of work.

The second class comprises laws which protect and safeguard the worker in his employment.

Time does not permit me to dwell at length upon this legislation, but I shall enumerate the more important laws secured during the last year in order that the extent of labor's obligation to the people of the State may be made manifest.

The State Bureau of Employment comes as the best answer that the friends of labor could devise for the growing evil of unemployment. It is designed to reduce the number of that unfortunate army which gathers at times in our cities searching for work and finding none to do. Recognizing that there is often an abundance of work in some localities when there is a surplus of labor in others, a bureau has been added to the State Labor Department which has for its object the establishment of free employment bureaus in every section of the State. Under the law this

bureau is empowered to advertise positions and applications for positions. It must direct labor to points where it is most needed. It must receive applications for work and applications for labor without charging the applicants a penny. It must supply information to all who seek it in regard to industrial conditions throughout New York.

Henceforth the man who is willing to work and who cannot afford the services of a private employment bureau or pay the cost of advertising in the newspapers, may go to public employment bureaus maintained by the State, and have the entire resources of New York placed at his disposal in his search for employment.

It is not enough that labor and those seeking labor should be brought into closer contact, it is the duty of the State to protect labor in its employment after that employment has been secured, and to this end, during the past year, the State has thrown about its workers a network of protection without a parallel in the history of labor legislation.

As a result of this generous recognition of the rights of the workingmen, New York now has a law regulating the hours of employees in mercantile establishments and providing for one day of rest in seven.

It has a law requiring factories to keep their yards in sanitary condition and free from refuse.

It has a law placing foundries under the Factory Law and providing that gangways must be of sufficient width to make their use reasonably safe.

It has a law prohibiting the employment of women in factories before six in the morning and after ten in the evening of any day.

It has a law requiring the installation of fire-alarm signals and providing for fire bells.

It has a law requiring that wherever possible comfortable seats shall be provided for women factory workers.

It has a law providing for the protection of employees operating machinery and for the lighting of factories and workrooms.

It has a law providing for the examination of minors as to physical fitness and giving the Commissioner of Labor jurisdiction over the issuance of employment certificates.

It has a law providing for the inclosure of elevators and factory shafts in factory buildings.

It has a "full crew" bill providing for sufficient trainmen on every train to render the operation of railroads safe for the employee as well as for the public.

It has a law reducing the number of hours during which children under sixteen years of age may work and prohibiting their employment after six o'clock in the evening.

It has a law restricting the employment of female employees in cities of the second class to fifty-four hours in any one week, and nine hours in any one day.

And, as the climax of this splendid set of laws, New York has provided its workmen with a Workmen's Compensation Law which those in a position to know declare to be the best law of its kind in the world.

We are told that when the pyramids were built each stone represented the loss of a dozen human lives. Human life was cheap and regal monuments expensive.

It has taken the world a long time to realize the sacredness of human life; it has required the educating influence of centuries to elevate human labor to its proper place in the scheme of things.

Something was won when the man who toils was given the right to secure, by legal procedure, recom-

pense for injuries suffered while engaged in his employment, but the world has progressed beyond the point where the technicalities of law and the uncertainties of legal procedure can debar a crippled workman, injured in the battles of peace, from recovering the debt which society owes him.

New York has endeavored for many years to establish a system of compensation which would automatically care for the victims of industrial accidents, but it was not until this year that the greatest State in the Union succeeded in establishing a Workmen's Compensation Law which advanced it one step further from the pyramids.

I would draw a picture for you if I could which would show on one side the situation of the workman before the Workmen's Compensation Law was passed and his situation now that the law is in effect.

I would place before your eyes on one side the desolate home of the workingman who had offered up his life on the altar of American prosperity. I would portray the pettifogging lawyer, unworthy of his profession, who has taken advantage of a widow's misfortunes to extort from her the last of her little hoard.

I would show you families broken up and homes destroyed while a legal action for the bread-winner's death was dragging its weary way through a dozen courts.

I would picture the almshouses filled with those who trusted in the vagaries of the law, and I would show you cripples begging for alms upon the city streets, brought there by legal technicalities.

These are pictures familiar to all of you. There is not a union represented in this federation which, at some time or other, has not seen some of its members appeal in vain to the courts for compensation for mangled arms or mutilated limbs.

And after painting this picture I would turn to another. From the gloom of the past I would turn to the hope and light of the present. I would picture the workingman of New York going to his daily task, confident that whatever misfortune might come to him in the course of his day's labor, the just and enlightened law of his State would protect him and his dependents.

I would picture the injured workman receiving medical attention which the Workmen's Compensation Law provides for him. I would picture a workman's widow bringing up her little flock with the money which the compensation law provides must go to her. And, best of all, I would picture the employer of New York dealing fairly, frankly and generously with the man who has helped him to build up his industry and his fortune.

Beside the tremendous fact that the Workmen's Compensation Law automatically takes care of every injured workman, the trifling defect which partisan politicians are endeavoring to discover in the law sink into insignificance.

Compared to the reduction which the Workmen's Compensation Law must effect in taxes for the support of almshouses and courts, the tiny increase which it causes in the price of manufactured articles is unworthy of notice. And if the insurance companies who are fixing the rates for their clients see no reason to make a distinction between single men and married men, there is no reason why the few employers who desire to carry their own insurance should discriminate.

At any rate, those who have labored that a workmen's compensation law might be placed upon the statute books of New York will not permit a few thoughtless opponents of this measure to bring it into dis-

favor by unfair, unnecessary, and, I believe, illegal discrimination against the citizen who is supporting a family.

Here in this hall and before this federation I wish to present a fact which to my mind proves that a new order is beginning for the industries of this State.

When the Workmen's Compensation Law was under consideration, when the insurance experts, the legislators and the labor representatives who helped me draft this bill had finished their labors, I sent for the men at the head of New York's industries and asked their assistance and coöperation in securing the passage of the law.

I was not without fear that a natural desire for economy might incline the employers of New York to oppose a workmen's compensation act.

The New York Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to come to Albany and examine the proposed law. Instead of opposition from this committee I met coöperation. Instead of hostility I encountered friendly interest. And I knew that the passage of the compensation law was only a matter of days when the committee from the New York Chamber of Commerce told me that they believed the compensation law to be no less just than humane, and that the New York Chamber of Commerce, representing the most powerful employers in the United States, would indorse the law which John Mitchell declares to be the best law of its kind in the world.

A new day has dawned for the workingman of New York, and for his employer, and it comes at a time when there is the greatest need for these two to join hands and meet a great emergency. Just as the employer is an American before he is an employer, so the workingman is an American before he is anything else.

The nation and the State look to every man engaged in their industries to play the part of a patriotic and loyal American in the great crisis now at hand.

America's first duty is to direct its energies to filling the gap caused by the cessation of the industries of Europe. And in fulfilling that duty America must inevitably win for itself a position in the world's commerce which will remain long after the present war is over.

In the face of these facts I confidently look to the State Federation of Labor to use its splendid strength with patriotism and humanity. With mutual forbearance and mutual esteem, with American pluck and American energy, labor and capital must now join hands in order that America may meet its new responsibilities in a manner worthy of its past achievements and its present opportunities.

A PLEA FOR NEW YORK'S FARMS

Speech Delivered at the Hopgrowers' Picnic at Sylvan Beach, July 25, 1914

This gathering is a striking proof of the fact that you can't draw hard and fast lines between any classes of American citizens.

After I had been invited to speak here I inquired from the man who tendered me the invitation what sort of audience I would face. "At the Hopgrowers' picnic" he informed me, "you will find lawyers and doctors, business men and mechanics, farmers and dairymen — and perhaps a few hop growers." From which I concluded that the hop growers were a hospitable lot and that their holiday attracted that depend-

able person, that all around good fellow, that very human being, the average American.

Having been invited to address a hopgrowers' picnic, however, I feel that I should be guilty of a serious lapse if I failed to enter into the spirit of the occasion. If this day is dedicated to the hopgrowing farmer by his friends and neighbors, I shall be true to the day by addressing myself to the guest of honor. And I shall do so the more readily because I know that the things which are closest to the farmer's mind cannot be very far from the thoughts of those among whom he lives and works.

After all, the word "farmer" is the title of an occupation and not of a class. Only those who have never got closer to the farm than a car window believe that there is any substantial difference between the farmer and the rest of the world. The comic supplement farmer who carries a carpet bag and goes in for gold bricks, is like the comic supplement Irishman who bores a hole in the bottom of a leaky boat to let out the water — he only exists on paper. The real farmer, the man who spends his working hours wresting its bounty from nature, is much the same as other men.

I remember an old school teacher of mine who was the best disciplinarian I ever knew because he lashed unruly pupils with his tongue and not with his birch. On one occasion he stated his attitude toward his work in a way I have never forgotten. "Boys," he said, "the trouble with you is that you think that I am a school teacher. You're mistaken. I'm not a school teacher — I'm more than that. I'm a man who teaches school."

And because I lived among farmers, man and boy, long enough to look at things from the farmer's angle, I know that the farmer is more than a farmer — he's a man who farms the soil. In short, so far as I have

been able to discover, the only difference between the man who tills the soil and other men is that the farmer knows precisely where the next meal is coming from and other men only conjecture.

Charles Sumner said of the farmer, "Dependent upon nature, he learns to be independent of man." And certainly the husbandman whose table is loaded with the ripe fruits of his own broad acres, who acknowledges no master save the seasons, and who depends upon no other servitor than his own right arm, faces life in broader, healthier, surer fashion than the man who labors behind closed doors.

One lover of open spaces has described the city dweller's dependence upon others with wit and wisdom.

"Light, air, fuel and water," says this observer, "the products of Nature, are fed to him through tubes; vacuum and gravity are harnessed for his light house-keeping. The municipality, of which he is a member in good standing, disposes of his waste paper and potato peelings; regulates noise and smell; inspects his food; guarantees him so many cubic feet of air to sleep in, a minimum bacterial count of 50,000 to the cubic centimeter in his morning's milk, and a ladder in case of fire; assumes the supervision of the eyes, teeth and intellect of his children; polices him, sweeps his streets, counts him at birth, marriage and death and at the polls, fumigates him, makes music for him in the parks, and keeps him off the grass. He buys bread by the pound, potatoes by the quart, eggs by the ounce, and milk, signed, sealed and delivered in glass."

The farmer, on the other hand, gets his light from the sun, his air from the untrammelled breeze, his fuel from the forests, and his water from the crystal spring. The lark makes music for him, and only sickness or accident can keep him off the grass. He meas-

ures his bread by his waving wheat fields, his potatoes by serried rows of white blossoms, his eggs by the industrious fowls the housewife feeds, and his milk by the sleek cattle in his pastures.

It is fitting that the farmer should possess this independence. He is entitled to it by the dignity and the authority of a profession which is at once the oldest and the most necessary in the world. The lawyer can point to the venerable dignity of a calling dating back to the gray-beards who framed the code of Hammurabi. The doctor finds inspiration in the antiquity of a profession which still dedicates itself to human service by the oath of the Greek Hippocrates. But the ancient claims of doctor and lawyer both fade before that of the profession which Adam learned just outside the Garden of Eden.

As surely as agriculture preceded all other professions, so it must outlast them all. The doctors of today are stamping out disease with a zeal which in time may make the doctor himself a revered but unnecessary member of society. Between the Title Companies and the Workmen's Compensation Law the lawyer is finding his field of activity more and more circumscribed. But so long as the human heart warms at the sound of the dinner bell the farmer is assured that his professional activities will be demanded by a constantly increasing host of clients.

The energy and initiative of America has raised its industries to a point where it has come to be regarded as a commercial, rather than an agricultural, nation. But in spite of the industries which have drained America's farms by attracting young men into occupations where the rewards are more spectacular, the farms of America represent a bulwark of power and strength to which the nation ever turns in its times of trial.

From the hour when " the embattled farmer " of the Revolution fired the " shot heard round the world " the hard-working, clear-thinking farmer has been the main-stay of the country's prosperity and progress. He sat in judgment on the lawyers who framed the Constitution. He followed Daniel Boone over the Alleghanies. He was with Grant at Vicksburg. He prayed for Lincoln's vision of a reunited country. He has watched the cities of a continent rise, like magic, on the sure foundation of his outgrown farms. He has battled with rain and frost, with storm and drought, that the toilers in these cities might be fed. And today he is girding his loins to solve the problem of limited acres and unlimited population, the problem which has been crystallized in what we call the high cost of living.

A striking evidence of the tremendous force exerted by the farmers in the affairs of America has been granted to the nation in the months just passed. We were told that lean times were upon us. We were informed that our industries were feeling the economic strains of change, that capital was apprehensive, that labor was anxious. And, just as we began to foresee breadlines in our cities, and cobwebs on our factories, the American farmer spoke.

He spoke for the fifty billions of dollars represented by America's farms. He spoke for the valleys of New York and the plains of Illinois, for the slopes of Montana and the foot hills of California. He spoke for the bounty of Nature and for the industry of man. And, dispelling all our fears, he gladdened the soul of the Nation with his tale of a wonderful harvest sufficient to cover the continent with a mantle of yellow gold.

The American farmer spoke and, reassured, industry confidently turned back to its looms, labor returned to its toil with hope renewed. For there is no place for

doubt or distress in this broad land of ours so long as Nature yields a just return to the energy, thrift and intelligence of America's farmers. The house with larder well-stocked can face a winter's siege with sure content. The Nation with its food supply assured is fit to play its part in the commercial battles of the modern world.

Because of his place in the Nation's life the farmer deserves whatever assistance enlightened government can give to his labors. Numerically the weakest, he is economically the strongest division of the population. Whatever benefits him must eventually benefit his fellow citizens of every vocation. Whatever harms him must strike, through him, at all who look to him for the necessities of life.

No better evidence of governmental wisdom has been afforded in our history than the action of the Federal Government in encouraging the cultivation of its hills and prairies by the old homesteaders. Today there is no better field for intelligent governmental action than in the solution of the problems which press upon our farmers.

These problems are all summed up in the simple but significant fact that out of every dollar the consumer pays for farm produce, the farmer himself receives but thirty-five cents. Behind this fact is \$100,000,000 of mortgages on the farms of New York State. Behind it is the history of abandoned farms. Behind it is an ineffective system of distributing farm produce. Behind it is a form of agricultural credit as unfitted for modern farming as iron money would be for modern banking. Behind it is the outworn procedure which makes the farmer a manufacturer who buys his raw material at retail and sells his finished product at wholesale. Behind it is the lure of the city and the rigors and difficulties of life on the farm.

These are the problems which enlightened government must solve, not in this State alone, but in every State in the Union. And it should be the pride of every citizen of New York that the Empire State has been wise enough, brave enough and far-sighted enough to take the lead in the movement for agrarian reform.

Let me outline for you the manner in which New York has assumed this leadership during the past year. Before I begin, however, I want to speak a few plain and personal truths. I don't want to pose as the friend of the farmer as the phrase is commonly used. That's the easiest pose in the world and the emptiest. The ranks of the farmer's friends are recruited before every election. Few men ever run for public office without suddenly becoming imbued with an undying affection for the men who till the soil. If the farmer's crops were as abundant and certain as the assurances of friendship he receives he would never need to worry about the high cost of farming. I like to be with the majority, but the overwhelming majority of the farmer's friends is one from which I beg to be excused.

I am just as much the mechanic's friend as I am the farmer's. I am acting for the man in the city as well as for the man in the country. I am not Governor for one citizen any more than for any other citizen. When I took the oath of office I swore to protect the interests not of any single division of the people, but of the people whole and entire.

My reason for speaking thus frankly is simple. Agricultural laws have been placed upon the statute books of the State during my administration which depend for their success upon the interest and coöperation of the farmers themselves. I believe in those laws. I believe they are capable of working much good not alone for the farmer, but through him, for every citi-

zen of New York. And I don't want the farmer's interest in these laws divided, I don't want his coöperation weakened, by the suspicion that this legislation is merely an insincere device to catch the farmer's fancy.

The first of these laws was a simple act of justice. Under the law which provides for the destruction of diseased cattle the State assumes the right to seize and destroy such cattle without the consent of the owner, but on condition that he be reimbursed for his loss. Last October more than \$217,000 worth of cattle had been destroyed but no money had been appropriated by the Legislature to pay the owners for their loss. When I called this matter to the Legislature's attention, the money was quickly appropriated, and in addition, a law was passed which will insure more rapid payment of the farmer's claims. A bill was introduced and passed which provides that in the future, unless the State makes a settlement of these claims within thirty days, they will begin drawing interest for the injured farmer.

The next law was constructive. It took cognizance of the fact that the farmer has a hundred agencies at work to assist him in increasing the fertility of his soil and the production of his crops, but that in the quarter where he most needs assistance, namely, in the market where he sells his produce, he is left at the mercy of commission merchants he has never seen, and of agents who are only concerned with the profit they can secure. To meet this situation the State has created a Department of Foods and Markets with broad duties and extensive powers. This department will supervise all places where farm produce is sold. It will investigate all food products and marketing in all its phases. It will advise and assist in the location

and establishment of local markets. It will regulate the grading, handling and storage of all food products. It will provide licensed and responsible auctioneers to operate in these markets. It will publish a daily bulletin free to every farmer, which will keep him posted on current prices and the markets of best demand. It will have facilities for assisting in the formation of coöperative societies among farmers as well as among consumers, and finally, it is required to report annually to the Legislature upon the work done and recommend whatever agricultural legislation appears most necessary.

There are mortgages on New York's farms, amounting to approximately \$100,000,000. On these mortgages the farmer is not only paying high rates of interest, but in addition, is subjected to frequent renewal charges. Although his farms represent the most solid and indestructible security in the world, he is unable to secure for himself that easy and flexible credit upon which the success of America's myriad commercial ventures has been built. In seeking to remedy this situation, New York has turned to Europe to profit by the experience of the European farmer. As a result, New York has placed upon its statute books a law providing for the creation of a land bank fashioned on the principle of European land banks, but operating through the distinctly American institution of saving and loan associations. This land bank will save the farmers of New York \$24,000,000 if present mortgages are converted into ten-year amortization loans, and \$82,000,000 if converted into fifty-year amortization loans.

By amortization loans, I mean that system of loans now used in Europe under which the European farmer pays a small sum each year upon the principal in ad-

dition to his interest, and by continuing these small payments for periods ranging from ten to fifty years, is able to pay off the principal of his loan with little difficulty. Instead of having a large indebtedness to meet at the maturity of his loan and running the risk of foreclosure, through hard times or failure of crops, he pays in installments and has no greater burden to bear at the end than at the beginning of his loan.

Under our present system the American farmer pays \$600 interest on a ten-year loan of \$1,000 at 6 per cent and the principal at the end of the term, or \$1,600 in all. For the same loan on the amortization plan, he would only pay \$135.86 each year, or \$1,358.60 altogether. For the same loan for fifty years on the amortization plan the farmer would pay \$63.44 annually or only \$3.44 over the interest, but this small additional sum is enough to wipe out the principal. This is the credit system which the land bank will give to the farmers of New York. Europe has had it for fifty years. Our Federal Government has talked of establishing it for ten years. But while Uncle Sam has talked New York has acted, and New York is the first State in the Union to provide its farmers with modern credit facilities.

It is not enough to pass salutary laws. If these laws are to be made worth their salt they must be brought home to those they seek to benefit. Consequently, after New York had passed its agricultural legislation, I asked the Legislature for an appropriation to carry these laws to the farmer. In addition to the Land Bank Law and the Foods and Markets Law, we had laws upon the statute books providing for credit unions and coöperative farming societies. Because I wanted to see the Land Bank understood, because I wanted to see these coöperative societies

formed, I desired to send a corps of energetic organizers into the farming communities of the State to explain the workings of these laws and to organize the societies. The Legislature readily responded to this appeal, and as a result, a campaign of organization and education, financed by the State, is now making rapid progress.

The State spends millions of dollars annually on its militia to protect the cities and farms of the State from the possible attacks of a hostile army. But in the past it has not shown the same willingness to protect its farms from the devastating armies of insect pests which, if unchecked, can work as much harm as war itself. Recognizing this fact, I urged upon the Legislature the enactment of a law which would place a sufficient fund at the disposal of the State authorities to combat insect pests the moment they appeared. One dollar spent at the beginning of a plague is worth a hundred after it has gained headway. Realizing the necessity for preparation the Legislature passed a law enabling the Comptroller to borrow \$50,000 for fighting insect pests whenever the Executive deemed it necessary. How wise this provision was is shown by the fact that within three months after its passage, the farms of the State found themselves besieged with a horde of hungry grasshoppers and battalions of army worms.

The Commissioner of Agriculture, whom I asked to take personal charge of the fight against these pests, assures me that he has been able to place them under control through the resources which the State put at his immediate disposal.

To round out this program of agricultural legislation, the State in the last year passed a law appropriating \$5,000 for an expert investigation of the

causes of bovine tuberculosis, another law providing for the standard grading and packing of New York's fruit and a law designed to prevent fraud in the sale of young fruit-bearing trees.

This in brief is the program of agricultural betterment to which New York has set its hand. It has sought for the farmer, first, the ordinary justice which he might demand in a court of law, and, secondly, the economic justice to which he is entitled by his position as caretaker of the Nation's food supply.

The forward step the State proposes is not beyond the powers or the intelligence of the farmers of New York. When they have equipped themselves with a suitable credit system, as represented in the Land Bank, when they have joined forces in coöperative societies to buy their raw supplies at wholesale and to sell their ripened produce at retail, when, in short, they have seized the opportunity which now presents itself, a larger part of the consumer's dollar will find its way into the farmer's pocket and the consumer will receive more and better food for his dollar.

Unless history lies, unless the law of supply and demand is repealed, the future before the American farmer will be rosy with the realization of better things. Our population is increasing faster than the area of our arable lands. The time is not far off when there will be no more virgin acres to be tilled. And if the American farmer is awake to his opportunity he will hold fast to his land until the logic of circumstances brings him the rich reward that must eventually be his. For he holds "the one indestructible asset that the nation possesses, the one resource that cannot be exhausted" — the fragrant, fruitful soil.

Even now the telephone, the rural free delivery, the parcel post, the gasoline engine and good roads, are revolutionizing life upon the farm. The farmer's life

is becoming easier, just as his potential wealth is becoming greater. And this is well!

To me there is no fairer sight than the vision of verdant meadow and rolling hillside standing in cultivated and ordered beauty under the husbandman's plow. There is no more satisfying spectacle than serried rows of white blossoms lifting happy faces to the spring sunshine, or bending fields of golden grain swaying to the fragrant harvest winds.

The forest may be fair, the mountain crag compelling, the ocean mysterious and majestic. But the forest speaks in the accents of the savage; the apple blossoms in the tongue of one we love. The crag is mute and voiceless with the silence of isolation; the plowed field murmurs of life and youth and hope. The winds that sweep over the ocean sing of fury and destruction; the breezes that wander over the stately wheat and tasseled corn croon a song of peace, of plenty and of humanity.

As it is with his broad acres, so may it be with the farmer's home. May the mortgage that darkens his doorway disappear, taking with it the furrows from the housewife's toilworn face. May his daughters escape the privations that their mother bore with tender courage, and live the graceful, buoyant life of happy girlhood. May his sons whistle at their work and grow to manhood respecting their father's vocation and recognizing its widening promise and increased importance. May Twentieth Century farming and Twentieth Century facilities make the farmhouse as cheerful in December as it is in May, and as beautiful in November as it is in June. May the American farmer rise at last to the full dignity of his calling to claim his rightful share of the inexhaustible wealth which his labors draw from the broad and fertile acres of free America.

NEW YORK'S IMPROVED HIGHWAYS

**Speech Delivered at the Dutchess County Fair, at
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., September 10, 1914**

As I have met the farmers of the State at the various county fairs this year, I have tried to place before them what the State is doing to stimulate and encourage the agriculture of New York.

I have explained the land bank which is destined to make credit easier for New York's farmers. I have explained that through this land bank it will be easier for the farmer to borrow the money that he needs to carry on the work of his farm. I have shown the tremendous saving that the land bank will institute and pointed out that if the \$100,000,000 worth of mortgages now encumbering the farms of New York were changed into ten-year land bank loans, the farmers of New York would be saved \$24,000,000. The saving on the farm mortgages in Dutchess county would amount to \$460,000 in ten years; the saving to the farmers of Columbia county would be \$372,000; the saving to the farmers of Greene county would be \$271,000, and to the farmers of Ulster county \$513,000, if mortgages already in existence were changed into land bank loans.

I have explained the coöperative movement we have been trying to start, which to my mind is the only answer to the fact that the farmer receives but thirty-five cents for every dollar's worth of food he produces.

I have dwelt upon the law secured this year, which enables the Comptroller to borrow money at any time to fight the ravages of insect pests; the law providing for an expert investigation of bovine tuberculosis; the law preventing fraud in the sale of seed and young trees, and the law enabling farmers to secure prompt payment of their claims against the State.

I have tried to explain the reorganization of the State's finances which will save the farmer taxpayer from the burden of a heavy direct tax. I have shown why I felt it necessary to prevent the imposition of a direct tax and why after the Legislature had wrangled for three months over economy I vetoed appropriations amounting to over \$7 000,000. Had it not been for these vetoes a direct tax would have been inevitable. By these vetoes I was able to save the people of the State a tax as great as their share of the \$1,000,000 war tax which the Federal government now proposes to levy. If I had not seen my way clear to these vetoes the citizens of Dutchess county would have been obliged during the coming year to pay a direct tax of \$66,000; the citizens of Columbia county would have been obliged to raise \$27,000 by direct tax; the citizens of Greene county would have been obliged to raise \$13,000; and the citizens of Ulster county \$32,000.

There is one matter, however, vitally affecting the farmers of the State which I have not yet brought to their attention, and today I propose to discuss with you a matter affecting the farmers of New York, not only as farmers, but as taxpayers and good citizens. This matter is the matter of State highways.

There is a very widespread opinion that the roads of the State are being maintained for those citizens who are fortunate enough to own automobiles. If this were true there would be no excuse for taxing anybody but the automobilists for New York's roads. The real reason why New York is building the most magnificent system of highways in the world is that it has dedicated itself to the task of creating a proper system of transit between its farms and its overcrowded cities.

The farmers of New York are entitled to good roads. The consumers of New York are entitled to a system of highways which will enable the farmers to bring their foodstuffs to the city cheaply and with little loss of time. This is the most important, and in fact, the controlling reason for building the great system of highways upon which New York is now engaged. There are certain facts in connection with the building of these roads, however, which I think should be brought home to every taxpayer.

New York is engaged in building 12,000 miles of road which will wear out forty years before they are paid for.

Unless the State makes a radical change in the type of road it builds it will cost from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 yearly to maintain and rebuild New York's highways when the present system is completed.

This is the real highway problem.

It costs New York approximately \$12,000 to build a mile of macadam road which, under present traffic conditions, will not last more than ten years. It costs \$1,000 a year to maintain and resurface these macadam roads. And, at the end of ten years when these roads are worn out, it will cost at least \$6,000 a mile to rebuild them.

One hundred million dollars has been voted for the construction of New York's highways. If the roads we build in the future cost as much as those we have been building in the past, it will require an additional \$30,000,000 to complete the proposed system. On New York's 12,000 miles of macadam roads the annual cost of maintenance will be \$12,000,000; the total cost of the roads will be \$130,000,000, and at the end of ten years from the date of completion, the State will have little to show for an expenditure of \$250,000,000.

In the twenty years thereafter the tax for highways will be at least \$20,000,000 each year, if our roads are to be kept in proper condition.

Every year the taxpayers of New York will be compelled to pay \$12,000,000 for maintenance. Every year they will be forced to pay \$5,000,000 in interest charges on their bonds. Every year they will be compelled to contribute \$2,500,000 to the sinking fund to retire these bonds when they mature. And every year they will be required to pay additional millions to rebuild part of the roads on which they are lavishing these tremendous sums.

In other words, New York must either change its road policy or prepare to levy a perpetual and yearly road tax of \$2 on every man, woman and child within its borders.

When the State planned its highway system it did so without knowledge of the motor traffic that these roads would later be asked to withstand.

Following the lead of Massachusetts it adopted a system of macadam roads eminently fitted to light horse traffic, but utterly unsuited to the wear and tear of the heavy automobile. The result has been that an ever-increasing motor traffic is pounding the roads of New York apart almost as fast as they can be built. What the State has saved in the initial cost of its roads is more than lost in the great and increasing cost of maintenance.

New York's experience has simply been that of adjoining States, but upon a larger scale.

New York pays no more than Massachusetts does for the same kind of macadam road. New York's macadam roads last as long as roads in Massachusetts that are subjected to the same degree of traffic. Last year Massachusetts spent over \$800 a mile for re-

pairing and resurfacing, and many older roads needed rebuilding at a cost of from \$6,000 to \$10,000 a mile.

New Jersey builds its roads at an approximate cost of \$10,000 a mile, but it is fortunate in the possession of domestic road material which other States must import. For repairs and resurfacing New Jersey spends over \$1,500 a mile.

I do not believe that when the taxpayers of New York voted \$100,000,000 for a system of good roads they realized that they would be compelled to spend more than \$20,000,000 a year to perpetuate these roads. And in fairness to these taxpayers and to the various governmental activities to which the State's money ought to be devoted, those in authority must devise some way to reduce the cost of keeping New York's highways in repair.

Instead of roads that wear out in ten years, New York must build roads that will last from twenty to thirty years. Instead of building highways that cost \$1,000 a year to maintain, New York must construct roads that can be maintained at a moderate annual cost. Instead of putting down roads that cannot withstand the traffic that passes over them the State must find some way to build roads that are fitted for present conditions.

Two types of road with which this country has had experience answer these requirements. One is the concrete road, the other the brick road with its concrete foundation.

In the past New York has been slow to adopt concrete or brick roads because of their high initial cost. Where a macadam road costs from \$10,000 to \$13,000 a mile to build, a concrete road costs from \$12,000 to \$16,000 a mile, and a brick road costs from \$20,000 to \$25,000.

Unfortunately, the experience of the modern road builder with concrete has been rather limited. Michigan has built concrete roads in one county and thus far has obtained very satisfactory results, but these roads have not been down long enough to justify any positive conclusion as to their permanence and economy. Brick roads, however, have been laid in hundreds of cities and have everywhere demonstrated their durability: Brick roads have been down for twenty-five years and have admirably stood the test of the hardest kind of traffic. The annual cost of maintaining these brick roads has been remarkably low, ranging from practically nothing to from ten to fifty dollars per mile.

Even if New York were compelled to pay \$25,000 a mile for brick roads it would be economy to build such roads instead of macadam roads in all places where the State's highways are subjected to heavy automobile traffic.

The total expenditures for twenty-five years on a macadam road amount to \$36,000. This includes \$12,000 for building, \$18,000 for maintenance, and \$6,000 for rebuilding at the end of the first ten years.

The total expenditures for twenty years on a vitrified brick road amount to \$26,000 if we allow a maximum of \$25,000 for building and \$50 a year for maintenance.

On these outside figures the difference in cost for twenty years between the macadam and brick roads shows a balance of \$10,000 in favor of the brick road even if New York pays the market price for brick.

The greatest item in the construction of brick roads is the cost of the vitrified brick. If the State can secure this brick cheaply its road problem will be solved. In a brick road costing \$25,000 a mile the brick itself costs \$12,000.

New York can make its own brick by utilizing the splendid deposits of shale which are found in profusion all through the southern half of the State and by using prison labor to turn this natural resource into paving blocks.

We have the material for brick highways at hand. We have labor waiting within our prisons to transform this material into the finished product. Seemingly, all that is needed is the wisdom to turn these facts to advantage.

With these facts in mind you can understand how, as Governor of the State, I deemed it my duty to take some step which would enable New York to secure the brick for its roads with the use of convict labor. I called the facts which I have just outlined to the attention of the Legislature last spring, and at my request it appropriated the sum of \$75,000 to start a brick plant at Elmira. At this point there are deposits of shale particularly fitted for the making of brick, and in enabling its prisoners to make the brick for its highways, New York is merely following the enlightened and economic system of sister commonwealths.

In Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Utah and Wisconsin prisoners are used in the preparation of road material. Many States go further. Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming employ the prisoners of the State to a greater or less extent in the building, repair and maintenance of their roads.

Those who are qualified to speak inform me that by

securing the vitrified brick for New York's roads in this manner brick roads can be constructed at a cost of \$15,000 a mile.

On this basis the total cost of a mile of brick road for twenty years would be \$16,000, including \$15,000 for building and twenty years of maintenance at \$50 a year. The total cost of macadam road for the same period, as I pointed out, is \$36,000.

An idea of the importance of the economy I propose may be gained from the fact that the total saving in the 7,300 miles of road yet to be constructed would amount to \$146,000,000 in the twenty years after their completion, or more than the total cost of constructing our entire system of highways.

Surely it is worth while to turn this possible economy into an accomplished fact.

If, as there is every reason to believe, the experiment at Elmira is successful, New York will have met and solved the great problem of maintaining its roads.

I have only one road policy. That policy is that the taxpayers of the State must receive a dollar's value for every dollar they spend on their highways. I believe that the farmer, no less than the man who owns a motor car, is entitled to full consideration in the construction of these roads. While I advocate brick highways, I believe that these highways should be so constructed that the farmer will have no difficulty in climbing grades with his horses in the stormy months of the year.

I believe that while New York goes on to construct the greatest system of highways in the civilized world it should ever bear in mind the fact that these highways, in the last analysis, are simply a channel through which the produce of New York's farmers may pass to the waiting millions in New York's cities.

THE LAND BANK

Address Delivered by Governor Glynn at Kingston

There is no subject more deserving of the attention of those in charge of State affairs than the development of agricultural pursuits. The welfare of every class and division of the commonwealth is intimately affected by the degree of prosperity and progress achieved by those engaged in the production of food, and today I intend to devote my remarks to a discussion of the Land Bank, which has been established under my administration, to give to the agriculture of New York a system of credit suited to modern conditions and modern needs.

Those who imagine that the Land Bank was advocated and established solely for the benefit of rural communities are mistaken. The demand for better agricultural conditions proceeds as much from the city as it does from the country.

The farmers of New York who own their farms and have sufficient capital to work them with industry and intelligence are making money. They are in no great need of assistance from any source. The wealthy farmer who knows how to raise his crops and, what is more important, how to sell them to advantage, is receiving the benefit of the fact that others have deserted the farm for the city. It is in the city, where the prices of food have steadily advanced for the past twenty years, and where the supply of food is not keeping pace with increased population, that the real need of agricultural legislation is most keenly felt. Talk with any man who has studied social and economic conditions and you will find him an urgent advocate of the movement "back to the farm." Go through con-

gested districts of any large city where men and women are living in squalor and want; listen to the stories of misery and unemployment and you will understand why the State needs to place more of its citizens upon its farms.

When we read that the urban population of New York has increased more than 25 per cent in the last ten years, and that the rural population has increased less than 1 per cent, the figures may not suggest the full meaning of the economic change which has taken place in the last generation.

When we ride on an over-crowded subway train, however; when we read the "situation wanted" advertisements in the daily papers; when we look at the present prices of food and remember what was paid for the same food a generation ago, and, finally, when we journey through the State seeing abandoned farms and fertile places as yet untilled, we begin to realize what the flow of population from the farm to the city really means.

I have watched the progress and effect of too many laws to believe that legislation alone can change conditions. You cannot legislate people prosperous any more than you can legislate them happy, and I am not deluding myself into believing that farm credit legislation will immediately change the conditions that it seeks to remedy. But I do believe that whatever is worth doing is worth attempting, and that to get anywhere one must make a beginning.

The time will come sooner or later when want and necessity will force our surplus population out of our cities and back to our farms and, foreseeing that change, I believe that the State of New York should prepare to make the transformation as easy as possible.

A system of credit that is suited to farming is the

first move in this direction. The man who has plenty of money does not need any particular system of credit to obtain the capital with which to buy a farm. The farm credit system that the State has established is intended to enable farmers with limited means to borrow money with which to make improvements on their land, and to provide the man who desires to become a farmer with the facilities for obtaining land on easy terms. In our cities a man with limited capital can purchase a house on the instalment plan through the medium of building and loan associations. The Land Bank was established to supply rural communities with the same facilities that the building and loan associations supply to our cities.

During the past fifty years the industries of New York have grown by leaps and bounds. New York has assumed its place at the head of the procession of progress and the reward for its intelligent industry has been wealth and plenty. Many causes have contributed to this enviable situation, but no single factor in our commercial prosperity has been greater than the fact that the industries of New York have been supplied with a financial system, with financial facilities and financial accommodations suited to industrial needs and calculated to make easy the extension and expansion of legitimate business.

While the State's industries have progressed and grown, its agriculture has been neglected. The farmers of New York have been compelled to suffer the chains of an inadequate credit system as unsuited for the development of farming as the iron money of Lycurgus would be for the transactions of Wall street. And to give to New York's farms the growth and prosperity to which they are entitled by the fertility of New York's soil and the progressive genius of New

York's people, the State of New York during the past year has created a Land Bank which will lift an archaic system of finance from the broad acres of the Empire State.

The Land Bank system of farm credit is an adaptation of the farm credit system which has been in vogue in Europe for many years. European statesmen realized a long while ago that the system of credit which may be satisfactory for industry, cannot be satisfactory for farming. There is no other occupation where it takes so long to turn raw products into finished material, and there is no other avocation where security for a loan is so solid and certain as that offered by a good farm.

The man who loans money on a factory or an office building may awake some morning to discover that his security has gone up in smoke. There is only one security which cannot be disturbed, and that security is land.

Taking into consideration these two facts, namely, the smallness of the farmer's profits and the solidity of the security offered by a farm, the statesmen and financiers of Europe conceived a credit system under which the farmer might borrow on his land and make payments that are as slow and as steady as his profits.

The Land Bank idea is the instalment idea. It provides that loans made on farms can be repaid a little at a time, year by year. The borrowing farmer pays his interest on his loan and, after providing for this interest, pays a small additional sum. This additional sum draws interest for the borrower instead of for the man from whom he borrowed, and at the expiration of his loan the borrower, instead of being forced to pay his principal in one lump sum, finds that his principal has been wiped out by the steady accretion of his small additional payments.

Germany has tried this system with tremendous success. No country in the world has a better system of agricultural credit than Germany with its three or four different kinds of agricultural credit. Thanks to the liberal financial facilities placed at the disposal of the German farmer, Germany's agriculture has been raised to an unparalleled degree of prosperity and efficiency.

Not only are there plenty of farmers on Germany's agricultural soil, but these farmers have been able to go in for intensive cultivation, which has actually made two stalks of wheat grow where only one grew before.

At present Germany raises twice as much per acre as the United States does on average better soil. For instance, from 1900 to 1909 the average yield of potatoes per acre was 91.4 bushels in the United States and 200 bushels in Germany; of rye, 15.7 bushels in the United States and 25.6 in Germany; of wheat, 14.1 bushels in the United States and 28.9 bushels in Germany; of oats, 29.3 bushels in the United States and 50.7 bushels in Germany.

This is what intensive cultivation has meant for the German farmer, and this cultivation could never have been possible had not an intelligent and adequate credit system supplied the farmers of Germany with means for obtaining the capital with which to bring their farms to the highest degree of efficiency.

The Land Bank which New York has established gives to the farmers of the State the advantages which the European credit systems, upon which it is modeled, give to the farmers of Europe, and there is no reason why the men who till New York's soil cannot turn this new credit system to even better use than the men who till the soil of Europe.

The difference between the ordinary mortgage and a Land Bank loan is in the method of paying off the principal. In the ordinary mortgage the borrower pays 6 per cent interest each year and his principal at the end of his loan. Under the Land Bank system the borrower pays part of his principal each year in addition to his interest. By paying this small additional sum the borrower gets compound interest each year on part of his principal, instead of permitting the entire principal to draw interest for the creditor.

To take a concrete case, on a \$1,000 loan, renewed for ten years at 6 per cent; under the old system the farmer pays \$60 interest each year, or \$600 in all, and the principal at the end of the loan, making his total payments \$1,600. Under the Land Bank system the farmer pays \$135.86 each year for a \$1,000 loan for ten years, or \$1,358.68 altogether.

In other words, his \$1,000 loan costs him \$241.32 less under the Land Bank system than under the old mortgage system.

This is the mathematics of the proposition, but quite aside from the actual saving in dollars and cents, which the Land Bank will institute, are the convenience and security which it will give to the farmer creditor. Under the present system, if a loan falls due and the creditor will not renew it, the farmer must either pay his entire principal or be foreclosed. If the principal falls due in a year when crops fail, the farmer is often unable to raise enough money to stave off foreclosure. He is always at the mercy of chance and continually under the shadow of a large future payment.

Under the Land Bank system, on the other hand, the farmer has a certain stated sum to pay each year. He pays the same amount the last year as the first year of his mortgage. His payments, like his income,

are slow but reasonably certain. He is free from renewal charges, and when he makes his loan he knows precisely how long he will have to pay it and how his payments must be made. He has a system of credit suited to his income, his occupation and his necessities.

Every farmer with a mortgage on his farm is naturally anxious to know the precise procedure which he must follow in order to take advantage of the Land Bank. The procedure is simple. Under the law the Land Bank must be formed by the union of saving and loan associations. The members of these saving and loan associations are permitted to secure mortgages on their farms from the Land Banks.

Fifteen or more farmers can organize one of these saving and loan associations, if there is no association already in existence in their vicinity, and obtain membership in the Land Bank by taking the necessary steps.

Not only will membership in these saving and loan associations permit the individual farmer to obtain a Land Bank mortgage, but he will be permitted to share in all activities of the Land Bank.

These, in brief, are the particular essentials of the Land Bank system which the present administration has instituted, and if you will pardon a personal note, let me say that the time I spent abroad, learning the details of European farm credit was time well spent if the opening of New York's Land Bank means, as it should mean, the dawning of a new day for the agriculture of the State.

At present there are \$100,000,000 of mortgages on the farms of New York. If these mortgages were converted into Land Bank loans the farmers of New York, as I pointed out before, would save \$240 on every \$1,000 loan. On the \$100,000,000 they would save

\$24,000,000, and if, instead of changing the present mortgages into ten-year Land Bank loans, they should change them into fifty-year Land Bank loans, the farmers of New York would save \$82,000,000.

There is scarcely a county in New York State without its share of farm mortgages. Chautauqua county has \$3,634,640 of farm mortgages; Erie county has \$3,076,116 of farm mortgages; Monroe county has \$5,210,430 of farm mortgages, and the farmers of these counties will be saved \$864,000, \$720,000 and \$1,250,400, respectively, by the change to the Land Bank system.

At the risk of tiring your patience, I shall read you the amounts which each county in the State can save by the intelligent use of the Land Bank. Albany county would save \$259,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,088,220; Allegany county would save \$398,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,666,983; Broome county would save \$328,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,371,956; Cattaraugus county would save \$600,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,501,405; Cayuga county would save \$489,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,044,643; Chautauqua county would save \$871,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$3,636,640; Chemung county would save \$146,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$611,043; Chenango county would save \$424,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,770,523; Clinton county would save \$276,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,151,121; Columbia county would save \$372,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,551,139; Cortland county would save \$249,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,042,063; Delaware county would save \$876,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$3,658,623; Dutchess county would save \$460,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,924,590; Erie county would save \$736,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of

\$3,076,116; Essex county would save \$105,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$441,247; Franklin county would save \$336,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,405,180; Fulton county would save \$122,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$519,778; Genesee county would save \$528,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,202,763; Greene county would save \$271,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,133,487; Hamilton county would save \$17,280 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$72,154; Herkimer county would save \$285,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,195,148; Jefferson county would save \$578,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,411,504; Kings county would save \$17,520 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$73,800; Lewis county would save \$290,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,216,691; Livingston county would save \$384,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,605,664; Madison county would save \$336,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,400,435; Monroe county would save \$1,250,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$5,210,430; Montgomery county would save \$208,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$878,719; Nassau county would save \$108,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$451,543; Niagara county would save \$595,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,486,143; Oneida county would save \$667,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,785,361; Onondaga county would save \$698,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,911,328; Ontario county would save \$636,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,650,790; Orange county would save \$703,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,931,750; Orleans county would save \$441,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,841,017; Oswego county would save \$441,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,851,909; Otsego county would save \$537,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,241,209;

Putnam county would save \$96,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$402,015; Queens county would save \$151,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$635,375; Rensselaer county would save \$302,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,264,682; Richmond county would save \$35,280 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$147,031; Rockland county would save \$172,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$728,028; St. Lawrence county would save \$722,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$3,012,771; Saratoga county would save \$254,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,064,219; Schenectady county would save \$122,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$517,439; Schoharie county would save \$218,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$916,703; Schuyler county would save \$136,800 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$573,658; Seneca county would save \$230,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$966,080; Steuben county would save \$686,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,862,956; Suffolk county would save \$288,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,207,800; Sullivan county would save \$451,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,883,072; Tioga county would save \$168,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$700,660; Tompkins county would save \$210,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$916,473; Ulster county would save \$513,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$2,144,697; Warren county would save \$59,520 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$248,113; Washington county would save \$345,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,441,144; Wayne county would save \$852,000 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$3,555,041; Westchester county would save \$434,400 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,818,960; Wyoming county would save \$477,600 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,998,374; Yates county would save \$307,200 on its mortgage indebtedness of \$1,281,192.

Turning from the direct benefits that the Land Bank confers upon the farmers of the State to the benefits it will eventually bring to the people of the State as a whole, it is only necessary to advert to the fact that the prosperity of every other class of our population is largely dependent upon the prosperity of our farming communities.

In the last analysis, food is the foundation upon which all commerce is based; it is the ultimate commodity which determines the necessary value and importance of all other commodities, and before your artisan may build a factory, before your mechanic may construct a machine, before the carpenter can plane a chair, or the tailor can make a suit, the worker and his family must be fed.

Time will prove the value of the Land Bank, but from the experience of other countries and from the reasonable results which can already be foreseen, the Land Bank means the greatest forward step that American agriculture has taken in a generation.

It means that present short term farm mortgages may be changed into long time loans. It means freedom from renewal charges for the farmer who at present must postpone payment from year to year. It means a saving of \$240 on every \$1,000 mortgage. It means that the borrower can pay off his loan in instalments. It means that there will be no large principal to meet in a year when crops may fail. It means that the New York farmer may borrow on his farm and take forty years, if need be, to pay back the principal. It means that the pyramid of compound interest will be inverted and that the advantage of this interest will be given to the farmer and not to the banker. It means, in short, that the farmer can at last become the master, instead of the slave, of his finances.

The establishment of the Land Bank is one thing. Its intelligent use is another. The people of the State who are already farmers, and those who desire to become farmers, must take an intelligent interest and have an intelligent appreciation of the advantages offered by this system of credit.

The experience of Europe shows that where Land Banks have been organized the public has grasped the opportunity presented with eagerness and zeal. I know that the citizens of no country surpass the citizens of New York in intelligence or in the willingness to enter upon a plan for the general betterment. New York already leads the world in the magnitude of its commerce and industries. I believe that the time is not far off when the agriculture of New York will take its place beside the other activities of the Empire State.

STATE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

Address Delivered at Oswego October 21, 1914

More important than any other problem affecting labor is the problem of employment, and before the worker can take advantage of the safeguards which the State has sought to throw about those engaged in industry, he must first secure the opportunity to work.

The Eight-hour Law, the factory laws, the Compensation Law — these may exert a helpful influence upon the condition of any man only after he has secured employment.

With the growth of our population the problem of unemployment has increased. There is greater difficulty today in securing work at a living wage than there was fifty or even twenty years ago. The gather-

ing of many industries in one spot; the inability to move labor freely from one place to another, and a constantly growing congestion in our principal cities, have contributed to make the problem of employment a matter demanding the intelligent and earnest attention of government.

If it is fairly within the powers of the State to protect its citizens from injury while at work, it is equally within its province to assist its citizens in their search for employment.

If the State may properly spread information concerning the public health through its Health Department, or information upon the best way to raise crops through its Agricultural Department, it is certainly proper for it to convey to those who are seeking employment information as to where work may be secured.

England and Germany have long since established systems whereby every man who is out of employment may register his name and be directed to points where there is opportunity for work.

Many years ago Germany established a municipal labor employment bureau in Berlin. This bureau was housed in a building which was made a labor exchange for the entire German Empire. There was room in this exchange for 5,000 laboring men while they waited for employment, and the officers of the exchange classified them according to their skill and ability. The records, names, addresses and occupations of every applicant were listed and entered upon cards. If word came from some other part of the empire, from Munich or Leipsic, that laborers of a particular class were needed, the laborers of that class were notified immediately as they waited in the great exchange and were directed to their future employers without loss

of time. The employee did not waste his time wandering aimlessly about the city, idling in public parks or scanning the newspapers for a possible opening. The state exchange supplied him with all the available information the instant it came to hand from any part of the empire and provided an effective medium through which Germany's labor could be mobilized and applied to the great work of the empire's progress.

In England, only seven years ago, the English parliament passed an act providing for 140 labor exchanges in England, Scotland and Wales, with a central exchange in the city of London. These exchanges gathered data concerning all classes of labor, made a record of the demands for labor from factories, mills, docks, railways and all manner of industries, so that men looking for employment in London waited at the London exchange and when there was need of them in Manchester or Birmingham the unemployed laborer was dispatched to the place where a job awaited him.

What Germany has done and what England has done, New York can do, and I have every reason to hope that the new bureau which has been added to the Department of Labor will provide the workingmen of New York with an avenue through which they may keep in touch with opportunities for employment in every part of the State.

Last winter when every paper in New York carried stories of the large number of men in New York city who were unable to secure employment, many of the farmers and up-State employers were unable to find workers. And, with others who were disturbed by this situation, I interested myself in transporting a number of New York city's unemployed up-State where they secured employment. The success of this experiment demonstrated to me that the time was ripe

for the establishment of a State-wide system of employment bureaus, which would bring the jobless man to the job and the manless job to the man.

After considerable investigation of the methods which had proved successful abroad, and after consultation with employers and experts in labor problems, I caused a law to be drafted which created a State Employment Bureau and, in response to my message to the Legislature urging its passage, the Legislature made the bill a law.

Under this law a new bureau was added to the State Department of Labor, known as the State Employment Bureau. This bureau is empowered to open branch offices in every section of the State. The law provides that this bureau must be under the immediate charge of a director, who shall have recognized executive and managerial ability, technical and scientific knowledge upon the subject of unemployment and recognized ability to direct investigations of unemployment through public and private agencies. This director must be chosen by a civil service examination, testing his capacity and his experience.

Each branch office of the Bureau of Unemployment is placed in charge of a superintendent who receives applications from those seeking employment and from those seeking employees, and who registers every applicant on permanent cards in the order of application.

To facilitate the work of the branch offices the Commissioner of Labor is empowered to appoint an advisory committee consisting of representative employers and employees, with a chairman to be agreed upon by a majority of the committee. Separate departments are to be provided for men, women and children, and the superintendent of each public employment office must coöperate with school principals in endeav-

oring to secure suitable positions for children who are leaving the schools to begin work.

If at any time the State Employment Bureaus are unable to find sufficient workers or sufficient positions through private channels, they are empowered to solicit business by advertising in newspapers, or in any other way that may be deemed expedient, but the law provides that the expenditure for advertising cannot exceed one-twentieth of the total expenditure for the bureau.

Finally, and most important, the services of the State Employment Bureaus are absolutely free to every workingman and to every employer.

These are the details of the new activity to which the State of New York has set its hand and, judging from the cordial reception that greeted the creation of this new bureau, its success is assured.

At the time when the bill creating the State Employment Bureau was before the Legislature, I received a letter from Bishop David H. Greer, the Episcopal bishop of the New York diocese, in which he said:

“ I have noted that you are much interested in and are taking action in the premises towards establishing something like Labor Exchanges throughout the State of New York, and I am writing to tell you how fully I sympathize with you in that movement and to assure you for whatever it may be worth, of my earnest support in it. It is in my judgment a comprehensive, systematic and businesslike method of meeting the condition of unemployment. Doubtless you are familiar with the success of a similar enterprise in England where the results have been most encouraging.

“I am sure you do not need this word of sympathy and endorsement from me, and yet the movement commends itself to me so strongly that I feel constrained to write you this letter of approval.”

I quote this letter because it is typical of the interest which leaders in public thought have taken in the new movement, and of the coöperation upon which the State Employment Bureau may count in its efforts to minimize the evil of unemployment.

Each year that the State Employment Bureau is in existence its usefulness will increase. Everything but labor has a market. Over the wire you can buy stocks and bonds, the products of the earth, the mine and the forest; you can buy cattle or clothing or bills of exchange, for they have a market and a marketplace, but the labor of man, upon which depends the progress of the world, the labor of the individual, which opens up all the treasures of earth, which turns the wheels of every industry and makes possible all human advance, this labor is without a fixed market and lacks the mobility which enables the products of labor to seek a purchaser. Without some intelligent direction or guidance, the laborer must wander from county to county, from town to village and from village to city, while his time and energy, all he has to sell, are absolutely wasted.

In the future the great State of New York will endeavor to husband the labor of its citizens. It will seek out the man who is willing to work and unable to find employment and lead him to the employer who has employment to offer but no man ready to accept it. It will stand upon the proposition that there is no

single asset more precious than the labor of its citizens and that it will conserve that labor to the utmost of its power.

Poets have sung, philosophers have asserted, statesmen have proclaimed the dignity of labor, and it is in recognition of the dignity of honest toil, of the worth of the ready hand and the willing brain of the worker that New York has established a free employment bureau so that its citizens may find the resources of a great State at their back in their search for the God-given opportunity to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

CONSERVATION OF NEW YORK'S NATURAL RESOURCES

Remarks Made During the Campaign Trip of 1914

Economy in government is merely conservation of public money. But this is not the only conservation in which I believe. I believe in the conservation of human life and human happiness as represented in the Workmen's Compensation Act. I believe in the conservation of our farms as represented in the Land Bank Law and the law creating a Department of Foods and Markets. And finally I believe in conservation of the natural resources of the State for the benefit of every citizen and for the people of the future as well as of the present.

I would conserve the timber in our forests; not by strangling our forests to death for want of intelligent care, or by the over zealous caution which permits dead timber to accumulate and spread devastating forest fires. And I am for the conservation of the magnificent water power of New York, which repre-

sents to the citizens of this State a potential wealth greater than is represented by the entire coal fields of Pennsylvania.

Conservation has a particular meaning when applied to water power. The only way to conserve water power is to use it. The progress of electrical science has made plain that wherever water falls from a higher level to a lower it is possible to turn this flow into electricity, and the electricity thus generated may be used to turn the wheels of a factory or light the homes of a city one hundred miles away.

Every day that the waters of New York are permitted to escape without paying their toll in electrical power represents a distinct and measurable loss to the citizens of the State. Failure to take advantage of our natural power is the worst sort of extravagance because it is unintelligent.

Next to California, New York possesses the greatest water power resources of any State in the Union. Including the boundary waters at Niagara, existing plants now develop 1,000,000 horsepower, and in addition to this power New York still possesses waters capable of developing 1,500,000 horsepower more. Every hydraulic horsepower used represents a yearly saving of ten tons of coal. The developments of the horsepower which now lies fallow, would save 15,000,000 tons of coal annually. At the average price of fuel today, this means an average saving in fuel expense of not less than \$50,000,000.

Until twenty years ago our water power could be used only where nature placed it. Today power from a single source can reach a marketing area of not less than 150,000 square miles. The water power formerly as stationary as the pyramids is now as mobile as the lightning. The State should harness its vast water

power. It should reach its hands into nature's storehouse and secure for its people the wealth that only awaits the taking.

There may be difference of opinion as to the best means of utilizing the power generated from New York's waters; there may be difference of opinion as to the hands to which should be entrusted its development, but there can be no difference of opinion among men of intelligence as to the necessity of some use and some development of this great natural resource.

In their determination to make the most of New York's splendid opportunities the business men and the workingmen of the State may count upon my steadfast and earnest assistance.

More water power will mean cheaper water power, and cheaper water power means more factories, more industries and more prosperity.

New York is a wealthy State. Wealthy in a progressive citizenship, wealthy in its finance, and wealthy in its resources. But no State and no nation was ever wealthy or strong enough to look with complacency upon the loss of an opportunity which would mean \$50,000,000 a year to be expended in promoting industry and assuring prosperity.

LABOR'S DUTY

**Speech Delivered at the Labor Day Celebration at
Syracuse, September 6, 1914**

Today America celebrates the cause of its workers. Today it pauses in its myriad affairs to celebrate the dignity of toil and the manliness of labor. Today the wheels of its factories halt and the clamor of its indus-

tries ceases, that America may pay tribute to the men and women who have made its civilization the admiration and the wonder of the world.

The holiday that we now celebrate is more than a gala occasion. It is more than the annual festivity with which labor signalizes its progress. More than at any time since this day was set apart for the workingmen of America, today is a day of thanksgiving.

It is a day of thanksgiving that while the men of Europe are shedding one another's blood, the men of America are enjoying the blessings of peace.

It is a day of thanksgiving that while the industries of Europe falter and halt, the industries of America still flourish and prosper.

It is a time of thanksgiving that, while the fields of Europe are made desolate by the god of battles, the fields of America are rich with the plenty and abundance which spring from the god of peace.

This Labor Day is not only a time of thanksgiving, it is a time for resolution. While America gives thanks that it has been spared the horrors of war it realizes that it holds this good fortune in trust for the afflicted millions of all the world.

America's busy factories must provide for more than the wants of America—they must provide for those who can no longer provide for themselves.

America's opulent fields must furnish food not for America alone, but for those unhappy millions who are reaping only misery and desolation from the ravaged fields that gave promise of plenty a few short months ago. Upon the shoulders of those who today celebrate the achievements of American labor, rests the burden of meeting what appears to be the greatest crisis in the history of civilization.

Unless I greatly misunderstand the temper and the spirit of the American worker, he will meet this great responsibility with stout heart and eager hands. Because he feels that he is the sturdiest and most intelligent worker in the world, he will take pride in proving that no situation is too difficult for him to meet.

Because he upholds a government which asserts the brotherhood of man, his humanity will impel him to give the best that is in him to succor the despairing men and women across the ocean.

Because he is an American citizen he will offer all the strength, all the energy, all the power that is in him in order that his country may rise to its responsibility in a manner worthy of America.

If today is a time of thanksgiving for all the workers of America, it is especially a time of thanksgiving for the workers of New York. Today the toilers of the Empire State may look back upon the progress of the past year and congratulate themselves on a series of victories which is without parallel in the history of industrial legislation.

These victories are not the triumph of labor alone, they are the triumph of the entire people. The progress which labor has made is an indication of the progress which the people of New York have made—for without the coöperation of right-thinking men of every class and position the laws which were placed upon the statute books of the State during the last year could never have been secured.

As a result of this generous recognition of the rights of the workingman, New York now has a law regulating the hours of employment in mercantile establishments and providing for one day of rest in seven.

It has a law requiring factories to keep their yards in sanitary condition and free from refuse.

It has a law placing foundries under the Factory Law and providing that gangways must be of sufficient width to make their use reasonably safe.

It has a law prohibiting the employment of women in factories before six in the morning and after ten in the evening of any day.

It has a law requiring the installation of fire-alarm signals and providing for fire bells.

It has a law requiring that wherever possible comfortable seats shall be provided for women factory workers.

It has a law providing for the protection of employees operating machinery and for the lighting of factories and workrooms.

It has a law providing for the examination of minors as to physical fitness and giving the Commissioner of Labor jurisdiction over the issuance of employment certificates.

It has a law providing for the inclosure of elevators and factory shafts in factory buildings.

It has a law reducing the number of hours during which children under sixteen years of age may work and prohibiting their employment after six o'clock in the evening.

It has a law restricting the employment of female employees in cities of the second class to fifty-four hours in any one week, and nine hours in any one day.

It has a law providing for a State employment bureau, absolutely free to every workingman in New York, which will place the entire resources of New York State at the workingman's disposal in his search for employment.

The laboring men of New York have reason to congratulate themselves upon the creation of this State employment bureau. But beyond this law and beyond

every other law passed during the last twenty years for the benefit of New York's workers stands the law which brings to every worker a sense of security never before known, the Workmen's Compensation Law, which Samuel Gompers declares to be the best law of its kind in the world.

There has been so much discussion of this measure that I shall not attempt to dwell upon its details here today. I prefer rather to set before your eyes a concrete example of what the compensation law means for the workingmen of New York and for their wives and children.

On the 12th day of May, 1905, a man named Bernard J. Ford, of New York city, slipped on a stairway of the slaughter-house in which he was employed and fell through an opening. He was injured so badly that his left arm had to be amputated.

In August, 1905, he brought an action in the Supreme Court to recover damages. The case was submitted in 1907 to a jury which disagreed. In 1908 a second trial was had and the jury returned a verdict for \$5,000 which was subsequently set aside. A third trial was held in 1908 and the complaint was dismissed.

An appeal was taken to the Appellate Division and in March, 1910, five years after the accident, the Appellate Division affirmed the decision of the lower court, dismissing the complaint.

To sum up, Ford, through no fault of his own, received an injury which practically disabled him for life. He appealed to the courts for redress and after four trials with their attendant expense, he learned, five years after his accident, that he could receive no compensation for his injury.

This was the situation of the injured workingman before the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

Last July New York decided that its injured workers had enough of law suits and disappointments, of jury trials and bitterness, and passed a law which now takes care of every injured workman automatically.

C. W. Althen, of New York, was employed by a large firm of building contractors. He was a carpenter, twenty-five years of age, with a wife and one child. On the 1st day of July, 1914, the day on which the Workmen's Compensation Law went into effect, he was walking across a beam on the twenty-second floor of the new Equitable building in New York city. Somehow he slipped, fell twenty stories, and was instantly killed.

Under the Workmen's Compensation Law his employers were required to notify the Workmen's Compensation Commission of this injury. They notified the Commission on July first.

On July twentieth the Compensation Commission considered this case and made an award giving Althen's widow \$30 a month during her widowhood and his daughter Ruth \$10 a month to continue for fourteen years. In addition to this, the Commission allowed \$100 for funeral expenses.

No word had been received from the widow and efforts were made to ascertain her whereabouts. Upon inquiry it developed that she had moved from New York city to York, Pa. The necessary papers to prove her claim were sent to her but were not returned to the Commission.

A representative of the Commission went to Pennsylvania and located Mrs. Althen. She said that she had been in such a condition of mind that she didn't know what to do. The representative of the Commission took her to one of her friends, who was a lawyer, where she signed the papers which gave her \$360 a

year as long as she lived, and gave her, in addition, \$1,680 with which to bring up her infant daughter.

Compare the two cases I have outlined for you. Consider the man who, under the old law, went to the courts to recover for the loss of his arm, who went through the agonies and the expenses of a litigation extending over five years and learned, five years after he was injured, that the law could give him no hope.

Then turn to the widow of C. W. Althen, who fled distracted from the State when her husband was killed, and who (assuming that she has forty-five years to live) received an equivalent of \$16,000 twenty days after her husband's death. Consider how in one case a man with a man's ability to assert his rights received nothing after fighting for five years, and then consider how in the other case a defenseless widow received \$16,000 from the Workmen's Compensation Commission before she had even asked for it.

Let these two cases, which are typical of the difference between the old law and the new, sink into your hearts and then consider what your answer should be to any man who dares to say that the Workmen's Compensation Law is wrong.

If you bear in mind the concrete facts which show the real and lasting benefits of the compensation law you will be able to answer those who, for partisan purposes and political reasons, are trying to discredit this great measure.

When men assert that the Workmen's Compensation Law is unjust to employers and employees alike, ask them whether they are for the system which sent injured workmen to the bread line and their wives and children to the poorhouse, or for the system which does away with law suits; which makes justice even handed and impartial; which enables injured workmen to keep

their homes together; which protects helpless widows and children from hunger and misery and want!

Do not let yourself be deceived by specious arguments or false statistics. When politicians tell you that the compensation law is unfair to employers, ask them why the New York Chamber of Commerce indorsed it. When they tell you that the compensation law will raise the price of various products, tell them that considering the price of compensation insurance for the State and the retail value of all the products of the State the Workmen's Compensation Law will only make a difference of thirty-three cents in every \$100 worth of manufactures.

It is not enough for the workingmen of the State to have secured the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Law. It is not enough for the State Federation of Labor to have indorsed it. Eternal vigilance is the price of safety. To preserve the Workmen's Compensation Law in its present strength and power the workingmen of New York must stand ready to defend it against slander and misrepresentation.

The opposition to the Workmen's Compensation Law does not come from the fair-minded and humane employers of New York. The most encouraging feature to me about the compensation law is that its humanity and justice were not only indorsed by labor and the friends of labor in our legislative halls, but received the approval of the public spirited men at the head of New York's great commercial enterprises.

We have reason to believe that a new industrial day is dawning for the people of New York, a day when justice and not conflicting interests shall determine the relations between capital and labor, a day when the workmen of New York shall realize that they cannot be prosperous and contented unless the industries

in which they are engaged are permitted to prosper, a day when the spirit of free America shall receive its fairest and best expression in the recognition by the captains of industry that those who labor to create their fortunes are human beings endowed with human needs and aspirations and deserving human sympathy, assistance and encouragement.

Just as the proudest moment of my life was the moment when I was privileged to affix my signature to the Workmen's Compensation Law, so I pledge myself to the people of New York to use whatever influence and ability I may have, whether as a public officer or as a private citizen, to do my part to make the new day which rises with golden promise over Industry's horizon a better and a happier day for the men and women of my State.

NEW YORK'S AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

Speech Delivered at the State Fair at Syracuse, September 3, 1914

If a time were to be set apart to celebrate the progress and development of New York, no more appropriate occasion could be selected than that which ushers in the State Fair.

It is a time to recite the triumphs of the State in every field of endeavor. It is a time to take stock of what the State has done in industry no less than in agriculture, in its cities no less than upon its farms.

The feeling which must animate the citizens of New York at this time is one of mingled gratitude and resolution; gratitude that while European civilization is plunged into the most terrible war of history, the people of America are able to enjoy the blessings of

tranquillity and peace; resolution that at this crisis in the world's affairs men of free America may meet the present situation in a manner worthy of America's place among the nations.

While Europe wages a war of desolation, America carries on a campaign of peaceful production. While the farms of Europe are deserted, the American farmer harvests his bountiful crops. While the industries of Europe falter and halt, the hum of wheels in America's factories makes music from the Atlantic to the Pacific. While the unfortunate millions across the ocean rush toward death and destruction the manhood of America, thanks to the steadfastness, the diplomacy and the watchful waiting of Woodrow Wilson, dedicates itself to the task of saving the world from want and famine.

Never have Americans had greater cause for pride in their country than at the present moment. Never have they had greater reason to unite their strength in the name of progress and humanity. And never have the citizens of New York had greater justification for rejoicing in the wealth and strength and progress which have earned for this commonwealth the title of "The Empire State."

From the days when the Continental Army humbled Burgoyne at Saratoga, from the days when the seat of national government was in New York city, from the days when Robert Fulton took the first steamboat up the Hudson River and the first knitting mill in the nation was established at Cohoes, New York has occupied a commanding place in the nation's political and industrial history.

Today it includes within its borders one-tenth of all the People in the United States. Today it leads every other State in the number of its commercial establish-

ments, in the number of persons engaged in industry, and in the value and variety of its products. It has the most important seaport in the civilized world which is at the same time the financial center of the nation.

One-sixth of every dollar earned by the resources of the nation comes from the intelligent energy of New York's citizens. And every year the Empire State adds more than \$3,000,000,000 to the country's wealth.

Although 78 per cent of its population lives in its cities, it has 22,000,000 acres of farms and only three States in the Union produce a greater total value of agricultural products.

In the value of its hay and forage, of its dairy products and of its potatoes, New York actually leads every other state. And the time is not far off when, through enlightened legislation and a better realization of farming opportunity, New York will assume the leadership in agriculture which it has already established in its industries.

It is a great State in which we have the privilege of living. Measured by any standard of resources, prosperity or wealth, of interest in education or of devotion to the arts and sciences, the Empire State stands a giant in a federation of giants. If there is one badge of honor more illustrious than American citizenship, it is the right to call one's self an American from New York.

Just as New York leads the nation in population and wealth, so it deserves to lead the nation in the justice and enlightenment of its laws. If New York is ill-governed the blighting influence of that misgovernment affects one-tenth of the country's entire population. If it enjoys the blessing of good government, the benefits are not confined to the people of this State alone, but are felt, directly or indirectly, in every State of the Union.

When New York places a law upon its statute books, its sister commonwealths are made to feel the influence of that law. Where New York leads, its sister States must follow. When New York, through its statutes, declares that injured workmen are entitled to legal protection and assistance, the workmen of the nation may feel confident that New York's law is destined to become universal in its application. And when New York establishes a land bank for its farmers it is only a question of time before other States will give to their agriculture the benefit of a modern credit system.

To govern New York wisely is an aspiration and a task which must sober every man who sits in the Governor's chair. The responsibility of caring for the welfare of ten million people is a responsibility that demands the best in any man. The promptings of personal desire and of political hopes sink to insignificance in the face of the all-compelling duty which rests upon the Executive of this great State.

The man who leaves the Governor's chair with the knowledge that he has been true to the best interests of the people he represents, who feels that he has done a little to promote the happiness of the millions who have trusted him, has a consolation and a reward which far outweigh all lesser considerations. And the Governor of New York who is false to his trust is false to twice as many people as Benedict Arnold betrayed.

It has been my good fortune to be Governor at a time when the public sentiment had crystallized in favor of the political and social reforms advocated for half a century. When I took office I knew that the sound opinion of a majority of our people favored legislation for the workingman and for the farmer. I knew that the voters of the State desired election reforms which would permit them to express their will at the polls without interference from political ma-

chines. And I knew that the overburdened taxpayers of the State were crying for relief from extravagant expenditures and wasteful administration.

With all of these propositions I found myself in hearty accord. I found that my party associates were willing to give me every assistance in responding to the demands of the hour. And, as a result, New York has enacted legislation during the past year which places it where it belongs—in the front rank of humane and enlightened commonwealths, the leader in the struggle for political freedom and social justice.

The State at last has turned over a new leaf in its attitude toward its farmers. It has realized that in order to secure cheaper and better food for the citizens in its cities it must encourage in every possible way the activities of the toilers upon its farms. It no longer considers its full duty to the farmer discharged when it has established agricultural schools where the young farmer may learn the scientific aspect of agriculture. It has boldly approached the problem of eliminating the waste and loss between the producing farmer and the distant consumer.

It has established a Department of Foods and Markets which is charged with the duty of opening auction markets in every section of the State, where the New York farmer may send his products to be sold by licensed auctioneers.

It has appropriated \$20,000 to encourage the formation of coöperative societies among farmers so that instead of purchasing their supplies at retail and selling them at wholesale they may reverse the process.

It has paid off the accumulated claims of farmers whose cattle had been destroyed and has passed a law to discourage future delays in payment by making these claims draw interest from the instant they arise.

It has set money aside for the expert study of diseases of cattle and has passed a law enabling the Comptroller, at any time, to borrow \$50,000 to halt the ravages of insect pests.

When I urged the passage of this last law I little thought that before the ink was dry on my signature the necessity would arise for the immediate application of this law.

The farmers of New York who benefited by the vigorous campaign which our Commissioner of Agriculture waged against the grasshopper pest may thank their stars that he was able to act immediately under the new law without being compelled to wait for the money with which to carry on a successful fight against the hosts which were destroying New York's crops.

Not the least of the many things which the State has done for its farmers during the past year is the creation of a land bank which will give to the farmers of New York an easy and flexible system of credit.

There is no servitude worse than financial servitude. There are no shackles harder to break than the golden chains with which the creditor binds the debtor. And the creation of a land bank is the first step to free the farmers of New York from an antiquated system of credit which has burdened New York's farms with a mortgage indebtedness of more than \$100,000,000.

Loans at high rates of interest and for short periods of time may be suitable for industries where returns are quick and profits are certain, but for the farmer whose production must follow the slow course of the seasons, this system is as disastrous as it is unfair.

What the farmer needs is a system of credit which will enable him to borrow on his land and extend payments on his loan over a long period of time and this is the system which the land bank now gives to the farmers of this State.

The principle of the land bank is to give the benefit of compound interest to the debtor instead of to the creditor. It requires the borrower to pay a small additional sum each year in addition to his interest which small addition eventually wipes out the principal of his loan.

To take a concrete example, suppose a New York farmer under the old system wished to borrow a thousand dollars at 6 per cent for ten years, he would pay sixty dollars interest each year or six hundred dollars during the ten years, and would pay the principal at the end of that time. His total payments would amount to \$1,600.

Under the land bank system he will pay \$135.86 each year for ten years or \$1,358 altogether. In other words he will pay \$242 less under the land bank system and will have no large principal to meet at the expiration of his loan. If, instead of borrowing for ten years the farmer desires to borrow \$1,000 for fifty years from the land bank, he will pay \$60 interest each year and \$3.44 additional. But this small additional sum, insignificant in itself, will eventually wipe out the principal and at the end of the fifty years the debt will have been entirely paid.

An idea of the saving that the land bank will bring to the farmers of New York is indicated by the fact that if the \$100,000,000 of mortgages on New York's farms were changed into ten-year land bank loans the farmers of the State would save \$24,000,000. If changed into fifty-year land bank loans the saving would be \$82,000,000.

The prosperous farmer may not see the necessity for the land bank and if all farmers were prosperous, if all had bank accounts upon which they could depend when their crops failed, there would be no need of a land bank. But for the farmers who are unable to

shake off the mortgage on their acres, who dread the approach of payments on their loans, who are in constant fear that a sudden frost or long-continued drought will bring foreclosure upon their defenseless heads, the land bank comes with a message of confidence and hope.

New York may well congratulate itself upon the progress it has made in promoting the interests of its farmers. At a time when the condition of its finances demanded that it economize in every possible way, the State has appropriated more than \$300,000 for the welfare of its farms in addition to the regular appropriations for its agricultural department and its agricultural schools. But this is merely economy under the guise of generosity. For every dollar that the State has contributed to the development of its farms it will reap a reward which cannot be measured in dollars, or circumscribed by the results of a single year.

What New York has done for its farmers it has done in equal, if not in greater degree, for the workers in its industries.

It has created a State Employment Bureau, free to all who desire its services, which will direct labor to points where it is most needed. Henceforth, the man who is willing to work and who cannot afford the services of a private employment bureau may go to the employment bureaus maintained by the State and have the entire resources of New York placed at his disposal in his search for employment.

The manufacturer or the farmer who desires help may make use of the State Employment Bureau no less than the mechanic or the immigrant who is in search of work. New York has set its hand to the proposition that it is the duty of government to encourage its citizens in their useful activities, and is bringing

the workman desiring work and the employer desiring labor into closer and more effective contact.

Time does not permit me to enumerate the various laws enacted during the past year which have for their object the reasonable regulation of the hours, places and manner of employment. But because I believe the Workmen's Compensation Law to be the greatest achievement of New York in recent years, I desire to call your attention to the necessity for, and the benefits of, this law.

Humanity and ordinary justice are never very far apart. Humanity and legal justice are sometimes widely separated. There was a time when society recognized no obligation on the part of the employer to care for those who labored for him. There was a time when the master might sacrifice the lives of his servants wantonly and without question. The world progressed and the law gave to workmen the right to recover for injuries sustained in the course of their employment. Looking back upon this stage of human progress we find that the workmen's rights under the law were more theoretical than practical and that in nine cases out of ten legal technicalities barred the injured worker from the compensation that should have been his under the law.

Today New York has advanced one step farther and has declared that since industry cannot operate without a certain number of industrial accidents the cost of these accidents should be borne not by the individual worker, or by the individual employer, but by the industry in which both are engaged.

This is the principle underlying the Workmen's Compensation Law. It compels every employer to insure his workmen against accident. It fixes a definite scale of compensation which protects the employer

against excessive compensation and the workman against compensation that is insufficient.

When the history of capital and labor is written, the compensation law which New York has enacted will stand as a Magna Charta of humane industrialism. When all else that New York has done during the past year is forgotten, that law will stand as an eternal monument to the broad humanity and essential justice of the people of this State.

What New York has done in the fields of agriculture and industry, it has done during the past year in the realm of political reform.

It has established a direct primary system demanded for years by thinkers of every class and party. It has adopted the Massachusetts ballot in order that unfit candidates may not be elected to office solely because of their place upon a party ticket.

If political machines are able to control elections in the future, it will be because the voters of New York desire that control, and not because the manner in which our elections are conducted gives undue advantage to the manipulations of any organization.

In its finances no less than in its legislative reforms, New York has entered upon a new scheme of things. Instead of permitting old debts to accumulate, each fiscal year must hereafter stand upon its own legs. Instead of permitting departments to exceed the money allotted to them, each division of the State government is being restricted to the precise amount appropriated by the Legislature. Actual needs and not vague guesses are now made the basis for all appropriations and the results of this change are everywhere apparent.

When I took office the State was spending \$57,000,000 a year. Investigation convinced me that this was too

much. After a war over economy lasting three months, the Legislature cut last year's budget \$3,000,000. Thirty days after the Legislature adjourned I made a further reduction of over \$7,000,000 by the use of the veto power. Adding to this the rearrangement of the sinking fund and other financial reforms I saved the people of this State from a direct tax of \$11,712,250.

To enumerate the saving to the taxpayers of each county would take too much time. Let Onondaga county alone stand as an example. If this amount of money had been raised by a direct tax Onondaga county would have been compelled to contribute \$184,832. That is what my financial policy saved Onondaga county. And so it goes proportionately in every county of the State. The smallest county was saved nearly \$5,000; the largest county over \$5,000,000.

Instead of spending \$57,000,000 annually, the State, beginning next October, will be restricted to \$47,000,000. Instead of being forced to bear the burden of a direct tax, the people of the State may now rest assured that the State's income will be sufficient to meet the State's expenses.

Measured by the calendar, New York is a scant year ahead of where it was last September. Measured by the progress it has made in its social and political problems, it has advanced farther than the friends of just and humane government dared to hope.

I know that I speak for every citizen of New York when I declare that I am proud of my State. The men and women who compose its citizenship have reason to be proud of the eminence of New York. They have reason for pride in its magnificent industries, in its splendid resources, in its wealth and strength and power. They have reason for pride in its lordly cities and its fertile farms. They have reason for pride in

the extent of its contributions to the greatness of America. But beyond all other reasons, New Yorkers have cause for pride in their great commonwealth because its laws reflect the aspirations of a just and enlightened people.

For my own part I believe that the Empire State is worthy of the unselfish and single-minded devotion of its sons and daughters, whether in private life or engaged in public service.

I believe that the resources and opportunities of New York entitle it to prosperity.

I believe that its cities are entitled to home rule and its farms to accessible markets.

I believe that its citizens deserve just and liberal government.

I believe that too many laws are no better than too few.

I believe that it is better to pay money for compensation insurance than for the maintenance of courts and almshouses.

I believe that the workmen of the State cannot be prosperous or contented unless the State's great industries are permitted to prosper.

I believe in good roads.

I believe in honest primaries, in fair elections, and in a ballot which gives every candidate an equal chance.

I believe that a dollar wasted by the State government is a dollar stolen from the taxpayers of New York.

And I believe that with the new ideas of social and economic progress which New York has written large upon its statutes the future of the Empire State must be as prosperous as its past, as brilliant as its prospects, and as rosy as the hopes of those who stamped upon its shield the golden word —“ Excelsior.”

AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the New York State Agricultural Society, January 21, 1914

I have in mind to attempt something original tonight. As long as I can remember there has been one commodity with which those interested in agriculture have been abundantly supplied. The farmer may not have received any particular attention in the distribution of favors. No one has been particularly anxious to take over his mortgages for him, or to harvest his crops; no one has given him rapid transit from the farmhouse to the cornfield. No one has given him libraries; no one has presented him with art museums in which to wander in his hours of opulent leisure. But to make up for these deprivations all with whom he has come in contact have generously supplied him with advice.

Wherever he has gone the farmer has found a host of willing friends, ready and anxious to tell him what to do. Commissions and committees have descended upon him and have refused to leave until they had told him how his affairs should be ordered.

If rain and sunshine could be as surely counted upon as the advice that is showered upon his head, the farmer would never have cause to complain about the weather. Consequently, though it may be considered daring, I shall make a manful effort to refrain from adding to the volume of helpful words with which you are all so familiar.

In the first place, whatever it may have to do with the case, I do not feel competent to advise other men about matters of which they know more than I do. Although part of my life, and a very pleasant part,

was spent in a farming community, my knowledge of agriculture is neither personal nor wide enough to make my opinion on agriculture of much value. All I can do for the farmer is to try to help him in quarters where he tells me he needs assistance. I frankly confess my inability to advise him.

Although my knowledge of the methods by which crops are sown, raised and harvested is necessarily limited, there is one phase of agriculture to which I have devoted considerable attention. Because reading and observation have convinced me that the farmer's place in the economic life of the nation was all important, I have felt it my duty to acquaint myself with the farmers' economic problems and I agree with those who believe that national prosperity and happiness depend upon the prosperity and the happiness of those who feed the nation.

I have studied the American farmers' situation with more than ordinary care, and, as a New Yorker, I have naturally been most interested in the farms and farmers of New York. From what the farmers of New York have told me, and from what other information I have been able to gather, I have reached the conclusion that there are two agricultural problems which the State as a State must solve.

The first problem is how more of the State's lands may be placed under cultivation.

The second problem is how the produce of New York's farms may be cheaply and easily distributed among the consuming population of New York.

The first problem is the more important and the more difficult. It is a problem vital not only to the farmers, but to every citizen of New York irrespective of his occupation. For the last twenty years the nation has seen a gradual and alarming rise in the cost of the

necessaries of life. A rise in necessities always implies a rise in everything else. The man who must pay more for his food, clothes and shelter must charge more for the work of his hands, and for whatever he produces. There would be nothing particularly distressing in the increase in the cost of living if every man's income had undergone a similar increase. We know that this has not been the case, and in seeking to bring about a proper readjustment of conditions, the nation and the State must either increase wages or reduce the cost of necessities.

To reduce the cost of necessities we must increase the supply. This is the first law of economics. And since food is the first necessity of man the most imperative problem which faces the State is to increase the supply of food it produces. To do this the State must enable the farmer who is already on the land to increase the number of acres he is cultivating, and must persuade men not already farmers, to turn from overcrowded cities and over-crowded occupations to the waiting and vacant farms.

Time at last makes all things even, but New York cannot wait for suffering and distress to force its citizens out of its towns and upon its lands. It cannot wait for cruel necessity to bring the city dweller into the country. By every means in its power it should hasten this inevitable transformation.

New York is doing a great work now in educating those who seek to become farmers in the science of farming, but it must go further than that and make it easy for farmers to increase their holdings and for men who are not farmers to become owners of farms. And the only way in which it can bring this about is to supply the farmer and the intending farmer with some easy method of obtaining credit.

There are few problems which this new land of ours must face which have not already confronted the older nations of Europe; there are many places where this country can save itself from mistakes by observing what methods and ideas have proved successful in similar circumstances abroad.

Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Great Britain and Russia have all been forced to help their farmers in order to feed their people. They have been obliged to devise systems of credit whereby their farmers could buy land and improve the soil, and it is time that the United States, or that portion of the United States which is becoming crowded, should look across the ocean to profit by the experience of others.

New York must give to its farmers and to the men of small means who desire to become farmers, some safe and sensible method of raising money for legitimate needs. If New York wishes its lands cultivated it must give the man who has thrift, intelligence and industry but no capital, a channel through which he can obtain the land he is willing to cultivate.

One of the reasons that this country's great commercial enterprises have flourished and prospered is that the means of obtaining credit has been abundantly supplied to them.

The whole modern financial system is based upon credit and no single division of industry can produce satisfactory results unless it is equipped to obtain the same credit which is at the disposal of other industries.

It is a lamentable fact that agriculture is at a distinct disadvantage in the matter of obtaining credit. While the nation's farms represent the best security in the world, the nation's farmers are unable to obtain the easy and flexible credit which this gilt-edged security warrants. It is difficult for the farmer to raise

money quickly and at easy rates of interest on his property. It is hard for him to secure the money necessary to move his crops. In other words, after he has labored to produce the most necessary article of commerce, he finds himself unable to turn his certain profits into cash.

These and similar considerations have led me to investigate the systems of agricultural finance which have proved successful abroad. I have studied the Prussian land bank and mortgage associations known as "Landschaften," the "Raffeißen" and the "Schulze-Delitzsch" systems in vogue in various parts of Europe.

I have noted how easy it is there for the farmer of small means to obtain the money he needs for farming purposes expeditiously, and at easy rates of interest, and have marked how the introduction of these systems has been followed by a revival of interest in agriculture. I see no reason why New York cannot avail itself of some such plan to hasten the exodus from the city to the farm and to give the New York farmer a financial system which will make it easy for him to dispose of his products or to increase the amount of land he is able to cultivate.

So convinced am I that the farmers of New York desire better credit facilities, that I shall urge upon the Legislature the advisability of proper legislation in this direction.

This is not a proposition that can be finally decided in a moment. The opportunities to do a great and lasting good for the agricultural development of New York are too large for any hasty action, but with the farmers of the State unanimous in the demand for that easy and flexible credit to which they are entitled, I have no doubt that the Legislature will be prepared to act in the matter without loss of time.

With the farmer, the Governor and the State in general all anxious for an increase in agricultural activity, there is no reason why the means for making that increase an actual fact should not be placed at the disposal of the citizens of New York.

The second problem which the friends of agriculture are called upon to solve is a problem which is more or less involved in the problem of credit which I have just discussed. It is the problem of finding a satisfactory method of getting the farmers' products from the farm to the consumer. Those in a position to know declare that for every dollar's worth of food which the public buys, the farmer receives only thirty-five cents. Sixty-five cents of the dollar is absorbed in distribution. The railroad takes some of it, the commission merchant takes some of it, the retailer takes some of it. Among them they take nearly twice what the man who has labored to produce the food himself receives. It is preposterous that such a situation should exist in a State which has the splendid facilities at the command of New York.

New York's farmers have a great consuming population at their very gates. They have the finest system of railway and water transportation in the world and these facilities will be even better when the Barge Canal is finished. The railway, the commission merchant and the retailer are all entitled to a fair profit for their services, but when they take 65 per cent of what the public pays for its food there is something wrong with the system by which the farmer's products are marketed.

The chief reason for the small percentage which the farmer receives is the fact that he sells as an individual out of touch with the man to whom his products eventually go. To increase the farmer's profits and to decrease the consumer's outlay, the farmer and the

consumer must be brought into closer contact. If the farmer continues to sell as an individual, it will be practically impossible to make any progress. The markets where his products are bought are too different and diverse for him to deal personally with the consumer. It is obvious, therefore, that if a personal relationship is to be achieved, it must be attained through the coöperation of many farmers acting as a unit.

There is little doubt that the facts I have just stated are understood and appreciated by every farmer in the State. Many of them have expressed their keen regret that there is no general movement to form coöperative selling societies among farmers, in order that each member of these coöperative societies might dispose of his products to the best advantage. Scarcely a farming community in the State has not at some time or other expressed a desire for such a society. There is a great and growing sentiment throughout the agricultural districts of New York for coöperative organizations which will assume the responsibility of marketing farm products, but this sentiment must be crystallized and given a concrete expression. Some one with initiative in each community must take it upon himself to organize a coöperative association and where there is no one man ready to take the task upon himself, the State itself should provide energetic organizers for sections that desire their services. With coöperative societies receiving the products of each individual farmer, sorting and packing them, arranging them and keeping in close touch with market prices, most of the farmers' difficulties, so far as the consumer is concerned, would disappear. The consumer himself would feel that he was getting his food at the lowest possible price and the farmer would be

assured that he was receiving full value for his products. Furthermore, the situation which now exists, where the individual farmer ships goods to a distant market and his neighbor sends to the same distant market for that very product, would be at an end. There is doubtless not a single man in this audience unable to cite an instance where a farmer's fruits or vegetables have been shipped out of his community only to return to some neighboring consumer in a few days. The reason for this is obvious. The village grocer cannot depend upon individual farmers for his supplies. He must go to some large market which is supplied by a number of farmers for the certainty that he will secure what he needs.

With coöperative selling associations in each farming community which at all times would have a considerable supply of various farm products on hand, the local grocer would not be compelled to go far afield for what he wanted.

Consumers in the country, no less than consumers in the city, would find a coöperative selling system of great advantage and the farmer would at last have the satisfaction of knowing that the labor of his hands was receiving the reward that it deserved.

New York already has upon its statute books, laws which should be of great advantage to the farmers of the State if they would take proper advantage of them. The Credit Union Law, enacted last year, is calculated to take care of whatever short time loans the farmer may desire to make. It is a step in the direction of better agricultural credit facilities. But as yet there has been no considerable attempt to take advantage of it. The Coöperative Corporations Law, passed last year, placed the State on record as in favor of the coöperative idea, both in buying and selling. In the

six months of its existence this law has made progress. Coöperative societies have been established in Columbia, Schenectady and Delaware counties and another is about to be organized in Oneida county. But this law, the Credit Union Law, and the further legislation that the friends of agriculture favor, need a broader understanding.

It is my purpose to urge the Legislature to appropriate from \$25,000 to \$50,000 to enable the Department of Agriculture to bring these laws home to every farming community in the State.

Laws are useless unless those who are supposed to profit by them realize their opportunities under the law. Vigorous organizers, keen propagandists, can do a great work in hastening concerted action in relation to these laws, and money used to pay the expenses of these organizers and propagandists will be money well spent.

Another law which has proved of benefit to the farmers of the State is the law regulating the State's commission merchants. The operation of the law has demonstrated that the protection which it gives to the farmer should be increased. I shall call the Legislature's attention to the fact that there is room for improvement in the present law and shall suggest that all commission merchants be required to keep records of shipments and buyers, so that every farmer may know where his products go. With such records made mandatory the farmer will be protected against imposition and the State authorities will be better able to detect and prevent violations of the law.

There are other problems confronting the farmers of New York, and I want them to know that in each one they will find me sincerely anxious to do justice to the farmers and farms of this State.

It is time that New York awoke to the fact that its agricultural development is the proper care of every citizen whether he works upon the soil or in New York's thriving cities.

New York prides itself, and justly, upon its magnificent industries and its tremendous industrial enterprises, but it has reason for equal pride in its splendid farms. Few people realize that just as New York leads the rest of the nation in commerce and industry, it equally deserves the title of " Empire State " for its agriculture.

No State in the Union produces a wider variety of agricultural products. Although New York stands seventeenth in the area of cultivated lands it is fifth in the value of its agricultural products. One county in New York produces more grapes than any State in the Union with the exception of California. Six counties in New York produce more apples than any State west of the Missouri River.

New York leads all other States in the production of vegetables, fruits and dairy products. To establish this record despite the fact that New York's farms are competing with the attraction of the greatest city of the world, is a thing of which New York may well be proud.

New York's farmers have reason to view the work of their hands with satisfaction. They have preferred the independence of the open to the turmoil of the city. While others turned the wheels of industry, they have faced the burning suns of July and the snows of December, that those engaged in other occupations might be fed. And, in a State which has focused its attention upon industrial achievement, they have maintained the agricultural standing of New York, in a manner well worthy of its splendid resources. New

York would fail in appreciation, it would be lacking in justice and deficient in foresight if it failed to give to the farmers of New York the consideration to which by thrift, by intelligence and by integrity they are entitled.

BANKERS' SIMPLE JUSTICE AND NEW YORK

Address at Banquet of Group Five, New York State Bankers' Association, January 24, 1914

This old State of ours has a glorious record. Local self-government started here—home rule was born here. Town meetings were old in New York before they were new in Massachusetts.

Old Peter Stuyvesant with his wooden leg stalks through history more majestically than most governors with two legs.

New York had the country's first free schools.

New York held the first Colonial Congress for liberty at Albany, and Benjamin Franklin was its president. While the heroes of the Boston Tea Party were in their cradles New York started the Revolution which ended in Independence Day.

The Stars and Stripes first floated officially over Fort Schuyler in the Mohawk valley. The backbone of England's power in America was broken on the stony ridges of the Hudson. For the Revolutionary War New York furnished three-fifths of the money and one-fifth of the men.

Religious freedom flourished in New York while witches were burning, Quakers suffering and Baptists hiding within the sacred precincts of New England.

New York was the first State to guarantee manhood suffrage. Our Constitution has been the model for

all of the new States of the Union and our Code is one of the greatest contributions to the history of law since the days of Justinian.

A New Yorker invented the telegraph and made possible the Stock Exchange; a New Yorker improved the telephone and made a lot of other things impossible; New Yorkers laid the Trans-Atlantic cable so brokers in New York could do business in London while the rest of New York slumbers. Another New Yorker invented the dictagraph and made airships and submarines the only safe place for confidential chats.

New York gave the world its first steamboat and the country its first railroad. That railroad ran from Schenectady to Albany. That railroad was the beginning of a railway system which enabled the North to conquer the South in the war of the Rebellion. Railroads, not generals, won the Civil War for the North. Before our own, no republic of any size had ever existed for any length of time. Montesquieu declared the opposite to be a political impossibility. He contended that republics were feasible for small areas but impossible in big. Montesquieu would have been right, if railroads had not annihilated space and confined continents within the time limits of a State. When orating against railroads populistic ranters and iconoclastic spouters might remember the services of our railroads in rallying the "Boys in Blue" around our flag on Southern battlefields.

Abraham Lincoln saved the Union, but one of your craft helped him mightily. Had not Jay Cooke, the patriotic Philadelphia broker, floated successfully Uncle Sam's Civil War bonds, Lincoln might not have been able to maintain our troops in the field. This service Jay Cooke rendered, not for lucre, but for love of country. For this patriotism of Jay

Cooke's may the mantle of charity forever fall over the faults of other brokers.

Today all railroads lead to New York, and from New York ships go out to sea laden with the product of our soil and the handiwork of our toil. Demagogues of the West and scoffers of the South may call us money crazy, but we give to charity with a generous heart and a lavish hand. Many of our people are middlemen, many are brokers of one kind or another. When we make money for ourselves we generally make money for others; when we spend money we spend our own and we spend it like princes. Here in New York we help the helpless, aid the aidless and promote the promotable. We capitalize energy and underwrite ability. We welcome brains from the farm or the forum, from the cottage or the mansion. We have a place for muscle, for ingenuity and for genius. We glorify the man who does things and we salute the man who tries. We are human in our faults, angelic in our virtues, and our weakness in the one is our strength in the other. Gold we love but we do not idolize it. We have the poet's fancy for the beautiful and the scientist's enthusiasm for the useful. The oratorio of Niagara rings in our ears, the purple-capped Catskills please our eyes, the rippling Hudson soothes our spirits, the rustling Adirondack forests play for us an Aeolian harp; the streets and avenues of little old New York paint us a panorama of life's passing show with its wisdom and its folly, its wit and its irony, its comedy and its tragedy.

Our past is glorious, our present prosperous; but to survive, a State must project itself into the future. Ancestry is dead; prosperity alone lives. So the all-important question is: What of the future? An old Arctic explorer once said to his followers: "Who-

ever sits down sleeps; whoever sleeps is lost." So it is with the States. Nothing stands still in this world but the Pyramids in Egypt. Progression or retrogression is the law of life. Pascal puts it well when he says the human race is like a child, forever growing older but never growing old. New conditions require new remedies. The new remedy most needed in legislation today is the old remedy of "Simple justice"—simple justice to the invested dollar, simple justice to the man who makes the dollar, simple justice to the public out of whom the dollar is made.

The rule of the mass must prevail, but the rights of the individual should be protected. Without just compensation society should take from man no right it cannot give. The greatest good for the greatest number must have no antithesis in American legislation. The smallest good for the smallest number is an insult to American principles.

If I mistake not you are with me on this. In this regard Jay Cooke, Uncle Sam's patriotic banker, leads where you can follow. Jay Cooke was for "simple justice."

As bankers you would be for simple justice for the public.

As a State official I should be and I am for simple justice to everybody.

And all of us, whether as citizens or officials, should be for simple justice to the invested dollar, simple justice to the man who makes the dollar, simple justice to the public out of whom the dollar is made.

If you will all stand for this simple justice the future of New York will be as prosperous as its present and as glorious as its past.

SOME STARTLING FACTS

**Address Delivered in Niagara Falls, N. Y., October 27,
1914**

As this campaign progresses it is evident that some people believe a requisite for the governorship is to have done a little graft hunting and to have put somebody in jail.

Now, while I glory in neither, I can claim to have done both.

I did not intend to mention this part of my official career during this campaign, but political self-protection makes it necessary. And since I am compelled to perform this disagreeable task I want to do it in no egotistical manner, with no minimizing of Mr. Whitman's work along the same lines, but in keeping with Kipling's injunction of "Lest We Forget" and in disputation of the assumption that Mr. Whitman has had a monopoly on enforcing the criminal laws of New York State.

Since I have been Governor every charge of wrongdoing presented to me has been referred to the district attorney having jurisdiction. Most of these, as you know, have had to do with road building. In some cases indictments have been had and convictions secured; in other cases the grand jury has dismissed the charges and in nearly every case where such charges were dismissed the district attorney is a Republican and the county in which the proceedings were held is a Republican county.

But the work to which I refer was done while I was Comptroller of the State.

Mr. Whitman tries to create the impression that all the crooks in the State are in the Democratic party. I deny this and I offer you proofs that the Republican

party has its share. And this I do as a matter of history, as a matter of justice to my party, and as a matter of dutiful contradiction to the wide-spread impression that Mr. Whitman is the only man alive who ever showed up the crooks. I showed up Republican crooks and Democratic crooks while I was Comptroller of this State, and nearly all the men indicted for the crimes uncovered while I was Comptroller were convicted and punished.

When I became Comptroller I found on the statute books a provision which gave the Comptroller power to examine the finances of municipalities for the protection of taxpayers.

The statute had been a dead letter. I revived it and made it do what it was intended to do — save the people from the peculations of dishonest officials.

Every office was examined upon its merits. Politics were not allowed to enter into the examinations. The taxpayers got a square deal; every office-holder got a square deal. We reported things as we found them. We blackened no man and we white-washed no man. We drove dishonest officials from office and sent others to jail; we made officials return money which they had illegally kept; we exposed rotten financial systems and put an end to the wholesale robbery of the people.

Here are a few of the things we did; a few of the things which I commend to Mr. Whitman's consideration — a few of the things which show that there are crooks in the Republican party just as well as in the Democratic party — a few of the things which prove that I have enforced the criminal laws of this State as zealously and as effectively as Mr. Whitman ever has.

We went into Broome county and let us see what we found Republican officials doing there.

We found three Republican officials so corrupt that we forced them to resign their offices and we convicted two other Republican officials of larceny of public funds. We found the clerk of the board of supervisors spending thousands of dollars of the people's money to send his political and social friends across the continent on a pleasure jaunt. We found an official, whose salary was sixteen hundred dollars a year, drawing eighteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars from the county treasury in less than five years; we found him expending nearly four hundred thousand dollars of public money on his own "say-so" and without a single audit from the board of supervisors. We found the treasurer of the county loaning county money to the county judge; we found the superintendent of the poor loaning county money to the county judge, to the clerk of the board of supervisors and to other political friends for their own personal use. We found the superintendent of the poor purchasing for himself blooded live stock with the money of his department and paying to have this stock registered with the funds appropriated for the care of the aged, the dependent and the orphan. We found a convenient fire had taken place in the office of the clerk of the board of supervisors, destroying many valuable papers and the flames of that fire were so well trained as to destroy only such papers as had particular bearing on illegal, exorbitant expenditures. We found that the county treasurer had illegally paid out more than one hundred and six thousand dollars to the clerk of the board of supervisors alone, and we discovered that this same clerk of the board of supervisors had purchased machinery for his own private business at the expense of the county.

We convicted the clerk of the board of supervisors; we indicted and drove from office both the county treasurer and the superintendent of the poor; we indicted a number of the members of the board of supervisors and we recovered for the county thirty thousand dollars from the surety company which had bonded the county treasurer.

I offer this as "Exhibit A" to prove that the Republican party of this State has its share of crooks, and that Mr. Whitman has enforced the criminal laws of the State no more faithfully than I have.

We went into Oswego county and what did we find Republican officials doing there?

The doings in Oswego county would constitute an excellent plot for a comic opera. In the cash drawer of the county clerk we found the I. O. U.'s of political friends deposited instead of cash. We found that the county treasurer had illegally paid out thirty-six thousand four hundred and fifty-two dollars without an audit of the board of supervisors. We found that the unfortunate inmates of the county poorhouse were supported at a rate of a dollar and fifty cents a week, while the inmates of the county jail luxuriated at the rate of three dollars and fifteen cents.

If you were poor and hard up in Oswego county you were better off to commit a misdemeanor and go to jail than you would be to remain decent and be sent to the poorhouse. Evidently, the Republican officials of Oswego county thought twice as much about the scamps in the county jail as they did of the unfortunates in the county poorhouse.

In Oswego county there were two jails — one located at Oswego and the other at Pulaski — and, oh, what a boon those two jails proved to be to the sheriff and his associates. These jails were situated twenty-seven

miles apart, and without warrant of law the officials who transported the prisoners from one jail to the other charged ten cents a mile for fifty-four miles for each prisoner transported. An illustration of how this was worked is found in a transaction that bespeaks your remembrance. The sheriff took ten prisoners one day from Oswego to Pulaski and that same day brought nine of them back to Oswego. He charged the county at the rate of ten cents a mile for fifty-four miles for each prisoner. When analyzed this shows that while he actually traveled fifty-four miles he charged the county for one thousand and twenty-six miles at ten cents a mile.

Ten cents per week were charged in this county for washing the clothes of each prisoner, although the prisoners did the washing themselves. The excuse given for this charge was that it was for watching the prisoners while they did the washing.

Oswego is a small county, but it had four coroners. The number of sudden and mysterious deaths in Oswego county was astonishing, dumbfounding and amazing — judging from the charges of one coroner. In one year this coroner collected pay for every day in the year, including Sundays. Violent deaths came fast and furious, according to the coroner's records, but the newspapers never knew anything about them. In a calendar year of 694 days this coroner collected pay for 716 days' services. The man who can "beat the band" is found in every community; but the man who can "beat the clock" is a rare bird. Here he is. Look at him well, for you will seldom see his like.

The sheriff of this county collected five dollars for driving away gypsies and another five dollars for attending the county fair at Sandy Creek. And this is Oswego county, in which the Republican machine is

hand in hand with Mr. Whitman in this campaign. Does Mr. Whitman approve of this way of managing the affairs of that county? If he does not, why does he not come out and denounce the grafters there? Or does he see nothing extraordinary in what they did and will he overlook like conduct on the part of the employees of the State?

I offer this as "Exhibit B" to prove that his own party has a lot of political crooks despite the fact that Mr. Whitman seems to think that every Republican is an angel and every Democrat a devil.

We went into Orleans county and what did we find Republican officials doing there?

We found the county treasurer had expended nearly nine thousand dollars in payment of claims never audited by the board of supervisors, and that he had illegally borrowed in three years over sixty-three hundred dollars on the faith and credit of the county. We found that two other Republican county treasurers had retained, for their own personal use, the fees of their offices and we compelled these county treasurers to return to the county this money which they had illegally pocketed. We found the Republican county clerk had received three thousand dollars to which he was not legally entitled and that a Republican sheriff had received twenty-three hundred dollars in the same illegal way.

We found that the superintendent of poor for the benefit of favored merchants seemed to think that the inmates of the county poorhouse should be decked out in splendor of which Solomon never dreamed in all his glory. We found that the superintendent of poor had bought dresses for the inmates of the county poorhouse that cost one dollar a yard, corsets worth two dollars a pair and lots of them, gloves at two dol-

lars a pair and not a few of them, and silks and satins aplenty. "Blessed are the poor" in the county house of Orleans when the Republican officials there want to help boost the profits of their political merchant friends.

I offer this as "Exhibit C" to show Mr. Whitman that the Republican party in this State is tarred with the same stick with which he is trying to tar the Democratic party in this campaign.

We went into Clinton county and what did we find the Republican officials doing there?

We found that if a man lost a horse in that county and went forth to find it that all he had to do to secure payment for his time and expenses for hunting for his own horse was to present a bill to the board of supervisors — provided he stood in right with the Republican bosses of the county.

I prove this assertion by the case of Wellington Day, who stood in right. Day lost his horse, had himself sworn in as a deputy sheriff, spent seven days hunting for the horse, hunted every place in the county where the horse was not, until finally he found the horse within a short distance of his own home — and miracle of miracles was paid by the county for finding his own property. It seems strange that everyone who stood in right in Clinton county didn't lose something so that the county might pay them for finding it.

We find justices of the peace in this county collecting exorbitant charges. All a claimant had to do to collect a claim against Clinton county was to assign it to a bank in which prominent Republican officials were interested. Then the claim was paid without question. One justice of the peace collected fees from the county for performing marriage ceremonies, and collected them under the authority of a statute which reads "Fees for services in criminal proceedings."

Another justice collected one thousand seventy-eight dollars in fees for taking care of ninety-six cases in forty-eight of which the verdict was not guilty; in thirty of which the complainants never appeared. Of all these defendants, only six were ever held for the grand jury. This same justice of the peace collected four, five, six and some times eight days' pay for examining a single witness in an insignificant case. He may not have been the greatest cross-examiner in the history of the world, but certainly he was the most exhaustive asker of questions since Wu Ting Fang went back to China, and he must have been a marvelous listener, too, at so much per day. He was an industrious man, too, was this justice of the peace, for in one year the county paid him for working five hundred and thirty-seven days. I wonder if Mr. Whitman approves of paying Republican officials throughout the State at the rate of five hundred and thirty-seven days a year? I ask this question, because I have yet to hear of Mr. Whitman's repudiation of the machine responsible for such infamous conduct.

It may be lucky to be the iceman in New York city, but it is luckier still to be a lawyer in Clinton county. There the board of supervisors, contrary to law, pay lawyers, with the right kind of pull, for defending criminals on any old charge, whereas the law makes provision for such payment only where the statute so provides.

I offer this as "Exhibit D" to show Mr. Whitman that a lot of Republicans in this State are just as black as he is trying to paint certain Democrats.

But I overlooked the financial affairs of Clinton county. We found that in three years the county had been done out of forty-six thousand six hundred and nine dollars and eighty-two cents, comprised of deficits of nine thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight dol-

lars and thirty-eight cents, of illegal payments of three thousand fifty-six dollars eighty-two cents, of unauthorized payments of thirty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-four dollars and sixteen cents. The financial affairs were in a veritable chaos. No bonds were filed to secure deposits of the taxpayers' money and the banks which had this money had not paid the county any interest on its deposits. Almost one-third of the tax rolls of the county were defective. Every rule of audit had been violated by the board of supervisors in allowing claims against the county with the result that the taxpayers' money had been shamefully squandered. A prominent individual presented a claim of 787 days' service in one year, and the board of supervisors allowed the outrageous claim. Certain supervisors collected mileage for five hundred, ten hundred and twenty, and ten hundred and twenty-two miles for one session of the board. Evidently, the "Great American Traveler" had decimated himself and bilocated himself and become several members of the Republican party of Clinton county.

In an unimportant trial where there was a single defendant — and not a dangerous one at that — the sheriff appointed twenty-two court officers to watch spiders weave their webs on the court house windows and the county paid the bill. A coroner collected pay for two hundred and sixty days' services and he never filed the proceedings of a single inquest; the same coroner acting as a justice collected pay for five hundred and twenty-seven days' work in a year. Here is a man who is able to work seven hundred and eighty-seven days in one year and have Clinton county pay him for it. The county clerk of Clinton county drew a salary and at the same time kept the fees of the office and never made a report of the fees as required by law.

There was not a single office in the county that did not show an appalling disregard of law and if the observance of official duty in Clinton county, as we found it, were used as a criterion, no man alive, or no man yet to come, could degenerate public service one iota no matter how hard he tried.

We went into Oneida county and what did we find there?

I am sorry to say that we found some Democratic office-holders there false to their duties, but we found more Republican office-holders of this kidney than Democrats. We sent three officials to jail, had two others fined and recovered a lot of money for the county. I respectfully call Mr. Whitman's attention to this so that he may realize he is not the only man in the world who ever enforced the criminal laws.

We found that officials in Oneida county had furnished their homes with expensive furniture presumably purchased for the county jail and paid for out of the county funds. We found that sufficient money was expended in painting a public building to paint all the grass of Oneida county green, the sky blue and the sun gold. We found that the county prisoners must have walked when awake and walked when asleep — because they were fitted out with pairs of shoes every fifteen weeks. Either the shoes must have been "poor" or the man who sold the shoes must have been "good" to the politicians of Oneida county. We found the cost of drugs for the prisoners one-sixth of the entire cost of maintenance and ten times the cost of medical attendance. Either all the prisoners must have been dope fiends or all the dope fiends of Oneida county must have been prisoners; or probably we should have found out who ran the drug store that supplied the prisoners, but unfortunately we did not. Judging from the bills

for nursing in the prison, there were a number of political nurses in Utica who wanted to go to jail — for pay. If the bed clothes in this jail originally cost as much in proportion as mending them did — these bed clothes must have been of the alluring kind and the downy quality Lord Byron dreamt of in poetic rhapsodies and Tom Moore described in the wonderful ecstasies of *Lalla Rookh*. Money was easy in Oneida county — twenty-five hundred a year went for inspecting engineers and consulting engineers at the county almshouse, twelve hundred dollars went for surveying a boundary line across Oneida Lake, and seventy-four days' pay were allowed for repairing the gutter pipes of the county house, and it isn't a very big house either.

I offer this as "Exhibit E" to show Mr. Whitman that even Republicans some times go wrong.

We went to Schenectady county and we found nine men, five of them Republican officials, guilty of defrauding the county. They were indicted, pleaded guilty were fined.

I offer this as "Exhibit F" to remind Mr. Whitman that people living in glass houses throw stones with unbecoming grace.

We went into Onondaga county and we found that a bank at Syracuse was practically the county treasury and we found that the Republican boss at Syracuse was the boss of the bank. This bank retained for its own use the fees of the county treasurer's office, hired and controlled all the employees of the office and exercised all the rights and prerogatives of the county treasurer. The fees of the office amounted to ten thousand dollars a year. The bank of the Republican boss of Onondaga county graciously retained these fees and condescendingly permitted the county to pay the salaries of the employees.

I offer this as " Exhibit G " to remind Mr. Whitman that it is wise for all men and all parties sometimes to pray for the gift to see themselves as others see them.

We went into Warren county and what did we find Republican officials doing there?

We found that two county treasurers had illegally paid out large sums of money without an audit from the board of supervisors. We found that the superintendent of poor spent ten thousand dollars of public money a year and kept no books, no checks, no stubs of checks to show how he spent it. We found that the reports of this superintendent of poor did not square with facts, and we found that he sold the county a farm for twenty-five hundred dollars, and four years later, through a third party, bought it back for five hundred and fifty dollars.

I offer this as " Exhibit H " to show Mr. Whitman that now and then, even the Republican party produces a man who does not appreciate the nicety of distinction between " mine " and " thine."

We went into Westchester county and what did we find the Republican officials doing there?

We found a Republican county clerk who had been keeping fees to which he was not legally entitled. When I pointed out this fact from the Comptroller's office I was bitterly assailed and roundly abused by a partisan press. But the courts have since declared that I was right and only recently the Court of Appeals has ordered a judgment of ninety-five thousand dollars to be entered against this former Republican county clerk of Westchester county.

I offer this as " Exhibit I " to show Mr. Whitman that the Republican party has a little dirty linen of its own to wash.

Nor is this all. I want to call Mr. Whitman's attention to the fact that for years Republican office-holders failed to collect taxes from certain influential corporations in this State. They could have collected these taxes if they tried, because I collected them after I became Comptroller — not only for the two years I was Comptroller, but for all the years the Republicans had failed to collect them.

I want to call Mr. Whitman's attention to the inexplicable hocus-pocus way of handling stock transfer stamps in the Comptroller's office under Republican control, of the mysterious disappearance of seventy-five thousand dollars' worth of perfectly good stamps shortly before I assumed the office, and of the queer so-called burning of hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of defective stamps after the Republican party was defeated in the election of 1906. The attempt to explain away the dubiousness of these transactions was as ludicrous as anything Mark Twain ever wrote or Samuel Lover ever penned.

When Mr. Whitman is talking about certain Democrats in this State and asking irrelevant questions, why doesn't he say something about the official acts of the noble patriots of Republicans whose public careers I have narrated to you.

If I am to be condemned for the acts of Democrats over whom I have no control and for whom I am not responsible; Mr. Whitman should be condemned for the acts of Republicans for whom he is not responsible and over whom he has no control.

Let us be men and not mice!

Let us stop playing the hypocrite in political contests and observe the honesty and fair-play we observe in every-day life.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

**Address Delivered to Italian Societies at Albany, Oct.
12, 1914**

Four hundred and twenty-two years ago Christopher Columbus gave humanity a new world and performed a deed almost god-like.

Only God can create a continent.

It takes a god-like man to find one.

So tonight we celebrate the doer of a noble deed and the dreamer of a splendid dream.

So tonight,

“ The western world and dauntless chief we sing
Who steered his course with bold adventurous wing
Through unfrequented seas from Palo's shore
Where pilot guided ne'er his helm before.”

No scoffer of the supernatural can comprehend Christopher Columbus. Out of a dream he found a world. Out of his inspiration he confounded the wisdom and the learning of the ages. With the hand of God as his guide and his compass the Star of the Sea shining from a heaven higher than the human eye can reach, with the echoes of the *Salve Regina* and the *Ave Maris Stella* to sanctify those vast solitudes where from creation's dawn the voice of man had never sounded until he sailed into that silent sea, with contempt for the precedents of earth and the zeal that looked beyond the stars, this iron-willed Italian penetrated an unknown sea to an unknown land for his brothers of the world and the God of us all.

Prophetic of his career was the name he bore—Columbus, meaning a dove, Christopher, the Christ bearer—the dove that carried the spirit of Christ across the wild waste of a world of waves; across a sea without a shore, tractless and vast and wide.

Lamartine says the benefactors of mankind have accomplished their mission through the aid of saints and women. Columbus had the aid of both. The saints he found in a Dominican monastery; the woman on the throne of Spain.

Christopher Columbus had the spirit of a crusader and the perseverance of a man of science. He combined a soldierly theology with a Baconian view of natural phenomena. While Columbus may not have meant to be only a preacher, he surely did not mean to be merely a trader. He had the Biblical shrewdness of the "children of the light." Though the son of a poor wool comber he dictated terms to kings like a monarch of the earth. In disappointment he lamented like Jeremiah; in endeavor he was as patient as Job. Enemies might sow cockle among his wheat but still he sowed and sowed and mankind reaped the harvest of his hands. Through the character and talents with which heaven endowed him he sailed to glory and to fame.

Genoa, Venice, France and England might deny him a miserable ship with which to find a world, but his inspiration never failed. True to the light within him he faltered not until Father Perez convinced Isabella that the savants of Salamanca were less wise than this mendicant mariner; until the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria* had united the Red man with the White man; until with the Castilian banner in one hand and the sword of triumph in the other he dedicated and consecrated this new continent to the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

To the religious spirit animating the discovery of Columbus, Washington Irving and William Prescott pay beautiful tribute, and even the cynic Voltaire says: "When Columbus promised a new hemisphere

people maintained it could not exist; when Columbus discovered the new hemisphere people maintained it had been known before." Thus Voltaire ridicules the belittlers of Columbus' discovery. This western hemisphere was not known before. It had been dreamed of but it remained for Christopher Columbus to crystallize the dream of centuries. Aristotle and Seneca had had a glimmer of the light but Christopher Columbus held the torch of truth aloft that all the world might see.

For this matchless career Spain furnished the money, but Italy gave the man. This is the case where gold is cheap — where brains and nerve are dear. This is a case where money can help but cannot consummate. This is a case where the heart and hand vitalize gold and make it potent. Spain and its money we salute with gratitude, but Italy we hail as the Mother of this new world, and her son, Christopher Columbus, as its consecrator to the noble mission it has fulfilled.

Four hundred and twenty-two years ago Columbus thought he detected signs of land. Sails were lessened and cautiously the ships proceeded. Every eye on those vessels was peering through the gloom, every heart athrob. What must have been the feeling of this Olympian Italian whose mind alone had planned, whose single will had compassed so sublime a deed. Before him wrapped in darkness lay a world awaiting discovery in the gray-washed hours of dawn. His name is now the heritage of fame. No history of mankind could pass him by unnoticed. The memory of that voyage will live forever in the corridors of time.

At two o'clock in the morning — 422 years ago — land was sighted and Christopher Columbus fell on

his knees chanting a Te Deum. That Te Deum inaugurates a new chapter in the annals of history. That Te Deum foretells a new form of government where the voice of the people is the voice of God. That Te Deum foretells a land where kings will pass away, where manhood will wear the crown and wield the scepter. That Te Deum foretells a land where the oppressed of the world can find ease and peace and prosperity under a flag of opportunity and liberty. That Te Deum is a voice in the wilderness preparing the way for humanity's march along the high road of progress. That Te Deum foretells a land where the ballot is mightier than the bullet; where education is as free as sunlight; where lips and hands are unfettered; where brains are the masters of destiny; where labor wears a royal coat of arms; where men sow what they reap; where the weak find protection and the strong bow to a rule of law. That Te Deum foretells a governmental realization for which the prophets sighed and the wise men labored in Biblical days — it foretells an impetus to human liberty, religious freedom and individual rights that rewrote the law books of the world, hurled autocracy into the abyss of decay and placed equity on the throne once occupied by kingly whims.

The discovery of America is the most momentous event since the advent of Christ. Christ preached the message of Democracy and to it America gave political application. The Sermon on the Mount is the inspiration of Democracy; the Epistles of St. Paul its proclamation. For its fullness of growth a new world was needed; the old world stunted it with fetters of tradition. Columbus found the new world, the fetters fell away and St. Paul's words became facts. Old principles found new applications. Another Exodus was

upon the world, another Promised Land in sight, and The Golden Rule became a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. It had been the text of the preacher, but has now become the criterion of the judge and the standard of the legislator. It shattered the shackles of caste and blasted the thralldom of inherited fate. To every man it gave the position he could win and the authority he could sway.

Lecky contends that Democracy means the rule of ignorance. This may be so in an ignorant country, but not in this country where school and church and home go side by side. Lecky knew Europe but he did not know America. Ignorance can never rule where education is general. John Bright once said that the United States government is the strongest government under the sun because it is based on the will, the good will, of an educated people, and John Bright was right. A government founded on affection is more powerful than one supported by force. Other governments may begin in conquest, but ours ends in mercy and beneficence.

Valor, fraternity and perseverance spelled success for Columbus — they spell invincibility for the land he discovered.

We may wear the scars of materialism, but we have survived its wounds and we are dedicating ourselves to what is best in human nature. From things that pass away we are turning to the things that last eternally.

Slowly but surely we are adjusting ourselves to the eternal laws of God, the eternal rights of man and the eternal duties of society.

We are learning that to perpetuate Democracy we must treat unequal things unequally. We are discerning that within every nation there are two nations —

the rich and the poor; the rich have all that opportunity gives, the poor must be denied nothing that opportunity can give.

We are expressing our ideals in character, literature, philosophy and our political experiments. We are seeking an ever-continuing emancipation and never-ending enlightenment for the people of our nation. We are sustaining a Democracy on a system of taxation which should protect every one and plunder none.

We are trying to make the stream which flows from Nature's cornucopia so diffuse its blessings that every man may derive therefrom the greatest possible measure of happiness and success.

We make the music of industry a song of joy to the toiler as well as a refrain of profit to the employer. We melt the barriers of nationality in the crucible of fraternity. We supplant the roar of cannon by the murmur of the loom. We command the soldier to salute the artisan, not the artisan the soldier. We order the artillery of war to give the place of honor to the infantry of trade. We crown each man's labor, each man's invention as the heritage of all. We proclaim Democracy means, not "I'm as good as you are," but "You're as good as I am." We assert that laws like clocks must be cleaned occasionally, wound up and set to time that is true.

History may repeat itself but we are not repeating history.

Others may follow the beaten trail. We are pathfinders — but pathfinders whose eyes see and ears hear principles as old as God and as young as man.

In 1492 Columbus blazed a way across the seas.

Today we blaze a way across the pages of history.

Egypt created the ideal of power and Babylonia of splendor, China created the ideal of ceremonial righteousness and Judea of legal solemnity; Greece created the ideal of citizenship and Rome the ideal of justice; England created the ideal of civil liberty; France the ideal of social equality; but America—America the land that Columbus gave the world—created the ideal of Equity through the marriage of Liberty and Equality.

This is the indirect contribution of Columbus to the social wealth of the world—a contribution more precious than all the metals in the bowels of the earth or all the treasures in the waters of the sea.

In the twenty-first chapter of Revelations St. John says he saw “a new heaven and a new earth.” Four hundred and twenty-two years ago Columbus too had a revelation, but o’er his head reigned the heaven of old while a new world lay at his feet. In the Psalms David constantly sings a new song of joy and exultation. Four hundred and twenty-two years ago Columbus sang a new song of joy for a new world, and for him the birds, the breezes and the waves upon the shore of a new world sang a song of exultation. Moses led the chosen people into the promised land; Columbus led all the people of the Eastern World to this Western land of glorious promise and still more glorious achievements. Jacob served seven years and still seven more to get the wife of his heart; Columbus served eighteen years of deferred hope and postponed promises for a chance to discover the world of his dreams. Jacob dreamed of a ladder to heaven; Columbus piloted the way for mankind to an earthly heaven of liberty and of law.

A king robbed Christopher Columbus, schemers shackled him and scribblers deprived this country of

his name; enemies reviled him, sycophants supplanted him, and Spain forgot him.

But today the world remembers him. Today Italy enshrines him and America acclaims him.

Today we celebrate the doer of a noble deed and the dreamer of a splendid dream.

“The Western World and dauntless chief we sing,
Who steered his course with bold adventurous wing,
Through unfrequented seas from Palo’s shore,
Where pilot guided ne’er his helm before.”

JUSTICE FOR THE HUDSON.

Remarks Before the New York State Waterways Association at the State Education Building, Albany, N. Y., October 30, 1913

This association has done valuable work in promoting the Barge Canal. As a constructive undertaking that work is drawing to completion, and if your efforts are to continue along constructive lines you must turn your eyes to new fields. The Hudson River is Nature’s continuation of the Barge Canal. With the opening of the Panama Canal a deeper channel in the Hudson River would be of great worth to every interest fostered by our canals.

New York State has spent something in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000 upon its canals. This money has not been expended solely for the benefit of the people in New York State. Its expenditure has been a profit to a section of the country inhabited by nearly 20,000,000 of people.

I for one do not believe that the United States government has shown anything like reciprocity toward

New York State for this expenditure of \$150,000,000 in furthering our national progress.

In the last 100 years the United States has spent only about \$500,000,000 on all its harbor and river improvements. So that New York State, for the benefit of a large section of this country, has expended over one-third as much upon its canals as the United States government has expended in all its improvements upon rivers and harbors, and of the \$500,000,000 which the United States government has spent, New York has not received its just share.

This State, with its magnificent port at New York city, has borne the brunt of our national indirect system of taxation, and with the levying of an income tax New York State will continue to bear the brunt of our new national direct system of taxation. This, for one thing, entitles New York State to more consideration from the national government than it has received in the improvement of its waterways.

I believe that a proper amount of money expended by the United States government upon the improvement of the Hudson River, so that large ships can sail up the Hudson to Albany and the eastern terminus of the Barge Canal, would be money far more wisely spent than three-quarters of the money which the United States has already expended on river improvements.

In support of this argument I point to the \$7,000,000 which Congress spent upon the Hennepin Canal to connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River. As a piece of engineering the Hennepin Canal is a commendable enterprise; as a commercial proposition it has little or no value. And this is only a sample of the way in which Uncle Sam has spent money upon other rivers disproportionately to the importance of the Hudson.

In the past few years the average yearly tonnage of freight on the Hudson River has been 3,868,795 tons, and the average yearly value of that tonnage has been \$139,924,444. And yet outside of the pending appropriation the United States government has spent only a little over \$5,000,000 on improving the Hudson River. Five millions of dollars expended upon the Hudson River, with such a tonnage and of such value, compared with \$7,000,000 expended upon the Hennepin Canal, with little tonnage of small value, shows the unjust policy that Washington has been pursuing toward the waterways of New York State.

Down in West Virginia they have a river known as the Kanawha. In 1911 its tonnage was about 1,400,000 tons, and the value of that tonnage was less than \$5,000,000. Yet for the improvement of this little river the United States government has spent almost as much money as it has spent upon the Hudson.

In the shoal canals of the Tennessee River near Chattanooga the United States government spent so much money that the total expenditure for improvements represented a cost of \$11.91 for every ton of freight carried through the canal. If this same proportion had been observed in the treatment of the Hudson River the United States government would have spent upon it in the past something like \$55,000,000, instead of \$5,000,000. For every ton of freight carried through the lock of the Wabash River at Grand Rapids, Illinois, the Federal government has laid out an expenditure of \$56. If this ratio had been observed in the treatment of the Hudson River the United States government, in the years gone by, would have spent upon the Hudson \$224,000,000, instead of \$5,000,000. The Federal government has spent \$20 a ton for every ton of freight carried on the Big Sandy River and its forks.

That same proportion of expenditure upon the Hudson River would have meant \$80,000,000 devoted to improvements, instead of \$5,000,000.

In 1908 the United States government spent in interest and maintenance the incredible sum of \$183 for each ton of freight carried on the Red River between its mouth and Fulton, Arkansas. This ratio upon the Hudson River would have meant the expenditure of \$700,000,000, instead of \$5,000,000, in the last 100 years.

I mention these facts to show the business interests of New York State that they have not received fair treatment from the United States government in the development of its waterways. You gentlemen of this association have done magnificent work in the promotion of the Barge Canal. You can now duplicate this work by inducing the Federal government to treat us fairly in our river improvements.

The canal boats of the Barge Canal will be a golden argosy if they can give proper vent into the markets of the world. If the Hudson River were deepened so that the large ships could sail up the Hudson to Albany and there receive freight at the eastern terminus of the Barge Canal, an easy access would be furnished not only to the Panama Canal but to the markets of the East.

Canada has shown us the value of this idea by the development of the St. Lawrence River up to Montreal; and the other day, when the Governor of Louisiana was in this city, its value was emphasized by a little incident he repeated. He said that through Federal aid the Mississippi had been improved so that large ships could sail up that river 134 miles beyond New Orleans. At the time the project was mooted he said critics made the argument that big ships would

not go up the river beyond New Orleans to get freight. Time, he said, has disproved that argument and now you can stand on the docks of New Orleans and see the ships going 134 miles up and down the Mississippi with their wealth of freight.

The same thing would happen in this State if big ships could come up the Hudson River to Albany. The day is coming, and it is not far distant, when New York city will be so crowded for dock room that the smaller ships, in the race of competition, will not be able to secure space. The big transatlantic continental lines will use up the space and then people will awaken to the need of facilities for ships coming up the Hudson.

This society can do much to impress this idea upon the public mind. There is shortly going to be a convention at Jacksonville, Florida, of the National Waterways Association. I would like to see this society largely represented there and I will appoint every man who will go to advocate the interests of New York State waterways a delegate to that convention. And I want to ask him, either on his way south to Jacksonville, or his way north back home, to stop off at Washington and impress upon the official mind of our national capital the great need for improving the Hudson River and the great good that will come to the country at large as a result of this improvement.

And when we make this demand for a deeper Hudson, so that ocean-going vessels can sail up to Albany, we are simply asking the United States government to do what Canada did at Montreal, what Scotland did at Glasgow, what England did at Manchester and at London, and what Belgium did at Antwerp.

AMERICA'S ADOPTED SONS

**Message to the Foreign Language Newspaper Association
at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New York City, February 7, 1914**

I regard the Association of Foreign Language Newspapers as a potent force for the progress not only of their individual readers, but of the American nation as a whole.

These papers form the channel through which the ideas, the habits and customs, the intentions of this newer land must be carried to those who cannot read the language of their adopted country. They are designed to assist the development and the progress of a large and important fraction of the nation. Presided over by men who understand America and America's problems, they can accelerate the evolution of the strangers within America's gates into citizens inspired with America's purposes and ideals.

No man seriously denies the value of the services that the Fourth Estate performs for this country. The mind can scarcely picture the confusion and stagnation that would result if the people of the United States were suddenly deprived of their daily papers and magazines. A representative democracy such as ours is built upon the interchange of ideas and the dissemination of information. The newspapers provide the citizen with a constant check upon the activities of public men. It is through the newspapers that the people as a whole derive their knowledge of how their public affairs are being managed, and how their private fortunes are affected by economic and social changes.

A complex and populous nation that depends for its security upon the sound judgment of its individual citizens, could not exist unless these citizens had some

ready and constant source of information. America is guarded and guided by its public prints, and though occasionally some paper may betray its trust, though inaccuracies and distortions may sometimes blot the escutcheon of the Fourth Estate, the nation is sensible of the tremendous debt it owes its newspapers, it appreciates the part that they have played and must play in the preservation of popular government, and it stands ready to destroy and overwhelm any attempt to usurp the freedom and power of the American press.

What is true of the American press generally is particularly true of that part of it which is represented here tonight. No portion of the population is more eager for information, instruction and guidance than those who cannot read the language of their adopted land. Where everything is new and strange, where customs and manners, names and faces are all alien and unfamiliar, the printed page that explains and typifies the new in terms of the old is doubly welcome and infinitely precious.

To my mind, the men who direct and edit the foreign language papers of America have a two-fold trust, a two-fold responsibility. They have the opportunity to be of supreme service to their readers; they have the opportunity to be of service to the American nation. And this splendid opportunity imposes corresponding obligations.

It is your task to break down the last barriers between the newcomer and those with whom he has cast his lot. It is your duty to show him where he may best serve himself and those about him; it is your privilege to bring home to him what America expects of him and what he may expect from America.

The fact that your papers are growing and thriving

is proof that you are meeting the trust reposed in you with intelligence and patriotism. You could not succeed so well were you not benefiting your people, you could not prosper were you betraying their interests. All I would say to the members of the Foreign Language Newspaper Association may be summed up in a congratulation and an exhortation—a congratulation upon what you are doing to benefit those who speak a strange tongue and an exhortation ever to keep before your eyes the sacredness of your trust, the inspiring responsibilities of your position as the well springs from which a considerable portion of our people must draw the waters of political and social knowledge.

If you will permit me I would send a message to those who can be reached only through you, the men and women of America who are striving to win success and happiness in a new land in spite of the handicap of a language that is strange to their longing ears.

That message is a reminder that they must take to heart the lesson of the real America. That they must learn to look upon themselves, not as strangers in a strange land, not as unwelcome guests under a jealous roof, but as copartners and fellow workers in the task of promoting the prosperity, the dignity and the liberties of America.

America does not ask them to forget the fatherland or to be false to the lands that gave them birth. The man who is false to his mother will be recreant to his bride. You cannot kindle loyalty to the new by extinguishing loyalty to the old. But America does demand of those who seek its shores that they shall be true to the things for which America stands, to the principles of justice, of freedom, of equal opportunity, which have made America a star of hope for all mankind.

America has won its present place among the nations because it has received the offering of the stoutest hearts, the sturdiest blood, the stanchest minds of all the world.

America's forests have been turned into farms, its plains into cities, because it has offered to those that dared to claim it the opportunity to be masters of their own destinies.

American is great because it has claimed the allegiance of men who love liberty better than tyranny, who hold progress higher than stagnation, who are willing to cross an ocean and begin life over in a new hemisphere, because it gives them the glorious opportunity to assert their manhood, to prove their worth as men.

And these adopted sons have brought more to this country than willing hands and hearts. They have given us a guarantee against war, by creating a better understanding between the fatherland from which they came and their chosen republic. They have taught America that there is good in every race and in every creed. They have come to America's gates alone, unfriended, with empty pockets, and by winning the success that their splendid courage deserved they have preached the beautiful gospel of Bobbie Burns, that "a man's a man for a' that."

Just as the language of America is compounded of a dozen tongues, of Greek, of Latin, French, Germanic and Anglo-Saxon, the soul of America is the composite soul of all the world. The men of a hundred climes and a hundred tongues meet here as brothers, fired with a common purpose dedicated to a common cause.

That masterful orator, that compelling poet, that patriotic Hungarian, Louis Kossuth, once expressed a thought, that every man who is struggling to become an American should hug forever to his heart. In a

speech at Faneuil Hall, Kossuth declared that he was proud to be in what was called "The Cradle of American Liberty."

But he declared that he regretted to hear the phrase "American Liberty." "Liberty," cried Kossuth, "is not American, nor English, nor French, nor Hungarian — liberty has no nationality, it is as pervading as the atmosphere, as universal as the stars. In place of American liberty, Americans might better speak of 'liberty in America.'"

Kossuth was right. America does not make men free. The Almighty God did that. What America does is to give free men the opportunity to assert and defend their freedom.

The stranger within America's gate, therefore, is no suppliant, begging for the right to be free. He is a free man, determined to remain so. And the man who comes to America to shake off the chains of a despot or the yoke of a tyranny is an American at heart before he sees the lambent torch in New York's harbor which represents the hope, the tears and the triumphs not of one republic but of two.

In my opinion there is no surer guarantee of liberty for America than the constant accession of new citizens who have felt in their own lives the meaning of oppression and despotism.

The man who has been free all his life may forget at times the value of the blessing that is his. He may hold that liberty below its true worth, which has always been a part and parcel of his life. But the man who has fled from the injustice of oppression, who has felt the weight of a despot's heel, who has drunk of the dregs of bitterness and suffering, that man knows the meaning of liberty, as his more fortunate brother cannot. That man's life must ever be devoted to an

intense, an abiding and a patriotic hatred of aught that would deprive him of the liberty he has won through pain and exile.

Allegiance to America is easy. Its adopted sons have not exchanged one ruler for another; they have simply asserted their inalienable right to be rulers of themselves. The flag to which they pledge allegiance is not the symbol of a reigning house, it does not represent the domination of any man or set of men. It belongs to no race or creed, to no class or condition. It belongs to Kossuth as well as to Webster, to Lafayette as well as to Washington, to Kosciusko as well as to Lincoln, to all who worship liberty on whatever side of the ocean they first see the light of day, to every man of every race who believes in the dignity of toil, in the sacredness of justice, in an equality of opportunity and the essential brotherhood of man.

A CALL TO MEMBERSHIP

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the State Committee
at Albany, N. Y., October 6, 1914**

It is gratifying to me, as I know it must be to you, to confer at a time when our party is not only united as a party, but commands the confidence and high regard of the citizens of the entire country without regard to faction, class or past party affiliations.

This condition is due chiefly to the clear-sighted and statesmanly administration of the national government under the guidance of Woodrow Wilson.

In its conduct of national affairs the Democratic party has a leader who assumed his leadership at the request of the American people, who maintained that leadership by sheer force of mind and character, and

who is discharging the duties of leadership in a manner that has added new glory to the American name throughout the civilized world.

There is need for leadership in the affairs of the Democratic party in New York. There is need for a State leader who can command the confidence of Democrats in whatever part of the State they may reside. There is need for a pilot who can direct for all; for a captain who can command for all.

That leader must be above faction. He must enjoy the allegiance and the confidence of every Democrat. He must be responsive to the ideas of the Democrat upon the farm no less than to those of the Democrat in the city. He must be in harmony with the national democracy, and stand ready to defend and encourage the democracy of a single county. He must be a Democrat whom all other Democrats can follow with confidence in his devotion to party principles.

Too long have the Democrats of the State looked in vain for such a leader. Too long have they wandered in the wilderness of cross-purposes and the desert of misunderstanding. Too long have their efforts to express the purposes of Democracy been balked by the lack of a leader ready to mould divergent forces into a purposeful and united army.

When the Democrats of New York at the recent primary commissioned me to represent them in the campaign for the continuation of Democratic policies in the State, they imposed upon their candidate the responsibility of State leadership. It is a responsibility that I would have preferred some other Democrat to assume. My personal desire is to confine my energies to the solution of the manifold problems of State government. I have no ambition or inclination to shoulder the additional burdens which the directive force of a

great party must assume. Were the necessities of the case less urgent, I should refuse the commission. But because I realize that the future of Democratic government in the State depends upon harmony and coöperation, impossible without some central figure around whom the Democrats of the State may rally, I shall attempt the task.

By their votes at the primary the individual Democrats of New York have signified their willingness to follow me. Prominent members of the county organizations have publicly expressed their desire that the State leadership should go to the Democratic candidate for Governor.

I want to say that I take these Democrats at their word. I believe in the sincerity of their statements and I feel that my responsibilities will be more easily discharged because my party in all of its ramifications is willing to follow where I lead.

If the leadership is to come to me it must come without reservation. As long as the Democrats of the State are willing to follow me I shall be leader in fact as well as in name. I shall be no party to an attempt to clothe me with apparent authority while others wield the real power. As Comptroller, as Lieutenant-Governor and as Governor I have respected the confidence which the people of the State reposed in me. I shall not violate that confidence in the direction of party affairs any more than in the conduct of my official duties.

I take the State leadership with the knowledge, and I trust with the approval, of every Democrat. When I am ready to abdicate this unsought authority I promise that every Democrat in the State shall know the fact.

I feel that when the Democratic voters of the State of New York placed the party standard in my hands

their act was not only a commission to lead, but a command to put forth every effort to enable the party in the State to measure up to the standard of the party in the nation.

I am not so vain as to believe that I can meet this high expectation, but I promise you that whatever of ability or strength I possess will be devoted toward that end. In this task I would be foredoomed to failure without the earnest assistance and sincere coöperation of men like you and the individual members of our party.

This year, for the first time in the history of our State, the pre-election leader has been chosen by a direct vote of the people themselves. No matter what my personal comfort or desires might suggest, it is necessary that I carry the Democratic standard at the head of the advancing forces of Democracy. To do otherwise would be to admit my unworthiness of the vote of confidence which I have received. To shrink from the duty imposed or to shirk its full performance would be disloyal and cowardly.

In asking your assistance and support in the important contest for principle upon which we have entered, I do so confident that your response will be as hearty and your support as enthusiastic as the great issues of progress and good government demand.

It is my aim to make my leadership one of ideas and ideals. We should strive to infuse into government the best ideas of the best minds of our times, and to preserve the ideals without which liberty, equality and justice would be but empty words.

In dealing with the practical side of politics and government, we must not forget that we are dealing with human beings, and the public should not forget that those who are entrusted with power are also human.

Perfection in human affairs has not been attained, and, in all probability, never will be. It is important that we keep this fact in mind in judging the acts of men. While we may not be able to reach the serene heights of perfection in government we can at least move toward a higher goal. That there will be mistakes in the future as there have been in the past all must expect, but, mistakes or no mistakes, we should firmly resolve that our motives and intentions should be above reproach.

Patronage is a word made odious by partisan criticism, just and unjust, yet patronage is one of the questions inseparably associated with government. If it becomes me to mention that subject in this presence, I want to assure you and every citizen of this State, that in calling men to public place I shall consider character as the first and paramount qualification, and shall place in office men whose qualifications entitle them to recognition. As no one man can be personally acquainted with all the other men in the State, it is necessary that he who holds the appointing power must confer and consult with others.

In the performance of this duty I shall recognize the autonomy of each county in the State. And the independence and integrity of each county shall be protected against invasion.

It would be folly to close our eyes to the fact that there are a large number of citizens in our State who have no direct affiliation with regular political organizations, and who are known as Independents. It is my desire and intention to welcome the counsel, coöperation and advice of these citizens — for to deny such recognition would be a violation of the implied promise of my oath to be the Governor of the entire State and the whole people of New York.

This does not mean a denial of any just claim which organization may have, nor does it minimize the importance of organization in politics. No matter what the issue or movement that may occupy the public mind, organized effort is essential to its success.

In speaking of political organization we are prone to forget that the membership of such organizations is drawn from the citizenship of our country.

It is our duty, as it should be our firm determination, to make Democratic organization popular. This can be done only by making it clean. And if there be one appeal which, more than another, I would voice today, it is that every Democrat who takes an interest in his party shall firmly resolve that any organization which holds aloft the Democratic banner shall do so with hands unstained. If we go forth with this resolve we shall have the pleasure and the pride of building up a Democratic State organization unimpeachable in its character and invincible in its strength.

In working toward such a consummation you may count upon my earnest, energetic and undivided coöperation.

I have already said that my leadership will be a leadership of ideas. If you ask me for a more definite statement, I shall answer by referring to the Democratic ideas which have received concrete expression during my term as Governor.

In the twelve months of my administration the Democratic party has provided a Workmen's Compensation Law, which, in case of accident or death, cares for the dependent family of the workman promptly and without litigation. We have established a State employment bureau which places the resources of the State at the disposal of every man in search of employment. As the leader of the State Democracy, I

shall insist that the party continue its policy of guarding the welfare of the men who toil, for labor is the basis of industrial strength and progress.

Under my administration the Democratic party has enacted a land bank law, which enables the farmer to save \$240 on every \$1,000 mortgage and points the way to a saving of \$24,000,000 to the farmers of New York every ten years. It has adopted a coöperative market plan which brings the farmer and the consumer into closer touch to the substantial advantage of both. It has appropriated money with which to stamp out, in its incipency, any attack of insect pests, and has paid the farmers for the cattle which had been destroyed by State authority and payments for which had been withheld by past administrations. In the future, as in the past, I shall favor legislation for the protection and advancement of the farming interests of the State. The alarming flow of population from the farms to the city must be checked if the future food supply of the State is to be preserved. To halt the exodus from its farms the State must make agriculture more attractive and more remunerative. As the leader of the State Democracy, I shall keep the party's attention focused on the agricultural problems of New York.

In the last year the Democratic party has brought about a revision of the Banking Law, which strengthens every financial institution in the State. In this revision depositors in private banks have received special protection. The business and the financial world may rest assured that the Democratic party's policy will be to conserve, not to waste, the financial strength of the business world; to build up, not to tear down, the commercial and industrial interests of the State.

In the reduction of State expenses during the past year, the Democratic party has given expression to a

principle of government to which Democracy has ever offered its unswerving allegiance. The Democratic party has ever maintained that taxation for extravagance is legislative tyranny. Its attitude received a sincere and striking expression in the administration of that great Democrat, Samuel J. Tilden. And if there is one principle of Democracy above all others to which I have tried to be faithful, it is the principle of a careful and economical government, such as that which Samuel J. Tilden gave the people of New York.

During the past year the Democratic party has reduced appropriations for government more than \$10,000,000 below the appropriations for last year and \$1,500,000 below the appropriations for the last year of Republican administration. The vetoes and financial policies of a Democratic Executive have saved the people of New York from a direct tax of \$11,000,000. The economies and business management of a Democratic administration have raised the surplus in the treasury from the \$5,000,000 which the Comptroller estimated at the beginning of the fiscal year to the \$12,000,000 which was actually in the State treasury on October first. And so long as the leadership of the Democratic party of the State rests with me, Democracy shall be as synonymous with economy in practice as it is in principle.

During the past year the Democratic party placed a new and substantial burden upon industry through the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Law. The Democratic party believes that neither capital nor labor can be prosperous or contented unless the industries, in which both are engaged, are permitted to prosper. Consequently, while I am leader, no new burden shall be placed upon industry until it has fully accommodated itself to present legislation. The Dem-

ocratic party has brought justice to the worker and, in the abnormal conditions which now obtain through the European war, it is prepared to deal justly and considerately with business, whether large or small.

This is what I mean when I say that my leadership shall be a leadership of ideas. My first thought shall be to give the fullest and best expression to the ideas and ideals of Democracy. Everything else must be secondary and every other consideration must yield to the advancement of Democratic principles.

As the candidate of the Democratic party for the great office of Chief Executive of New York there is one thing I would say to you at this time.

If elected I shall be the Chief Executive of the State in all that the term implies and the Constitution warrants. I shall respect the Constitution in every promise before election as well as in every performance after election.

He who says—as one candidate for Governor has already said—that if elected Chief Executive he will be the chief prosecutor of the State, is either dealing in a theatrical bid for votes or misunderstands the first principles of American government.

One of the evils against which we were warned by the fathers was the invasion of one department of government by another and coördinate branch. To adopt the doctrine that the Chief Executive should be the chief prosecutor of the State would be to break down the barriers between a free people and tyranny.

It would be a return to the oppression of hereditary monarchs, in protest against which this Republic was formed, and would make a mockery of our boasted reverence for our fundamental law.

I have too much respect for the intelligence of the American people and especially for the voters of New York to believe that they will tolerate so reckless and

violent an assumption on the part of one who seeks their suffrage. The man who says that as Chief Executive he would be chief prosecutor of the State serves warning that if elected he will be the chief prosecutor of the people.

If his statement means anything it means tyranny in the Governor's chair for the persecution and ruin of any citizen who might refuse to bow to the autocratic will. The sentiment is unwarranted, un-American, and unworthy of one who seeks to direct the destinies of a free and sovereign State.

Again I congratulate you and all members of the party on the assurances of victory which come to us from every section of the commonwealth and from every class of citizens.

We must so improve the opportunity of the hour that the victory of our party shall be a triumph for good government, not in one county but in every county, not for one class of our population but for every class; a victory which must yield increased prosperity, peace and happiness to the people of an imperial commonwealth.

THE POLE IN AMERICA

Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Polish Falcon Alliance in Buffalo, N. Y., September 6, 1914

I join with the members of this great society in the spirit of this occasion. The feeling of pride and rejoicing which must animate the Falcons of America are shared by their fellow citizens, whether in public or in private life.

The news which has come across the ocean telling the world that "The fair land of Poland" is to be

freed once more, is a message of hope and gladness to every man who loves liberty and believes in the equality of man.

You have had other meetings of this Alliance, and I have no doubt that at each meeting you had reason to congratulate one another on the progress made by your Society and the advancement of the things in which you believe and for which you are working.

But I am sure that no other meeting of the Falcons of America has found a more inspiring occasion or more abundant reason for rejoicing than this, which is called together at a time when a brighter and more glorious day is dawning for the fatherland of the American Pole.

As President Wilson has so wisely declared, it is the duty of America to observe a just and strict neutrality toward the nations of Europe which are now engaged in the most terrible war that history records.

At this critical time the United States owes it to itself and to the world to hold aloof not only from any action which might lead to difficulty, but even from an expression of opinion for or against any of the belligerent nations. And every American who desires to see his country continue to prosper under the stimulus and safeguards of peace, will take pride in upholding the President's hands in the present crisis.

The position of Poland in the present struggle, however, has nothing to do with the European struggle itself. Poland—the Poland for which Kosciuszko fought—is on neither side in the terrible struggle. But the liberation of Poland which may result from the present conflict is an event in which the people of every country, irrespective of their martial alliances should hail with satisfaction.

If this is true of the nations generally it is particularly true of the United States. A free nation

itself, America hopes for a time when every other nation will be free. Dedicated to liberty it applauds the advance of liberty in every quarter of the globe. Championing the rights of man it rejoices in the recognition of those rights, whether it be in the mountains of America or in the valley of the Vistula. The very name of Poland strikes a responsive chord in the American heart.

The gallantry and chivalry of those who fought for Poland's freedom has been celebrated in song and story. The fierce spirit of liberty which has flourished in that unhappy country through sorrows and through reverses has commanded the admiration of those whose forefathers fought that America might be free. And America shares with Poland the glorious and immortal memory of those dashing heroes of freedom's cause, Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

Fleeing to escape the vengeance of a tyrant, Pulaski gave his life to America at the siege of Savannah. After winning eternal renown for himself at the battle of Saratoga, here in this very State, Kosciuszko returned to his native country to win fresh laurels at Warsaw and Dubienka. Polish freedom and American freedom are mingled in the blood of the same patriots. And it is only natural that Americans should take a particular interest and a particular pride in the brighter future that is opening for the country of Pulaski and Kosciuszko.

Poland upheld the Christian faith against the Mongolian when the rest of Europe was concerned only with petty wars and selfish struggles. It received the persecuted Jew when the rest of Christian Europe barred its doors to him.

That great and inspiring author, Victor Hugo, summed up the part that Poland played in the develop-

ment of Europe when he said that "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization, Poland was its knight."

I cannot agree with those who believe that America should shut its gates to the men of other countries who desire to seek a new home and new opportunities in America's growing cities and fertile valleys. I do not believe that a country which has human brotherhood for its aspiration can well close the door of opportunity and progress to those who seek its shores. I do not regard the liberty which America offers to its adopted citizens as a gift to be offered or withdrawn at pleasure.

The apostle of liberty, Louis Kossuth, once delivered a speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, when he declared that he was glad to be in the "Temple of American liberty." But Kossuth asserted that he did not like the phrase "American Liberty." "Liberty," he said, "is not American, it is not English, it is not French. Liberty has no nationality. It is as pervading as the wind, as universal as the stars. Instead of speaking of 'American liberty,' Americans might better speak of liberty in America."

Kossuth was right. The freedom and opportunity which makes America what it is are not America's alone, they are held in trust by America, for the manhood of all the world. America has built its railroads and its cities, its bridges and its factories through the honest labor of men of many countries, who united their strength, their energy and their hopes in order that America might take its place as the greatest nation on the face of the globe. To retain its position in the shining column of progress America cannot turn its back upon the principles and the policies which have made it great.

I am told, by your officers, that the purpose of your Society is to foster the mental and bodily development of your members by athletics, gymnastics, lectures and debates. I am told that the purpose of this Alliance is not simply to keep alive the memory of your native Poland, but to make your members better citizens of the country you have adopted for your home.

I believe that a man can love his native country and be a good American. I believe that the man who holds in esteem the land which gave him birth will be devoted to the country in which his maturer years are spent. The man who is unkind to his mother will be false to his wife. The Pole who forgets Poland cannot be true to America. And I believe that while the Polish Falcon Alliance holds its members together by a common love of native land and develops them by athletic, literary and mental exercises, it is making them better and truer citizens of the greater country which now claims their allegiance.

It is the glory of America that men from all over the world can come here and find themselves able to respect and reverence the government in which they live. The man who flees from the chains of despotism to the enlightenment of America does not exchange one ruler for another. He merely asserts his inalienable right to be ruler of himself.

Allegiance to America is easy. It is easy because its laws permit every man to work out his own destiny. It is easy because its laws are founded and derive their strength from the sense of justice which lives and breathes in its people. It is easy because there is no position in America too high for merit to reach, or for industry to claim.

Your interest in the National Polish Falcon Alliance proves that in each one of you there is a feeling

of patriotism and loyalty to your colors which seeks expression through your society. I know that I do not need to urge that since you have chosen America for your adopted land you should let your patriotism take the form of devotion and loyalty to the needs and opportunities of America.

I am confident that if the time should ever come when Americans should need your services, the gay uniforms that you now wear would be changed for the khaki of the American volunteer. You have come to America because of its opportunities, because it gives you the chance to show the mettle that is in you. And I know that if it ever became necessary to protect the opportunities and the integrity of America, you would rush to its aid as eagerly and as sincerely as if you heard the call of your own beloved Poland.

The battles of America, however, are the battles of peace. Its struggles are the struggles for better laws, for better government, for better living conditions among all its people. And in these peaceful conflicts you should display the same devotion to duty, the same steadfastness, the same loyalty that you would show if you were summoned to battle at the call of the bugle or the beat of the drum.

For years a peaceful battle has been going on to secure for the men of New York State the benefits of a Workmen's Compensation Law, which would take care of those injured while working and for those dependent on the worker. Thanks to the courage and resolution of those fighting this battle of peace, the ramparts have been carried and the flag of victory has been planted on the heights.

New York has set its hand to the proposition that its laws shall be humane as well as just.

This is an instance of what I mean by the battles of

peace. There will be other battles, there must be other battles, for the world must go forward and not backward. And I urge upon the members of this great society the duty of remembering that as good soldiers they must keep to the forefront in the fight to secure better laws and better government for themselves and for their neighbors.

While we rejoice that Poland is at last to be free, let us make sure that the freedom of our own land shall be made more secure. While we rejoice that a new day is dawning for the land of Sienkiewicz let us resolve that every day shall be better and brighter in this glorious land of our own.

I have been told a beautiful Polish legend which I have no doubt is familiar to all of you. That legend has it that in the fastness of Mount Giewont one of the brave Polish kings of ancient times lies asleep with all his knights about him. When the time comes that the Polish people are found worthy and united, the legend says that this ancient king and his stalwart knights will awake and rush in full armor to win a victory for Poland which will at last restore it to its ancient splendor.

If the legend is true, that ancient king and his ancient knights must now be rising for the fray. But the knights of America, whether their armor consists of silks and satins or the blue jeans of industry, have no reason ever to fall asleep. And as members of that great army of industry which must ever protect the laws, the progress and the happiness of America, I look to you men of the National Polish Falcon Alliance to give the best of your brain and brawn, of your skill, your energy and your ability, to America, while you divide your heart between your adopted country and your beloved Poland.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

**Address Delivered at the National Guard Dinner at the
Ten Eyck Hotel, Albany, N. Y., January 16, 1914**

There is little that I can say to you about the duties or demands of your organization which cannot be said better and with more force by your officers. All I can do is to assure you that I am in hearty sympathy with the purposes of the National Guard, and, as its temporary commander, will do all in my power to maintain its dignity and increase its usefulness.

There is need for a wider appreciation of what the National Guard stands for. There is need for representative citizens to lend every encouragement to the extension of its activities and the constant increase of its efficiency. The nation as a nation and the State as a State is not yet fully awake to the importance of a strong, virile, effective militia. Those who understand the militia are warm in its praise and eager in its support. The members of the National Guard prove by their membership that they are conscious of their duties as good citizens. But the public at large does not yet fully comprehend how great a part the militia plays in the defensive strength of the United States.

The National Guard has more to contend with than lack of understanding. It is confronted with a national idea founded upon strong reasons, but needing a rational and modernized application. That idea is that the United States does not need and should not countenance a large standing army.

This country has never been a military nation. By virtue of its happy isolation it has been able to work out its destinies in peace. It has ever stood ready to defend itself from aggression and to vindicate by

might of arms, the principles of government for which it stands. But it has never believed it necessary to maintain a considerable army in time of peace, and has never been willing to take from productive occupations its most virile manhood in order to train its citizens in the science of war.

Our history thus far has proved the wisdom of this policy. America has been able to build up its mighty enterprises in peace. It has tilled its fields and worked its mills without devoting any material part of its energies to preparations for war. Its taxpayers, more fortunate than those who bear the cost of European government, have not been forced to carry soldiers on their backs. Its budgets and appropriations have never been weighed down with the expense of idle armies.

America has been fortunate. There is almost reason for belief that it has been too fortunate. Those qualified to speak are almost unanimous in declaring that if a sudden and perilous crisis should arise the nation would not be in a position to meet it in a manner worthy of its rank and resources. This is a proposition which needs no comment. No American worthy of the name would quietly permit his country to be affronted and humiliated, and with the facts called to his attention no American will knowingly invite such affront and such humiliation.

America does not need to be convinced of the necessity for properly protecting America. What America needs is an awakening to the fact that America is at present, not properly protected. The National Guard and its friends are doing their share toward placing the military strength of the United States on a proper footing, but they can multiply their service to the nation by arousing their neighbors to a realization of actual conditions.

Like all who believe in the brotherhood of man and the progress of the human family, I hope for the dawn of universal peace. But, like all who are unwilling to permit their desires to destroy their judgment, I do not believe that the morning of universal peace has yet arrived.

There is no picture more depressing and horrible than that of a blood-soaked battlefield. The uselessness, the futility and the brutality of war is a thing that strikes home to every thinking man. War is terrible not only because of the tears that follow in its wake, not only in the lives that it crushes out, not only in the burden of misery and suffering that it places upon the widow and the orphan, but because of the economic cost before which our modern civilization stands appalled.

Barren fields, halted industries, stupendous taxes and depleted treasuries are consequences of war all the more terrible because they are unnecessary. If education, enlightenment and progress will so develop the human family that war will be universally regarded as the grim absurdity it is, mankind will have made a glorious step toward the millennium for which it strives. If universal peace were a present possibility, there would be no room for argument. But war exists, not because it is logical, but because it is a fact; and wise men cannot ignore facts. And, because I do not believe that in the present development of the nations it is possible to consider war forever at an end, I believe that it is the duty of every nation which prizes its existence to be ready to protect itself against aggression. It is, therefore, in all sincerity and with all reason that I welcome the responsibility which I have as commander-in-chief of New York's National Guard.

I am glad of whatever weight that position may give to my words when I point out the important place the

National Guard occupies in the military resources of the nation. I know that in the event of war the United States must largely depend upon the efficiency and courage of the National Guard. I know that the untrained citizen cannot rank with the trained soldier as a fighting unit. I know that an army which has resources, but no training, cannot stand up against an army of inferior resources but drilled in the science of war. I know that the men who have charge of New York's National Guard are doing all in their power to make it, what it ought to be, an effective fighting force. I know that the members of the National Guard are performing a great and necessary public service. I appreciate that efficiency depends upon professional education and training, and I appreciate that your efficiency has been achieved only by education, training, drilling and schooling, and that this means hard work and self-sacrifice. I know that the vast amount of work done by you at the present time is little understood, but I have learned something of it from your commander since I became Governor.

As Governor I say to you that the State government appreciates it, as a fellow citizen I say that I appreciate it. I am firmly convinced that the education and training which the New York division is receiving at the present time from the major-general at the War College in Washington, down through the schools for officers and non-commissioned officers, to the soldier in the ranks at drill, will return dividends in human lives saved from bullets and disease, should the nation find itself in another conflict.

The National Guard as an organization needs no commendation from the present Governor of New York. It can receive no higher commendation than that which was accorded to it by a former Governor at the most crucial period of the nation's history.

On September 6, 1862, Governor Morgan addressed the following message to the militia of the State:

“The Commander-in-Chief avails himself of the occasion of the return of the Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-seventh, Forty-seventh, Sixty-ninth and Seventy-first regiments of the National Guard of the State of New York, to thank them for the services they have rendered to the country, and for the honor they have reflected on the State. Summoned for the second time within thirteen months, by a sudden and urgent call, to the aid of the General Government, they consented cheerfully to the sacrifice of private interests, and abandoned, at almost a moment's notice, all private occupations to hasten to the defence of the National Capital, then in danger. Habituated to the comforts and enjoyments of wealthy and peaceful communities, they have, during their prolonged absence from their homes, submitted without a murmur to the hardships, the privations and the labors incidental to the life of a soldier, and have discharged with fidelity and alacrity, every duty they were asked to perform, and have stood ready to encounter every danger they might be called upon to meet. Their conduct has entitled them to the thanks of the Government they were summoned to defend and has won for them the gratitude and confidence of the people. It gives assurance that, notwithstanding the vast army of volunteers that the State of New York has sent to the defence of the Union, she has, in her National Guard, always at her command a military force ready, now as heretofore, to respond to any call that may be made

on it by the General Government, and able at the same time to preserve the peace, maintain the rights and defend the liberties of her own people, in whatever form or from whatever quarter they may be assailed.”

The battle grounds of the Civil War bear solemn testimony to the heroic services of the National Guard. At Fair Oaks, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorville and Gettysburg, the National Guard of New York showed the nation that the militiamen of this State were of the stuff that men are made of.

The silver rings that you carry on your standard are eloquent and lasting evidence of your claim upon the affectionate regard of your fellow citizens.

I hope that the day will never come when it will be necessary for you or your brothers of the National Guard to take up arms in defense of your country, but if that day ever arrives, I know that there will be other silver rings on your standards as symbols of service well performed and duty nobly done.

You bear an honorable title. You are part of the National Guard. You are charged with the responsibility of protecting the dignity and the honor of the United States. That is a responsibility in which any man may well take pride. It is a responsibility which means that your brain and sinews are dedicated not to the enforcement of harsh and unjust laws, not to the subjugation of your fellow-beings, not to maintaining the mandates of tyranny or scourging home the commands of despotism. Yours is the privilege of protecting the homes of a free people. To your hands is entrusted the defense of the doctrine of equality and equal opportunity. And beyond all the martial pride which you take in your duties, you have the

glorious knowledge that your sword and gun will never be lifted in any cause except one that embodies the hopes and aspirations of your hearts. As one who, for a little time, occupies a place in your organization, I take pride and pleasure in saluting you tonight as comrades and brothers in arms.

REMARKS ON CONSERVATION

**Address Delivered Before the Conservation Conference
in the Executive Chamber, December 22, 1913.**

I want to thank you all for coming here. I have learned more about conservation in the last three hours than I ever knew in my life before. I want to do what is best for the conservation of the interests of the State. I want to develop its water powers, and if this young man here can find a way to draw the stings out of the development of the water powers of New York State, I will be his eternal debtor, and I am sure that the future generations of this State will proclaim him a second Christopher Columbus.

I am much interested in the birds, because like my friend, the editor of the *Game Breeder*, I am an editor myself. As a boy I never chased Indians or buffaloes, but I did hunt from one end of Columbia county to the other. And no one ever got more pleasure from a bottle of champagne than I did as a boy in pulling a big bass or a big pickerel out of Kinderhook Lake.

I am interested especially in the water pollution question, and if the two gentlemen from the western part of the State will furnish me with some facts and figures, I will see if I can't prod Washington up a little bit. I want to do what I can. I would like to have you all do what you can to help me. You can help

me more than I can help you. The trouble in securing this kind of thing is that we do not get together and work in harmony as we should.

For legislation it takes a ton of effort and a mile of energy to bring about a result. If the legislative committees will, before they introduce a law, decide on the important things, the most important things, they will save time and assist results. Let us hunt with a rifle and not with bird shot. Come down here and work with me and I will try to do what I can to persuade the Legislature — not coerce it with a club — to give you what you want.

I think on most things we agree. I hope at the end of the year we will agree on all things, even on the development of water power.

PROGRESSIVE NEW YORK

Speech Delivered at Westchester County Fair at White Plains, September 16, 1914

In rendering an account of my stewardship to the people of Westchester county, I respectfully call their attention to the fact that I have saved the taxpayers of this county \$391,000 and I have provided the means through which the farmers of Westchester can save themselves \$434,000 more.

Last year New York appropriated \$57,000,000 to run the State government. When I took office I saw that if the State continued at this rate it would be obliged to levy a direct tax of \$11,000,000 on the taxpayers of New York. My experience as Comptroller convinced me that by prudent economy the State budget could be reduced and a direct tax could be avoided.

I laid the facts before the Legislature and urged it to pass an appropriation bill which would obviate the

necessity for a direct tax. After a war over economy lasting three months the Legislature finally reduced last year's budget \$3,000,000, and then the appropriation bills came to me. In thirty days I reduced these appropriations \$8,000,000 more by the vigorous use of my veto power.

As a result of these reductions, New York will live within its income during the coming year, and instead of spending \$57,000,000 it will keep well inside of \$47,000,000. To give you an idea of what this reduction means, let me advert to another tax which at present is engaging public attention.

The Federal government announces that it is compelled to raise a war tax of \$100,000,000 to make up for deficiencies in its revenues. Assuming that this tax is distributed according to population, New York's share of this \$100,000,000 tax will be \$10,000,000. Through the economies of the present State administration the taxpayers of New York have already been saved the payment of a tax as large as their share of the tax which the Federal government now proposes to levy.

Had I not wielded the Executive blue pencil the taxpayers of every county would have been compelled to raise, by direct tax, a sum amounting to \$5,000 in the smallest county and \$5,000,000 in the largest.

My vetoes saved the taxpayers of Westchester county \$391,000. They saved the taxpayers of Rockland county \$33,000. They saved the taxpayers of Bronx county \$645,000 and the taxpayers of New York county \$5,392,000.

This is a direct and a positive saving which any citizen can verify for himself by examining the tax books of his county. But there is another saving which I have made possible which is a saving not for this year alone, but for every year and in every county

of the State. It is the saving which must come when the farmers of the State begin to use the land bank which I have caused to be created.

There is nothing mysterious or vague about the land bank. It is an institution which European farmers have used to their advantage for many years, and which enables the man who tills the soil to borrow money on his land and pay it back in easy installments. Instead of paying 6 per cent each year on his loan and the principal at its expiration, the farmer under the land bank can pay a small sum each year in addition to his interest and have no principal to pay at the end of his loan.

New York now has \$100,000,000 in mortgages on its farm land. The need and the usefulness of a land bank is demonstrated when we consider that if the existing mortgages on New York's farms were changed into land bank loans, as they can be changed when the land bank is in operation, the saving to the farmers of New York will be \$24,000,000. By giving the advantage of compound interest to the farmer instead of to the creditor, the land bank will save the farmers of Westchester county \$434,000 on the \$1,815,000 mortgages already on Westchester county farms.

It will save \$172,000 on the \$728,000 mortgages on Rockland county farms. It will save \$96,000 on the \$402,000 mortgages on Putnam county farms. And on the \$5,210,000 mortgages on Monroe county farms the land bank will save the farmers of that county \$1,248,000.

New York has done more, however, for the farmers during the past year than provide them with a land bank. It has provided for a marketing commission to superintend auction markets throughout the State, where the farmer's products may be disposed of with best advantage to producer and consumer.

It has stimulated the formation of Coöperative Farming Societies by appropriating \$20,000 for the express purpose of sending expert organizers throughout the State who will explain and organize these coöperative societies. It has passed laws aimed at the prevention of fraud in the sale of young trees and prohibiting the sale of seeds which are not as represented.

It has passed a law enabling the Comptroller to borrow \$50,000 at any time to fight the ravages of insect pests.

The farmers of the State can bear witness to the value of this last law. With their own eyes they have seen the readiness and success with which the State's Agricultural Department met the grasshopper pest and prevented it from extending over a great area.

And I want to say to you that had it not been for the \$50,000 which the Comptroller was able to borrow and place immediately at the disposal of the Department of Agriculture, the Department would have had to sit idly by waiting for a special appropriation while the grasshoppers continued unchecked.

If any proof is needed of the sympathetic and cordial attitude of the present administration toward the farming interests of the State it is to be found in the fact that at a time when the State administration was bending every nerve to economize and place the finances of the State on a proper footing, the Legislature and the Governor were more than generous in their appropriations for the farmers of New York.

So much has been said of the Workmen's Compensation Law that I believe it is only just to those who are gathered here to explain precisely what the Workmen's Compensation Law means. And the best way to illustrate the working of the new law is by a comparison of actual cases before and after the law went into effect.

On the 12th day of May, 1905, a man named Bernard J. Ford, of New York city, slipped on a stairway of the slaughter-house in which he was employed and fell through an opening. He was injured so badly that his left arm had to be amputated.

In August, 1905, he brought an action in the Supreme Court to recover damages. The case was submitted in 1907 to a jury which disagreed. In 1908 a second trial was had and the jury returned a verdict for \$5,000, which was subsequently set aside. A third trial was held in 1908 and the complaint was dismissed.

An appeal was taken to the Appellate Division, and in March, 1910, five years after the accident, the Appellate Division affirmed the decision of the lower court, dismissing the complaint.

To sum up, Ford, through no fault of his own, received an injury which practically disabled him for life. He appealed to the courts for redress and after four trials with their attendant expense, he learned, five years after his accident, that he could receive no compensation for his injury.

This was the situation of the injured workman before the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

Last July New York decided that its injured workers had enough of law suits and disappointments, of jury trials and bitterness, and passed a law which now takes care of every injured workman automatically.

C. W. Althen, of New York, was employed by a large firm of building contractors. He was a carpenter, twenty-five years of age, with a wife and one child. On the 1st day of July, 1914, the day on which the Workmen's Compensation Law went into effect, he was walking across a beam on the twenty-second floor of the new Equitable Building in New York city. Some-

how he slipped, fell twenty stories, and was instantly killed.

Under the Workmen's Compensation Law his employers were required to notify the Workmen's Compensation Commission of this accident. They notified the Commission on July 1st.

On July 20th the Compensation Commission considered this case and made an award, giving Althen's widow \$30 a month during her widowhood, and his daughter Ruth \$10 a month, to continue for fourteen years. In addition to this the Commission allowed \$100 for funeral expenses.

No word had been received from the widow and efforts were made to ascertain her whereabouts. Upon inquiry it developed that she had moved from New York city to York, Pa. The necessary papers to prove her claim were sent to her, but were not returned to the Commission.

A representative of the Commission went to Pennsylvania and located Mrs. Althen. She said that she had been in such a condition of mind that she didn't know what to do. The representative of the Commission took her to one of her friends, who was a lawyer, where she signed the papers, which gave her \$360 a year as long as she lived, and gave her in addition \$1,680, with which to bring up her infant daughter.

Compare the two cases I have outlined for you. Consider the man who, under the old law, went to the courts to recover for the loss of his arm, who went through the agonies and the expenses of a litigation extending over five years and learned, five years after he was injured, that the law could give him no hope.

Then turn to the widow of C. W. Althen, who fled distracted from the State when her husband was killed, and who (assuming that she had forty-five years to

live) received an equivalent of \$16,000 twenty days after her husband's death. Consider how in one case a man with a man's ability to assert his rights received nothing after fighting for five years, and then consider how in the other case a defenseless widow received \$16,000 from the Workmen's Compensation Commission before she had ever asked for it.

Let these two cases, which are typical of the difference between the old law and the new, sink into your hearts and then consider what your answer should be to any man who dares to say that the Workmen's Compensation Law is wrong.

If you bear in mind the concrete facts which show the real and lasting benefits of the Compensation Law you will be able to answer those who, for partisan purposes and political reasons, are trying to discredit this great measure.

IMPROVING THE HUDSON

Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association in the Educational Building, Albany, N. Y., September 25, 1914

No more important subject can command the attention of the people, or enlist the services of the representatives of the people of the whole country than that of the waterways of this State.

The most important avenues of commerce are those which nature built. The oceans, the lakes and the rivers bear such a large proportion of the world's commerce that no man need apologize for speaking in favor of the improvement of any of the navigable streams of our common country. Where nature has pointed the way to an easy and economical means of

marketing the products of our farms, factories and mills, we should not hesitate to follow energetically and effectively.

Already there is a project for improving the Hudson River, adopted by an act of Congress, approved June 25, 1910, providing for the creation of a channel twelve feet deep at the lowest stages of the river from the entrance of the New York State Barge Canal at Waterford to naturally deep water at the city of Hudson. According to the act this channel is to have a bottom width of 200 feet from Waterford to the new dam and in general a bottom width of 400 feet south of that point. This will have to be increased to form harbors at Albany and Troy and also increased where necessary at the bends of the river. The results desired are to be obtained by the construction of a new lock and dam at Troy to take the place of the existing State structure and by the excavation of rock, sand and gravel from the channel below that point, and the channel thus created is to be protected by the amplification of longitudinal dikes. This last feature comprises the construction of about six miles of new dikes and the raising from about high water mark to a height varying from six to ten feet above the level of about seven miles of existing dikes. The bill provides that the structure include a set of head gates for flow regulation in anticipation of a future power development for commercial use of the surplus water not needed for navigation. The channel excavation involves the removal and disposal of 600,000 cubic yards of ledge rock and 10,000,000 cubic yards of sand, gravel and boulders.

I mention this act of the National Legislature as evidence of the growing willingness of the Federal government to aid in the development of the resources of

this section of the country and to utilize the latent possibilities of New York's waterways.

When one considers the vast commerce that the Hudson River bears upon its waters he wonders why the improvement to the river, necessary to the adequate accommodation of the commerce of the State and country, has been so long delayed.

In 1909 the Senate and Assembly of New York State adopted a resolution requesting the State's representatives in Congress to urge an appropriation for the immediate commencement of the work of excavating a sea-going channel from the city of Hudson to the village of Waterford. In 1908 and 1909 and at various conventions since, the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association has adopted resolutions favoring a deeper channel in the upper Hudson, and similar action has been taken by the New York Waterways Association and Chambers of Commerce in the various sections of the State. The object of these resolutions and of all of our efforts for the deepening of the Hudson is to enable the coastwise vessels to reach the capitol district intact with cargoes that they bring by way of New York, thus insuring a new impetus to the development of this section of the State.

It is not immodest for New York to seek Federal aid for the improvement of the Hudson River, for the State has contributed vast sums to the building and maintenance of the Erie, the Oswego and the Champlain Canals, which enterprises belong to the nation rather than to the State. The amount expended by the State of New York on these canals is nearly \$200,000,000, or about one-third of what the United States has expended upon the rivers and harbors of the nation. True the State made this vast expenditure for the benefit of its own people but in a larger sense the benefits accrued to every State in the north and west.

The improvement of the Hudson River is no local enterprise for, with the Barge Canal, it links the Great Lakes with the ocean and produces a continuous waterway from the vast wheat centers of the northwest to New York city and the markets of the world. Every dollar expended upon the Hudson will be returned to the people of the State of New York many times, but in the long run it will mean a hundredfold return to the farmers and manufacturers of the mighty west, who for half a century prayed for a water outlet to the sea.

I mean no invidious comparison when I call attention to the appropriation made by the Federal government for the improvement of the Hudson as compared with the moneys expended upon other waterways. The amount appropriated for the Hudson during the last hundred years is about \$5,000,000. In that same time \$7,000,000 was expended upon the Hennepin Canal, which I feel quite sure played no such important part in the facilitation of trade and commerce as does New York's majestic stream. Taking the tonnage as a basis for our calculations we find that if the Federal government had expended the same amount per ton of freight carried on the Hudson that it has appropriated for the Tennessee near Chattanooga the appropriation for the Hudson would have been \$55,000,000. On the same basis if the Hudson had been treated as liberally as the Wabash at Grand Rapids, Illinois, the sum would be \$224,000,000. If we had received the same treatment as the Big Sandy River at its forks the amount expended upon the Hudson would have been \$80,000,000, while the appropriation for the Red River between its mouth and Fulton, Arkansas, would have given the Hudson \$700,000,000.

I do not criticize the appropriations for other streams. I believe in the improvement of all the navi-

gable rivers and harbors of the United States. My purpose in presenting the facts is not to impeach the justice of other appropriations but to draw a contrast which may awaken the public conscience to the need of making amends for the indifference and neglect with which the country's most famous river has been treated.

New York having contributed \$200,000,000 for improvements, which in all justice should have been made by the Federal government, she feels justified in urging that Congress assume a more liberal attitude toward the chief waterway of the State.

To those who assume that the remarkable development of our railway systems makes generous appropriations for waterways unnecessary, it may be well to quote the words of James J. Hill, one of the master railway builders of the world, who said:

“ In the past ten years the growth in tonnage was 110 per cent and the growth in the mileage of railroads to handle the traffic was only 20 per cent. The traffic of the country is congested beyond imagination; the commerce of the country is paralyzed; and to continue it means slow death. It is estimated that from 115,000 to 120,000 miles of railroad track must be built at once to take care of this business. It will cost from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 to complete this work. There is not enough rails or money in the world to do this thing, and if the rails were piled up ready for the undertaking, and if the money were in the bank today, it would be impossible to get sufficient labor with which to complete it.”

Could there be a more eloquent argument in favor of the development of our waterways? This statement

by the most conspicuous and certainly one of the most successful railway men in America is alone a complete answer to those who point to our vast railway systems as an argument against adequate appropriations for the improvement of our navigable rivers.

In contrast to the appropriations which have been made for the Hudson and those provided for other waterways I would call attention to the fact that during the entire existence of the Mare Island Navy Yard but one battleship has been taken into it and docked, and that, the Missouri, ran aground during the attempt. Yet despite the acknowledged uselessness of this yard the government has seen fit to expend \$6,000,000 upon it during the last twelve years, and in spite of the admitted folly of the retention of the Portsmouth Navy Yard, it has within the last fourteen years been the recipient of appropriations amounting to \$10,000,000 for its maintenance and improvement.

If the Federal government would give us the \$6,000,000 expended upon the Mare Island Yard, or even one-half of the \$10,000,000 spent upon the Portsmouth Yard, we could make such improvements in our glorious Hudson that there would be rejoicing and jubilation not only among the people who dwell along its banks but among the millions of the west whose agricultural and commercial interests would be vitalized and strengthened.

The Hudson has been called the greatest commercial river and I see no reason why the claim should be disputed, for not only is its tonnage tremendous but the value per ton of the freight which it bears greatly exceeds that of any carried on rivers of larger tonnage. The amount of traffic between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States handled by the several water routes transferring freight at the Isthmuses of

Panama and Tehuantepec in 1911 was about 1,104,000 tons, or only one-fifth of the tonnage of the Hudson River. When you add the 15,000,000 tons of freight a year that it is estimated the new Barge Canal will bring to the Hudson and consider the report of the government engineers, that "the resources of the territory tributary to the Hudson River are far from fully developed, and that a large traffic from the north and west is diverted from the New York State canals and the Hudson River to the Canadian waterways," the justice of our claims for the improvement of the Hudson would seem to be beyond dispute.

If we look to our neighbors to the north, for example, we find that Canada is about to spend \$50,000,000 on the Welland Canal and is planning to spend \$200,000,000 more on the Georgian Bay Ship Canal; that St. Johns is spending \$6,000,000 for a port, and the city of Toronto is spending \$19,000,000 upon its lake front in order to take from this country the freight of the Great Lakes. Surely with these examples before us there can be no justification for hesitancy or delay in doing justice to the Hudson River, especially as it is claimed by competent engineers that with a deeper channel in the upper Hudson a large percentage of the freight on the Canadian border could and would be diverted to our American ports.

When we speak for the Hudson we speak for the entire State of New York, which includes the Genesee district, Rochester and vicinity, with a foreign commerce of about 3,000,000 tons a year, or one and one half times the foreign commerce of San Francisco. When we refer to the commerce to be accommodated by the improvement of the waterways of New York we have in mind the foreign commerce of the Great Lakes, which totals 18,333,201 tons, or two and one-half times the foreign commerce of the entire Pacific coast.

The Hudson River having an average depth of thirty feet as far as the city of Hudson, it is only reasonable that the Federal government provide a twenty-foot channel from the city of Hudson to this, the capital of the State. An addition of thirty miles to the deep channel of the river would be no Herculean undertaking but it would mean much to the State of New York as well as to the great country which is commercially tributary to the city of New York and the ocean.

The commerce reaching the Hudson River through the Erie Canal is 5,000,000 tons a year and is valued at \$125,000,000. It is conservatively estimated that with the enlarged new canal this commerce will be more than tripled. To ask the Federal government to clear the way for the passage of this commerce to the east is a request which is more in the nature of a reminder of a national duty than an appeal for local advancement.

When we ask for the improvement of the Hudson we are dealing with no unknown quantity, or chimerical enterprise. We do not suggest the expenditure of money for experimental work upon a minor stream; we do not ask that the government base its appropriation upon the prophecy of a visionary or the romancing of the boomer of an unpeopled realm. We speak for the majestic river of the Empire State. Our appeal is not based merely upon the prospective return of futurity but rests on simple justice to a great and populous valley, the fertility of whose soil, the industrial advantages of whose geographical location, and the intelligence of whose inhabitants have contributed immeasurably to the agricultural, commercial and industrial glory of our republic.

It is with a spirit of patriotism and pride of country that we ask the government to give fair consideration

to the picturesque Hudson which, bordered by its verdant hills and far-famed Palisades, majestically bears the rich products of American development to the teeming metropolis of the Western hemisphere, and, through the oceans, reaches the shores of every land beneath the sun. We ask the Great Republic to do such equity to our "Pride of the Waters" as will enable it to render that everlasting service to the State and nation which nature ordained and the needs of man require.

THE CATHOLIC AS AN AMERICAN

Address Delivered at Watertown, October 20, 1914

In appearing before my fellow citizens to plead the cause of my administration I have endeavored to confine myself to issues which are of genuine concern and of real importance to the people of New York. I have attempted to explain what I have done on public matters during the past year and what I propose to do if I am continued in office.

I have scrupulously refrained from clouding the issues by matters not related to questions of public service, in order that my fellow citizens might shape the course of their government with full information and calm judgment.

I have avoided personalities. I have sought to be fair and have refused to disparage my opponents by word or deed. For it has always been my conviction that the governorship of New York is too great and too dignified an office to be obtained or retained by concealment or chicane, by brawling or evasion.

It has not been easy, however, to adhere to State issues while I knew that certain of my opponents were sedulously attacking me with weapons that have no

place in the political arena. I have been deluged with anonymous letters. My friends have been harassed and embarrassed by irrelevant issues. And tonight I propose to turn aside from the matters I desired to discuss and dispose once and for all of the cloud of innuendoes with which those who hesitate to meet me in the field of public discussion are endeavoring to envelop my candidacy.

My attitude upon the public schools of the State has been challenged not because of any public act of mine, but rather in spite of everything that I have ever said or done in relation to the public schools. If the real question was simply my position on public education, I would content myself with referring my critics to my speech at the inauguration of Doctor Finley and to the resolutions adopted by the State Board of Regents, praising my action on public school matters. But since my opponents have raised the public school issue, I intend to discuss it tonight not in its superficial aspect but in its full intent and scope.

The real question presented by my opponents is not the question of my attitude toward the public schools, but my religion. It would be intellectually dishonest for me to discuss the charges secretly preferred against me by self-appointed prosecutors without squarely and fairly meeting the broader question out of which these charges spring. There is no reason why anyone should mistake my attitude toward the public schools, because I have been Governor for a year, and my action on the public schools is a matter of public record.

The real question is whether an American who professes the Catholic religion should be debarred from public trust and public office because of his faith. This is the question which has been raised by unscrupulous political opponents and narrow adversaries; this and

not the public school question is the issue which is being seduously raised under the cover of darkness and anonymity. And it is as a good American as well as a professed Catholic that I desire to lift this question from the subterranean recesses where it is fomenting and bring it out into the light of day. It has been the glory and the salvation of America that the questions involving its safety and its progress have always been determined in the open where all men may see.

If the issue of the Catholic's fitness to hold office must be made part of the present campaign, in the name of justice let that issue be determined in plain view. I have confidence enough in the justice of my fellow citizens and in the ideals of my country to believe that the germs of that mental disease which we call bigotry cannot live in the sunlight any more than the germs of physical disease.

I am a Catholic. I would be unfit for public office or for public trust were my character so unstable as to permit my religious convictions to be altered by personal considerations. But I am an American as well as a Catholic and my participation in the ideals for which my country stands is not altered or affected by the faith I profess. No man would dare to say that because I am an American I am unfit to worship the Creator according to the convictions of my soul. And no man should dare to say that because I am a Catholic I cannot be a good American.

A letter has come to me from a certain man named Martin Walker who is Chairman of the Committee on Candidates, for an organization called the "Guardians of Liberty." This Mr. Walker has submitted to me a list of questions which sum up the matters I intend to discuss tonight and I desire to read you the letter which I wrote in reply.

MARTIN WALKER, ESQ., Buffalo, N. Y.:

Dear Sir.—In your letter of the 15th inst. you discuss the subject of sectarianism in politics and present to me, as candidate for Governor, certain questions. I shall consider these questions in their order. You ask:

“ First.—Do you believe in the absolute separation of the church and state? ”

I do. No man who understands the principles upon which this republic was founded can tolerate the suggestion of interference in the affairs of government by any sect or creed.

“ Second.—Do you believe that no public funds should be used for any sectarian purpose whatever? ”

In answer to this question I have no hesitancy in saying that I am uncompromisingly opposed to the use of public funds for the support or aid of any particular sect or religious denomination.

“ Third.—Do you believe that the free public school is the best medium for instructing our children and assimilating the different nationalities and making intelligent and useful citizens of them? ”

I answer, emphatically, “ yes.”

As a product of the public schools, I take a special interest in our school system and am now, as I have been throughout my career, a firm and unyielding advocate of every measure that guards and strengthens the public school system of our country. I was educated in the public school. I am somewhat surprised that I should be asked such a question, for on numerous public occasions I have given expression to my views on the subject. I here repeat and emphasize what I have said, viz., “ If I were asked to state what in my opinion is the choicest product and fairest fruition of Liberty I would unhesitatingly name the public school system of the United States.”

Nearly a year ago, at a time when I was not a candidate for Governor, I gave expression to my views on the public school in a speech in the Education Building, at the inauguration of Dr. Finley. In that speech I said:

“ We of the republic have cause to congratulate ourselves on the wisdom and foresight of those who established our common schools. We have grown great and prosperous because, after this nation put its hand to the proposition that all men are politically equal, it made the proposition something more than an assertion by providing the surest means of preserving that equality. One of the most significant facts in the history of our country is that the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence was one of the men who blazed the way for the country’s system of common schools. And when Thomas Jefferson proclaimed to the world that America’s men demanded freedom of conscience and of action, he performed no greater service than when he sought for America’s children that freedom of education without which all other freedom is insecure.

I know the public schools, and because I know them I refuse to be disturbed by those who seek from time to time to alarm the nation with gloomy forebodings and dire predictions, for when they tell us that danger threatens the institutions of the republic, when they warn us that the ship of state is drifting into perilous waters, when the cynic grows faint-hearted and the credulous becomes discouraged, I hear the bells ringing from 10,000 public schools and my heart grows warm again.”

Chancellor Day of the Syracuse University, one of the most distinguished educators of the State, has declared in a public statement, “ I have no hesitancy in

stating to you that I am an admirer of Governor Glynn as a man and I feel that New Yorkers have reason to be proud of him as Governor."

Chancellor Day knows me and knows my record. If I were not a friend of the public schools, does any one think that Chancellor Day would make such a statement as this?

Rev. Howard E. Snyder, secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York and New England, has made a public statement in which he says:

"Governor Glynn has a commendably clean record of achievement. It would seem no more than a sign of good judgment on the part of the people of New York State to retain our present Governor in office. His record is an open book read of all men."

If I were not a friend of the public schools, would the Rev. Howard E. Snyder have made this statement?

The School Bulletin, published in the interest of education, says in its issue of August, 1914:

"Governor Glynn has given public education such generous support as the chief executive of the State that we take pleasure in presenting his picture, and in giving a brief review of his interesting and serviceable career to the readers of this issue of the *Bulletin*. An issue was raised at the special session of the Legislature which convened immediately following Mr. Glynn's promotion to the governorship in relation to the State Scholarship Law. The regular session of the Legislature, which enacted such law, made an appropriation of only \$25,000 for payment of scholarship fees. It was not believed that more than one-third of the scholarships would be filled the first year. The

measure proved to be so popular, however, that all of them were filled. To meet the requirements of the law an additional \$50,000 was necessary. After the special session of the Legislature made the appropriation strong opposition appeared, but Governor Glynn approved the appropriation. Opposition to appropriations for this purpose was made by leading State officers and by influential members of the Senate at the recent session of the Legislature. Even the *New York Times* was disposed to be unfriendly to the plan. However, Governor Glynn differed with some of his influential party associates in the Senate and took strong ground in favor of the appropriation. The action, therefore, in making appropriations for two successive years has firmly established the scholarship law and has undoubtedly eliminated further opposition.

“ The appropriations to the education department were generally approved by Governor Glynn. The appropriations make provision for a State medical inspection and an additional agriculture inspector, an inspector of household economic courses and for increases to many of the clerks receiving low salaries. The impression which one gets when he scrutinizes the appropriation bill is that the education department fared better in a year in which the pruning knife was used without mercy than any other department of the State government. For the support of public education and for Governor's Glynn's attachment to the public school system, of which he is a product, the educational workers of the State are grateful.”

If I were not a friend of the public school, does any one think that the *School Bulletin* would say this?

On April 3 the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, on motion of Regent Vander Veer, adopted the following resolution :

“ Voted, That the Board of Regents approve the action of the Governor in vetoing the bill in amendment of the University Scholarship Law and also in vetoing certain other bills whose enactment into law would have lowered the standard of the administration of the profession laws.”

If I were not a friend of the public schools, does any one for a moment think that the Board of Regents would have adopted this resolution?

The Board of Regents is composed of such distinguished gentlemen as this: St. Clair McKelway, editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*; Pliny T. Sexton of Palmyra, Albert Vander Veer of Albany, William Nottingham of Syracuse, John Moore of Elmira, Andrew J. Shipman of New York City, Francis M. Carpenter of Mount Kisco, Chester S. Lord of New York City, Abram I. Elkus of New York City, Adelbert Moot of Buffalo, Charles B. Alexander of Tuxedo, John Huston Finley, President of the University and Commissioner of Education.

Praise such as this from these men could be obtained by no man who was not known to them to be a staunch and loyal friend of the public schools. These men, most of whom are Republicans, rank among the most distinguished citizens of the State.

For sinister purposes and with malicious intent certain people — I hope you are not one of them — are spreading the story that, if elected Governor, I will advocate the sharing of school money between public schools and parochial schools. Here and now I want to

brand this story as a diabolical falsehood. If elected I will do no such thing.

If the Legislature passed any law with this as its object I would not sign it. I am in favor of no such policy. I believe that the people who want sectarian schools should support the sectarian schools.

“ Fourth.— Are you in favor of allowing any organization, sectarian or otherwise, to maintain so-called reformatories or institutions where people are held in restraint without due process of law and against their will and without inspection by public officials? ”

This question conveys its own answer. By all means I am opposed to holding any person in restraint against his or her will without due process of law. No man who believes in the Constitution of the United States or in our State Constitution could for a moment hold to the contrary. That all institutions wherein persons are held in restraint should be subject to inspection goes without saying.

If any man knows of an instance where a person is being restrained of his liberty against his will without due process of law, it is his duty as a citizen at once to obtain a writ of habeas corpus for the liberation of that person. The great writ of habeas corpus, the time honored shield of personal liberty, was engrafted upon our laws for the purpose of meeting just such possibilities as suggested by your question.

“ Fifth.— Do you believe in absolute freedom of speech upon all subjects not in defiance of law and constituted authority? ”

An American can give but one answer to this question — a positive, unqualified “ Yes.” Free speech and a free press are the great bulwarks of our liberties.

“ Sixth.— If elected can you be depended upon to live up to your convictions regardless of any attempted intimidation or personal consideration? ”

I fully appreciate the fact that the false and irresponsible criticism of political foes justifies the asking of this question, which under other circumstances might be looked upon as an impertinence.

Those who know me know that I have been my own master in the past. The people of the State need have no fear that I shall be dominated or unduly influenced by any man or set of men in the future. Not only will I live up to my convictions, but any man who attempts to swerve me from my duty to all the people will find his stay in the executive chamber brief and chilly. If elected I shall be guided by my conscience and my oath and shall exert the full power of the chief executive to strengthen the institutions of liberty and progress.

Above all — and I trust that you and all other citizens agree with me — I shall respect the fundamental principles of civil and religious freedom which constitute the cornerstone of our republic.

I shall not question any man because of his creed or faith. Protestants and Catholics, Jew and Gentile, believer or unbeliever, will be respected in their citizenship just as they have been respected by me in every political office I have ever held. I shall not insult the intelligence of the American people by permitting religious prejudice to tinge or stain the government of New York.

Bigotry should never be permitted to raise its hideous head under the stars and stripes. If we are to maintain peace, progress and tranquillity in the United States, we must stamp out religious prejudice. We must bring into the light of day that stealthy cowardice which secretly strives to fan into flame the dying embers of bigotry. We must forever crush the religious hatred which has been a blight upon progress and the most treacherous enemy of human brotherhood.

I have answered each one of Mr. Walker's questions with absolute frankness and everything that I said to him in my letter I here repeat and reaffirm.

There is no conflict in the breast of the American Catholic between his country's institutions and his religious convictions. By the Constitution of the United States, every citizen is protected in the free exercise of his religion. The Catholic citizen, like every other citizen, is guaranteed liberty of conscience, and so far as government is concerned that is all that the Catholic seeks or claims. He does not desire to inject political theories into his religion; he would resent and resist any attempt to infuse religious doctrine into his citizenship.

Daniel Webster once declared that the better Christian a man was the better citizen he would be and certainly the man whose faith inspires him to be just and charitable, honest and courageous cannot be a bad citizen of any government.

There can be no conflict in the American Catholic's breast between his country and his faith. The precepts of his religion and the natural instincts of his being combine to strengthen his allegiance to the just laws and righteous government under which he lives. In private life or in whatever post of honor or duty to which his country may call him, the Catholic American places his country's welfare before all other consideration and recognizes no other authority than his country's constitution and his country's laws.

Even were it denied the lesson of a century's experience America should know that the Catholics within its borders can show an allegiance to America's institutions without defect or reservation. But America has the experience of more than a hundred years to confirm its confidence in the loyalty and patriotism of

its Catholic citizens. It can look back to Lord Baltimore and the Catholic Colony of Maryland which was the first colony to proclaim religious liberty by law. In Catholic Maryland long before the Constitution of the United States asserted liberty of conscience, Lord Baltimore's act of toleration not only guaranteed liberty of conscience to every colonist by the declaration that no person should be in "any way compelled to the belief or exercise of another religion against his or her consent," but the act provided that any person who used the term "Heretic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Separatist, or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to the matter of religion" should forfeit the sum of ten shilling sterling or be publicly flogged.

It was a Catholic Marylander, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who, after signing the Declaration of Independence, added his place of residence to his name in order that there might be no mistake of his identity or responsibility.

Carroll had Catholic precedent for his part in the Declaration. The barons who wrested Magna Charta from King John were led by Stephen Langton, the Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was the Catholic seaman, John Barry, "The Father of the American Navy," who was the first to fly this country's flag upon the sea, and it was no less an American than George Washington, who, in a letter to the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Philadelphia, said:

"I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Sons of Saint Patrick in this city, a society distinguished by the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are now embarked."

Every time that the ideals of the republic were to be asserted or its institutions defended Catholics have stood side by side with their fellow citizens of other faiths to uphold the badge of freedom, to protect the stars and stripes from every foe.

General Stephen Moylan, "The Murat of the Revolutionary Army," was a Catholic. Moylan fought for liberty as Washington's aide-de-camp and Moylan's dragoons won distinction in every battle in which Washington was engaged.

The great souls from other lands who came to America to offer their lives and abilities to the cause of liberty were Catholics. Count Pulaski and Kosciusko, "the father of American artillery," fought for freedom in America after they had fought for freedom in Poland. Rochambeau, DeGrasse and Lafayette, all Catholics, typified the love of liberty of Catholic France in liberty-loving America. And the Catholic of today is just as staunch in his assertion of American principles as when John Robertson of the English army reported to the British Parliament that half of the Continental army were Irishmen.

In the War of the Rebellion, Catholics brought honor to their flag and glory to themselves. Sheridan's fame is immortal and Sheridan's Catholicity did not prevent him from risking his life for his country's flag. General James Shields, the only Union commander who ever defeated Stonewall Jackson, was a Catholic; General William Starke Rosecrans was a Catholic, and Thomas Francis Meagher, a Catholic, and the first territorial Governor of Montana, served that State with distinction and added to the lustre of the Empire State when he led the gallant Sixty-ninth in the fiercest struggles of the Rebellion.

In the pursuits of peace as well as in the tumult of war, American Catholics have proved worthy of their citizenship. They have played their part in the progress and development of the nation. It was a Catholic who discovered the salt mines of Onondaga; a Catholic who discovered the copper mines of Lake Superior and a Catholic who discovered the mineral wealth of California.

Catholics have won distinction in science, in literature and in art, and the list of Catholic lawyers includes such distinguished names as Chief Justice Roger Taney, Chief Justice Edward D. White, William Gaston, William S. Reed, Richard O'Gorman and Charles T. O'Connor.

Carroll stands with Jefferson; Barry with Paul Jones; Phil Sheridan with Grant, and in humbler places and in humbler ways the rank and file of American Catholics have stood shoulder to shoulder with their brothers of every race and creed in the forward march of peace and on the battles' firing line.

They have tilled America's farms, they have built its cities, they have worked in its mines, they have labored in its factories, they have lived to uphold its institutions, and they have died to defend its flag.

Those, therefore, who from time to time for partisan or personal motives attempt to impugn the patriotism and the honor, the sincerity and the fitness of American Catholics simply because they are Catholics, speak either through malice or through ignorance.

In this day and age it is preposterous that great and important issues of State should be clouded and embarrassed by questions of faith which have no bearing upon, and no connection with, the progress and the welfare of a great commonwealth.

I cannot bring my remarks to a close without an

appeal to my fellow citizens of every political persuasion to permit the religious issue to be forgotten. Nothing is so surely and bitterly opposed to the real progress of this State as the cultivation of factional and denominational divisions among fellow citizens.

I cannot state too strongly or with too great emphasis that the continuation of the fair minded and friendly feeling which now exists between all classes and all creeds in this country is vastly more important than my defeat or my election. New York will continue to expand and progress no matter who the man may be in the Governor's chair. America will not continue to prosper and progress, however, if a hateful and discordant feeling is created between the various elements in America's cosmopolitan population.

I want to say that any man who solicits a vote for me on the religious issue which has been forced into this campaign does so with my earnest disapproval and my intense opposition. I want the Catholics of this State to understand what I know to be a fact, that the "religious issue" in this campaign is not merely a religious issue, but a partisan and a personal issue masquerading under the guise of religious bigotry.

It would be a calamity if the Catholics of the State should organize themselves to vote as Catholics in this campaign. It would be a calamity if the Protestants of the State should organize themselves to vote as Protestants in this campaign. It would be a calamity if the Jews of this State organized themselves to vote as Jews in this campaign.

Such a division would sadden and dishearten every man who rejoices in the intellectual and personal freedom which is the proudest boast of this country. If those whose minds are jaundiced by an un-American spirit desire to organize against me, I cannot prevent

it, but I have confidence enough in the sprit of fair play which pervades every State in this Union to feel that the number of bigots in New York is as small as their own minds.

As for myself I have but one declaration to make. I have no other ambition than to serve faithfully and well the State which has conferred upon me the highest gift within its power.

Everything that I am, everything that I hope to be, every energy of my body, every impulse of my soul, every worthy thing that I have done, every worthy deed I hope to do, I lay with grateful heart upon the resplendent shrine of my State, upon the majestic altar of my country. The immortal lines of Scott—

“Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land?”

—these lines stir the heart strings and quicken the pulse of every man who can claim the proud heritage of American citizenship.

Americans love their country by greater right than birthright. With laws founded on reason and not on force, with national ideals that spring from the immaculate fountain of justice and human brotherhood, with the rays of opportunity and happiness and hope streaming from every star in Old Glory, Americans, from highest to lowest, love their land with their intellect no less than their emotion, with understanding minds no less than swelling heart.

The humblest toiler thrills as he ponders on America, the land of opportunity where his children may aspire to any dignity within the gift of the Republic. The struggling farmer finds inspiration in the knowledge that the soil he tills is the soil of a free land

where farmer boys have scaled the heights of honor and fame to win the leadership of a nation.

If America means this to those for whom America's opportunities have not yet crystallized into transcendent achievement, who understand the possibilities of America best through what it has done for others, what must America mean to men who, in their own lives have achieved honor, success and fame through the opportunities which America offers to its children?

When I look back to my boyhood, when I think of the humble surroundings from which I started out to fight the battle of life without wealth, without position, without assistance, save that of a mother's prayers and a father's God-speed, the knowledge strikes home to me of what the opportunities of the great Republic really mean.

In no other land under the high heavens could I have attained the place I hold today, Governor of an empire of ten million people. Everything I am I owe to the America which gave to me the chance for advancement that it gave to Ulysses Grant, that it gave to Abraham Lincoln.

When in reverence and devotion, I begin the allocution, "My country 'tis of thee—" the greatness of America surges over my understanding, the splendid hope of America fills my breast and inspired and strengthened I cry, "My country 'tis to thee — to thee and thee alone I offer my hand and my heart, my strength and my talents, my nights and my days that all thy children now and forever may reap the full fruition of happiness and freedom under the star-gemmed banner of liberty and hope."

THE ISSUES OF 1914

Speech Delivered by Governor Glynn at the Democratic Mass Meeting in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, October, 13, 1914

It is a great pleasure for me to address an audience of my fellow citizens from the same rostrum with a representative of the national Democratic administration, the distinguished Secretary of State. That this is one of the most important campaigns in the history of our State or nation, no sober-minded man will deny. It is the first general election since the inauguration of that high-minded statesman and inspiring champion of peace and progress, the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

Democrats may be pardoned for any expression of pride in their party's record under such leadership. Whatever other duty may devolve upon the voter at this election, every sentiment of gratitude and every impulse of patriotism calls for his hearty and unqualified indorsement of our national administration. What Woodrow Wilson did to avert a savage and expensive war with our neighbors of the southwest, is now appreciated by all. The contrast between the awful international tragedy now being enacted in Europe and the blessings of peace which the American people are enjoying has silenced the venomous criticism of partisan enemies and commands for Woodrow Wilson the undivided admiration of mankind.

As the standard bearer of the Democracy in the State of New York, I appeal to you to make your vote of confidence in the Wilson administration, so strong and decisive that it will leave no doubt as to the attitude of the American people, at least of the people of the State of New York on the over-shadowing prob-

lems with which the President has been compelled to grapple. And this can be done only by the indorsement at the polls of Democratic policies and Democratic achievements. If I have any special plea to make to you this evening, it is that the entire Democratic ticket, including the Democratic congressmen who are to sustain and uphold the President, receive the support of an overwhelming majority of the citizens of the State.

Had I the time I would recount for you tonight the various achievements of the Democratic party in this State during the past year, I feel, however, that I must confine myself to those in which you are most vitally interested.

One of the achievements of the past year in which the Democratic party takes pride is its financial record. The vetoes and financial policy of a Democratic executive saved the people of the State from a direct tax of \$11,000,000, cut down the State's expenses \$10,000,000 below those of last year and \$1,500,000 below those of the last year of Republican rule under Charles E. Hughes.

For years every gubernatorial candidate has promised economy before election and forgotten it after election. I want to say to you that my policy of economy is no promissory note; it is \$11,000,000 in the pockets of the people. The motto of an earlier day was "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." My motto is "Millions for State necessities but not one cent for extravagance."

Financial joy-riders, prodigal sons, money-burners, resource-wasters, tax-eaters, easy-money men and all the many members of the firm of Grab and Graft, Brokers and Investors in Other People's Money, are hereby warned to give the Capitol at Albany absent treatment while I am in the Governor's chair.

A tax for extravagance is legislative tyranny. Adam Smith once said, "Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury." In this State the revenue from indirect taxation is immense and a direct tax unless absolutely necessary is little short of a moral crime.

Luxuries become needs with a plethora of money. Supposed needs give way to actual necessities before a shortage of cash. An indirect tax may be a soporific burden but a direct tax is a back-breaking load.

Some men, some legislators, seem to think that public money falls like manna from Heaven; that it grows on bushes or is carried to the State Treasury by the birds.

They forget that money taken from the taxpayer is the price of labor and sweat. To take it for fantastic schemes or imaginary needs is a crime deserving political court martial and political execution.

On the records of the Comptroller's office it is written in black and white that my financial policy has saved the taxpayers of the State from a direct tax of \$11,000,000. But my financial policy has done more than that. For the first time in the history of the State, I introduced a scientific, itemized budget system of appropriations, similar to the famous budget system of England. From this example no Governor who values the confidence of the people will dare to depart in future years. My policy turned the lights on State appropriations. It killed hocus pocus methods of financial juggling and in the future he who runs may read the specific purpose of each appropriation. What this will save the taxpayers of the State no man can foretell. But if this policy can save

\$11,000,000 in one year, we may conjecture what it will save in fifty.

As I am a firm believer in a deeper Hudson for the accommodation of the commerce and trade of the Hudson Valley, so am I an enthusiast in all movements for the proper recognition of our supremacy as a port of entry and a distributing point for the Western world.

I am in hearty sympathy with the efforts of those public spirited citizens who are endeavoring to bring about a connection between the several bays on the south side of Long Island from Gravesend and Jamaica Bays to Peconic Bay. This would be a most valuable addition to the canal system of the State and would give a tremendous impetus to the flourishing industries of this borough.

With a population greater than most of the states—an assessed valuation as great as that of an empire—New York City presents problems in government which require and should command the close and patriotic study of the best minds of our times. The cosmopolitan character of your population with its various and conflicting views of government give pause to those upon whom devolves the duty of framing laws for the city's government. As Governor of the State I have recognized the importance of your mighty metropolis and endeavored to avoid any act that might be detrimental to your interests.

One of the basic principles upon which American freedom rests is that of local self government. From the time of Thomas Jefferson to the present the Democratic party has always advocated the greatest measure of local autonomy compatible with the necessary power of the national and State government.

Within the past year the Democratic party in this State has given new and added meaning to the prin-

ciple of home rule. A Democratic Legislature passed and a Democratic Governor signed a law which gives to every second and third class city in the State the power to select its own charter without interference from or dependence upon a distant Legislature.

I do not believe that the privileges which the State accords to its smaller cities should be denied to its metropolis.

Another achievement of the past year is the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Republican party discussed workmen's compensation, investigated workmen's compensation, promised workmen's compensation, platformed and resolutioned workmen's compensation, but it remained for a Democratic Legislature and a Democratic Governor within the past year to place the great principle of workmen's compensation upon the statute books of New York.

Daniel Webster once said "Whatever makes good Christians makes good citizens." The Workmen's Compensation Law is not only good legislation, it is good religion. It places humanity above bricks and mortar. It puts justice into legislation, throws litigation into the scrap heap and brings contentment into the toiler's home.

It took a starving crippled girl seventeen years under the old law to find that she could recover nothing for her leg, cut off by a street car.

The newspapers chronicled this fact only the other day. It took a widow and her fatherless child two days to find out that the Workmen's Compensation Law would take care of them both for life in return for the loss of a husband and father.

An enemy of the Workmen's Compensation Law complains that the law is a failure because the Commission has settled only 4,000 cases in three months.

Four thousand cases in ninety days amount to forty-four cases a day. It took the courts, under the old law, seventeen years to settle the case of a crippled girl who lost her leg, and to settle it wrong. That's the difference between the old law and the new. What organized charity has failed to provide, what legal justice has failed to secure, what philanthropists and lawyers alike have been unable to achieve, has been made an actual, vital, inspiring fact through the Workmen's Compensation Law.

Injured workmen as a body have never been able to secure prompt and adequate redress through the law courts. Dependent widows and helpless orphans seldom received relief from organized charity until their need has become almost a matter of life and death.

Private philanthropists have aided many unfortunate, but their benefactions have been but a drop of comfort in an ocean of misfortune. Lawyers have secured verdicts for many injured workmen, but their legitimate fees have depleted the sums paid to their clients and more workmen have failed to secure compensation in a law court than have gone triumphantly through the mazes of legal procedure.

The principle of Workmen's Compensation embodies everything toward which the jurists, the philanthropists, the lawyers and the charitable workers have been working since the dawn of history. It is justice in the most enlightened form. It is the justice which deals generously with the one who seeks justice; it is humanity, swift and prompt, which maintains the self-respect of the unfortunate who find that modern justice comes clothed in the robes of mercy and understanding.

We must not measure New York's Compensation Act in the dry and dusty forms of law. To appreciate its real significance we must look at it through the eyes

of those fellow-beings who find the swift justice of the compensation law a radiant star of hope in the darkness of their misfortunes.

If I could take you to the place where the Compensation Commission daily adjusts the claims of those who have been injured in industry's battles, you would obtain a truer insight into what the people of this State have done for the children of toil than you can glean from anything that I can say here. If you could see the pitiful procession that passes through the Commission's rooms, the law to you would not mean a mathematical apportionment of so many dollars for a particular accident. It would mean rather, that the weeping woman who stands before the Commission with a fatherless child in her arms may have a roof over her head and the wherewithal to feed her little ones.

It would mean that the crippled boy who drags himself into the Commission's presence may be told that life for him does not mean a beggar's place on a windy corner, but rather the opportunity to turn his weakened body to some useful pursuit while the sovereign State of New York keeps him from hunger and want.

It would mean that the orphan who has just sobbed out the story of a father's death may be sheltered and clothed until he is strong enough to meet the world alone.

It would mean to your awakened and sympathetic understanding that human beings with all their human virtues and desires may be treated with that gentle humanity which is the boast of modern justice.

In every community in the State, the beneficiaries of the Workmen's Compensation Law are proclaiming the humane virtues of that measure with the trumpet-tongued eloquence of actual facts.

Let me recite for you a case which illustrates the difference between the present statute and the old law which forced injured workmen to years of weary litigation and made compensation dependent upon the uncertainties and technicalities of legal procedure.

A man named Samuel Sussman, living at 150 Belmont Avenue, Brooklyn, was injured while at work by a falling beam and his leg was amputated. Septic poisoning set in and he died July 8th, eight days after the Workmen's Compensation Law went into effect.

The case was promptly presented to the Compensation Commission which passed upon the facts and in accordance with the law, awarded 30 per cent of Sussman's wages to his widow and an additional 10 per cent to each of his four little children. This amounted to \$61.56 per month.

Ordinarily the compensation allowed by the Commission is paid every two weeks, but shortly after making its award the Commission received a letter from Mrs. Sussman explaining that the injury to her husband had drained her resources; that there was no money to fall back upon to await the Commission's check and that unless some prompt relief came to her she and her little ones would starve. In evidence of her desperate situation Mrs. Sussman enclosed a dispossess notice from her landlord. Without a moment's delay the Commission made out a check for six weeks advance compensation amounting to \$184, and Mrs. Sussmann was able to satisfy the claim of her landlord and the hunger of her children.

Under the old law this family would have been dispossessed and thrown upon the street with no protector or bread-winner to look to for comfort or support.

Under the Compensation Law this unfortunate widow receives two dollars every day in the week and

every month in the year with which to bring up her little flock.

Consider this instance at your very doors and reflect upon the new order ushered in by the Workmen's Compensation Act. Under the old law you and your fellow taxpayers would have been called upon to support Sussman's children in some charitable institution. One of your homes would have been broken up, one of your mothers would have been bereaved not only of her husband, but of the companionship and affection of her children. Another sorrow-laden woman would have been sent into your factories to compete with the well and strong for the right to earn her daily bread.

Another case at your very doors which illustrates the promptness with which the Workmen's Compensation Law acts is that of James A. Kelly of Jamaica, Long Island. Kelly fell and was injured while at work on Monday, October 5th. He died on Tuesday, October 6th. His case was investigated and approved upon Thursday, October 8th, and before noon on Friday, October 9th, his widow, who was under a doctor's care at the time, received her first check under the law.

No man can contemplate the difference between the old law and the new without taking pride in the fact that the greatest State in free America has led the way to the noblest height which social justice and industrial progress have yet achieved.

In the future as in the past, I shall insist upon a strict accounting to the people for every dollar of the public's money. It shall be my purpose to work toward the perfection of the laws which we have enacted for the benefit of the laborer, the farmer and the business men of the State, to insist upon that economy which goes hand in hand with efficiency; to substitute intelli-

gent conservation for wanton waste and thus enable the State to meet promptly and liberally every just demand of enlightened progress.

With no desire for political leadership I find myself clothed with leadership by the Democratic voters of the State. It is no longer a question of choice, but of duty.

Let me say to my political opponents, and to the doubters, that so long as I hold a commission direct from the people, I shall be leader in fact as well as in name. No man will be permitted to usurp the leadership or divide with me the power of the responsibility which I have accepted. I have been my own master in the past and shall hold myself answerable to my own conscience in the future. He who fears that I may submit to dictation is deceived; he who hopes for such submission will be disappointed.

To be the Governor of New York is an honor fraught with grave responsibilities. If this great honor comes to me again, my fellow-citizens from whose hands it comes may rest assured that all the strength, all the energy, all the enthusiasm and all the ability that I have will be devoted to no other end than promoting the progress, the prosperity and the happiness of our imperial State.

ROBERT EMMET

Speech Delivered at Robert Emmet Celebration, Academy of Music, Brooklyn, Sunday, March 1, 1914

Tonight we fling to the breeze the Green Flag of Liberty which Robert Emmet unfurled one hundred years ago. Tonight we honor a heart as big as the world, sing of a tongue of fire and hail a spirit that spurns the shackles of serfdom. Tonight we pray,

as we hope, that Emmet's dream will soon come true—that the Green Flag of Ireland will soon be furled in the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

Robert Emmet is one of the few immortal names that were not born to die. With him love of country was more powerful than reason. Ireland was ever in his heart, and now he is forever in Ireland's heart. He struck for Ireland's altars and her fires; he struck for the green graves of his sires, for God and his native land. He lived for liberty and he died for it—

“ For whether on the scaffold high,
Or in the battle's van,
The fittest place where man can die
Is where he dies for man.”

Robert Emmet was fired by the recollections of Plutarch's heroes, and animated by the philosophy of Plato's Utopia. With Patrick Henry he cried, “ Give me liberty or give me death.”

One day at Trinity College while Tom Moore played the martial strains of a Gaelic air, a youth exclaimed: “ Oh! that I were marching to that air at the head of twenty thousand men for Ireland! ” That youth was Robert Emmet, the dreamy enthusiast and patriot, whose romantic and tragic story is the saddest, yet dearest memory which Ireland cherishes from an unhappy past. In his old age, Tom Moore said Robert Emmet combined moral worth and intellectual power in the highest degree of any man he ever knew.

Robert Emmet's enthusiasm for Irish freedom was a hereditary as well as a national feeling. Abraham Lincoln praised Mrs. Bixby because she gave three sons to the cause of liberty in the United States. For equal reason let every Irishman the wide world o'er praise the mother of Robert Emmet, for she gave three sons to the cause of liberty in Ireland. She gave

Temple Emmet, who dedicated his talents; she gave Thomas Addis Emmet, who dedicated his freedom; she gave Robert Emmet, who dedicated his life to make old Ireland free.

The roaring of cannon at Bunker Hill, the cowing of King Louis at Versailles made Robert Emmet a crusader and a warrior. What men had done in America, Robert Emmet held men could do in Ireland. Irishmen had helped do it in America—Washington said so. Why, then, couldn't Irishmen do it in Ireland? That was Emmet's query—that was Emmet's dream. Irishmen had helped do it in France—all history said so. What Irishmen had done in France Irishmen must do in Ireland. That was Emmet's will, that was Emmet's law.

“The echoes of Bunker Hill,” said Flood, “rolled over the Atlantic and roused Ireland from her centuries of sleep. Robert Emmet heard these echoes and turned them into action.

In the banquet hall of Donegal Arms, Irishmen hung up the portrait of Benjamin Franklin with the motto, “Where Liberty is there is my Home;” and where liberty was not, Robert Emmet could not live.

And Ireland had wrongs to right of which America never dreamed and France had never heard. But the hangman's rope cannot strangle the eternal law of right; alien proprietors may steal Ireland's land, but alien proprietors cannot stifle Ireland's spirit; parliaments cannot validate nor kings sanctify the robbery of Ireland's poor by England's rich; property rightfully possessed has many rights, but stolen property has no rights; no human law can authorize one man to take from another man the inalienable rights which God has bestowed on all men.

If defying such an iniquitous system is treason, let

England make the most of it. England may hang Robert Emmet for fighting such a system, but we immortalize him. England may desecrate his memory, but we consecrate it. England may sneer at his name, but we salute it as the bravest of the brave. From a bloody scaffold England's hangman may shout, "This is the head of Robert Emmet, a traitor;" but we kiss the lips of that severed head and whisper in its ear:

"Now is done thy long day's work,
Fold thy palms across thy breast,
Fold thy arms, turn to thy rest,
And let them rave."

In revolutions the cunning of a fox is needed as well the courage of a lion. Robert Emmet had the courage of the one, but lacked the cunning of the other. He would not let principle wait on expediency. He would not harbor one thought in his brain and express another on his lips. Honest himself, he thought every one else honest. He knew not insincerity and never suspected it in others. Talleyrand deceived him and Napoleon lied to him. With a pittance of money and a handful of men he tried to wrest Ireland from the strongest and richest power on earth. His life was short, but deathless is his renown. While Wicklow faltered, Wexford hesitated, Kildare dallied and Dublin slept, Robert Emmet put on his green and gold uniform as commander-in-chief of the forces of the Republic of Ireland, and sallied forth to plant the Green Flag on the walls of Dublin castle. Others might pause, but he would push on until eternal sunshine settled on his head. He counted it death to falter, not to die. An hour of liberty is worth a century of bondage; an hour of glorious life is worth an

age without a name. Success would have changed the fate of Robert Emmet from a martyr to a conqueror. Success makes the conqueror, want of it the martyr. In failure no man dared claim his murdered body; in success the world would have robed him in purple and upon his head have placed a crown. He may not have loved old Ireland wisely, but he loved her well, and with a golden key he opened the palace of eternity. His temple of fame stands unerected upon an unmarked grave. His unwritten epitaph is written on the red-leaved tablets of grateful human hearts.

“ He sleeps in rest,
By all his country’s wishes blest;
By fairy hands his knell is rung,
By forms unseen his dirge is sung.”

Some day that fantastic gold and green uniform which Robert Emmet donned on July 23, 1803, as commander-in-chief of the forces of the Irish Republic, will yet lead the Boys in Green beneath the Green Flag to a place among the nations of the earth. The music to which these Boys in Green will march beneath the Green Flag behind Emmett’s green and gold uniform of 1803 is the martial strains of the Gaelic air which Tom Moore played at Old Trinity and which caused Robert Emmet as a lad to sigh for 20,000 men to lead for Ireland’s cause.

Robert Emmet was an orator. He pronounced the greatest oration ever pronounced beneath the shadow of the scaffold. In this oration Lord Byron says, Robert Emmet speaks not to man but to time and eternity. Although delivered 111 years ago that wonderful oration still rings in the ears of the world. Although delivered 111 years ago its words still burn with a magic light and its spirit still stirs men who

would not be slaves. This wonderful oration still quickens the heart as if Robert Emmet had pronounced it from this platform tonight. The man dies but his words live. Wherever a true Irishman goes let Robert Emmet's last words cheer him on his way. By a revolution of power Robert Emmet might change places with his judges, but they could never change characters. The sentence of death which England's unhallowed policy placed upon Robert Emmet's body could not condemn his tongue to silence or his reputation to reproach. The man who did not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated would leave no weapon to envy to torment him in the grave to which tyranny consigned him. His ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of his country, not in power or in profit but in the glory of achievement. He conquered every selfish sentiment and offered himself a sacrifice for liberty. As no man dared vindicate his motives when he was alive, so let no man attack them when he is dead. Let him rest in peace, his tomb uninscribed, until time and circumstance do justice to his memory; and when Ireland takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not till then let Robert Emmet's epitaph be written.

Robert Emmet was a poet. His love for Sarah Curran is the very personification of poetry. Match it if you can in all the realm of literature! It inspired the muse of Tom Moore, and for 100 years it has made holy the temple of love; for 100 years it has had a shrine in the heart of women and a tablet in the memory of men. As Tennyson sang of another man and maid, so tonight we sing of Sarah Curran and Robert Emmet:

“ Love’s arms were wreathed about the neck of Hope,
And Hope kissed Love, and Love drew in her breath
In that close kiss and drank her whispered tales.
They say that Love would die when Hope was gone,
And Love mourned long and sorrowed after Hope;
At last she sought out Memory, and they trod
The same old paths where Love had walked with Hope,
And Memory fed the soul of Love with tears.”

Robert Emmet is the dearest saint in the calendar of the Irish political martyrology. In the humblest cabins of the Emerald Isle may be seen the rude portrait of Robert Emmet as he would wish to be remembered—in his cocked hat and feathers, his green and gold uniform as commander-in-chief of the forces of the Irish Republic; and thus, fellow Irishmen and Irish women, may Robert Emmet ever dwell in Memory’s halls, while Irishmen are Irishmen and Ireland the mother of us all.

Tonight the tongue of fire flames no more: the heart as big as the world is still; but the spirit that spurned the shackles of serfdom lives and speaks the world around.

BUSINESS IN GOVERNMENT

Speech Delivered at the Banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, November 20, 1913

In the Knickerbocker History of New York, Washington Irving says that Wouter Van Twiller was the greatest ruler this colony ever had. You all know the spirit of the Knickerbocker History; you all know Irving was a truthful man when he wanted to be. Now in one respect I am like Van Twiller. He stood five-foot-six high, and so do I. But Van Twiller was big

in other ways. He measured six-feet-five around the waist. I do not—that is, not yet, though time may remedy this defect.

But Van Twiller was not all virtues. He had his faults. He was long on reflection, but short on determination. He never made up his mind about anything. Today a Governor is not fashionable unless he has opinions on everything and thinks for everybody. I intend to be an old-fashioned Governor like Van Twiller—in some respects. Like Van Twiller I am for reflection before action, for consultations before decision, for deliberation before agitation, even if such an old-fashioned policy deprives me of political advertisement or newspaper headlines.

Unlike Van Twiller, however, I am going to make up my mind once in a while about some things, but just because I happen to be Governor I will not presume to claim that people who make up their minds differently should be outcasts from society or inmates of penal institutions.

Yes, Van Twiller had his faults. Irving says he conceived every subject on so grand a scale, even the smallest of subjects, that he had not room in his head to turn it over and examine both sides of it. With all his greatness, Van Twiller forgot the sense of proportion and the proper equation of things. I want to remember these, and remembering them I hope to win the commendation not only of the members of the Chamber of Commerce of New York State, but the commendation of every business man in New York State.

Noise, hysteria and clamor are characteristic of today's politics; yet Washington Irving says the proper ambition of a Governor is to be neither heard nor talked of. The way for a Governor to attain this ambition is to talk faster than he thinks, or not talk

at all. I am afraid the gubernatorial habit of late has been to talk faster than one thinks. If some Governor in the land would only adopt the other habit of not talking at all, he might, like the owl, soon become a symbol of wisdom, and like the sphinx, the wonder of the Ages. If it were not for banquets I would try to adopt the habit of not talking at all. And at least I am determined to follow the next best method, and to make my talks as short as possible.

The glories, the history, the wealth, and the splendor of New York need no rhetorical picturing or poetical phrasing. They are written in our commercial supremacy, in our humanitarian institutions, in our progressive laws, in our charitable enterprises, in our contribution to the triumphs of peace and our participation in the heroic deeds of war. Our banners float in the van wherever men work or women strive for the uplift of humanity and the amelioration of mankind. Our cities are the clearing houses for the brains of the Western Continent. Our fields stand in the forefront of agricultural pursuits. Our towns and villages produce men of activity and women of ideals. No equal area of land in the world offers such a panorama of nature from Niagara's diapason on the west to New York's hum of human endeavor on the east.

History walks on every inch of our territory; art finds inspiration in our Catskills and our Adirondacks: and sociology finds field for study in the crowded marts of our city populace. Nowhere do politics offer so diversified and interesting a field. We have run the gamut of issues from the gubernatorial campaign of William Marcy, which was waged on the issue of whether or not Marcy as a Supreme Court justice had legally made the State pay for the fifty-cent patch on his pantaloons, to the present momentous issue of Direct Primaries.

I hope you will not nickname me "The Scolder" or "The Wrangler," or call me "The Testy," as Washington Irving called a certain colonial governor of this colony, if I suggest that the business men in this State and in this country should be more willing to sacrifice their private interests and hold public office than they are now or have been in the past. I do not believe that business men have taken their proper place in running our government or writing our laws. This is not so in England. There business men have played the larger part in the political drama, instead of the lawyers, as in this country, and none to England's disadvantage. In this respect I believe we could well afford to imitate England. If we had more business men in public office the country would be better off.

Not long ago Senator Aldrich said he could save the United States government millions of dollars every year if he could run it on business principles. I believe what he said is true, and I know that New York State could save much money if business men were allowed to overhaul and bring up to date the antiquated and overlapping system which today prevails in many of our State departments. I should consider it the biggest thing that I could do in my administration if I could inaugurate this system. And I tell you tonight that if there are enough prominent business men in this State of all political parties who are willing to donate their time and their services to serve on a commission to devise a business system for New York State similar to the one that Senator Aldrich proposed for the United States government, I shall be pleased to name them as a commission to overhaul and improve the system upon which New York's business is conducted. I am sure that if this banquet tonight will give birth to this movement, in the years to come it

will save the taxpayers of New York State a princely sum. I should like to inaugurate such a movement, and in that desire tonight I beg the assistance of every member of this body, and of every business man in the State. I have the power of appointment, and I will exercise that power of appointment, if I can find enough prominent business men in this State willing to volunteer under the banner of efficiency and economy. For the first time in the history of the State we are going to inaugurate in Albany this winter a budget system similar to that which has prevailed in England. Eventually this budget system will wipe out the supply bill which has been the pork barrel in the government of this State. It would wipe it out this winter if it were not for the deficiencies in the different departments which were inherited from a vicious system of years' standing. The great benefit of this movement may not be felt completely this winter, but if continued it will bring about a saving which will merit the approval of every business man in the State. We have on foot at Albany two other projects which I am sure will meet the approbation of this body. One is to revise our tax laws, which have not kept step with the march of progress. In the last fifty years New York has made no important change in its tax laws. We are far behind some of the smaller States of this Union in our taxation system. Our system is archaic, and we are going to try to improve it so that it will be worthy of the dignity and prominence of this commonwealth. We have under way a revision of the banking laws which, if we can complete it before the next Legislature adjourns, will provide a model banking system for every other State in the Union.

My friends, a word more and I am through. We are entering on a new era in politics. The humani-

tarian element is going to play a larger part in our public questions in the next twenty years than it has in the last generation. This sociological trend of thought, prominent today in all walks of life, is going to upset many traditions and rewrite many precedents. This situation was bound to come with the ascendancy of manhood suffrage, and those who try to stop it are playing the foolish part of old King Canute when he tried to bid the waves of the ocean to recede from their shore. Some men fear this new movement. Many business men dread it. But to my way of thinking they see ghosts where there are only shadows. And to those who hold this fear I would say that history offers the consolation that the people at large, the populace, have at no time been guilty of a fault in which the representative few have not been equally guilty at some other time; that the representative few have never exhibited a virtue which the people or the populace have not displayed on some other occasion. It is the old theory of the flow and the ebb, the positive and the negative, the balance and the counter-balance running through all Nature. Thought runs in cycles the ages through, and the brains of mankind seldom lose their center of gravity. Important problems, tremendous problems, appalling problems face us today; but common sense, common courage, mutual forbearance and the golden rule will solve our problems of today just as they have solved all problems since man was man, and God is God.

A PLEA FOR BUSINESS MEN AND BUSINESS

**Delivered by Governor Glynn at Haverstraw During
the Campaign of 1914**

The true aim and object of government is to promote the welfare of the whole people, and no man deserves to succeed in his candidacy for office who proposes to use the government and all its powers for the purpose of promoting the welfare of one class of people at the expense of another. The real aim of all those in authority should be to build up the industrial prosperity of the State and not to tear it down.

It should be recognized and accepted by all patriotic and sensible men that there is an interdependent relation between capital and labor; between employer and employee, and that the social and business structure of the State is so united and its interests so interwoven that a blow delivered or an injury done to any part of that structure results in harm to the whole of it. The creative energies of the individual, his desire to build, his ambition to promote, his hope for success, should never be unduly hampered or embarrassed by the mere meddlesome interference of government. The prosperity of the State, the development of its resources depend upon this individual creative energy. The whole nation has been built up by the tireless labor and clear foresight of those dauntless spirits who have dared to venture, and no government with its restrictive laws should hinder or stagnate his genius or paralyze his energy.

It is not the function of government to tell business what it shall do; that is the domain in which individual energy and individual capacity works out the destiny of the country. The true function of the government

is to tell business and industry what it may not do to the end that its development should in no wise be checked, but simply directed into legitimate channels.

While we have done much for labor and the whole world rejoices in the elevation and dignity of labor, our solicitude for its welfare should be not a whit greater than it is for those organized forces, those created agencies designed and equipped to make conquest of the material world and to bring out of it for the service and comfort of mankind the fruits of farm, and field, and mine and forest.

While we have done much for the great agricultural interest of the State, and the world rejoices when we render service to the tillers of the soil, our care should be no less in husbanding and directing the energies of those who have built our factories, established our mills, created our great commercial centers, completed and perfected the modern machine of civilized society.

To the public official whose eye is constantly upon the true progress of his State, there is no class or class prejudice. To the Governor whose sole desire and single purpose is to serve his State, there can be no justifiable warfare between employer and employee, between capital and labor, between the country and the city.

The man who ventures his capital, his intelligence and his time in building a factory, establishing a mill, setting up a store or organizing any of the many agencies which are necessary to the substantial progress of the State, has undertaken an enterprise which calls for all his constructive ability and taxes all the resources of his energy.

In this constructive work he is entitled, first, to the utmost liberty of management, consistent with a strict preservation of the rights of others; secondly, he is

entitled to the encouraging influence and the friendly coöperation of the government and, thirdly, he is entitled to conduct his business without the meddlesome interference of those in authority.

The powers of the State government must be in hands strong enough to prevent their use by one class against another, and the government must be held so high above all prejudices which class hatred and class prejudice engenders that it and no part of it can be pulled into an alliance with one section of society against some other section of society.

This government was not erected and organized for any particular class, and it should not be used or administered for any particular class. Constant employment, fair wages and reasonable hours are necessary to the happiness and comfort of the man who toils. Factories running full time, mills constantly open, commercial centers always active and commerce and business quickened with a keen spirit of trade are necessary to furnish employment to the laboring class. Prosperity on the farm, tax burdens equally adjusted and tax moneys honestly expended are necessary to keep active centers of trade and commerce and the agencies of business.

And over and above all of these it is necessary that a strong, a just and fearless government should be administered, and in such a fashion as to stimulate and unite the energies, aims and ambitions of all these classes; business and industry should go on unmolested by the government striving to achieve the true destiny of the State; labor should go unshackled to its work and return unhindered with the fruits of its toil; agriculture aided by the coöperation of the State and intelligently guided by modern scientific discovery should pursue the even tenor of its way, bringing from

the soil those products necessary for the maintenance and support of the State. And in these various pursuits, business and industry should have its repose, labor should have its protection and agriculture should have friendly coöperation and guidance.

A RECORD FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

Address Delivered at Auburn, October 23, 1914

Inasmuch as the public school question has been introduced in this campaign, I propose to take as a subject of my speech here the work done for public schools and for education generally, in new legislation since I have been Governor of New York.

To begin with let me say that I have the distinction of signing the largest appropriations ever made in a single session of the Legislature for the common schools of the State of New York. No other Governor ever signed appropriations for public education anywhere near as big as I have. In the last year that I have been Governor this State appropriated five million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the common schools of this State. This is the biggest sum ever devoted to this service in the history of the State, and with assurance of the answer that must come to you, I may refer you for inquiry as to the service I rendered in helping to get this money for the common schools to Dr. Finley, the head of the State Department of Education, and to the leading members of both the Senate and the Assembly. I call attention to the fact that I approved this increase of expenditure of public money for our common schools while I was paring down the expense of every other department of the State and in their totality cut down the expenses of

the State ten million dollars less than they were last year.

Allow me for a moment to present what others say of my work. Here is what *The School Bulletin* and *The New York State Educational Journal* had to say in its August number:

“ The school people of the State feel especially grateful to Governor Glynn for the liberal and generous treatment which he accorded educational questions. He gave Executive approval to every measure favored by the educational interests of the State. These measures included the broader use of school libraries, placing the teachers' retirement law upon a more equitable and a sounder financial basis, and making more effective the consolidation of rural schools. An issue was raised at the special session of the Legislature, which convened immediately following Mr. Glynn's promotion to the governorship, in relation to the state scholarship law. The regular session of the Legislature which enacted such law made an appropriation of only \$25,000 for payment of scholarship fees. It was not believed that more than one-third of the scholarships would be filled the first year. The measure proved to be so popular, however, that all of them were filled. To meet the requirements of the law an additional \$50,000 was necessary. After the special session of the Legislature made the appropriation, strong opposition appeared, but Governor Glynn approved the appropriation. Opposition to appropriations for this purpose was made by leading State officers and by influential members of the Senate at the recent session of the Legislature. Even *The New York Times* was disposed to be unfriendly to the

plan. However, Governor Glynn differed with some of his influential party associates in the Senate and took a firm stand in favor of the appropriation. The action, therefore, in making appropriations for two successive years has firmly established the scholarship law and has undoubtedly eliminated further opposition.

“ The appropriations to the Education Department were generally approved by Governor Glynn. The appropriations make provision for a State Medical Inspector, an additional Agriculture Inspector, an Inspector of Household Economic courses, and for increases to many of the clerks receiving low salaries. The impression which one gets when he scrutinizes the appropriation bill is that the Education Department fared better in a year in which the pruning knife was used without mercy than any other department of the State government. For this support of public education and for Governor Glynn's attachment to the public school system of which he is a product, the educational workers of the State are grateful.”

This is a general summary from a great unbiased educational journal of the work I have done for public education.

Here in detail are some of the things that have been done for the cause of education since I assumed the gubernatorial chair:

In approving Assembly bill, Printed No. 706, entitled “ An Act to amend the education law relative to state teachers retirement fund for public school teachers ” I took action which will result in protecting the interests of every teacher in the State employed under that law, in preventing abuses in the administration of such law, and in safeguarding the funds from which payments to teachers must be made.

All schemes of annuities by either municipalities or corporations have been founded upon the theory that the employer shall contribute largely and, in many cases, the entire amount which goes into the fund from which annuities are paid. The fund, however, from which teachers are to be paid upon being retired was established upon an entirely different basis. The only contributions which were originally made to the State teachers' retirement fund were those paid by the teachers themselves. Under the law each teacher was required to pay one per cent of her salary. To put this fund upon a sound financial basis and at the same time to relieve the State from making appropriations for some time to come, it was proposed under this bill to require each district and city operating under the law to pay an amount equal to that which the teachers themselves pay. The average salary of teachers throughout that part of the State to which such law is applicable is only \$464 per year. Each teacher is required under the law to pay into the State treasury \$4.64. Each school district employing a single teacher would, therefore, be required to contribute only \$4.64 to this fund annually. In a district or city employing more than one teacher the amount would be only \$4.64 per teacher.

To avoid the necessity of collecting these small amounts from the 11,000 school districts and cities throughout the State, this amendment provided that the Commissioner of Education in the apportionment of State funds should deduct the amount which the district is required to contribute from the public money which is apportioned to it by the State. Under this procedure the State is sure of every dollar of the money which should be paid by each district and city, and at the same time the expense of collection is also saved, which would amount to about \$10,000 per year.

As this law was originally enacted, a teacher was entitled to receive, upon being regularly retired, one-half of the salary paid her during the last year of her service but in no case to exceed \$600. In the administration of this law, during the few years which it has been in operation, numerous cases occurred in which it was found that school authorities had increased the salary of a teacher materially during the last year of her service in order to enable such teacher to receive a larger annuity from this fund. To avoid abuses of this kind and properly to safeguard this fund, it is provided through this amendment of the law to pay each teacher upon her retirement an amount equal to one-half her average salary for the five years immediately preceding her retirement. This gives to each teacher honest consideration for her service and prevents a depletion of the fund through excessive payments upon improper bases.

It further appeared that many teachers who had become old and partially incapacitated, and who possessed no means upon which to live, had been continued in the schools for a year or two upon reduced salaries. It was recognized that these teachers had rendered valuable service to the State and the salaries which they received at the time of retirement were so small that one-half of the amount was not sufficient to support them during the year. It was therefore a matter of common justice that these deserving teachers, who had become incapacitated in the service and who had received low salaries for the reason stated, should receive an amount equal to one-half their average salary for the five years immediately preceding their retirement. It may be further stated that this is the general policy pursued in states which have annuity systems.

Another abuse which the amendments to this law corrected was in relation to the amount paid a teacher who became incapacitated and was required to pay a stipulated sum into the fund in order to get upon the retirement list. The law required a payment of only 30 per cent. of the annuity for one year to entitle a teacher to this privilege. The amount will readily be recognized as too small a contribution on the part of the teacher, when compared with the benefits to be received. The law was accordingly amended so as to increase the amount which each teacher shall contribute from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the annuity for one year.

This retirement law applies to about one-half of the teachers of the State. Several of the larger cities of the State such as New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Yonkers, etc., have their special local retirement laws. There are many cases of teachers who are employed in cities under local retirement laws and who desire to leave such cities and teach in portions of the State operating under the general law. The law provided that, in such cases, teachers must teach at least fifteen years in such sections of the State in order to be eligible for an annuity under the general law. In many cases this was unjust and operated as a hardship upon the teacher. The law was therefore amended by incorporating a provision for the purpose of making an adjustment between the State and local law when a teacher is transferred from a section of the State operating under a local law to some portion of the State to which the general retirement law is applicable.

While the amendments to this law relate to the details of its administration, they are important amendments and will have a far-reaching effect in establishing the teachers' retirement law of this State upon

a sound financial basis and its administration upon fairness and justice to both teachers, for whose benefit it was established, and to the State, which is bound to protect these teachers in their rights.

Senate bill, Printed No. 1366, introduced by Senator Blauvelt, by request, was intended to extend the scholarship privileges to boys and girls who desired to enter courses in professional schools. On April 22, 1914, I vetoed this bill. At a meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York on April 30, 1914, President Finley presented the following statement to such board:

*“ Veto of Proposed Amendment to University
Scholarship Law*

“ I beg to call the attention of the Board to Governor Glynn’s memorandum accompanying his veto of the bill in amendment of the University Scholarship Law, and to suggest that this memorandum be preserved in the minutes of the Board of Regents, with an expression on the part of the Board in approval of the Governor’s action in conserving to its highest uses the State’s scholarship fund. What the Governor says is incidentally a recognition of a most important step in the recent educational history of this State and of the United States, and gives most substantial encouragement to the effort on the part of the University to promote sound scholarship in this State through its coöperation with the various colleges and universities in the State.

“ I would respectfully recommend also that the Board express its approval of what the Governor has done to maintain the integrity of professional standards through his veto of certain other measures as follows:

“ STATE OF NEW YORK — EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

“ ALBANY, *April* 22, 1914

“ MEMORANDUM filed with Senate bill, Introductory No. 1157, Printed No. 1366, entitled:

“ ‘An act to amend the Education Law, in relation to scholarships for the aid of students in colleges.’

“ NOT APPROVED.

“ The chief object which the Legislature had in view in the enactment of the Scholarship Law of 1913 was to express the State's interest in the promotion of sound scholarship in the higher institutions of learning. A secondary purpose was to aid worthy young men and women desiring to pursue a college course of instruction. It was not intended to aid professional schools or professional students.

“ The law very properly, therefore, restricted these scholarships to students who are to enter colleges to pursue such standard courses as the B.A., B.S., etc. The tendency throughout the country is to encourage students to complete a college course before beginning the study of a professional course. The present Scholarship Law, therefore, places emphasis upon college education. It was not intended to make these scholarships available for the usual professional courses.

“ The effect of this amendment, therefore, would be to destroy the purpose of the State in the original enactment of the law and would make these scholarships available in any of the approved schools of law, medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, pharmacy, etc.

“ There is every reason why the State should give its support to the effort which is being made to encourage soundness in scholarship and to award these scholarships to those only who aspire to the very highest standards of learning which the colleges and universities of the State afford. The State may well assume this position in reference to the students themselves inasmuch as none of the scholarships are vacant and as there are more applicants already for these scholarships than there are scholarships.

“ It would be a step backward in higher education as well as professional standards if this bill should be approved, and I, therefore, disapprove the bill.”

The Journal of the meeting of the Board of Regents shows that after the presentation of such statement by President Finley the following resolution was adopted:

“ On motion of Regent Vander Veer, it was

“ *Voted*, That the Board of Regents approve the action of the Governor in vetoing the bill in amendment of the University scholarship law, and also in vetoing certain other bills whose enactment into law would have lowered the standards for the administration of the professional laws.”

The appropriation bill of 1913 carried an item of only \$25,000 for payments to students receiving scholarships under this law. It was believed that not more than one-third of the number of scholarships would be awarded the first year. There were, however, so many qualified students desirous of entering college under this plan that the entire quota of 750 scholarships was awarded. Sufficient funds had not been ap-

propriated to meet payments to which students were entitled. There was some opposition to the enactment of this law. That opposition exerted its influence to induce me to veto the special item of \$50,000 appropriated at the special session of the Legislature to meet deficiencies in the appropriation for this purpose. After considering the matter thoroughly, I decided that the interests of the State required that the appropriation should be approved. Notwithstanding my desire to reduce appropriations to the minimum, I cordially approved this item of \$50,000.

The opposition to the enactment of this law was still active during the legislative session of 1914 and several efforts were made to defeat the purpose of the law by endeavoring to persuade the Legislature not to make the appropriation of \$150,000 which would be required to meet the provisions of the scholarship law. I exerted my influence in behalf of the appropriation with members of the Legislature, and the necessary item of \$150,000 was included.

My action has resulted in placing the scholarship law in full operation, in defeating opposition to it, and in placing the plan upon a permanent foundation.

In approving Senate bill, Printed No. 1333, relative to the purchase of books, apparatus and works of art by school districts throughout the State, I made it possible to regulate these purchases so that only those of standard value might be placed in the schools. The law had authorized the purchase of standard pictures as a basis for receiving an apportionment of State funds. School authorities could purchase other works of art, such as casts, without the approval of the State authorities. As a result much undesirable material of this kind was being placed in the schools. Under this amendment, purchases of this kind must be of standard quality and have the approval of the State.

Apportionments for such purchases will be made on the same basis as apportionments for pictures. The placing of these standard works of art in the school districts will be the means of educating the children of the State to an appreciation of the cultural value of pictures, casts and statues.

One of the important measures before the Legislature of 1914, was a bill authorizing the establishment and maintenance of a college of commerce and administration and a museum of commerce and civics in New York City, in connection with the College of the City of New York. While this was a purely local measure, the effect of the establishment of an institution of this kind in connection with the well-known metropolitan institution, the College of the City of New York, will be the means of affording to thousands of boys in that city, the opportunity to equip themselves for positions in all phases of commercial life. The opportunities and the demand for employment in this line of service in the city of New York resulted in the introduction of this bill and, in giving it my approval, a great agency for improvement in commercial service was made possible.

The Legislature of 1913 enacted a comprehensive plan for the medical inspection of children in attendance in the schools throughout the State. No financial provision however was made for the appointment of an officer to give authorities throughout the State information as to the provisions of the law and the best method by which it might be enforced. The sum of five thousand dollars was included in the appropriation to the Education Department by the Legislature of 1914 for the proper enforcement of the law, and that item I approved. In approving this appropriation one of the greatest health agencies in the country was made effective and the State is given leadership in one

of the most important educational health measures inaugurated in this country.

One of the most far-reaching measures, affecting the rural schools, was Senate bill, Introductory No. 635, introduced by Mr. Simpson, relating to the consolidation of school districts. This bill provided that, when a district superintendent consolidated two or more districts by an order which he was authorized to make, under the provisions of the Education Law, the consolidated district should receive from the State the aggregate amount of money which would be apportioned to the several districts if independent schools were maintained. This has proved to be a great encouragement in the consolidation of country schools. As the law stood before the amendment was enacted, the amount of money which a district was entitled to receive depended upon its assessed valuation. By annexing to any district, surrounding districts, the valuation was increased and the amount apportioned to the district by the State greatly decreased. Instead of maintaining small, independent schools, it is believed that the maintenance of consolidated schools will give more effective results throughout the State and will bring to the children generally in the farming regions, increased educational opportunities. It will afford to the children attending the country districts very generally opportunity to obtain an education as good as is provided in the large villages. Instead of paying these apportionments to the separate small districts, under the provisions of this law, payments will be made to the central district, thus bringing a much larger amount of funds to the support of a single school. On the other hand, the amount expended by the State will be no greater than if apportionments were made to separate districts. It means therefore not only graded schools,

better equipment and more efficient instruction but it also means economy in administration and in the expenditure of State funds. The influence of this measure is already being felt throughout the rural regions of the State and, in more than one hundred centers the sentiment in favor of consolidation of schools under this measure is now being agitated and in many cases consolidation has already been effected.

In connection with this matter, consideration should also be given to Senate Bill, Printed No 336, introduced by Mr. Brown, which authorizes the establishment of central high schools throughout the rural regions. This bill too, I signed. The general purpose of this measure is to provide for the establishment of high schools in thickly settled agricultural sections where a sufficient amount of property and a sufficient number of children may be brought together in one central point to establish a school of academic grade.

Several measures modifying the legal requirements for the practice of professions in the State were passed by the legislature but vetoed by me. *

Assembly bill, printed No. 1268, amending the Public Health Law in relation to examinations of candidates desiring to practice dentistry in the State I vetoed. Under this proposed amendment provisions were incorporated in the Dental Law applying to all persons seeking to practice dentistry in this State who might come from other states and countries. It would have been a clear discrimination against the duly licensed practitioners of the State. It would have permitted persons residing outside of the State to enter the practice of dentistry in this State on a standard of qualifications below that which was established for residents of the State.

One of the most important measures relating to pro-

fessional standards was Assembly bill, Printed No. 1354, introduced by Mr. McClelland, and generally known as the "Christian Science Measure." This measure contained no provision for the requirement of any educational or professional qualifications whatsoever. Any person who ministers to or treats the sick or suffering by mental or spiritual means, regardless of his lack of knowledge of the fundamental common school branches or lack of technical knowledge of anatomy, physiology and hygiene, and regardless of his lack of knowledge of psychology or the action of the mind upon matter, would have been qualified to minister to or treat the sick; thus setting at naught the educational standards, both academic and professional, which have been more than a half a century in making, standards that have been the outgrowth of a popular demand that the conservation of life and public health shall not be entrusted to ignorant persons who are without knowledge of the natural laws of biological science.

Had this measure become law, it would not only have permitted the members of the Christian Science church legally to practice medicine, which was the obvious purpose of the bill, but it would have allowed spiritualists, clairvoyants, mesmerists, hypnotists, neuropaths and all persons who might set up a claim to some mental or physical power to treat and heal the sick. If this bill had contained only the Christian Science feature my action might have been different but the wide latitude and loose construction of the bill left no course but the veto course open to me. It would also have thrown open the doors to the practice of medicine to all manner of quacks and would have legalized them as physicians of professional and legal standing. There would have been no redress in

the courts whatever for malpractice, loss of life by neglect, and worst of all there would have been no safeguard against the spread of contagious and infectious diseases. The public would have been helpless to prevent an epidemic, or to crush it out when once started.

Such is my record on educational matters in this State. I think it will compare favorably with any of my predecessors, and when some people with fanatical minds, opposing me in this campaign talk about the public schools I ask you to call their attention to the fact that the appropriations which, as Governor of this State, I signed for the common schools are larger by thousands than the appropriations signed for similar purposes by any other Governor in the whole history of the State.

THE EMPIRE STATE

Address Delivered at Cliff Haven, August, 1914

There is no subject more quick to kindle the enthusiasm or awaken the pride of a New Yorker than the preëminence of New York. Whether born to the purple of citizenship in the Empire State, or an adopted son, the man who can lay claim to the title of "New Yorker" is proud of the wealth, the strength, the progress, the prosperity, the greatness and the majesty of the commonwealth in which he lives.

In its greatest city, which is at the same time the greatest city in the world, New York with kindly and friendly eyes sees the sons of other States gather at times to celebrate the virtues and extol the splendors of the States from which they come. It hears the men of California praise the climate, the scenery and the

people on the shores of the Pacific; it hears the men of Indiana and of Illinois pledge the fertile fields and thriving cities of the nation's central plain; it hears the men of the mountain States boast of the grandeur of their cloud-capped peaks, and listens to the sons of the sunny south recall the tender charm of Dixie.

It listens and applauds the praises of its sister States and then with twinkling eyes it remembers that the Californian has forsaken the sun-kissed Pacific, that the man from Indiana has left his fertile plains, that the westerner has abandoned his mountains, and the southerner forsaken the delights of Dixie to claim the advantages, to secure the opportunities, to participate in the progress of imperial New York.

Whether we cast back into the history of the past or consider simply the present; whether we scan the crimson chapters of war, or peruse the placid pages of peace, we find that New York has played a gallant and a leading part in the progress and development of the American nation.

Discovered and explored by a Frenchman, Champlain, and an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch, New York from its beginning has enjoyed a cosmopolitan character.

Belgians from Walloon, Dutch from the Netherlands, Englishmen who loved adventure and Irishmen who loved liberty, gathered on these shores to form a colony which gave early promise of the wealth and abundance which have raised New York to the leadership of the western hemisphere.

With the possible exception of Massachusetts, New York had more at stake in her defiance of England than any of the other colonies, and it was on New York's soil that some of the bloodiest and fiercest battles of the Revolution were fought.

The first forts captured from the English in the war were Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the first attempt to construct an American navy was made by Arnold on Lake Champlain.

It was from New York that the expedition was made into Canada which resulted in the capture of St. Johns and Montreal and ended in disaster at Quebec.

The battle of Long Island, of White Plains, of Bennington, of Oriskany and of Saratoga were all contested within the borders of New York.

New York has long suffered from General Knox's report to Congress in which he declared that New York contributed only 17,000 men to the revolutionary cause. Investigation, however, has disclosed that this report was inaccurate and that New York actually contributed 43,000 men. The services of these men whose leaders included James Clinton, Philip Van Cortlandt, James Livingston, Marinus Willett, Philip Schuyler and Alexander Hamilton prove that in spite of British occupation, New York played her share in the great events which led to the birth of a free nation and a liberal government.

Just as New York stood to the front in the dark hours of the nation's birth, so it gave of the flower of its manhood to preserve the nation whole and unharmed.

Meagher at the head of the heroic 69th, Sickles, whose gallantry will be remembered whenever men speak of Gettysburg, Sheridan whom Grant declared the finest cavalry leader in the world, these men brought laurels to the Empire State when they won them for themselves.

Scarcely a battlefield of the rebellion failed to take toll of the youth and patriotism of New York. At Fair Oaks, New York offered up the lives of 5,000 of its

bravest sons. At Antietam alone, it mourned 12,000. In the Capitol at Albany the war scarred emblems of a gigantic struggle bear mute but eloquent testimony of the valor no less than the sacrifice of the sons of the Empire State.

“Nothing but flags, but simple flags,
Tattered and torn and hanging in rags;
And we walk beneath them with careless tread,
Nor think of the hosts of the mighty dead
That have marched beneath them in days gone by,
With a burning cheek and a kindling eye,
And have bathed their folds with their life's young tide,
And dying, blessed them, and blessing, died.

Nothing but flags; yet, methinks, at night
They tell each other their tale of fight;
And dim spectres come, and their thin arms twine
Round each standard torn, as they stand in line,
As the word is given — they charge, they form,
And the dim hall rings with the battle's storm;
And once again, through smoke and strife,
These colors lead to a nation's life.

Nothing but flags; yet they're bathed with tears;
They tell of triumphs, of hopes, of fears,
Of a mother's prayers, of a boy away,
Of a serpent crushed, of the coming day;
Silent they speak, and the tear will start
As we stand beneath them with throbbing heart,
And think of those who are ne'er forgot —
Their flags come home, why come they not?

Nothing but flags; yet we hold our breath,
And gaze with awe at those types of death;
Nothing but flags; yet the thought will come,
The heart must pray, though the lips be dumb;
They are sacred, pure, and we see no stain
On those dear loved flags come home again;
Baptized in blood, our purest, best
Tattered and torn, they're now at rest.”

For the Civil War this State gave and loaned money to the National Government by the million. The Stars and Stripes constantly floated from every house-top, window and pole. By the end of 1861 New York had sent 120,000 men into the field—one out of every six of the able-bodied men in the State. At the close of the campaign of 1862, there were 250,000 New York men scattered over nine different States of the South. When the war closed in the spring of 1865, New York had furnished to the Union within a few thousand of half a million soldiers, or about one-fifth of the number of men who entered the Federal Army. The census of 1865 show that for the first time in any five years in the history of the State there was a decrease in the population of New York amounting to 50,000 people.

To-day New York looks back on the years that are gone, serene and proud in the knowledge that her place in the galaxy of stars which adorn Old Glory was earned in the white heat of great events. And her rejoicing in the power and wealth that has come to her is intensified by the fact that she holds and will hold this power and strength not for herself alone but for the great nation of which she is a part.

Measure New York by whatever standard you will, she stands a giant in a federation of giants. In natural resources and in utilization of these resources, in the wealth of her industries and the fertility of her farms, in zeal for education and the cultivation of the arts and sciences, in commercial progress and intellectual advance, in generous charities and progressive laws, New York merits the crown with which her sister states have invested her.

Just as New York leads every state in population, so it leads in manufactures, wealth and commerce. In the last year for which accurate figures are available New

York had, in round numbers, 45,000 manufacturing establishments employing 1,200,000 workers earning yearly wages amounting to \$743,000,000.

The total value of the products manufactured in this State reached the astounding total of \$3,369,490,000.00, or \$742,000,000 more than its nearest competitor. Besides the value of the raw materials upon which they worked, the workers of New York, by the toil of their head and hands added \$1,512,000,000 to the wealth of this State and to the wealth of the world.

There are few drones in the Empire State. Of each 100 men and boys over ten years of age, 81 are at work. Of the women and girls about 27 in each 100. And these workers labor in more diversified ways, exercise a wider range of ingenuity and utilize more variously and completely the natural resources of the State than is done anywhere else in the world.

Of each 100 workers in New York 10 are farmers; 40 are engaged in various kind of manufacturing; 8 are employed by transportation systems; 14 are engaged in trade; 5 are professional men; 2 are in the public service; 8 are clerks and 13 in domestic or personal service.

Some idea of the extent of New York's manufactures may be gained through the fact that if only those who are engaged in manufacture in New York should suddenly leave their occupations, it would require every man, woman and child in the State of Kansas to take their places.

The peaceful army which the Empire State sends to the front every day to fight the battles of peace makes more than half of all the clothing manufactured in the United States. It bakes more bread, makes more paper and wood pulp, manufactures more cigars and prints

more books than the workers of any state in the Union.

These were the industries in which this single State surpassed all other states. To recount the industries in which New York surpassed any particular state or particular group of states would simply be to call the roll of all the industries in which the workers of the United States are engaged.

The aggregate wealth of New York reaches into figures which leaves the mind almost stupefied. As a matter of fact the average mind can form no adequate picture of a million. When we increase this to tens and hundreds of millions we must abandon the idea of picturing the thing of which we are speaking and confine ourselves to mathematical abstractions. To say, therefore, that leaving out all public property and excluding the various sources of wealth that are not taxable, the assessed valuation of New York State amounts to twelve billion dollars, cannot convey any adequate conception of the tremendous wealth of this giant commonwealth.

The greater portion of New York's wealth and the major part of its industries are concentrated in New York's great metropolis and no survey of the State's wealth and resources would be complete which failed to dwell on the eminence of this magnificent city.

The present population of Greater New York including the suburbs is estimated at from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 people. It is thus larger than Greater London. The density of population of Manhattan island is about eight times greater than the average density of the six next largest cities in the United States.

London averages 38,498 people to the square mile. Chicago averages 10,761, but for every square mile on Manhattan Island there are 102,832 people.

In the city of New York a New Yorker is born every eight minutes and one passes away every twelve minutes. Excluding Pennsylvania, Illinois and New York State, the city of New York alone has a population which exceeds the population of every State in the Union.

Although its citizens may live and work and die without ever going to sea in ships, New York is not only the chief manufacturing center of the United States, it is the greatest seaport in the world, out-ranking both London and Hamburg.

The value of its exports and imports amounts yearly to almost two billion dollars. The tonnage of the vessels entering and clearing from New York harbor is nearly 29,000,000 tons.

Of the total imports of the United States amounting to \$1,813,000,000 New York imports \$1,101,000,000. Of the United States' total exports New York sends out \$1,065,000,000 worth, out of a total of \$2,466,000,000 for the United States.

Great as New York City is, it is only part of a greater State. From 1899 to 1909 the value of the manufacturing products of New York State increased from \$1,800,000,000 to \$3,300,000,000. In 1909 New York State manufactured clothing valued at \$538,000,000. Its printing industries produced products valued at \$216,000,000. The shoes manufactured in New York were valued at \$48,000,000; the bread and bakery products at \$86,000,000. Electrical machinery valued at \$49,000,000; flour mill products valued at \$69,000,000; machine shop products valued at \$154,000,000; house furnishing goods valued at \$67,000,000; malt liquors valued at \$77,000,000; millinery and lace goods valued at \$52,000,000; tobacco manufactures valued at \$76,000,000 and packed meats valued at \$127,000,000.

are only a few of the items in the total productivity of New York for a single year.

From the day when Robert Fulton, financed by another New Yorker, Robert Livingston, ran the first steamship from New York to Albany, the ingenuity and mechanical genius, the resource and the daring of New York's citizens have written the State's name large upon the history of industrial progress.

Morse and Henry to whom the world owes the telegraph were both New Yorkers. Cyrus Field, who laid the Atlantic cable, was a citizen of this State.

New York ranks very high, if not at the top, in the patent history of the country, and last year alone 5,312 patents were issued to New Yorkers.

Considering the extent of New York's manufactures it would not be strange if its contribution to the agricultural wealth of the country were inconsiderable. In spite of this fact, however, and in spite of the fact that New York is twenty-ninth in land area among the States and Territories of the United States, it is eighth in the value of its agricultural products.

Nearly three-quarters of New York is under cultivation and its agricultural products are as varied as they are vast. New York stands first among all the States in the production of hay, potatoes, buckwheat, vegetables, milk, apples, nursery products, beans, flowers, onions and farm forest products and second in honey, wax and grapes.

Its farms are valued at \$1,069,000,000 and the total value of its crops in 1909 was \$209,000,000. In 1909, the last year for which we have accurate statistics its hay crop alone amounted to 7,000,000 tons and was valued at \$77,000,000. It raised 48,000,000 bushels of potatoes valued at \$12,000,000. Its apple crop amounted to 25,000,000 bushels valued at \$13,000,000

and New York raised more apples than Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas together. New York raised more plums and prunes than any state east of the Pacific states. It raised more pears than any state but California. It produced one-fifth of the nation's crop of hops. Six counties in this state produced more apples than that part of the United States lying beyond the Missouri river. One county alone produces more grapes than any state in the Union except California and the hop crop of New York exceeds that of any state but one. So between the apples, the grapes and the hops, New York may justly claim that it contributes to the exhilaration and enjoyment of the nation.

It produces grapes for those who want champagne or grape juice; it produces apples for those who want good old cider; it produces hops for those who want their bread in liquid form, and for those who care neither for the products of grapes, apples or hops, New York maintains at Saratoga the finest mineral springs in the western hemisphere if not in the world.

For those who, like myself, believe that milk is the finest beverage which nature has provided for man, New York has abundantly provided. On the farms of New York are milch cows valued at \$84,000,000. This record is only eclipsed by Wisconsin with cows valued at \$92,000,000.

Nature has been kind to the farms of New York. No soil is more fertile than the broad acres of the Empire State. And no farms have at their doors better markets than those which are open to the New York farmer.

One-third of the entire population of the United States is within a night's shipment by express and thirty-six hours by freight of the farms of New York. New York alone with its millions of consumers and

with its perpetual stream of visitors from every part of the world could take many times the products that are now produced by the State.

For many years the farmers of New York were compelled to compete with the farmers of other states without assistance from the local government, but today all that is changed. Agricultural colleges have been located in every section of New York, agricultural societies have been stimulated and fostered and during the past few years New York has undertaken the construction of a gigantic system of highways in addition to its magnificent canal system to aid the farmer in transporting his goods to market. During the past year the State has created a commission to assist in the solution of the farmers' marketing problems and has established a system of agricultural credit which will enable the New York farmer to conduct his financial operations with ease and dispatch.

Thriving, prosperous and progressive, at once a great manufacturing state and a great agricultural state, New York has only begun to take advantage of its great natural resources.

With princely foresight New York has set aside 1,825,000 acres in the Adirondacks and the Catskills as a perpetual playground for its people. No other state in the Union has a state park to compare with New York's preserve. Of the total area of state-owned forests in the United States New York possesses more than one-half in spite of the fact that it is the most populous state in the Union.

Of New York's total area of 30,000,000 acres, 12,000,000 acres or nearly forty per cent are wooded. It was not so many years ago that New York led the United States in the production of forest products, and with an intelligent development and use of its forest

preserve there is no reason why New York cannot once more make its lordly forests a source of revenue and wealth.

New York leads all other states in the amount of its developed water power with a grand total of a million horse power. Including its share of the power from the Niagara and the St. Lawrence rivers, New York's undeveloped water power may be conservately estimated at 1,500,000 horse power.

The value of New York's marine and inland fisheries runs into many millions annually. Few states compare with New York in the number of its inland lakes and streams, the coastal area of both fresh and salt water and the variety of marine life found within its borders. The State has more than 1,400 inland lakes and hundreds of ponds which produce food and game fish. Many of its lakes are large and deep and well stocked with edible fish. To assist in the development of its marine resources New York maintains several fish hatcheries and leads every other state in the attention it gives to the culture, propagation and distribution of fish.

Any discussion of the activities or resources of New York would be incomplete without a reference to what New York has done to make communication within the State and to other states more rapid.

To begin with there are over 17,000 miles of railroad tracks in New York State, or nearly enough to equip six single track railroads from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the revenue derived by taxation from these roads amounts to nearly \$10,000,000 a year. This is indeed a far cry from 1831 when the first railroad in the State, if not the United States, was constructed with wooden rails from Albany to Schenectady, a distance of seventeen miles.

New York is justly proud of the magnificent system of highways which cover the State from the St. Lawrence to the East river, and from the Hudson to the Niagara.

In addition to the 75,000 miles of town roads, New York has a system of State and county highways which, when completed, will be the finest system of connected highways in the civilized world. Last year \$74,000,000 of the money which the State has appropriated for its new roads had been expended and the calculation made at that time showed that the total appropriations made by New York for highways was more than the money appropriated by all the other states in the Union.

Where New York had spent a total of \$74,000,000, Pennsylvania had spent \$19,000,000, Massachusetts \$11,000,000, Maryland \$10,000,000, New Jersey \$4,000,000 and Georgia \$5,000,000. The Empire State had again vindicated its right to leadership by the development of its internal resources.

In addition to the millions which the State is spending on State and county highways, it appropriates over \$1,000,000 a year to assist its townships in maintaining town highways. The State and county system for which it has appropriated \$100,000,000 is intended to provide a system of trunk lines which will secure quick and easy communication between every part of the State.

This State and county system when completed will comprise 12,000 miles of metalled road. It will be long enough to stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Montreal to Miami, Florida, and have enough left over to duplicate all the improved roads in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

During this year and the next the State will undertake construction work totalling \$15,000,000.

When men talk of the irregularities which have been found in certain parts of New York's great undertaking, they are all too likely to blind themselves to the magnitude of the work and to forget that for every mile of road that has been improperly built, there are hundreds of miles of well-built roads to contribute to the pleasure, the convenience and the profit of the people of New York.

It might seem that while New York's energies were focused upon the construction of a gigantic system of highways, it had undertaken a task large enough to engage the undivided attention of any commonwealth, but at the very time that New York is building its great system of highways it is completing a still greater system of canals.

On the 4th of July, 1817, the first spadeful of earth was taken from the Erie Canal at Rome, in Oneida county. Long before this, however, the development of its waterways had been a live issue in New York.

Even before the Revolution far-sighted New Yorkers had seen the importance of connecting the Hudson River with Lake Champlain on the one hand and with Lake Erie and Lake Ontario on the other.

President Washington himself was interested in the project to connect the Atlantic with the Great Lakes. The first man to put this project in shape, however, was Gouverneur Morris, who advocated what may yet be realized — a ship canal.

Another great New Yorker, the man to whom New York owes the realization of its first great canal was Governor DeWitt Clinton. It was Clinton who talked and dreamed, planned and worked for the realization of what every New Yorker knew to be necessary, but what few had the courage or the energy to undertake. Appeals to the national government, pointing out that the western States would benefit from the canal as

much as would New York, fell upon deaf ears. As Governor, DeWitt Clinton began the canal, and as Governor for the second time, Clinton completed it. And when in 1825 the waterway had been finished from Buffalo to New York city, Clinton had the satisfaction of pouring fresh water from the Great Lakes into the salt waters of New York's harbor, after transporting it all the way through the canal which owed its existence to his devotion to a great idea.

Jefferson once declared that the Erie Canal was a hundred years ahead of its time and said that to think at that day of making a canal of 350 miles through a wilderness was little short of madness. Today we have a canal nearly 500 miles long, running not through a wilderness but through a thriving and populous country, made so in largest measure by Clinton's canal.

Madison declared that the cost of the canal would exceed the resources of the whole country, when he refused national aid to the undertaking. In his opinion for New York to attempt the task alone was equivalent to dooming the State to bankruptcy.

Today New York has spent a total of \$200,000,000 on its canals and has felt the strain so little that it was able to undertake the construction of highways costing another \$100,000,000.

Standing at the point of time nearly a hundred years removed from the beginning of the Erie canal we can hardly appreciate the difficulties of the early builders. The whole State had but one-eighth of the population of New York City to-day. Engineering was an unknown profession in America and excavating machinery was still to be invented.

The track of the canal lay through unbroken forests and dismal marshes. Strangest of all, when legislative

action to authorize construction was pending, the members from New York City, which the canal helped to make the commercial metropolis of the nation, were bitterly opposed. In this connection it is interesting to note the comment of the historian of the city of Philadelphia that "Be the reason whatever it may the fact stands out prominent that from the completion of the Erie canal, New York city became what Philadelphia had previously been—the commercial emporium of the United States." Others have eloquently testified to the advantages which the opening of the Erie canal brought, not to the State alone, but to the entire American nation. Only a few years ago Congressman Lawrence of Massachusetts declared in the House that "the influence of the Erie canal as a regulator of freight rates has been felt over the entire country." The opening of the canal marked the beginning and was largely the immediate cause of the emigration from the east and immigration to the west.

It prevented trade from following down the St. Lawrence to an outlet in foreign territory. It stimulated the settlement of a large part of the State and opened up new markets to the farmers of New York. It gave the citizens of the states bordering on the Great Lakes an outlet to the sea, and stimulated American commerce more than any other single factor that might be mentioned.

Great as the Erie canal was, the barge canal, now practically completed, is greater. With a minimum depth of twelve feet from Albany to Buffalo, it will permit power barges to take the place of slower means of locomotion.

We have heard a great deal of the Suez canal, of the Kiel canal, of the Cape Cod canal and of the

Panama canal, yet in some respects New York's barge canal is greater than any of these.

New York's barge canal is more than twice as long as all of these canals put together. It cost nearly as much as the aggregate cost of the Suez and the Kiel canals. Where 80,000,000 cubic yards of earth were excavated at Suez, and 100,000,000 at Kiel, New York's barge canal required the excavation of 115,000,000 cubic yards.

Five hundred miles long, twelve feet deep; 123 feet in width, costing \$127,000,000; and prepared to handle a yearly tonnage of 10,000,000 tons, New York's barge canal is at once a tribute to the resources and energies of New York and the State's most generous gift to the American nation.

With the barge canal opened, a boat may load at the western end of Lake Erie and without trans-shipping its cargo may deliver it on the wharves of New York. There the cargo may be sent through inland waters up the Sound, and through the Cape Cod canal to Boston, or perhaps it may be placed in the hold of a steamship to be transported down the Atlantic through the Panama canal and up the Pacific to San Francisco.

Through the energy, the wealth, the determination and the patriotism of New York, the central states of the nation have a water route to the ports of all the world.

Great as New York is in its manufactures; great as it is in its agriculture; great as it is in its natural resources and in the development of these resources, there is yet another field in which New York has proved its right to eminence.

From the days when Jacob Steendam and Nicasiaus De Sille wrote in New Amsterdam of the New Netherland, from the hour when Philip Freneau, "the poet of

the Revolution," learned the poet's art in old Frankfort street, great men and great authors have added to the fame of literary New York.

Here Washington Irving and Fenimore Cooper lived and wrote. Here Joseph Rodman Drake and Fitz Greene Halleck wielded their pens. Here Poe wrote many of the poems that will adorn the literature of all time with their haunting melody. Here William Cullen Bryant edited and wrote for more than fifty years. Here Bayard Taylor, N. P. Willis, Richard Henry Stoddard and John Audubon wooed the Muse, and here in our own time William Dean Howells, Brander Matthews and O. Henry maintained the literary atmosphere of New York.

New York through its possession of a metropolis is naturally the center of art and letters. It has not only produced great writers and great artists, it has attracted and commanded the services of the keenest minds, the most gifted personalities in the civilized world.

In its theatres the greatest artists of Europe and America find an intelligent and rapt appreciation of the art of all the world. In its libraries and museums, in its private palaces and public buildings, it stores the treasures of all time. It cultivates the arts, and, what is more important, it fosters education which is the father of all arts.

Just as Governor Clinton was the champion of the commercial development of the State, so he was the champion of its school system. His first appeal to the Legislature contained a plea for normal schools, for county schools, and for free libraries.

In 1849 the common schools of New York were made free schools and to-day New York's schools are training the minds of 1,563,000 children. Last year the State

of New York spent \$9,000,000 for educational purposes. This year I had the honor of signing an appropriation of \$5,350,000 for the maintenance of New York's common schools alone, the largest amount ever appropriated in the history of the State.

New York's educational department maintains farmers' institutes, Indian schools, schools for nurses, teachers' training schools, schools for the deaf and dumb, and there is no State department to which the Legislatures and the Governors more willingly accord generous support than the department which has in its charge the education of New York's future citizens.

Just as no man is a complete being who is all head and no heart, so a State which thinks only of its material and selfish welfare cannot command the respect or the admiration of the world. And the New Yorker who loves his State is as proud of New York's splendid charities as he is of its wealth and power.

There are three classes of State charges dependent upon the State of New York — one class is confined in the State's penal institutions; another class is sheltered in the State hospitals and the third is cared for in the miscellaneous charitable institutions which report to the State Fiscal Supervisor.

In the State's prisons there are at present over 6,000 inmates. In the State's hospitals there are 33,000 unfortunates, and in the institutions reporting to the Fiscal Supervisor's office, such as the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, the Custodial Asylum at Rome, and the Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea, there are more than 10,000 dependent charges.

Altogether there are more than 50,000 people for whom the State of New York provides food, clothes, shelter and care.

Although New York has less than one-tenth of the population of the United States it supports in its State hospitals nearly one-sixth of the total hospital population of the United States. As the receiving station for by far the greater part of the country's immigration, New York is obliged to care for more than its share of the dependent unfortunates who come to these shores.

A census taken last year, for instance, of the inmates of the State hospitals for the insane showed that out of a total of 33,000 inmates, more than 9,000 were not only not citizens of New York but they were not even citizens of the United States. In other words, New York not only cares for its own unfortunates, but it cares for the unfortunates who should properly be the care of the nation.

It is hard to realize that New York supports year after year 10,000 more people than the total population of Augusta, Ga., that it bought food and clothes for almost as many people as live in Mobile, Ala., or Springfield, Ill. That it provided free shelter for 15,000 more people than live in Lexington, Ky.; that it found room in its institutions for as many people as there are in Canton, Ohio, and that the money it spends on the inmates of these institutions would care for the total population of its own cities of Kingston and Watertown.

If all the voters of the state of Nevada were assembled they would number 10,000 less than those who are entirely supported by the charity of the State of New York.

One cannot measure charity in terms of dollars, but in 1913 New York expended more than \$11,000,000 on its charitable, penal and curative institutions, and instead of grudging this expenditure the State is now casting about for the wisest system under which to

build new and better institutions and to provide newer and better accommodations for those who are thrown upon its charity.

New York maintains seven prisons; fourteen State hospitals for the insane, an institution for epileptics at Sonyea, reformatories at Napanoch and at Elmira, a hospital for crippled and deformed children at Haverstraw, a hospital for tuberculosis at Ray Brook, a house of refuge at Randall's Island, a reformatory for women at Bedford, custodial asylums at Rome and at Newark, an industrial school at Industry, a school for the blind at Batavia, an Indian school at Iroquois, an institution for feeble-minded children at Syracuse, a training school for boys at Yorktown Heights, and one for girls at Hudson, a house of refuge at Albion, a home for women at Oxford and an institution for the feeble-minded at Letchworth village.

Furthermore, if the plans of the leaders in New York's charitable movements are carried out the State will respond to an appeal I made in my last message to the Legislature when I pointed out that it was necessary for the State to issue a bond issue of \$25,000,000 for a chain of new institutions.

With its thriving industries, its fertile farms, its natural resources and the resources won through the intellect and daring of its sons, with keen mind and open heart, New York stands to the fore as a vigorous, earnest, hopeful, enlightened commonwealth.

It has a splendid past, a wonderful present, a future which is rosy with the prospects which open before an earnest and progressive people. In every field of human endeavor it holds a prominent position, but its chief boast is that it values life more than property, character more than wealth, and the advancement of the race more than the laurels of commerce or finance.

Every generation of its sons has been compelled to grapple with new problems to surmount new difficulties and to meet the demands of a civilization more exacting with the years. And the leadership of New York springs in no small measure from the fact that its people have been equal to their responsibilities, and awake to their opportunities.

From Alexander Hamilton to Theodore Roosevelt, New York has produced men whose names are written large upon the history of their country. The name of Clinton, of Seward, of Seymour, of Tilden, of Cleveland, of Meagher, of Sickles, or of Sheridan, may shine more brilliantly than the countless thousands who have worked for the progress of their State and their country in humbler ways, but there is no walk of life so humble or so high that the Empire State cannot point to sons who have left distinguished records in their chosen callings.

New York has done much in the past. The nation may confidently look to it to do much in the future. Its strength is the strength of co-operation, not of arrogance, its wealth is the wealth of prosperity, not of mere aggrandizement.

The early history of New York recounts that there was a large area in the Mohawk valley which belonged to the Mohawks, and though included in the original colony, was not claimed by the colonists for more than sixty-five years. When Sir William Johnson had attained the height of his power, King Hendrick, the head sachem of the Mohawks, visited him and spied a coat richly embroidered with gold lace.

A few days later King Hendrick called again on Sir William Johnson and said: "Brother, I dreamed you gave me your coat of gold." Now among the Mohawks a dream was an inspiration from the Great Spirit and

to prevent the realization of a dream was to affront the dreamer. The hint was not lost upon Sir William, and without a moment's hesitation he gave King Hendrick his coat.

Sometime later when King Hendrick was again Sir William Johnson's guest, Sir William said "Brother, I dreamed you gave me all the land between the East and the West Canada creeks."

King Hendrick found it hard to maintain his composure, but with Indian fidelity to custom, promptly told Sir William to take the land, and then, looking at Sir William with reflective eye, observed, "Brother, we will quit dreaming."

King Hendrick has passed to the Happy Hunting Ground and his host lives only in the musty pages of history, but the State for which Sir William won the land between the East and West Canada creek, continues to dream of conquests yet to come.

In its vision of the future there is no resting upon laurels already won, but the determination to scale heights as yet unconquered. For the real empire of the Empire State is an empire of social progress where every citizen may acclaim the justice and the humanity no less than the wealth and power of his beloved State.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF GOVERNOR SULZER

Speech Delivered at Cobleskill, October 23, 1914

A candidate for high public office must expect to face the criticism of personal and political opponents. Criticism of public acts, founded upon fact, is just, wholesome and necessary. But criticism prompted by malice or misinformation and based upon the distor-

tion of facts is unhealthy, unjust, unnecessary and utterly deplorable.

I am told that my political opponents are going about Schoharie county assiduously disseminating the falsehood that, in some manner or other, I was surreptitiously connected with the impeachment of my predecessor and responsible for that proceeding. Because this charge reflects upon my personal fitness and my personal honor; because it reflects upon the dignity of the State of New York; I feel that I should meet this slanderous accusation with a prompt and categorical denial.

It is not my purpose to discuss the impeachment of Governor Sulzer or the merits of the charges which led the Court of Appeals to join with a Senate and Assembly in removing him from office. So far as that humiliating chapter of State history is concerned I must maintain a silence which is becoming to the man who succeeded to the Governor's chair after the removal of William Sulzer. But I feel with equal positiveness that in justice to myself and in justice to my State I have a right to make plain the facts as to my personal attitude during the trying hours of the impeachment proceeding.

No man can honestly and truthfully say that I ever favored or advocated the impeachment of William Sulzer, either publicly or privately. The man untruthful enough to say I did has a heart as black as hell and a tongue that deserves to wither. The record, open to all men, shows that not once from the beginning to the end of the impeachment did I ever utter a single syllable tending to disturb my predecessor in his enjoyment of the office to which the people of New York had elected him.

Because my public attitude was admittedly irreproachable those who are attempting to undermine me

whisper that I advocated William Sulzer's impeachment secretly and under cover.

Here and now, with all the earnestness and force I can command, I brand this accusation as a diabolical falsehood concocted by scheming tricksters for sinister political purposes.

To bolster up this fabrication, it is asserted that I participated in a conference in a New York restaurant at which the impeachment of Governor Sulzer was discussed and planned. Again, I declare with the utmost frankness and upon my honor that I never attended a conference anywhere or at any time where this matter was ever mentioned, let alone plotted and planned.

In common with everyone whose duties compelled attendance at the Capitol I heard from time to time the rumblings of rumor and the tattle of gossip concerning the trouble between the Governor and the Legislature. But until a Republican Senator arose in the Senate and solemnly advocated the impeachment of the Governor, I never dreamed that such a move was seriously considered. The first actual knowledge I had of the seriousness of the situation was when I learned that articles of impeachment had been introduced in the Assembly. Far from being in any way connected with the suggestion or preparation of these articles, this action of the Assembly was my first information that definite proceedings were decided upon, or seriously contemplated. With the newspapers full of the subject, with this topic on everyone's lips, it was natural that with my personal and intimate friends I should have permitted myself to discuss this delicate matter, and to these friends — friends of a lifetime and no mere casual acquaintances, I expressed my real opinions and hopes. I told them — and they will bear me out in this — that I hoped impeachment would not be made necessary by the evidence.

Since a boy I have taken no small pride in the fact that I was a citizen of the greatest State in the Union and I hoped that there would not be visited upon my State the humiliation and shame of proof that the Governor of New York had been guilty of impeachable wrongdoing. These were my sentiments as a public official; these were my sentiments as a private citizen; these were my personal and individual sentiments and none other ever escaped my lips at any time or any place.

Twice I had been mentioned at State conventions as available for the Governorship. I had an honest ambition to be elected Governor; I never wanted to be Governor in any other way. Self-interest impelled the hope on my part that the evidence at the trial would not compel the impeachment of Governor Sulzer. I wanted to avoid the misrepresentation that I knew would follow and the suspicion which I felt evil-minded men might foster against me.

Those who charge me with participation in the events leading up to the impeachment, bolster their slander with a declaration that since I was the beneficiary of Governor Sulzer's expulsion, I must necessarily have had a hand in it. To men who think, it is not necessary to point out the weakness in this argument. This sort of logic may be applied to those whose one motive in life is selfishness and who have no thought of their personal honor or the honor of their State; but no man who knows me will subscribe to the assertion that selfish or personal considerations have ever inclined me to a dishonorable course in any public capacity. Furthermore, in the real sense, in the greater sense, I was not the beneficiary of the impeachment trial; I was a victim of the impeachment trial. I was compelled to face an almost intolerable situation as Governor—a situation harder than any other Gov-

ernor was ever asked to meet. Was I the beneficiary of a proceeding, I ask, which left me at the head of a party divided against itself? Was I the beneficiary of a proceeding which gave room for my enemies to question my sincerity and my opponents to distort my motives? Was I the beneficiary of a proceeding which threw me into a maelstrom of political hatred and into a chaos of governmental duties? Was I the beneficiary of a proceeding which gave me merely the hollow shell of a life's ambition and made harder the road to that ambition in its future realization? The people who say that I am a beneficiary of the impeachment proceeding have poor imaginations and poorer powers of reasoning. Less than a year before I had the support of every faction within the Democratic party. Less than a year before as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor I received 10,189 more votes than the Democratic candidate for President and 16,203 more votes than the Democratic candidate for Governor. Then my political enemies within my own party were few and far between. 'The impeachment trial weakened for me the result of twenty years' of labor in politics and public life; made me enemies that otherwise I never would have had and caused me to become the target of men who never knew the sanctity of truth or the sweetness of fair play. In the face of these facts can any sane man call me the beneficiary of the impeachment trial? How could I be the beneficiary of a proceeding which left me at the head of a party divided against itself, which placed me between warring factions grappling at each other's political throats and which brought me only misrepresentation and anxiety, worry and trouble. •

Like the rest of mankind, I have enough of merited blame to shoulder without shouldering the blame I do not merit. My record in the Governor's office refutes

the assertion that I ever raised my finger or uttered a sentiment to further my own elevation. As Governor I am able to repeat the words of the ancient who said to Neptune in a storm at sea, "Father Neptune, you may sink me, you may save me, but I'll hold my rudder true."

I have held my rudder true on a tempestuous and a stormy sea between veering winds and threatening clouds. I have been Governor in fact as well as in name. No clique has influenced me as Governor or used the gubernatorial office since I have been in it for its own personal gain. I have served all the people and I hope I have served them well. I have cut down the State's expenses. I have appointed only competent men to office and have given a monopoly to no faction in these appointments. No financial scandal has marred my administration; no charges of graft have stained it. Every accusation of official wrongdoing pending against minor officials when I assumed the Governorship has been referred to the district attorney having jurisdiction with instructions to enforce the law without fear or favoritism. No charges of wrongdoing of any kind have been lodged against any State official, high or low, since I have been in the Governor's chair. Good road contracts have been altered in form and changed as to guarantee so as to eliminate the political broker and insure the taxpayers a dollar's worth of good roads for every dollar spent. Improvement of the natural and artificial waterways of the State has been championed consistently and persistently, despite the opposition of powerful interests. The direct tax has been abolished for the benefit of taxpayers. The Workmen's Compensation Law has been enacted for the benefit of toilers. The State Banking Laws have been revised for the benefit of business. The Employment Bureau has been inaugurated for workers

seeking work and for work needing workers. The Land Bank has been established, agricultural coöperation encouraged and the Market Bureau fostered for the benefit of farmers and the welfare of consumers. We looked to the welfare of every class, we neglected no class; we served every interest, we punished no interest. So what class, what interest, what faction was punished or rewarded for my elevation to the Governorship? Since I have been Governor everyone has had a square deal; no one has been persecuted; no one has been pampered. My action on educational legislation has won me the approval of the State Board of Regents in a public resolution. Direct primaries have been secured, the Massachusetts ballot adopted and State conventions abolished. For years these reforms were demanded by the people and demanded in vain. They got them under no other Governor; they did get them under me.

Does all this look as if my elevation to the Governorship had been promoted by people with axes to grind? Does my policy of forcing the reforms for which the public has clamored and clamored without answer until I became Governor, look as if I had any debts to pay to any man, to any faction or to any class or to any interest for my elevation to the Governorship? Do you think I could have promoted my own elevation, or that other people could have conspired to elevate me without the great metropolitan press of the State finding it out? Do you think that such newspapers as *The Sun*, *The Times*, *The Brooklyn Eagle*, *The Brooklyn Citizen*, *The Syracuse Herald*, *The Rochester Union and Advertiser*, *The Buffalo Times*, *The Buffalo Courier*, *The Binghamton Press* and a score of others would now be supporting me for election if for an instant they doubted that I had come out of the impeachment trial with clean hands? These newspapers are

argus-eyed. They have a thousand avenues of information, denied to the rest of the world. These newspapers have had representatives — as clever men as are in newspaperdom — at the Capitol every minute of the time since I have been Lieutenant-Governor and Governor and I could not have fooled them if I would. They know men and the tide of human affairs, and the inside of political doings too well for that. If I were implicated in the impeachment trial, do you think the *New York World* would utter a single syllable of commendation for me in this campaign and praise many of the things that I have done? If I had not kept my escutcheon clean during those anxious days and nights, do you think that the *Evening Post* could see anything good in me, and even the *Post* sees some good in me and the bad it sees is not so very bad after all?

These facts swamp the insinuations of my enemies and the slanders and whisperings of men to whom truth is a stranger.

My important appointments form an effective answer to defamation and libel. Does not the appointment of William H. Hornblower and Benjamin Cardozo to the Court of Appeals confound my maligners? Only a year ago Judge Cardozo was elected to the Supreme Court bench in New York on a ticket opposed to the Democratic machine. William B. Hornblower, always an independent Democrat, is the man that Grover Cleveland proposed for the Supreme Court of the United States and he was beaten for that place by the influence of the New York State machine. Do these appointments look like paying any sinister political debts? Does not the appointment of Dr. Herman Biggs as State Health Commissioner, of Seymour Van Santvoord and William Temple Emmet and Professor Frank Irvine to the up-State Public Service Commis-

sion — and many other appointments of this same character — disclose the fabrications of my enemies in all their baseness? Out of the forty-two important appointments I made Tammany Hall got only nine. These facts speak for themselves, and to posterity they will speak louder and more effectively than the back-handed whisperings of present day political scandal-mongers.

There is nothing in my private career, there is nothing in my public career to justify the unmanly insinuations made against me on account of the impeachment trial. Some poet, Whittier I think, says in one of his poems — “Do thou thy work, and sing thy song and claim no credit men will not give.” This, I have done since I have been Governor of New York State. I have done my work; I have sung my song; and I claim no credit men will not give.

I repeat I was not the beneficiary of the impeachment trial. I was a victim of the impeachment trial. And the fact that the minds of my friends in Schoharie county are being poisoned by this unjust accusation is added proof of the result I foresaw when the Assembly preferred articles of impeachment against my predecessor.

My friends, this is the first time that I have permitted myself to discuss events leading up to Governor Sulzer's impeachment and it will be the last.

While the Legislature, the Court of Appeals and the public were considering the question of Governor Sulzer's removal, I felt that any expression of opinion on my part would be indelicate and unwarranted. Even at this late hour I must forebear from referring to the merits of the case. But I feel that I owe it to myself and to the State of New York to make it plain that I had no part in my predecessor's removal and in my own elevation.

The people of New York at the last election selected me as Lieutenant Governor. In choosing me for that office they laid upon my shoulders the duty of assuming the power of the Executive in the event of his death, resignation or removal. I assumed the office of Governor, not because Governor Sulzer was impeached, but because the people had elected me Lieutenant Governor, and the Constitution of the State provides that the Lieutenant Governor should become the Governor under the conditions which faced me over a year ago.

Whether I am successful this fall in my campaign for election or not; whether I am continued in the Governor's chair or retired to private life, there are some things more important to me than success or failure in the election. My honor as a gentleman, my fitness as a citizen are dearer to me than any public office. And I want my fellow citizens, now and in the future, to know that my hands are clean, that my honor is untarnished, that my conscience is clear and that there is not a single word or a single deed during the tempestuous events leading up to Governor Sulzer's impeachment for which I need apologize or for which my State need blush.

THE STATE AND THE MUNICIPALITY

Address by Governor Glynn Read at the Meeting of
the Academy of Political Science, New York City,
November 20, 1914

The line of demarcation between the municipality and the commonwealth is being more clearly drawn today than ever before. The fact that the spheres of city and state, are, and ought to be, separate and distinct is more generally recognized today than it ever has

been. We are beginning to learn that the state government has problems of its own which should engage its entire attention and that cities can best transact municipal business without the assistance or the interference of the state.

Just as the states have reserved the right to transact their internal affairs without interference from the national government, so the cities are asserting the right to meet municipal problems without interference from the state. The powers that in the past have been yielded up to the state government by its cities are being reclaimed.

Municipalities are no longer willing to await the pleasure of a distant legislature before instituting changes which appeal to the head and heart of their citizens. Cities of every class have awakened to the necessity of regaining the privileges which they conceded to the state before the individual interests of the city and state grew so far apart.

With more than 70 per cent. of New York's total population living in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants, it is no wonder that the sentiment for home rule has crystallized into successful action.

The cost of municipal government bears more heavily on the citizen than the cost of state government. He is more personally affected by changes in the community in which he lives than by changes which affect the state as a whole. While the state protects him in his civil and political rights it is the municipality, in largest degree, which regulates his comfort and determines the conveniences and opportunities which make for his progress and prosperity.

The state, therefore, can well afford to give to its cities full power in purely municipal affairs. There are, however, certain rights which it cannot yield in

our present form of government. Being charged with the duty of preserving the legal rights of its citizens, being responsible for the public health, and answerable for the public safety, the state cannot delegate to a municipality its powers in these matters.

In the local administration of a city government, the municipality is properly supreme. The men who administer municipal affairs are acquainted with the particular needs of their cities, they know what manner of administration is most acceptable to the majority of their fellow citizens, they understand local needs and local conditions. In any question concerning the development of their city they are able to speak and act from personal information and accurate knowledge.

Every motive of expediency, therefore, as well as every principal of justice, demands that local matters should be under the sole jurisdiction of local authority, just as matters affecting the entire state should be under the sole jurisdiction of the state government.

There is more than a sentimental side to agitation for home rule, but that sentimental side demands consideration of a government which is expressly founded upon the highest ideals of equity and justice. Just as the Thirteen Colonies had the right to revolt from a distant government, when that government refused to consider the needs and the rights of the colonies, so the municipalities of a state may appeal to the same principles of justice in their unwillingness to accept the authority of a distant legislature, too much concerned with other matters to act with wisdom on municipal problems. Just as free men enjoying a liberty which permits them to make the most of their abilities and opportunities can climb to heights unscaled by their less fortunate brothers, so free cities, endowed with the right to work out their destinies without interfer-

ence from any source, may achieve a degree of progress and prosperity which cannot be secured in any other way.

New York has gone far to liberate its municipalities from the leading strings of the state government. It has awakened to the wisdom of permitting its cities to attain their fullest growth, their greatest measure of healthy development. It has recognized the injustice of compelling its cities to kneel before its legislature for the right to make necessary changes in the administration of municipal affairs.

Each year sees some new measure of freedom granted to the municipalities of New York; each decade sees the principle of home rule more firmly entrenched in New York's laws. The present year has witnessed the enactment of a law which marks a distinct forward step in the emancipation of New York's cities. The optional city-charter law passed by the legislature last March is built upon the underlying principle of home rule. It frees municipalities from the necessity of applying to the legislature for desired changes in their charters and gives to every city of the second and third class the right to choose the sort of charter that the majority of its voters want without appeal to any outside authority. There is no need for me to recount the details of this law.

The merits of the optional city-charter law should be expounded by the men who secured it rather than by the man who combined manifest duty and honest pleasure in signing it. But I may be permitted to say that the effect of the optional city-charter act will not only be to give a deserved measure of freedom to New York's municipalities, but will relieve New York's legislature of duties which are all the more onerous because they are undesired.

Under the optional city-charter act the municipalities of the state will at last be able to live under the precise form of municipal government which their citizens believe best fitted to their needs. They will be able to select a commission form of government on a city-manager type. And while this freedom of selection is not an absolute guarantee of good government, it does make possible the establishment of the only kind of government in which Americans believe — government in accordance with the ideas of the governed.

Great as are the problems which press upon the government of the state, they are as nothing to the problems which confront our cities. The state governments of America have, in the main, been conducted with a fair degree of honesty and efficiency, but the critics of America declare that the government of our municipalities has been a conspicuous failure. Instead of resenting this criticism, which comes from many quarters and in many ways, it is the duty of all good citizens to remedy conditions which make this criticism possible. Because any remedy must proceed from within the municipalities themselves, it is only proper and just that the state should give to its cities the power to take any proper means to reform and perfect their civil administration.

The state of New York is doing its part. It is giving to its cities the right to adopt any one of a wide variety of means in their struggle for better government. The real battle, however, must be fought within the city walls, the real victory will be achieved only when the citizens of each municipality realize the full importance of good government and refuse to be satisfied with any government which does not measure up to the demands of American citizenship.

The rights of New York's cities have been asserted chiefly through legislative enactments. It is high time that they should be protected by the State Constitution. The changes in the attitude of the State Constitution toward local government should be made in the spirit of the movement toward greater municipal freedom that I have endeavored to outline.

Every citizen is conscious of the forces at work to free our cities from the chains of an outgrown adjustment of powers between city and state. It is to be hoped that this widespread consciousness will receive concrete and judicious expression in the organic law of New York.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

**Address to State Teachers' Association, November 23,
1914**

It is a difficult task, even if you are a Governor, to follow Dr. Finley in making an address. Dr. Finley usually says everything that can be said so felicitously, so happily, so scholarly, that there is nothing left for those to say who follow him. This is the predicament I find myself in at the present moment.

Dr. Finley talked to you a little about the dative case and the ablative case, and just to show you that, although I am Governor, I know a little Latin, I want to say that the only way a man can successfully follow Dr. Finley is to incorporate in English some such novelty as Cæsar uses in his indirect discourse of the Commentaries and make the subject of every sentence an accusative subject to an infinitive verb. I see some of you, too, know old Cæsar. And if you had as much trouble in translating those sentences with an accusative subject to an infinitive verb as I did,

you would have reason to remember for the rest of your life the greatest general the world ever saw. Why the pons asinorum of geometry, to my way of thinking, never was in it with that bridge that Cæsar built backward in his book.

Now, it is my duty in a way to bid you a welcome here. You have already had two welcomes, one from Mr. Herzog, the president of the board of education, and another from Mayor Stevens. So I triplicate that welcome.

Superintendent Jones told you that if you would go to the lake house in the park you would see the most magnificent exhibition of chrysanthemums that the world has ever seen. Now, as Governor of the State, I bid you come to the Capitol, on Capitol Hill, and there I will show you the greatest collection of roses and daisies, in the form of beautiful stenographers, that the world has ever seen. And then if you will come with me to the heads of the different State departments, I will show you the greatest collection of old cactus plants that this world has ever seen.

Dr. Finley seemed hurt because some professor in the western part of the State mistook him for a book agent. Well, if Dr. Finley ever becomes Governor, it won't take him very long to become accustomed to being mistaken for worse things than a book agent. He told you of one Governor who stayed five minutes in one place on one occasion and another Governor five minutes on another occasion, but I know of some places where a governor could not stay two minutes if he got in the wrong berth politically.

And then Dr. Finley touched a chord that is near and dear to my heart. He suggested a memorial in the State Education Building to Dr. Draper. I am glad to think, and I know that you must think, that we have

been writing history all wrong, and teaching history all wrong. I think, and I know that you must think, that we have been doing the wrong thing when on every public square in this country, in every place where we could find room, and when we could get the money, we have been erecting shafts of marble and tablets of brass to the heroes of war.

I would like to change it all. I would like to see history written as Greene wrote his history of the English people; I would like to see history written as McMaster wrote his history of the American people. I would like to see peace placed above war. I would like to see the triumphs of peace get ten times as much space in our histories as the triumphs of war and not one-tenth as much as they get today. And on our corners and in our public places I would like to see shafts of marble and tablets of brass erected, not to the men who walked to fame and glory between piles and piles of corpses of their fellowmen, but to the men and the women who are heroes of peace in the daily vocations of life, heroes of peace in building up the great commercial supremacy and the great educational supremacy and the great moral supremacy of a nation. I would like to see tablets and shafts and monuments erected for them instead of for the heroes of war.

Now, probably the heroes of war need marble shafts and probably they need tablets of brass, but the great Almighty above has designed and worked things out in his own way, and I think that from the day that time was born, high above the clouds, high above the realms where the eye of man can pierce, there has been some great scheme to immortalize and honor the heroes of peace. And for that reason I feel that when the rains fall, nature weeps for the heroes of peace;

that when the wind sighs through the trees, nature sings a requiem of memory for the heroes of peace; and when the rainbow decorates the sky, after the rain and wind have subsided, God with his own immortal hand writes an everlasting monument to the heroes of peace, like Dr. Draper and men of his kind.

But in addition to that requiem of nature, I subscribe to your suggestion that somewhere in the marble halls of our Education Building the hand of man should erect some memorial to the handiwork of the man who gave that monument to New York's educational system.

Now, my friends, there are a few things of which I am proud during my career as Governor. I am proud and I am glad that Dr. Finley began his career as Commissioner of Education while I was Governor.

I am proud of the fact that we placed on the statute books since I have been Governor a law that I think is the greatest humanitarian law that has been written since the day Abraham Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation, the law that puts into force the sentiments which Christ preached in the sermon on the mount, the law which puts in practice the eternal ethics of the ten commandments and the glorious teachings of the golden rule, to do unto others as you would have others do unto you, the law which places the workmen of the land above the chicanery of lawyers or the uncertainties of lawsuits, the Workmen's Compensation Law. I hold this law a great educational factor in the gospel of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

And, side by side with this law, I write in my book of pride the fact that the Board of Regents of this State in April, 1914, passed a resolution thanking me for the educational policy that I have pursued since

I have been Governor of New York. I am glad that Dr. Finley referred to that, for reasons that you well understand. I am proud, oh, so proud, of this praise of the Board of Regents, and when I am dead and gone and someone writes the history of my administration, I hope, Dr. Finley, that my biographer will put in capital letters every word of the resolution that the Board of Regents passed last April.

As Dr. Finley told you, I was educated in the public schools twenty miles from here, in old Kinderhook, in a little red schoolhouse. Old Kinderhook, I suppose, does not mean much to you; it means everything to me. It ought to mean something to you schoolteachers, because the greatest literary type of schoolteacher was found in Kinderhook when Washington Irving took from the little red schoolhouse of Kinderhook and transplanted into the immortal pages of literature the greatest and most lovable of schoolmasters, Ichabod Crane. Ichabod still sleeps in the Kinderhook graveyard, only a few feet away from where sleeps the great Martin Van Buren.

Van Buren was a product of the common schools and so was Samuel J. Tilden, over in Lebanon, twenty-two miles away from Kinderhook in old Columbia county. I went to a public school when I was seven years of age. My earliest recollections are memories of my mother teaching me to read and write long before I was seven in a little farmhouse near Kinderhook lake. I have always had a passion for books and this I attribute to the teachings of my mother before I ever saw a schoolhouse. I spent but a few days in the primary room, thanks to the teachings my mother had given me. Within a short time I was promoted to the second room, and from the time I was seven until I was sixteen years of age I studied in a little red schoolhouse in the town of Kinderhook.

I never had but two men teachers in all that time; and I sometimes read, with scorn and ridicule, the theories of men who hold that the influence of women teachers on young boys is softening and sissifying. I think that I can say, without egotism, that I am not a "softy" and I am not a "sissy," and yet, of that nine years in public school, all of it was spent under women teachers, with the exception of two. And I am proud to say that I believe that whatever sequence of thought I have is partly due to the magnificent training in mathematics that I received from a woman teacher named Fannie E. Best. Some of you here may know her. I believe she still teaches in Long Island. My friends, whenever I pray and give thanks for the good things that have come into my life, I thank God always that Fannie Best was a teacher of mine for some years in the public school at Kinderhook. I know what some theorists think of the effect of women teachers on young boys, but every time I think of Fannie Best I champion the woman teacher for the young boy.

Now, let me say just one word to you, and probably this is the best chance I will ever have to say a thing like this, because I soon go out of office. I am just through a campaign of fire. I bring no politics to this gathering, but it is fair to me and the work I have done that the record should be right, and that my record should be right on the question of the public schools. I say here and now, falsification and misrepresentation to the contrary notwithstanding, in spite of the stories that came from some men's mouths in the last few weeks like the hissing sounds from the mouths of snakes, that no man is more loyal to the public schools of New York State than I am.

In proof of this, I point to my career in the public schools; I point to that resolution that the Board of

Regents adopted last April, and I point to twenty years of editorial work on a paper in this city. I am a son of the public schools. I look upon the public schools as my educational mother, and I consider a man who goes back on his mother a scoundrel and a traitor; and I never was and never will be a scoundrel or a traitor.

I think the public schools are the very essence of democracy. I believe that nowhere else can we so commingle our people that our children and our children's children may learn that they are no better than other people's children, and probably no worse. The essence of democracy is not that you are no better than I am, but that I am as good as you are, and this can be taught and learned nowhere better than in our public schools.

This sentiment embraces the spirit of Americanism which should flourish and prosper in our public schools. And, after all, this is the great central thought of the Americanism of Washington, of Jefferson, and of Lincoln. It is the kind of Americanism that makes a man work for his country in times of peace and die for his country in times of war.

And I say to you, with no sense of claiming a privilege, but with every sense of asserting a right, that I am just as good an American as any other man in New York State, no matter what his name, his race or his creed. I learned in the public schools of this State that my blood is just as red as the blood of any other man, my skin as white and my veins as blue; and I hold that my red blood, my white skin, my blue veins, typify the Americanism of the red, white and blue of the Star Spangled Banner just as much as the red blood, the white skin and the blue veins of any other man.

Americanism means everything to me. In no other land under the sun could I have climbed to the present height I occupy from the humble beginnings at which I started. I had no great ancestry, no money, no social position. When asked for his ancestry, Napoleon once replied that he was his own ancestry. When asked what was his coat of arms, Napoleon replied "Shirt sleeves." And to both questions I suppose I would have to give the same answer that Napoleon gave. I am what I am because of the opportunities which this land offers. I started life with a father's good wishes and a mother's blessing, and an education that I owe partly to the State and partly to my parents.

I have always tried to remember what I owe my parents and I have never forgotten what I owe the State. That is the reason why the only bitterness left in my heart from the campaign through which I have just passed comes from the cowardly attacks made upon me from dark corners on account of my religious creed and the misrepresentation showered upon me about my supposititious attitude toward the public schools.

Here and now, as a matter of history, in justice to myself and in answer to posterity which demands to know the truth, I nail every assertion as a lie, no matter whence it comes, which even insinuated or whispered that I have ever been anything else than a warm friend and a grateful debtor to the public school system of the State of New York. I have been Governor a year and a half; the Board of Regents praised my educational policy; Dr. Finley tells you tonight that I am and have been a friend of the public schools. These facts must discredit my detractors, even if they do not silence them.

Let me read to you what Lyman Abbott wrote in *The Outlook* at the time that partisan critics were attempting to misrepresent my attitude toward the public schools.

“ By far the most important utterance that has been made in the present political campaign in the State of New York ” he said “ was made on Tuesday evening of last week at Watertown by Governor Glynn. A political critic had presented to him a series of questions on the public school, which he read and answered categorically. The questions and answers as reported verbatim in the New York ‘ Times ’ are as follows :

“ ‘ 1. Do you believe in the absolute separation of the Church and State ? ’

I do. No man who understands the principles upon which this Republic was founded can tolerate the suggestion of interference in the affairs of government by any sect or creed.

“ ‘ 2. Do you believe that no public funds should be used for any sectarian purpose whatever ? ’

In answer I have no hesitancy in saying that I am uncompromisingly opposed to the use of public funds for the support or aid of any particular sect or religious denomination.

“ ‘ 3. Do you believe that the free public schools are the best medium for instruction of our children and assimilating the different nationalities and making intelligent and useful citizens of them ? ’

I answer, emphatically, ‘ yes. ’ As a product of the public schools, I take a special interest in our school system, and am now, as I have been throughout my career, a firm and unyielding advocate of every measure that guards and strengthens the public school system of our

country. . . . If I were asked to state what, in my opinion, is the choicest product and fairest fruition of liberty, I would unhesitatingly name the public school system of the United States.

For sinister purposes and with malicious intent, certain people are spreading the story that, if elected Governor, I will advocate the sharing of school moneys between public schools and parochial schools. Here and now I want to brand this story as a diabolical falsehood. If elected, I will do no such thing.

If the Legislature passed any law, with this as its object, I would not sign it. I am in favor of no such policy. I believe that the people who want sectarian schools should support the sectarian school.'

“ This is The Outlook's platform, and we are delighted to find that it is one on which we can stand with so good a product of the Roman Catholic Church and of the American public school as Governor Glynn. The American public school system is unique in the civilized world. It has serious defects, such as its inadequacy in moral and spiritual training. But nevertheless it is the greatest single institution in the United States common to its whole territory and all its population. No other institution is so inclusive, so catholic. It may, and, happily for the United States, it does, afford a common ground and meeting place for Austrian, German, Russian, Frenchman, Briton, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jew, agnostic, white man and black man. Any man or set of men who weaken its efficiency or undermine its catholicity are enemies of their country. We wish that the questions which Governor Glynn has so frankly made public and has so vigorously and

satisfactorily answered could be presented to every candidate for the office of delegate to the coming Constitutional Convention in this State.

“The question of free, universal, and unprejudiced education is more important than questions of government efficiency, taxation, or good roads, because the American public school and the principle upon which it was founded underlie all good citizenship and the very structure of the American State.”

Most of us want to be what we cannot be and few of us are what we want to be. I am Governor of New York State and yet, if my early dreams had come true, I would have been a teacher. I have always been more or less of a bookworm. The school and the college have a special charm for me. And whenever I visit a place where there is a distinguished seat of education, I want to see that institution of learning before I see anything else. Fate seems to shape our course in life, rough hew it as we may.

Upon graduation from college the whirligig of fate snatched me up and tore me away from long-cherished ambitions of a scholastic life. I intended to become a teacher, but I did not. I never dreamed of becoming a politician, but I did, and that is the way life goes. I was not able to do what I wanted to do, but I did not allow what I could not do to prevent me from doing what I could. And I think that this should be one of the great lessons which teachers ought to drive home in the minds of their pupils—not to allow the things that one cannot do to prevent one from doing the things he can.

To my way of thinking, the people who write their names most potentially in the deeds of mankind, though probably not largest in the pages of the history

of the world, are the people who blend the minds of a nation's youth to right thoughts, right actions, right principles and the right sort of life.

For this reason I have always considered the mission of the teacher an apostolic mission, crowned with the halo of humanity and sanctified with the nobleness that is the keystone in the great arch of civilization. The rôle of the statesman is great in peace; the rôle of the warrior is great in war; the rôle of the lawyer is great in the battles of equity and the contests of jurisprudence; the rôle of the physician is great in mending men and alleviating the ills to which flesh is heir; the rôle of the clergyman is great on the mountain top as well as in the valleys of life.

Although I disparage none, I boldly assert that from the Alpha to the Omega of human existence, the teacher in his widest scope has played the most far-reaching part in the symphony of life. The only other two rôles within the pale of comparison are those of the physician and the preacher. But when at the pinnacle of greatness, both the preacher and the physician are teachers of the highest order, teachers that build and teachers that save in the physical and moral world, just as the educational teacher builds and saves in the mental world; and without a firm mental world there can be no moral world and soon there would be no physical world of men.

For this reason, in youth I dreamed to be a teacher and in manhood I am sorry that I am not a teacher. But I hope it will not sound egotistical to anyone within the reach of my voice if I say that in my private life, as a journalist, and in my public life, whether as a Congressman, a World's Fair Commissioner, a Comptroller, or a Governor, I have always tried to live up to my youthful ideals of a teacher. I have tried to

teach by advocacy, by enactment and by administration, the things in which I have believed; and whether my enemies disbelieve it or my friends acknowledge it, I have tried to be true to my belief, irrespective of personal preferment or party political gains.

And as teachers of the schools of this State, let me say to you that one of the things in which I most firmly believe are the public schools of the State. As Governor of New York State I am proud of the fact that New York led the rest of the country with the first public school, and it leads it today as it did 280 years ago. John Miller, deputy commissioner of education for Canada, recently declared that no part of the Republic presents a more valuable study to the educationist than New York; that its public schools bid fair to put New York educationally in the front place of the United States, as it is already commercially and politically.

In 1633 Holland was two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe in education, and the New Amsterdam Dutch brought to this country the educational spirit of the fatherland. In 1633 they opened America's first public school and made Hollandism its master. Thus began the first of America's educational systems. The primary act of Governor Clinton after the British army of occupation were driven from Staten Island was to urge the Legislature to provide a suitable system of education. Governor Lewis took up the work where Clinton left off; and these two, together with Gideon Hawley, whose labors earned for him the title of "Father of New York's public schools," and Joseph Lancaster, who opened a free school in his own home, are the educational pioneers whom New York loves to honor tonight and every other night. I consider every public schoolhouse a sacred temple of education that no man dare profane.

The great work of these sacred temples is to turn out men and women who can stand the test of fire—men and women who, in the words of the poet, can say:

“Here’s a sigh to those who love me,
And a smile to those who hate;
And whatever sky’s above me,
Here’s a heart for any fate.”

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Address Delivered at Albany, April, 1914

There is no name in America’s roster of great souls that has meant more for the political and social development of the nation than that of Thomas Jefferson. To him the nation is indebted for the declaration of principles for which it stands; to him it owes in largest measure that freedom from centralized despotism which it has ever enjoyed.

Its public schools owe more to Thomas Jefferson than to any other man; its political and social history has been simply a vindication of the prophetic and inspired wisdom which mark Jefferson’s statesmanship.

Three hundred and sixty-four days in the year we honor Jefferson as a patriot whose fame belongs to every citizen irrespective of his political faith or affiliations. But there is one day in the year when the party which Jefferson founded claims him for its very own. There is one day in the year when the Democrats of America believe that Jefferson was a great citizen because he was a great Democrat, and a great Democrat because he was a great citizen.

Jefferson himself believed and has taught that principles are greater than persons and that the public good is more important than the will of the individual. He believed that a Democratic government is essen-

tially a government by parties and that the best citizen is the man who has the greatest influence for good in the party to which he belongs.

Jefferson was great because he could fit the tools at hand to the work to be accomplished. He believed in the wisdom and the intelligence of the people, but knowing that there are few questions on which the public mind is not divided, he also believed that the citizens who thought alike should act in unison through the medium of parties. And the reason that Thomas Jefferson has left so large an imprint in the history of his country is because he understood the prosaic and practical methods by which lofty ideas may be translated into national action.

Jefferson put Democratic principles into practice because he knew how to unite behind him the forces of a determined democracy.

Writing in 1811 he declared:

“Some think that independence requires them to follow always their own opinion without respect for that of others; this has never been my opinion. Differing on a particular question from those whom I knew to be of the same political principles with myself and with whom I generally thought and acted, a consciousness of the fallibility of the human mind and of my own in particular with a respect for the accumulated judgment of my friends, has induced me to suspect erroneous impressions in myself, to suppose my own opinion wrong and to act with them on theirs. The want of this spirit of compromise or of self-distrust, proudly but falsely called independence, is what gives the Federalists victories which they could never obtain if these brethren could learn to respect the opinions of their friends more than

of their enemies and prevents many able and honest men from doing all the good they otherwise might do.”

What Jefferson expressed a hundred years ago is true today. Jefferson was a real Democrat because he was willing to sink his individual ideas of certain subjects for the benefit of the principles on which both himself and his party were united. There is no division today in the Democratic party over the principles for which the Democratic party has stood since its beginning. And those who today proclaim allegiance to the things that Jefferson taught can show their sincerest respect for his wisdom by applying to their own political conduct the practical precepts which Jefferson refused to disregard.

Jeffersonian democracy was successful in the days of Jefferson. So long as there are principles to be fought for, so long as there are great issues to be discussed and decided, these principles must be asserted and these issues vindicated through political parties, and the wonderful hold which Jefferson has ever had upon the affections, imagination and the respect of the American people proves that the party which Jefferson founded will never for long fail of success while it holds true to the course fixed for all time by the wisdom, patriotism and genius of Thomas Jefferson.

Although a poor speechmaker, Thomas Jefferson, in his day, wielded the readiest pen in America and in his opinions on the rights of man and political equality he stands in the foremost rank of modern philosophers.

From the earliest dawn of his career he was a Democrat and a philanthropist.

Always a statesman, there is record of but a single instance where he proved the mere politician. Then

it was while running for member of the Virginia Legislature in 1769 that he made a personal canvass of nearly every voter in his county, and supplied to the voters for three days an unlimited amount of punch and lunch — especially punch.

While Alexander Hamilton labored for an aristocracy of birth and wealth, Thomas Jefferson stood for one of virtue and talent. He was opposed to slavery in any form and was one of the first to prophesy the emancipation of the negroes. He was a man of thought rather than of action, and his happiest hours were spent in his library.

To him there was nothing sacred in the person or majesty of a king, and with him the man who earned his bread by the sweat of his brow was as important as the captain of industry, the head of a nation, or the potentate of a church.

No other public man has ever left to posterity more of the results of observation and thought. Interested himself in everything and everybody, freely communicating his ideas by correspondence, he had a wide influence while living, and his ideas have been suggestive and fruitful to thoughtful students of public interests ever since.

Jefferson was not a vulgar or scheming politician. What he desired supremely was the triumph of democratic principles, because he saw in this triumph the welfare of the country; the interests of the many against the ascendancy of the few; the regal reign of the people instead of the reign of an aristocracy of money or birth. Believing that the people knew, or ought to know, their own interests he was willing to entrust them with unlimited political power.

Not so, however, with Hamilton, and the other Republican leaders. In the ascendancy of the people they

saw a triumph of demagogy, the ignoring of experience in government, the reign of passion and unenlightened measures leading to financial and political ruin. Why, my friends, Hamilton went so far as to advocate that the President and Senators be elected for life; that the Governors of the different States be appointed by the President; that no man be a member of Congress unless he be possessed of several thousands of dollars and that the right of suffrage be conditioned upon the accumulation of a certain amount of property.

All this Jefferson opposed, and from our present form of government you know that all this he defeated.

Jefferson would have no political autocrats; no life tenure of office; no centralized spot of government for this vast land. His keynote of centralized government lay in the idea of our town meeting, which idea pushed to its logical conclusion of the State has made the United States of America the most successful republic that has ever flourished under the sun.

It is in consequence of Jefferson's idea of popular government that not a school house or a bridge has been set up or pulled down; a canal dug, or a railroad built; a harbor improved, or a tax levied, without the people proclaiming approval. As a result of this we have arrived at a general contentment enjoyed by no other government in the history of civilization, and our people have come to feel that they are the lords of the soil and the masters of their chosen representatives in our governmental system. In every winding road, in every public bridge, in the smoke of the poor-house chimney; in the clock on the old town hall, in the clanging of the city's fire alarm, in the glory of our school system, in the grandeur of our charitable institutions, in the beauty of our public buildings and in the wonderfulness of our march in civic improve-

ment, our people, in the thought of Emerson, read their power, proclaim themselves the true kings of the land, hail themselves as the founders, makers and perpetuators of the world's most successful idea of popular government, and in their leisure sit as judges upon the errors and the wisdom of their ways.

For these reasons I say that if Jefferson was wrong, our form of government is wrong.

If our form of government is right, Jefferson was right.

I know that some pessimistic prophets are forever saying that all republics are bound to travel the same road, and that the end of that road is destruction. They point to Greece and they point to Rome. They tell us that in France the politics with which Jefferson was in sympathy resulted in organized massacre and the fall of Bonaparte. They tell us that the party which Jefferson led in the United States issued in the South in armed rebellion, and in some portions of the North became an apostate to its political creed.

We face these facts, but we face them, not as distorted by our adversaries, but as they really are.

We face these facts, and we say to our political opponents that their assertions no more prove that Jefferson and Madison, Monroe, Lafayette and Paine were wrong, than all the murders committed in the name of religion, and all the wars waged over sectarian differences prove that the maxims of Christ are false.

The truth of the matter is, that these facts are only illustrations of the familiar verity that justice and truth move but slowly and with difficulty.

But truth and justice, my friends, have lately taken to the great highway of public opinion, and, I believe that the party which Jefferson founded, the party into which he breathed vitality, instructed

by defeat, purified in the furnace of affliction, and schooled by the experiences of adversity, has come back into its own, and to deliver the country from the evils which perplex it and the dangers which threaten it.

And, my friends, this the Democratic Party will do when, in defiance of corporation influences, personal greed and self-seeking schemers, it stands up to adopt the only expedient that ever can win in a free country, the expedient of being right. And if our party is not, and has not been, or will not be in the right, the fault lies, not in the principles of Jefferson, but in the party itself. For surely the cure for our present governmental ills lies in the doctrines of Jefferson.

If you have any doubt on this point run your mind's eye over the questions agitating the country today and then reflect upon the following words of Jefferson's first inaugural address, in which he says: "I stand for a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. I stand for equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe correction of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peace-

able remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moment of war till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authorities; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith; the text of civic instruction; the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

Therefore, has it come to be a government that is simple, inexpensive and strong; a government that will give a fair field to all, and special favors to none; a government that will protect all rights, including those of posterity, and leave all interests to protect themselves, is a government for which Jefferson stood, and for which if we fail to stand, we fail to be true followers of the Sage of Monticello.

Thomas Jefferson is the philosophical statesman of America. There is nothing new in the theory of

this government;—there is a lot new in its practice. It has given political philosophers a new theory of the State. Its development is full of suggestion. While others pondered over philosophical perplexities, our governmental fathers passed on pressing realities and solved problems long awaiting solution. Natural rights and the social contract were fine themes for academic discussion on the Continent and in England; human needs and national existence were a condition as well as a theory on this side of the Atlantic. Otis, Adams, Mason, Washington and Jefferson advanced no new ideas, but they did find a new way to apply old ideas to a novel situation. In writing the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson advanced nothing new; in making the Constitution, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin and the others advanced nothing new: they applied the theories of Locke, Montesquieu and Burke to our needs and our conditions. They did not swallow these theories whole: they separated the wheat from the chaff, they rejected the fantastic and appropriated the practical and the adaptable. They wrote a document of wondrous elasticity. It has stretched over the vicissitudes of one hundred and twenty-five years without a trace of crack or strain. It has produced a race of constitutional lawyers such as the world never saw before. It has given a meaning to “intention” that is sacred and inviolable. It has adapted old formulae to the determination of national sovereignty and national welfare. Its example and its inspiration have re-written the legislative history of the world, and in this evolution of political thought the figure of Jefferson, man, statesman, student and philosopher, looms up in majestic proportions and ineffable grandeur.

Personally, I believe that the country has grown weary of a government of “personal supererogation”

and is clamoring for one which will assume no functions except those distinctly assigned to it by the Constitution.

Those are the principles which Jefferson restored in 1801, and those are the principles which we can restore in 1914, if we don our fighting clothes and stand steadfast on the firing line.

But this is Jefferson night, and from Jefferson I fear I have wandered some.

Let us hark back some century and a quarter, and take a moving picture of the man.

As I have stated before, his pen was the most facile in the United States at that time, and verily hath it written its lessons in undying letters on the red-leaved tablets of grateful human hearts.

His pen moved,—the Declaration of Independence was born, and England's dominance over us was killed.

His pen moved,—and religious freedom of thought rent her shroud, arose and smiled on old Virginia.

His pen moved,—and American diplomacy took her seat at the council board of the nations.

His pen moved, and the march of the flag began when he bought that imperial tract of Louisiana, which swept from the Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the British possessions.

His pen moved,—and the Lewis and Clark expedition made certain our uncertain claims upon the land out of which Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana were carved, out of which a new empire was rolled and the march of the flag went on.

His pen moved in behalf of isolation for us in this continent, and enunciated those principles by which Andrew Jackson tore down the saffron flag of Spain from over Florida, and through which James Monroe planted the Stars and Stripes over the Everglade Peninsula and the march of the flag went on.

His pen moved in 1812 in advocacy of a policy which, if honestly and skillfully carried out, would have planted our Starry Banner over the fair cities and rich fields of Canada.

His pen moved in laying down the science of government, whereby we hearkened to the Texas bugle call for liberty, pulled down the Mexican flag where rolls the Rio Grande, and ran up the Red, White and Blue, which then floated from the southwest to Oregon, from ocean to ocean, and thus went on the march of the flag to come to a parade rest over contiguous territory in obedience to the mandates of Jefferson.

His pen moved in behalf of free Cuba, a prophesy we fulfilled only a few years ago, when the Boys from the North and the Boys from Dixie taught the world that the spirit of Washington, of Jackson, of Grant and of Lee still abides in America's breast.

His pen moved on until within a few hours of his death: and his writings in behalf of liberty, religious freedom and the rights of man will cause his fame to live until every continent on the globe is overspread with a republic, until every republic greets her sister republic with a smile of glory, and the glory of all these republics will proclaim the world around, that liberty is world-wide and the name of Thomas Jefferson immortal.

NEW YORK'S WATERWAYS

Speech Delivered at the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C., December 4, 1913

We are here today to enlist your sympathy and win your coöperation in our efforts to develop the waterways of New York.

The business of the country demands that our waterways be developed to their fullest capacity. This is

admitted by James J. Hill, one of our railway kings and a thinker of world-wide acknowledgment. In House Document No. 492 I find the following statement from Mr. Hill:

“In the past ten years the growth in tonnage was 110 per cent and the growth in the mileage of railroads to handle the traffic was only 20 per cent. The traffic of the country is congested beyond imagination; the commerce of the country is paralyzed; and to continue it means slow death. It is estimated that from 115,000 to 120,000 miles of railroad track must be built at once to take care of this business. It will cost from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 to complete this work. There is not enough rails or money in the world to do this thing, and if the rails were piled up ready for the undertaking, and if the money were in the bank today, it would be impossible to get sufficient labor with which to complete it.”

No better argument for the development of our waterways could be presented. The fact that it is made by a railroad man emphasizes its importance and enlarges its worth. Such testimony as this should give strength to the arm and courage to the heart of every advocate of development for our waterways.

From time to time this Congress has listened to appeals for aid to the waterways of New York. It has heard much about the Great Lakes, something about the port of New York, a little about the Harlem, but hardly anything about the Hudson. We plead today for your consideration of the Hudson, and we plead for no mean river.

We plead today to enlist your interest in our advocacy of a deeper and wider channel in the Hudson.

We who live by the Hudson love it. Everyone of us feels as Washington Irving felt about it when he wrote:

“I fancy I can trace much of what is good and pleasant in my heterogeneous compound to my early companionship with this glorious river. The Hudson is, in a manner, my first and last love, and after all my wanderings, I return to it with a heartfelt preference over all the other rivers in the world. I seem to catch new life as I bathe in its ample billows and inhale the pure breezes of its hills.”

Washington Irving gave the Hudson River a place in literature by Rip Van Winkle's sleep of twenty years in the mountains of its western shore. Like Rip we have slept long. But Rip awoke, and so have we. We have awakened to what Uncle Sam has done for other rivers in the land and we ask the Federal government to do unto us as it has done unto others. We plead for the improvement of the greatest and grandest river on the western continent. We minimize the claims of no other waters, we revere the majesty of all other rivers, we acknowledge the importance of every waterway; but we proclaim the picturesqueness and beauty of the Rhine of America and its golden argosy of commerce that floats between our hills and valleys of poetic imagery, artistic inspiration and historic chronology. The beetling Palisades keep watch along its banks as the Magi of old kept watch along the Euphrates. Oliver Wendell Holmes and William Cullen Bryant sing its praises in silvery verse. Frederick E. Church paints its loveliness in undying colors. Washington Irving tells its legends in language that will live. Revolutionary heroes emblazon its name on

the pages of history. O'er it rests the spell of poetry and the glamor of romance, but with the magic of fancy the Hudson mingles the facts of utility. The heights of Parnassus we leave to others; the planes of utility we occupy today.

The Hudson River bears upon its waters a commerce almost unequaled in quantity and volume by that of any other river in the country. In 1909 the Senate and Assembly of New York State adopted a resolution asking the representatives of New York in Congress to use every honorable effort to procure an appropriation for the immediate commencement of the work of excavating a seagoing channel from the city of Hudson to the village of Waterford. In 1908 and 1909, and at conventions since, the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association has adopted resolutions in favor of a deeper channel in the upper Hudson, as has also the New York Waterways Association and the Chambers of Commerce in all sections of the State.

The sooner these resolutions are answered by affirmative action, the sooner the Hudson River is deepened so that coastwise vessels can reach the capital district intact with cargoes that they bring to New York, the greater will be the improvement in carriage by railways and the greater the improvement of the country toward the west.

We plead for a deeper channel in the Hudson River, but we do not plead with a mendicant's cringe or a suppliant's smirk. True, we seek a favor, but we do not beg a gift. New York has rendered the Federal government its *quid pro quo* in what we ask today. Upon the Erie, the Oswego and the Champlain Canals we have spent nearly \$200,000,000. This is about one-third of what Uncle Sam has spent upon all the rivers and harbors in these United States. And these

\$200,000,000 we have spent not alone for the benefit of the people of our own State, but for the benefit of an area occupied by 20,000,000 of people. Our Erie Canal pours wheat into the mouths of the east and gold into the pockets of the west. It stands as the gift of New York to the commerce of the country. Behind the New York State canal wave the wheat fields of the west, open to the markets of the world—thanks to the patriotism of New York State. The New York State canal unites the gleaners of the fields with the customers of the cities. In the Panama Canal the United States yokes the Pacific with the Atlantic. In the Erie Canal New York links the Great Lakes with the Hudson.

In building the Erie Canal New York did what the nation should have done. We have done our part. It is time for Uncle Sam to do his. We have given \$200,000,000 to national commerce. We cannot do more; but more remains to be done, and we ask Uncle Sam to do it. Our expenditures on the Barge Canal deserve reciprocity. Reciprocity is what we have not had. The present commerce of the Hudson River warrants the expenditure of sufficient money to create a ship canal 25 feet deep. We ask the Federal government to do only seven or eight per cent as much for the Hudson River as we have done in promoting our national commerce. We ask the Federal government to spend upon the Hudson River only six or eight per cent as much as we have spent upon the waterways of our State for the direct benefit of 20,000,000 of our people, and the indirect benefit of the commerce of the whole country. Nor is New York alone interested in the improvement which we seek. Seven sister States bordering on the Great Lakes are as much, if not more, interested in this improvement than our own State.

Under the old indirect system of taxation, New York received and contributed to the Federal government from eight to ten per cent of its revenues, and under the new system of direct taxation, through the income tax, New York will contribute an even greater percentage. The seven States bordering on the Great Lakes will very nearly aggregate 50 per cent of the revenues received by the Federal government, and therefore the people in these States recognize that they ought to have such reasonable expenditures for waterway improvements as will answer the demands that are made upon them for cheap transportation for their raw material and finished products to the sea.

In what I say I do not want it to be understood that I am talking in any narrow way, simply for the benefit of the people of the State, the honor of whom it is mine to represent. While the Hudson River lies almost entirely within the confines of the State of New York, the commerce which traverses its length is the commerce of the northern part of the United States, stretching from all the great cities on the Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi. And the spirit of improvement which is now manifested by the Dominion of Canada must be met by this nation in the improvement of the Hudson River, which, with the Barge Canal system of the State as a link, will connect the great cities of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, and enable the people of the country to preserve not only the pre-eminence of the port of New York, but also enable the products of the northern States to reach the seaboard through the waterways, both natural and artificial, that have been provided so extensively by nature, and augmented by the State of New York.

Let me remind you that in the last one hundred years Uncle Sam has spent upon our beautiful Hud-

son River the munificent sum of \$5,000,000. Think of it! In all that long century all that the Federal government would give toward the Hudson River was \$5,000,000! This fact is rather painful to the advocates of the deeper Hudson when we realize that Uncle Sam spent \$7,000,000 on the Hennepin Canal, and we match the claims of the Hudson against those of that canal with an arrogant assurance!

Compared with the Hudson River, the Kanawha of West Virginia is a negligible quantity; and yet the Kanawha has received almost as much Federal aid as the Hudson.

In the shoal canals of the Tennessee River near Chattanooga the United States government made an expenditure for improvements representing a cost of \$11.91 for every ton of freight carried through the canal. If this same proportion had been observed in the treatment of the Hudson River, the United States government would have spent upon the Hudson in the last one hundred years \$55,000,000 instead of \$5,000,000.

For every ton of freight carried through the lock of the Wabash River at Grand Rapids, Illinois, the Federal government has laid out an expenditure of \$56. If this ratio had been observed in the treatment of the Hudson River the United States government in years gone by would have spent upon the Hudson \$224,000,000 instead of \$5,000,000.

The Federal government has spent \$20 a ton for every ton of freight carried on the Big Sandy River and its forks. The same proportion of expenditure upon the Hudson River would have meant the expenditure of \$80,000,000 instead of \$5,000,000 in the last one hundred years.

In 1908 the United States government spent in interest and in maintenance the incredible sum of \$183

for each ton of freight carried on the Red River between its mouth and Fulton, Arkansas. This same ratio of expenditure upon the Hudson would have meant that in the last one hundred years Uncle Sam should have spent \$700,000,000 instead of \$5,000,000 upon the Hudson River.

I mention these figures to show that the business interests of New York have not received fair treatment here at Washington in the development of its waterways. The Hudson River is the most important commercial river in the United States. Yet it seems that Uncle Sam when bursting forth with generosity, distributing great sums for other streams, apparently tightened up or got nearsighted when he came upon the Hudson. As far back as 1876 the board, headed by Admiral Porter, urged that the Mare Island Navy Yard be abandoned, and twelve years ago Rear Admiral Endicott also recommended that it be abandoned and dispensed with. During the entire existence of the Mare Island Navy Yard they have been able to take into it but one battleship and dock it. This was the Missouri, and she ran aground in doing it. Despite the almost absolute uselessness of this navy yard, Uncle Sam has seen fit to spend \$6,000,000 on it in the last twelve years. Despite the folly of retaining the Portsmouth Navy Yard we have spent in the last fourteen years \$10,000,000 in maintaining and developing it.

Let me assure you, my friends, if Uncle Sam gave us that \$6,000,000 or half of that \$10,000,000 for the deepening of the Hudson, every hamlet and every village and every citizen along our beautiful river would join in a thanksgiving celebration which would far excel anything ever attempted in the jubilee line since Mr. Hudson himself came upon that historic stream.

When we say that the Hudson is the most important commercial river in the United States, we back up the statement by presenting the fact that its tonnage is large and the value of freight per ton greatly exceeds that of any carried on rivers of larger tonnage.

The total amount of traffic handled between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States by the several water routes transferring freight at the Isthmuses of Panama and Tehuantepec in 1911 was about 1,104,000 tons. This is only one-fifth of the commerce of the Hudson River, and perhaps this fact will convey what I mean when I say I plead today for no mean river. In a report recently submitted to Congress the army engineers say that the Hudson River will shortly carry "a more valuable commerce than any other river;" that "the new Barge Canal will bring to the Hudson 15,000,000 tons of freight a year;" that "the resources of the territory tributary to the Hudson River are far from fully developed," and that "a large traffic from the north and west is diverted from the New York State canals and the Hudson River to the Canadian waterways."

Canada is going to spend \$50,000,000 on the Welland Canal and is planning to spend \$200,000,000 more on the Georgian Bay Ship Canal. St. Johns is spending \$6,000,000 for a port and the city of Toronto alone is spending \$19,000,000 upon its lake front to draw away from this country the freight of the Great Lakes. Why can't the United States government spend a little on the Hudson River channel? The money that the government would spend on a deeper Hudson channel would be saved the people many times over in freight-haul charges. If an ocean-going vessel could sail up to Albany or Troy, from one dollar to one dollar and a half a ton could be saved on freight originating at or destined to our interior points.

Many engineers contend that with a deeper channel in the upper Hudson a large percentage of the freight on the Canadian border could be diverted to American ports. The foreign commerce of the Genesee district alone, Rochester and vicinity, has reached approximately a total of 3,000,000 tons a year, this being one and a half times the foreign commerce of San Francisco. The foreign commerce of the Great Lakes has reached a total tonnage of 18,333,201 tons a year, two and one-half times the foreign commerce of the entire Pacific coast. Undoubtedly with a deeper channel in the Hudson river a great part of that business which is now going to Canada would come down the Hudson. And this is especially true of the tonnage directed to the South American countries, which in the years to come, if all signs are not agog, will be the great market for American manufacturers.

The cost of improving the tidal Hudson to accommodate sea-going vessels is a nominal one, compared with the enormous resulting advantages to the country at large. If the improvement is to be made to accommodate sea-going vessels, the saving in freight rates on local and inland commerce on freight handled and regulated as a result of the improvement will in one year pay for the entire cost of the project.

We are not asking for the impossible. Several surveys have been made by the Engineering Corps of the United States Army and in none of the reports on these surveys is there any reference to unusual engineering or construction difficulties. Before the era of deep-draught vessels, the head of the Hudson enjoyed a foreign and coast-wise commerce. This is now entirely eliminated. The Engineering Corps of the United States Army admits that with the enlarged commerce of the State canal system, the present improvements to the Hudson River will not suffice, and

that greater improvements will shortly be necessary. Why procrastinate then? Why not begin now? Why not have the Federal government meet New York half way? Why not have the Federal government do something for the Hudson to balance the \$200,000,000 that we have spent upon our canals?

But, say some critics, there are fogs on the Hudson River; and they advance these fogs as an argument against digging a deeper channel. Yes, we admit there are fogs on the Hudson River. But there are fogs on the Panama Canal and this did not deter the Federal government from spending hundreds of millions on the canal. And there are fogs in London—and London is the greatest commercial port in the world.

As far as the city of Hudson the Hudson River has an average depth of 30 feet—deep enough to take care of sea-going vessels. All we ask is that the Federal government give us a 25-foot channel from the city of Hudson to the capital district of Albany and Troy. It is only thirty miles; and unless I am mistaken, the Federal government gave the Mississippi a channel for ocean-going vessels for a distance of many more miles than that above New Orleans. The channel we ask is but a simple thing compared with what can be found elsewhere. Compare it with what Canada did in the St. Lawrence for Montreal! Compare it with the Manchester ship canal, thirty-five miles long! Compare it with the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, sixty-one miles long! Compare it with the Suez Canal, a hundred miles long! Compare it with these and you will see how little we ask! Remember that Bremen is seventy-five miles up the Weser; remember that Antwerp is fifty-nine miles up the Scheldt; remember that Amsterdam, at one time the greatest port in the world, is seventeen miles inland from the sea; remember that

Hamburg is on the Elbe, some eighty-five miles from the sea, and, remember this, do not forget that only thirty miles of shallow water shut off the eastern terminus of the Erie Canal from ocean-going vessels. This eastern terminus of the Erie Canal is admirably situated for an oceanic port. Its topography could not be more advantageous. It has admirable docking sites, fine shipping facilities, and a hinterland rich in commercial development and richer in commercial possibilities; and it has ten square miles of adjacent flat-bottom land suited for terminals and business purposes.

The present commerce reaching the Hudson River through the Erie Canal is 5,000,000 tons a year at a valuation of \$125,000,000. With our enlarged new canal it will be three times this. We bring it to the navigation head of the Hudson River. We ask Uncle Sam to send it out on the high seas. We ask Uncle Sam to send the ships to the cargo, and not compel us to send the cargo to the ships.

We hear much of, and regret more, the floods of the Mississippi River. But we too have them in the Hudson, though not in so disastrous a degree. Albany and Troy every springtime suffer untold financial loss and physical suffering from floods which can be relieved only by a deeper channel in the Hudson River. Nor do Albany and Troy alone suffer. This spring whole icehouses were swept from their foundations in the country districts; barns with their horses and cattle went spinning down its swollen waters and certain residential districts were converted into temporary Venices. Uncle Sam is relieving this condition along the Mississippi. Why not relieve it along the Hudson? We do not ask as much consideration in this regard as the people along the Mississippi; and we do

not need it. But we do ask relief from the destruction of our property, and protection against a menace to our health; and the only way to grant us this is to give us a deeper channel in the Hudson.

Through the Erie Canal New York State created a commercial empire for contiguous territory. We brought the Gréat Lakes to the Hudson River. Help us bring the Atlantic Ocean to the canals!

In conclusion my friends, let me impress upon you the necessity of exerting our individual and united efforts for bringing about this great project. Every business interest in the capital district wants it, and its accomplishment will be the means of not only promoting our commercial prosperity and happiness, but of adding to the cities at the head of the Hudson hundreds of thousands of citizens.

We seek reciprocity, and reciprocity we have not had. For our \$200,000,000 spent upon our waterways for the benefit of all the people in this country we ask the United States to dig a deeper channel in the upper Hudson. We ask the United States to duplicate in the Hudson what has been done in the St. Lawrence for Montreal, what has been done at Manchester, at Bremen, at Antwerp, at Hamburg and at London.

When we built the Erie Canal we did what the nation should have done. And for doing what the nation should have done we simply ask Uncle Sam to do what he should do for us—what he has done for a score of rivers in other parts of the country—and this we ask in the name of reciprocity, in the name of national commerce.

GOVERNOR HIGGINS

Speech Delivered on the Occasion of the Presentation of a Portrait of Ex-Governor Frank W. Higgins, to the State of New York Through the Trustees of Public Buildings, at Albany, N. Y., January 15, 1914

Gentlemen, on behalf of the State, it gives me great pleasure to accept this fine portrait of a lovable man. Although a youngster at the time, I knew Frank Higgins well. My daily avocation as a newspaper man of those days brought me in touch with Mr. Higgins. I knew him as a Senator, as the Lieutenant-Governor, and as the Governor. He possessed a requisite strongly needed today in the State government—the requisite of a business sense.

Frank W. Higgins was always cognizant of the business interests of New York State. And in that respect I am going to try during the next year to follow in his footsteps. He was a man who appreciated the value of detail—a value to my mind too often overlooked in public life, especially in recent years. There has been a tendency in public life to look only for the spectacular and to overlook the small things that make up the really important affairs of public and private life.

The very characteristics that made Mr. Higgins successful in private life made him successful in public life. I think today that we need these characteristics more than we have ever needed them for twenty years past.

And the thought struck me that the choice of the location of this picture, as I came out of that door and noted it there, was a happy omen for me and a lucky portent for the State. Every time I enter that door and catch a glimpse of Frank Higgins' face, there will

be driven home to my mind the need of business principles in the State administration of New York.

And then, too, to look on the right of the door, we find the picture of Governor Hughes—the man who fought for great humanitarian and sociological questions in the public affairs of this State. When he came upon the scene that fight was needed. That fight has been largely won. The path for me is between the career of Frank W. Higgins and Charles Evans Hughes; the path for me is the golden medium of which old Horace sang, and I will try to follow in the golden medium between the business career of Frank W. Higgins and the sociological political career of Charles Evans Hughes.

On occasions like this we praise men, but our praise does not bury their humanity. If men were perfectly perfect they would lose all lovability of character. No matter how great a man may be, he has some shortcomings, if he is a man. You have yours, and I have mine, and Frank Higgins had his. But his faults were the faults of Goldsmith's parson, "and e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side."

That is the man whom we honor today by this portrait, and that is the man whom New York State honors by placing his portrait upon the walls of this Executive Chamber. His career was an inspiration to all men who estimated the value of doing every day's work for its real worth and not for the outlook of spectacular display in the newspapers.

He realized that the little things were big things. And as life grew to a close for him, I am quite sure he knew that Life's big things were little things. That was the humanity of Frank W. Higgins. That is what made him great. And every day as I go through these doors, that is the memory of him that I shall carry.

And between his business career and Charles Evans Hughes' political sociological career, I repeat that I hope to find a golden medium that some day, when my turn comes to have my portrait on these walls, will merit me a place between the portraits of Charles Evans Hughes and Frank W. Higgins.

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION THEN AND NOW

It is a proud title that you bear—Sons of the American Revolution. It is a proud heritage that you have—the name and blood of those who gave a new nation and a new conception of liberty to the world. That title and that heritage command for you the respect and the affection of every American. The lustre of what the men of the Revolution achieved shines with mellowed light upon their sons.

The heritage of blood is yours. But a greater heritage, the heritage of what the men of '76 achieved, you share, not only with your countrymen, but with the freemen of all the world.

You have inherited the names of those who fought at Lexington, who suffered at Valley Forge, who triumphed at Yorktown. That distinction is yours alone. But the inheritance of liberty won on the battlefields of the Revolution has gone, not only to the descendants of those who snatched it from the cannon's mouth, but to every man from every land who seeks it on our shores.

In a broader sense the Sons of the American Revolution are not limited to those who can claim member-

ship in your society. The whole human family has claimed spiritual and political kinship with the men of the American Revolution. Wherever free men meet, wherever liberty is acclaimed, wherever men seek for simple justice and equal opportunity, the American Revolution is claiming other sons.

Though the whole world shares with you the achievements of your sires, though the American nation claims equally with you the right to glory in the high-minded courage of the Revolutionary fathers, you are charged by your ancestry to be missionaries of collective liberty and individual responsibility.

The very name of your society is an inspiration. It is a reminder of the high hopes and unselfish devotion which gave to this continent a nation dedicated to the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. It is a link between a glorious past and a wonderful present. It should be a beacon to a still more splendid future.

There is need today for minutemen who are willing to protect and cherish the ideals to which the minutemen of '76 dedicated their hearts and their hands.

There are dangers menacing the Republic today just as real if not as tangible as those which pressed upon the men of the Revolution.

The experience of the world has shown that there is nothing so dangerous to the spirit and life of a nation as luxurious wealth and untrammelled power. A nation may survive the fiercest attacks from without if its domestic affairs are in proper order, but no nation has ever been rich enough or powerful enough to survive an internal conflict brought on by a diseased condition of its own body politic.

The American Colonists were able to make a successful resistance to England because they were fight-

ing for themselves and for justice, while their adversaries were animated by no loftier motive than a desire for conquest. Where England waged a war against the better judgment and loftier convictions of a considerable portion of its people, the Colonies knew that their forces would be true to the American cause so long as they were true to themselves.

The men of the Revolution were victorious over England because they were fighting for a principle and England for a principality.

There is no such unanimity among the American people today as there was in the days of the Revolution. Secure in our wealth and strength, we are less conscious of our dependence upon each other than we were when a common loyalty to duty and to principle gave a handful of patriots the victory over the most powerful nation in the world.

Although we have a pride of country perhaps greater than the scattered colonies knew, it is too often a pride of strength and power rather than a pride of principle and brotherhood.

We hear men boasting that America is the richest land under the Heaven. We hear them measuring our worth in terms of dollars and gauging our strength by the number of guns that we can muster. But I say to you that this wealth and this strength are only worthy of praise in so far as they represent the equal opportunity and equal justice which have made them possible.

Unless we can maintain that universal respect for liberty, law and justice which animated the men of the Revolution, our wealth and strength will not save us from the fate of every nation which has placed its trust in power and not in conscience.

Unless in thought and deed we can hold true to the gospel of freedom, legal, governmental and industrial, we must be prepared to meet the final accounting which history has ever exacted from nations that betrayed their trust.

I say this not in a spirit of doubt or pessimism but as one who desires to face facts with open eyes and open mind. I believe in the future of the American nation because I believe in the intelligence and great-heartedness of my fellow man. But because it is easy to forget the lessons of adversity in the flush and triumph of prosperity I believe that it is well to keep in mind that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Although at its core the American nation is sound, we have drifted far from the stern morality and high-minded citizenship which marked the patriots of the Revolution. The government which they gave of their lives and their fortunes to establish has ceased to be regarded as a sacred trust. Partisanship too often obscures patriotism in high places. Office is too often regarded as an opportunity and not as a responsibility.

While the majority of our citizens have been devoting their entire energies to their private occupations, they have permitted office holding and office seeking to degenerate into the most venal of professions. They have permitted the wheels of justice to become clogged with a multiplicity of actions and a plethora of technicalities. Believing our natural resources to be boundless, they have permitted them either to be wasted or to fall into the hands of private persons for private exploitation. Through indifference and lack of foresight they have permitted industrial conditions to arise which ought of right to be impossible in a nation such as ours.

Altogether we have wandered far from the concepts which inspired the men of 1776 to offer up their lives that a new nation might be born. But we are still virile, we are still strong, and the evils that we discern about us have not progressed too far to be checked by a return to the simple and natural conception of citizenship which directed the early years of the Republic.

All that America needs is an awakening to its danger. Our problems are more complex than those which the Revolutionary fathers faced, but they may all be solved by a revival of the pure patriotism which marked the nation's infancy.

To offset the complexity of our problems we have the advantage of more than a century of experience in democratic government. What to the men of the Revolution was an inspiring experiment, is to us a proud accomplishment. Where they hoped that republican institutions would endure, we know that they have endured, through the development of a continent and the stress and storm of a civil war. All that is necessary for our present security and future progress is the readiness to be true to ourselves and our history.

I believe that the new awakening is at hand. I believe that there is a growing sentiment among our people that we have strayed too far from our ancient paths, and that we must devote less time to material advancement and more to our political probity and justice.

In that new awakening, in that new revival there is a splendid place for the Sons of the American Revolution. Bound by every tie that man may know to the Republic for which their fathers fought, they can justly claim an honored place in the triumphant march back to the old ideals.

It has been an inspiration to be with you. This gathering in the name of the men who wrote the brightest page in the immortal book of freedom, is enough to stir the blood of any man who loves his country. Not every citizen of the Republic can claim kinship with the heroes of 1776. Not every one can seal his title to citizenship by pointing to a name that was offered up on the first altar of American freedom. But it is the glory of America that every man who rejoices in the nation's past, who believes in its institutions and hopefully works for its future, has been granted the opportunity to earn for himself the right to an equal distinction.

We cannot all be Sons of the Revolution. This is a privilege which is yours alone, a prerogative which your fellow citizens envy but do not grudge you. But the men of '76 gave to all who came after the privilege of enlisting under the starry banner of liberty and progress. And every man who breathes the air of America can be, and pray God forever will be, a true, faithful and unselfish son of the Great American Republic.

THE ARMY IN GRAY

Speech Before the State Convention of Letter Carriers at Troy, N. Y., May 29, 1914

For a great many years I have been favored with messages transmitted to me by members of the postal service. This is the first time, however, that I have had the opportunity to return the compliment, and I fear that nothing in the message I may have for you tonight can compare in interest with some of the messages that you and your fellows have delivered to me.

On the other hand I shall not notify you that your

account is overdrawn or that bills are overdue, so that perhaps I may be able to square accounts after all.

In a way we are fellow workers, with the difference that you are working for a bigger boss than I am. I am working for the State while you are serving the nation, and as a fellow worker I can congratulate you on the high efficiency and splendid effectiveness of the service you represent.

The man of today who drops a letter in the box and walks away confident that it will reach its destination, seldom stops to think of the patience, speed and precision which is placed at his disposal by the United States government.

The best way to realize the advantages of the present is to compare them with the past, and any comparison between the communications of today and those of a hundred years ago, leaves the mind startled at the progress that has been made.

What a leap it is from the postman of 1800, dragging his weary way from New York to Boston at intermittent intervals, and the fast mail of today which receives its thousands of letters through automatic tubes and from hurrying automobiles to speed them across the country at sixty miles an hour. What a difference between the 900 post-offices of 1800 and the 58,000 post-offices of today. What a difference between the \$280,000 of revenue collected by the post-office departments in 1800 and the \$240,000,000 which it now collects every year.

The change in the postal service from 1800 to the present is a tribute to the men, who, in high position and in low, have worked to raise the nation's postal system to its present standard. That change has been brought about by an organization which is able to command the best efforts of every member from the Postmaster-General to the newest letter carrier.

There has been a steady and successful attempt to enlarge the field of usefulness of the post-office department. There has been on every hand a willingness to carry out the avowed purpose of the service—to provide the people of the United States with a rapid and precise system of communication. This has been particularly true of the last few years which have seen the introduction of the parcel post and the postal savings system, the one intended to secure cheap transportation of merchandise and the other to provide a saving system which will have behind it the strength and solvency of the American nation and be accessible to the small depositor at all times and in all places.

There is to me something inspiring in the ease with which these new activities have been started and the success which has attended them. It shows as nothing else could the spirit of willingness and determination which animates the servants of the government. It proves the loyal co-operation which must have inspired every single worker to contribute his share to the realization of these ambitious plans.

I can imagine the difficulties which must have confronted the post-office department when they attempted to institute these great changes throughout the nation. It is hard enough to introduce something new in a single State. For instance, we have been planning to provide the farmers of New York with a system of agricultural credit. The plan is to establish land banks which will loan money on farm mortgages and permit the payments on these mortgages to be spread over a period of forty years. This seems a simple enough proposition, but some people evidently imagine that the State intends to supply money to anybody that wanted it, and I understand that the Agricultural Department has had to turn away several enterprising gentlemen who dropped in to borrow a

few thousand dollars with nothing but their smile as security.

The fact that there must have been similar misunderstandings to meet and overcome in the successful application of the great undertakings to which the post-office department set its hand, makes the success which has attended them a greater triumph for every man in the government service.

I do not think that the nation consciously realizes the full extent of the victories that have been won for it by its army in gray. To the army in blue, the martial army which guards and protects it, it accords a full measure of interest and gratitude, but because it works so quietly and so effectively, year in and year out, the army in gray appears to be taken as a matter of course. Because its work is accomplished without the beat of drums the nation forgets that it is an army which marches to the front every day to win new victories in the name of peace, prosperity and progress.

I hope that the day will come when there will be a more general appreciation of what the army in gray is doing—a more generous consideration of the men who give to modern commerce that quick and ready means of communication on which our complex industries so intimately depend. I believe in pensions for the “Army In Gray,” as well as for the “Army In Blue.” One is the army of peace; the other is the army of war. Both are soldiers and for both Uncle Sam should provide a pension system.

I hope that the peaceful conquests of the gray-clad army will continue, and that every member from lowest private to the ranking general will meet with the generous appreciation which should come from serving a great government efficiently and well.

AN ELK'S TRIBUTE TO THE FLAG

**Speech Delivered at the Flag Day Exercises of the
Brooklyn Lodge of Elks in Prospect Park, Brooklyn,
June 14 1914**

Today, brother Elks, we sing the song of the flag.
Today we sing the song which Margaret Sangster
so prettily put into verse when she wrote:

"A bit of color against the blue;
Hues of the morning, blue for true,
And red for the kindling light of flame,
And white for a nation's stainless fame.
Oh! fling it forth to the winds afar,
With hope in its every shining star;
Under its folds whenever found,
Thank God, we have freedom's holy ground.

Don't you love it, as out it floats
From the schoolhouse peak, and glad young throats
Sing of the banner that aye shall be
Symbol of honor and victory?
Don't you thrill when the marching feet
Of jubilant soldiers shake the street,
And the bugles shrill, and the trumpets call,
And the red, white and blue is over us all?
Don't you pray, amid starting tears,
It may never be furled through age-long years?

A song for our flag, our country's boast,
That gathers beneath it a mighty host;
Long may it wave o'er the goodly land
We hold in fee 'neath our Father's hand.
For God and Liberty evermore
May that banner stand from shore to shore,
Never to those high meanings lost,
Never with alien standards crossed,
But always valiant and pure and true,
Our starry flag; red, white and blue."

Today the password to our common brotherhood is the Red, the White, and the Blue. Today the flag everywhere floats as a symbol of the immortal bill of human rights embodied in the Declaration of Independence. It breathes the Spirit of 1776. It tells of Warren at Bunker Hill, of Arnold at Saratoga, of Lafayette and Washington at Yorktown. It pictures the triumphs of 1812. It tells of Perry on Lake Erie, of Captain Lawrence on Lake Ontario, and of Jackson at New Orleans. It portrays the victories in the Mexican War. It tells of Kearney at Santa Fé, of Taylor at Monterey and of Scott at San Antonio.

With a tear of sorrow and a sigh of anguish, it whispers of the fratricidal conflict of the Civil War. It tells of Sherman's march through Georgia, of Sheridan's ride at Winchester, and of Grant's supremacy at Appomattox. But in its sorrow and anguish for the horrors and miseries and regretfulness of that strife, it murmurs a thanksgiving to Heaven that no star fell from its corner of blue and that no human being beneath the protection of its folds any longer wears the debasing livery of slavery. It depicts the hundred days' fighting with Spain; it tells of Dewey at Manila and of Schley at Santiago.

Turning from the blood-dripped pages of war to the flower-decked chapters of peace, it proclaims a government where every man is a king, and where equal opportunity is the heritage of all. It stands for a system wherein Lincoln, the rail-splitter, and Garfield, the towpath boy, lifted themselves into the executive chair of the White House. It tells of commercial opportunity wherein the newsboy and bootblack of yesterday are the captain of industry and the lord of finance of today. It proclaims a fair field for all; it promises special favors to none.

It tells of a land where the ballot is mightier than the sword; where education is as free as sunlight; where lips and hands are unfettered; where brains are the masters of destinies; where the accident of birth paves no royal road to power; where every man reaps what he sows; where public thought has supplanted the bullet as the instrument of revolution; where there is a legal remedy for every wrong; where labor wears a dignity, commands a consideration and exercises a sway not secondary to capital. It tells of a land where the weakest find protection, and the strongest must bow to the law that rules the weakest; a land, my friends, such as this world has never seen; a land which historians, contemporaneous with its birth, hailed as Utopian, and the dream of idle dreamers.

But the dream has lived on.

It has lived one hundred and thirty-eight years, and with each passing year has become more impregnably imbedded on the indestructible rock whereon rest the immortal verities. The dream has lived on, and the gibes of the scoffers are buried in the misty haze known only to musty bookworms and archæological explorers. The dream of the fathers of this flag has lived on into a resplendent fruition. In a measure, it is the governmental realization for which the prophets sighed and the wise men labored in Biblical days. From the viewpoint of human rights, it stands for the fullest application of the Golden Rule that has been applied to a government of the people since barbarism died and civilization took on life. It rang the death knell of caste. To human liberty, religious freedom and individual rights, it gave an impulse that rewrote the law books of the world, hurled autocracy into the abyss of decay and placed equity on the throne once occupied by kingly whims. It struck such a

death-blow at absolute monarchy that before the echo of the last gun at Yorktown had ceased to vibrate through the heavens there began a worldwide battle for representative government which has wrought miracles to humanity in nearly every country on the globe.

The lesson which it teaches is no less valuable than the results which it has achieved. It is a lesson that was felt in France, though there, in quest of human rights, men went mad with blood-lust and power-craze. It was felt in the readjustment of the relations between England's people and England's king. It was felt in the revamping of the Great German empire. It was felt even in Russia, and through it there a czar was taught that serfs could think and feel and fight for the inalienable rights which God has bestowed upon every human creature. And, as an exemplification of these human rights, written in a country's constitution, and inscribed upon a country's law, this starry banner of ours waves as the most glorious symbol of which poets have sung in the whole realms of literature or historians have mentioned in the annals of mankind.

When de Tocqueville wrote his *Democracy in America* he stated that this republic could not endure. His reason was a physical one. He contended that by its very structure no republic covering a large territory with divers climates and diversified interests could possibly withstand the withering hand of age. But time has proved de Tocqueville wrong. Though our domains stretch from the frost-bitten regions of the North to the palm-wreathed gulf of the South, from an Eastern coast that knows all of Nature's moods and seasons, to a Western shore that feels only the joys of summer; and though our interests are a commingling of the artisan's, the agriculturist's, the banker's,

the manufacturer's, of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, as well as the builders of mammoth fortunes and the promoters of stupendous undertakings, still, every pulse of each and all of these interests beats in unison with the common heart whose blood pumps through the arteries and the veins of our governmental system for the paramount purpose of making our forty-eight states a living unit.

This fact finds expression in the stars that sparkle in that field of blue. These forty-eight stars proclaim to the world that from the small beginning of thirteen colonies, typified by the bars of red and the bars of white, have sprung forty-eight magnificent states which, though forty-eight in number, are one in the common purpose of securing the greatest good for the greatest number and protecting against all comers and against usurpers in every form, the humblest rights of the humblest individual enrolled on the roster of citizenship beneath the protection of our flag.

Somewhere in his writings Victor Hugo says that God and not Wellington won the battle of Waterloo. He points out that the drenching early morning rain, the befogged brain of Grouchy, the unconscious word of the Belgian lad that sent Ney's cavalry to death in the unseen ravine, and the providential assistance of the little shepherd boy who brought Blucher on the field of battle when Napoleon had it all but won, was the work of God to stay the hand of Napoleon, grasping for power, superhuman in his aspect and world-belting in his scope. And so, in the making of what our flag typifies, there is found an illustration of Cowper's epigram:

"God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform."

Columbus plowed the sea with commercial intent and discovered a new world. Born of a commercial quest this new world became the home of religious liberty. From seeking the dollar, men turned toward this country to worship God as best suited their conscience. From that same spirit of freedom in religious affairs came the spirit demanding freedom in civil affairs. With a wisdom hitherto unknown to the rest of the world and seemingly guided by a supernatural power, the fathers of our flag produced a government that was to meet the new conditions of life, the new aspiration of humanity and the new ideals of the race which the apotheosis of human rights would require. The growth of religious liberty in America satisfied the spiritual side of man. The Declaration of Independence elevated his manhood to a dignity that made him in the words of Ovid "walk with his head among the stars." The promulgation of the principle of no taxation without representation, joined with the right of the ballot, made every man a minister of public finance and the custodian of the fruits of his own labor.

Surely there appears to be some power more than human which gave to the world this innovation of a government that brought to its people a contentment of spirit and a unanimity of purpose before unknown in the experiments of government. Surely it was some power more than human which caused the fathers of this flag to introduce the innovation of a government whose structure is like that of the sea, where every individual drop is free to move from the depths of the deepest cavern to the top of the highest of the sun-kissed waves, and where the drop that stays at the bottom at all times and under all circumstances stays there because it lacks some essential of the true Ameri-

can character which never stops struggling to get to the top until its energies are stilled by death.

In the attainment of this magnificent result, our starry banner has had a march of glory. Though men have done the picket duty and lighted the camp-fires, and fought the battles of this march, the glorious part which woman has played at home is illustrated by the inspiring heart, the patriotic intellect and the toiling fingers of Betsy Ross, the mother of our flag. It was the hands of Betsy Ross which flung the Star-Spangled Banner out over the thirteen colonies and started the flag on its march. There in the words of Arthur Macy I think I can hear the patriotic colonists shout:

“ Here comes The Flag.
Hail it!
Who dares to drag
Or trail it?
Give it hurrahs,—
Three for the stars
Three for the bars.
Uncover your head to it!
The soldiers who tread to it.
Shout at sight of it,
The justice and right of it,
The unsullied white of it,
The blue and the red of it,
And Tyranny’s dread of it!
Here comes The Flag!
Cheer it!
Valley and crag
Shall hear it.
Fathers shall bless it,
Children caress it.
All shall maintain it,
No one shall stain it.

Cheers for the sailors that fought on the wave for it,
Cheers for the soldiers that always were brave for it,
Tears for the men that went down to the grave for it.
Here comes The Flag.”

Then Thomas Jefferson planted it over the Louisiana tract, over those rich acres which sweep from the

Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the lakes, and the march of the flag went on. Diplomatic negotiations hoisted it over the territory out of which Washington and Oregon, Montana and Idaho were carved, and the march of the flag went on. Andrew Jackson hurled down the Spanish flag from the tract of land that shut us out from the Gulf, and the march of the flag went on. James Monroe floated the Stars and Stripes over the domain of Florida, and the march of the flag went on. Texas came into the Union, the war with Mexico was fought and our flag swept over the southwest, over sunny California, past the Golden Gate and on to Oregon on the north until from ocean to ocean its folds of glory blazed. And there it blazes in the sky as our pillar of cloud by day and our pillar of fire by night; there it blazes as a symbol of Our Country:

“ Our Country! whose eagle exults as he flies
In the splendor of noonday broad-breasting the skies,
That from ocean to ocean the Land overblown
By the winds and the shadows is Liberty's own —
We hail thee! we crown thee! To east and to west
God keep thee the purest, the noblest, the best,
While all thy domain with a people He fills
As free as thy winds and as firm as thy hills!

Our Country! bright region of plenty and peace,
Where the homeless find refuge, the burdened release,
Where Manhood is king, and the stars as they roll
Whisper courage and hope to the lowliest soul —
We hail thee! we crown thee! To east and to west
God keep thee the purest, the noblest, the best,
While all thy domain with a people He fills
As free as thy winds, and as firm as thy hills!

Our Country! whose story the angels record —
Fair dawn of that glorious day of the Lord
When men shall be brothers, and love, like the sun,
Illumine the earth till the nations are one —
We hail thee! we crown thee! To east and to west
God keep thee the purest, the noblest, the best,
While all thy domain with a people He fills
As free as thy winds and as firm as thy hills!”

There it blazes and there will it blaze for aye and a day and there its flutterings tonight give resonance to the echoes of "Charity, Justice, Brotherly Love and Fidelity," which silently peal forth from this Elk's liberty floral bell of violets and lilies and roses. And to me the silent peals from this floral bell seem to repeat the beautiful words of our ritual: "Plant roses and the red of the flag will quicken into life with the breath and blush of returning June. Plant lilies and the white of the flag will reappear with the constancy of sunshine in June. Plant violets and the blue will come again with the vow of supernal remembrance."

To me the silent peals of this floral bell seem to say that the red of our flag symbolizes all the courage and self-sacrifice and open-veined manhood which can flow in wide red streams from the gaping wounds of patriot and hero. To me the silent peals of this bell seem to say that the white of our flag, as white as an angel's wing, stands for truthfulness and righteousness, purity and peace. To me the silent peals of this floral bell seem to say that the star-studded corner of blue in our flag like heaven's dome of blue, with its mysterious deathless stars lighting the night with cheerful fires, gives us something to live for, something to hope for, something to die for. To me the silent peals of this floral bell seem to say that with the blending of nature the red of the sinking sun, the white of the rising moon, the blue of the ocean and the blue of heaven commingle in our flag. To me the silent peals of this Elks' liberty bell seem to say that on whatever people the sun rises and sets, on whatever coast the deep blue ocean beats, over whatever people the firmament bends, the Stars and Stripes will shed an influence to magnify the manhood of man and glorify the Godhood of God.

Like every other Elk who holds his country above all other things and regards the banner of liberty floating under Freedom's skies as the most beautiful emblem on which the sun may shine, I feel that the great order of Elks achieves its highest purpose, its most inspiring expression of brotherhood in the devotion to land and flag which is the foundation stone upon which the Temple of Elkdom rests. And on this day, when the Elks of America meet to pledge their allegiance to the flag of their country, they can find no fairer tribute to the Stars and Stripes than the inspiring words of the ritual of our order,

“ There is no such red in budding rose; in falling leaf, or sparkling wine;

No such white in April blossoms, in crescent moon, or mountain snow;

No such blue in woman's eye, in ocean's depth, or heaven's dome;
No such pageantry of clustering stars or streaming light in all the splendors of the sea and sky.”

THOMAS McDONOUGH AND THE AMERICAN NAVY

Speech Delivered at the Celebration of the Battle of Lake Champlain at Plattsburg, N. Y., September 11, 1914

Over the chasm of a hundred years the echoes of musketry and cannon come to our ears today. Through the shadows of a century the “ long toms ” and the “ twenty-four pounders ” that once thundered on these tranquil waters speak to us who come to celebrate their prowess. But a century has translated their ancient threat to a present promise. It has softened their accents from a martial challenge to a peaceful salute.

The alchemy of time has transmuted a feud into a friendship, hostility into hospitality, animosity into admiration.

We celebrate the battle of Lake Champlain today not to resurrect old hatreds, but to signalize new hopes. We turn to the past because we appreciate the present. We speak of battle because we cherish peace.

One hundred years ago today the future of a nation was decided off yonder point. One hundred years ago today a man with red hair and red blood placed himself among America's immortals by winning a victory which assured for the second time American independence.

Today we pay tribute to Thomas McDonough and the men who fought beside him, for fighting a great fight in a great cause.

It is related that during the battle a shot from one of the British ships shattered a packing case and liberated a rooster which flew upon one of the guns on McDonough's flagship and crowed a lusty defiance at the enemy.

Today the American eagle looks with pride upon that rooster's exploit but it has no disposition to emulate its achievement. Today is more than the anniversary of a battle, it is the crowning point of a century of peace.

America rejoices in the stainless record of a century. It rejoices that it has been permitted to develop a continent without the molestation of unfriendly arms. It rejoices that it has been able to stand out in the sunlight as the friend of all the world and has not sullied its glorious standard with wars of conquest and oppression.

Through a combination of fortunate circumstances America has been able to hold aloof from the jealousy and bitterness which at this moment is finding vent across the ocean in the most terrible war in the history of the world.

We have been spared the stern necessity of depleting the nation's treasury to maintain vast armaments and mighty armies. We have not taught the youth of America that their first duty to the State is to learn how to kill. We have concentrated our national energies on the arts of peace and we have left to a select few the mastery of the science of war.

It seems to me that the battle which we celebrate today is a striking illustration of a fact which must impress every American who reflects upon the future of America. Here the war of 1812 was decided in favor of American arms. Here the untrained farmers who rallied at the call of General Macomb successfully resisted a superior force of British troops fresh from victories over Napoleon.

But the victory which was won on this spot by American volunteers would have been impossible had it not been for the greater victory which the American fleet so gloriously won under McDonough. Had McDonough's flotilla been destroyed, the British ships could have swept down Lake Champlain, cut the American troops from their base of supplies, and enabled the British to split in half the American resistance. The naval authorities who call McDonough's victory the most important battle in which the American navy ever participated, speak with full knowledge of the facts and the event.

One hundred years ago the American nation was saved by the prowess of its ships of war. And today America's navy is as vital a factor in the present and future of America as it was when the valor and naval genius of Thomas McDonough sent his name into history as the hero of Lake Champlain.

Universal peace is the dream of every man who believes in human brotherhood and the progress of man-

kind. But the winds that now sweep over the ocean bring tidings that drive home the fact that it is only a dream.

Universal peace is a milestone on the road to the millennium — but it is a milestone seen only through the shadowy mists of a distant future. Until this dream comes true, until this milestone is reached, every nation that values its existence as a nation must safeguard itself against the crisis beyond its power to control.

To provide adequately against what may come, America must either maintain an army able to meet and resist any possible invasion, or it must create a navy large enough, strong enough and powerful enough to prevent any invader from setting foot upon its shores.

America must either maintain a great army ready for war at a moment's notice or develop a navy great enough to give its citizens time to assemble and drill a volunteer army. Between these alternatives America can make but one choice.

In the first place, the temper of its people is unalterably opposed to a large standing army. In the second place, the sacrifices which must be made to organize and maintain a large army can only be excused by absolute necessity. America does not desire to condemn its young manhood to compulsory military service; it does not look kindly upon any plan which withdraws the youth of the country from productive occupations. Though a hundred grim battlefields such as the one on which we stand bear witness to the fact that America is a fighting nation worthy of any foe, it has never been, and pray God it never will be, a military nation.

It is upon the sea that America must create the permanent bulwarks about its civilization. It must build

and maintain a navy able to resist the fleets of any foe. It must build about its shores a floating rampart of steel able to withstand whatever shock it may be called upon to meet.

With such bulwarks America may devote its manhood to the useful arts of peace. With such ramparts its fertile farms and thriving cities may be devoted to progress and prosperity and its citizens may know a security which aggression cannot threaten and which world wars cannot shake.

An adequate navy is the simplest form of national life insurance. Unlike large armies, large navies do not lead to aggression. In creating an adequate protection upon the sea for America we will not place in our own hands an invitation to injustice or overweening ambition. But with all the wealth, all the opportunity, all the resources that are ours, we can well afford to create a navy which is becoming our place among the nations of the world.

From Paul Jones to Dewey, from McDonough to Farragut, American sailors have gone upon the sea with fleets unworthy of a first class power. Today our navy, though it yields to none in the efficiency and bravery of its units, must be strengthened if it would rank among the great navies of the world. The time has come in our celebration of American sailors who have triumphed over odds to profit by the unpreparedness of the past and to give to the American sailors of the future a chance to fight upon equal terms with any foe. We are strong enough to do this, we are rich enough to do it, and the only thing that can prevent us from doing it will be a willful disregard of the fact that we have a hemisphere to defend and nothing adequate with which to defend it.

While we glory in the achievements of McDonough, in gaining a victory over a superior force, we should

resolve that the McDonoughs of the future will not be handicapped by national stupidity or provincial selfishness.

If our need of fighting ships is great, doubly great is our need of ships of peace. At this moment when our commerce is deprived of the services of a foreign merchant marine we realize to the full the lack of American ships. We realize as never before the humiliating fact that so far as its merchantmen are concerned the American flag has been crowded from the seas. We have permitted our merchant marine to disappear and with millions of dollars' worth of marketable products ready to sell, with foreign markets crying for these products as never before, we are compelled to confess our utter inability to ship our own goods in our own ships.

With unseeing eyes we have created a situation which it was in our power to prevent and which we are now unable to alter. We are learning, to our loss, the necessity for American ships for American goods. We are discovering that a great commercial nation cannot safely entrust its cargoes to foreign flags and that a great exporting nation cannot wisely depend upon other countries to transport its cargoes.

It is distressing that we should have waited for a world-wide calamity to teach us what we should have foreseen. It is humiliating that a nation which prides itself upon its progressiveness should have waited for stern realities to teach it a lesson in elementary commerce. But it would be more distressing and more humiliating if America permitted this experience and this lesson to pass without profiting by both.

There are signs that America is to be spared this final humiliation. There are indications that America is at last awake to the necessity for creating a mer-

chant marine of its own at the earliest possible moment. And if out of the present crisis America develops a sturdy and vigorous merchant marine, the inconvenience and loss which it is suffering at the present moment will be largely compensated.

These, it seems to me, are the thoughts which should fill the minds of the Americans who gather here today to do honor to Thomas McDonough. Just as he labored a hundred years ago to transform a Vermont forest into an American flotilla, so we of today should labor to create a navy and a merchant marine worthy of the wealth, resources and hopes of America.

Just as McDonough gave of his youth, his strength, his skill and his energy to create an American navy upon the waters of Lake Champlain, so we of the present should stand ready to utilize the best that is in us for the creation of an American navy sufficient to stand guard over the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

And just as Thomas McDonough stood to his guns against a superior force, that the American flag might fly in triumph from Cumberland Head to Ticonderoga, so we who meet today to pay tribute to his daring must stand to our guns that Old Glory may claim its rightful place once more upon the waters of the earth.

AMERICA'S DUTY TO DESOLATED EUROPE

**Speech Delivered at the Peace Conference held in the
69th Regiment Armory, New York City, September
20, 1914**

Centuries of human progress have imposed an obligation upon the people of America, and, in the name of human progress, America rises to meet that obligation.

The framework of civilization upon which the American commonwealth has been built is being torn apart by the most terrible war in the history of the world, and in the name of civilization America pleads for peace.

As the only world power which has not been drawn into the European struggle, America must think and plan not for itself alone, but for the world. That is the all-compelling motive which has brought us here tonight at the invitation of William Randolph Hearst, who is responsible for this magnificent gathering in behalf of world-wide peace.

If we, who are gathered here tonight, were met to save the art and science of a single city, we would be assembled in a cause worthy of our greatest efforts.

If we were here to restore the abandoned commerce and industry of a single village we would have a purpose deserving our sincerest energies.

If we were here to save the life of a single boy with all the hope and promise and possibilities of youth, or to restore to a stricken family a father, a husband or brother, we would be engaged in a task that should command our noblest endeavors.

What, therefore, must be the measure of our emotion when we reflect that what we are striving for is the preservation not of a single village, but of a mighty continent; not of a single youth, but of all the youth of Europe; not of a single soldier, but of tremendous armies; not of a single people, but of civilization itself.

There is no nobler mission to which a nation may dedicate its energies than the abandonment of war. There could be no finer expression of the high purpose and broad humanity of America than is found in its present endeavor to restore to the nations of Europe the blessings of peace. And in urging the war-torn

nations to lay aside their engines of destruction, America gives new meaning to its belief in human progress and the essential brotherhood of man.

The importance and the nobility of the task to which neutral America now turns with eager hand and hopeful mind demands that it be approached with a clear vision of Europe's necessities and a prudent recognition of neutral America's limitations.

We must remember that our national sympathy is with neither side in the present struggle, but with both sides; that our friendship is for neither alliance, but for both alliances; that our friendly assistance is proffered not to one nation, but to every nation now distracted and disrupted by the grim menace of war.

In our appeal for European peace we must obliterate geographical boundaries and forget political divisions. We must disregard the fact that battles are being fought under the French flag or under the banner of Germany, and remember only that those engaged in battle are fellow beings, exposed to all the horrors and all the miseries of war.

We must not ask whether the homes that mourn for loved ones lost are on the Thames, the Danube or the Volga, we must only resolve that if our efforts can compass it the tears of women and little children shall not mingle with the bloody torrents from Europe's battlefields.

We must remember that of its very nature peace cannot be commanded. It must be entreated. It must be entreated in the name of justice and supplicated in the name of charity. It must be sought for the honor of civilization, which is the source of national honor, and petitioned through a pride of human progress which is greater than the pride of martial success.

With broad understanding, with ready sympathy, with a mind alive to the difficulty of halting a world

war, and a heart that feels for Europe's woe, America stretches its hands across the ocean to appeal for peace in the name of humanity.

It voices the dumb appeal of the dead and the anguished appeal of the dying.

It voices the tears of distant mothers mourning for their sons, and the sobs of little children who will never feel a father's kiss again.

It voices the protest of the fertile land that misses the friendly hand of the harvester, and of the waving wheat fields whose reddened stalks bear witness to a storm more terrible than angry Nature ever knew.

It voices the appeal of science that man's knowledge be no longer turned to his own destruction, and the appeal of art that its glorious achievements be not desecrated.

It voices the appeal of the suffering millions now affected by Europe's war, and the appeal of posterity pleading that the clock of progress be not set back a hundred years.

Until the present destruction becomes more destructive, until the present desolation becomes more desolate, none of the belligerent nations will sue for peace. National pride, national honor, devotion to flag and country — these constitute a barrier over which peace must pass before a single one of the warring nations will call a truce to bloodshed.

America's obligation, America's responsibility, America's opportunity lies in the fact that where none of the belligerents will humble themselves to ask quarter, America must sue for peace in the name of all.

The friend of every nation, it can prove its friendship in no better way than by making the path to honorable peace easy for Europe's weary feet. The product of European civilization, it can repay its debt

by searching out the means for Europe's civilization to assert itself once more.

In fairness, in justice, in impartial friendliness, the land which claimed Lafayette's sword can plead the cause of France. The nation for whose integrity Carl Schurz fought can be trusted to respect the honor and the interests of Germany. The country which owes its existence to the courage and genius of George Washington is not likely to forget its duty to protect the rights of England.

In the veins of America flows the blood of every belligerent nation. To discriminate against any nation it must discriminate against itself. And, without passing judgment upon the responsibility for, or the results of the present conflict, America may call upon the nations of Europe to lay aside the sword and place their difficulties in its impartial hands.

Our presence here tonight indicates at least that we are agreed upon America's duty. That duty is to use its peaceful influence to halt the European struggle. What we must consider, therefore, is the wisest and best means of discharging that duty and from common counsel evolve the procedure best becoming our neutrality and best calculated to achieve the desired end.

We can express our horror at the war, the horrors of which we have fortunately escaped. We can set ourselves to discover whether there is not a solution of the conflict agreeable to the pride and well-considered purpose of each belligerent. And we will not have discharged our duty until we have made it certain that the moment peace is possible, it shall not be delayed a single hour through any misunderstanding or misapprehension which our friendly offices can dispel.

I have never felt greater pride in my country than that which I have known during the past month as I

realized that America was rising above self and thought of self at the call of humanity.

I have rejoiced in the knowledge that our happiness over our own tranquillity was forgotten in our grief over the misfortunes of our sister nations.

I have gloried in America's readiness to ignore its own aggrandizement while it bent its energies to the preservation of an endangered civilization. And as an American citizen, I am proud of the great American who is directing the destiny of America at this time. True to the noblest traditions of the great office he occupies, the President of the United States is maintaining the neutrality of America with calmness, sincerity and wisdom.

It would seem that just as a gracious Providence gave an Abraham Lincoln to this nation to preserve its domestic integrity, so, to preserve the integrity of America's foreign relations, it has now raised up a Woodrow Wilson.

Whatever we say here, whatever we do here, must be said and done with a cordial recognition that America has but one representative in the present crisis. And that representative is its Chief Executive. We may give expression to our personal desire for European peace, but any and all expression of the nation's sentiment must come from the clear-visioned, clear-tongued statesman in the White House. We have but one aim tonight — to give substantial proof of the quick sympathy which moves the people of America.

We have but one duty — to uphold the hands of America's President. We can do no less. We must do no more.

What America can do to restore the peace of Europe will be done. Though the fires of progress are flickering faintly across the Atlantic, they leap to high Heaven upon the shores of free America. Though

darkness sits upon the world and souls cry out in anguish and in gloom, a beam of light leaps across the ocean to bring those that are stumbling toward the abyss back to the radiance of the sunlight. Though for a little time reason, charity and faith have fled from Europe's portals, the hour is at hand when our brothers across the sea will halt amid the battle's carnage and restore reason to its throne.

Though those who scaled the heights with us seem to have recalled the savagery and hate which we left in the valley below—America, in the name of the twentieth century, bids them remember where they are.

Two thousand years ago the Prince of Peace brought to humanity the gospel of charity and love. The world forsook the Moloch of Carthage for the Christ of Bethlehem. And for two thousand years the world has gone forward and upward, honoring Him who said "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also."

America cries out tonight against the Moloch of modern war which is claiming its awful toll of human sacrifice. And in the name of Christ who called the peacemaker blessed, it dedicates its intelligence to the task of destroying the Moloch which is feeding upon the blood, the progress and the hope of desolated Europe.

GOVERNOR DIX

**On the Occasion of the Presentation of the Portrait of
ex-Governor John A. Dix, to the State of New York,
in the Executive Chamber, October 6, 1914**

HON. WILLIAM CHURCH OSBORN:

Governor Glynn, a group of gentlemen associated with Governor Dix desires to present to the State of New York, the portrait of Governor John A. Dix, which you now see before you. Those of

us like Mr. Mason, Mr. Katz and Mr. Huppuch, who were with the taking over of the government of the State of New York in the year 1910 by ex-Governor Dix, can alone realize the difficulties with which he was confronted.

The State of New York had for a period of sixteen years been in the possession of the Republican party. The offices were filled with our political opponents, the organization of the State was in their hands, and the Democratic administration under the leadership of Governor Dix faced a complete reorganization of the Executive Departments, the election of a United States Senator and the meeting of financial difficulties of a most serious character which were an inheritance from our predecessors.

Then those, Governor Glynn and fellow Democrats, who were here and who saw Governor Dix from day to day can realize the vast burdens which fell upon his shoulders, and only those who saw him as the hours went by in the most intimate and close contact, can realize the unfailing sincerity, the unbounded devotion to the State, and the unaltering personal courtesy and kindness which characterized his dealings with each and every one who met him.

When the history of the State of New York comes to be written, the Senatorial contest of 1910 will be one of its most serious and interesting features; when the history of the State of New York shall be written, the changing from a Republican government to a Democratic government is going to be one of the most marked features of that history; and when the record of John A. Dix shall be written into history it will be realized that he met with gentleness, but with firmness, with sweetness, but with force, every one of the problems that were presented to him. But I think that apart from the consolation of history, Governor Dix has that which is of more worth to a man of sincerity and of truth, than any written page can be, and that is the consolation of feeling that his governorship left him with an immense number of warm personal friends, of men who liked, and men who loved John A. Dix; and it is in the name of such men, Your Excellency, that we present to you here today the portrait of your predecessor in office, John A. Dix.

Governor Glynn responded to the remarks of Mr. Osborn as follows:

MR. OSBORN AND GENTLEMEN.—It gives me peculiar pleasure to accept this portrait—pleasure from an

official side, and pleasure from a personal side. As a Democrat interested in Democratic affairs, and as an editor, editing a paper in this town, it has been my duty to watch Chief Executives at work for the last twenty years. I heartily concur in all you say about the official career of John A. Dix as Governor of this State. A personal element, too, touches me as this touches you. I have known Mr. Dix personally for twenty years. I know his geniality, his courtesy, and his kindness of heart. I know that John A. Dix has always been true to the thought of Edmund Burke, that "politeness is the cushion that makes living easy." I know, too, that we all write our own history in this world. Everything writes its own history. The sun writes its own impression on the clouds. The river cuts its channel through the land. The trickling water carves its statue in the sand and the fern writes its epitaph in the cold bed of the stone. And so each and every one of us in our every day life here in public or private offices write our names and our memories on the red-leaved tablets of our fellows around us.

John A. Dix has written his name large not only in the political affairs of New York State, but on the red-leaved tablets of his fellow human beings. I agree with you that the latter is more important than the former; and for these reasons I accept with great pleasure on behalf of the State, this portrait, not only in my official capacity, but as a friend of a man who in the parlance of the street, "made good," in the greatest office of New York State.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Speech Delivered Before the Public Health Conference in Saratoga Springs, September 15, 1914

There is hardly a body of men in the world that I dread more to address than a body of physicians. Newspaper men, lawyers and artists, their perceptive powers are on the surface; but every time I face an audience of physicians I think that I am facing an X-ray machine in the head of every man in front of me. I have the feeling that physicians can look through a man and see his heart, and his head and his intentions.

I know you are all here for business and serious business, but I am wondering how many of you have read John G. Saxe's poem on "What They Do At Saratoga." Well, you are physicians, and I suppose you do not need advice from me not to do what the people did do in Saxe's poem at Saratoga.

In 1776 Thomas Jefferson said that all men were created equal, and that all men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Since 1776 New York and the Nation have taken magnificent care of the propositions of liberty. I am not quite so sure, however, that either the Nation or New York State has taken the care it should of the people's lives and of the people's happiness. With happiness we make synonymous the word "health," but for whatever deficiency New York has been guilty in the past, it is trying to make amends now by enacting, in my opinion, the best code of health laws under the sun. New York has a happy way of contributing largely to the happiness and to the welfare of the Nation. Do you realize, that this great old State of ours contributes more

apples to the Nation than all the rest of the United States beyond the Missouri River? Do you realize that one county in this State produces more grapes than any State in the Nation except one? And that we produce more hops than any other State but one? So don't you see that with the apples, the grapes and the hops we contribute greatly to the happiness and the exhilaration of the Nation? We give the grapes to those who want grape juice or champagne; the apples to those who want a little hard cider; and the hops are for those who want to take their bread in liquid form instead of from the oven.

But we do not stop there. Under the spurring and the watching and the urging of George Foster Peabody we are spending \$1,500,000 for those people who want to use water, externally and internally, and I believe that in spending that \$1,500,000 on Saratoga Springs we are doing a great thing for the health and the happiness not only of the State, but of the Nation. Last winter an expert spent some time here at Saratoga — one of the greatest experts on mineral springs in Europe. Mr. Peabody, to accelerate another appropriation from the State Treasury, brought this distinguished physician to the Executive Mansion, and he assured me that the waters of Saratoga were more remarkable than those of Carlsbad or any of the springs in Europe.

The influence of the State government upon the life of the individual citizen and the consequent responsibility and opportunity of its public officials becomes every year more and more far-reaching. Politics is no game played according to artificial rules, with offices for prizes and without bearing upon the practical affairs of men. It is a field for the highest and broadest public service, fraught with rich possibilities for the happiness and welfare of the individual citizen.

The 15,000 schoolhouses which dot the plains and hillsides of our State are forming the viewpoint of our future citizens, and the foundation they are laying will determine whether our nation shall go forward steadfastly on its pathway of civilization, solving the problems of social adjustment and avoiding the horrors of unnecessary war. There is not a child in one of those schoolhouses who will not be a finer man or woman because John H. Finley has been made President of the University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education. The new Labor Law, which reorganized the Department of Labor and created an Industrial Board with power to frame specific regulations safeguarding the lives of factory workers, and the Workmen's Compensation Act more recently placed upon the statute book vitally affect every worker in the great industrial enterprises of our State.

There is no activity of the State government, however, which is fraught with richer possibilities of good to the individual citizen, no activity which has been nearer to my heart since I have been Governor of this State, than the interest which gathers you all together here tonight — the protection of the public health.

Public health is a vague and general term, and the statistics which to you measure its importance, scarcely catch the attention of the ordinary man. Twenty-five thousand babies under one year of age died in this State last year, and you tell us that at least forty per cent of this slaughter of the innocents was needless. Think of it — twenty-five thousand homes, a whole city the size of Albany — and each home desolated by the sorrow of a little baby's death.

Typhoid and scarlet fever and diphtheria and measles take their toll by the hundreds, tuberculosis

by the thousands. Sometimes as I pass through the beautiful Mohawk valley or down the rugged banks of the Hudson I look from the car windows at the villages and farm houses as they flash by and I wonder where the Angel of Death will next unsheath his flaming sword.

Remember that I am speaking now not of the common lot of man, old age and the slow flickering of the vital flame, but of the premature deaths, the needless deaths due to the neglect of hygienic precautions, and the spread of communicable disease. A large part of the death rate from the diseases of childhood, from tuberculosis, from typhoid fever, from scarlet fever, measles and diphtheria and the like could be prevented by the application of the simple and definite knowledge which you possess. We are not dealing with intangible, statistical units, but with men and women and children, tens of thousands of them, who are alive and well today and who will be dead within a year if you soldiers of the public health cannot reach their sides to save them.

As the Governor of this State and as a member of the party which has controlled its government for the last two years, there is no single thing in which I take more pride than the steps we have taken to forward this splendid war against disease.

The new Public Health Law enacted in 1913 is universally recognized as marking an epoch in health administration in the United States. States like Massachusetts, which have long boasted of leadership, recognize its superiority and hasten to abandon their own systems to copy its provisions. The two outstanding problems of State health administration have been the difficulty of securing effective but flexible legislation and the difficulty of adjusting local and State respon-

sibility in administration; and both these problems we feel that we have solved.

The details of public health legislation are far too technical to be worked out in a legislative committee room or in a city council chamber, and yet they are too important to be left to any single administrative head, however capable. Our law, therefore, provides for a Public Health Council of seven members — upon which it has been possible to secure the services of some of the most eminent experts in the United States — who are charged with no administrative duties but with the formulation of a sanitary code to carry out in detail the general provisions of the Public Health Law. The first chapters of this code are already in your hands and before long the entire State will for the first time be under the beneficent operation of a uniform and complete and scientific sanitary code.

The other special feature of the new Health Law is its admirable adjustment of the relations between local and State sanitary authorities. It leaves the local responsibility for local health conditions unimpaired and requires a decent remuneration for the local health officers whose devoted services have never before received a fraction of the recompense which they deserved. At the same time, by the establishment of a corps of sanitary supervisors, it supplies the local officer with the scientific knowledge and the moral backing of the State.

Wise laws make progress possible, but they will not carry us far without the right men to enforce them. I count it as one of the most notable achievements of my administration that I have been able to place the new machinery of the reorganized State Health Department in the hands of the one man in the United States most capable of handling it with power and

effectiveness. Dr. Hermann M. Biggs is the man who made the New York city health department one of the finest municipal departments in the world, and at great personal sacrifice he has been persuaded to bring his sound wisdom and ripe experience to the service of the State.

Dr. Biggs has succeeded in surrounding himself with a group of associates such as have perhaps never been gathered together before for a similar task, men who like him are sacrificing more lucrative opportunities, or who are giving up positions with the government at Washington or university careers of long standing — all of them inspired by the possibilities of public service, which are offered by the health situation in our State.

Already the work of this Department has begun with encouraging success. The infant welfare campaign which was organized last spring has stirred the State from one end to the other, and when the statistics for the year are made up, to judge by the preliminary returns, we should be able to show a saving of child life worth ten times the cost of the whole health organization of the State.

I am pleased, as an old newspaper man, to see that the Health Department and the school and the public press are standing side by side in this good fight. The Monthly Bulletin of the State Department of Health has been, as you know, popularized, and is sent to every school principal in the State, while a weekly health news service is maintained in over 400 daily or weekly newspapers and over a million and a half of people are supplied directly with the sanitary knowledge which they need.

Another important result of public health activity has not escaped my attention. I refer to its economic

value to the State. The cost of epidemics far exceeds the cost of their prevention, and appropriations to be effective should be sufficient to furnish the proper authorities with the machinery to enforce such measures as will prevent them. A few concrete examples that I have in mind will illustrate my meaning.

The United States government has expended nearly \$2,000,000 a year on the health of 60,000 workers in the canal zone, realizing that without such expenditure the loss of life would be proportionately as high as in the French occupation and the canal might not be built within the expected time, if ever; and in the accomplishment of such a stupendous engineering task time is money.

Who believes that the annual expenditure of over \$30 a year per capita would be justifiable in communities such as we have in this great State? But is it not possible to save not only money but human lives by the judicious expenditure of larger appropriations than are now awarded by municipal and other governments, and do not the results of the expenditure in New York city with its steadily diminishing death rate, justify its seventy cents per capita appropriation for its health department, and is this not true economy?

In 1911, at the port of New York, 23,000 examinations were made, with the result that in twenty-eight persons cholera germs were found. A large amount of expensive work for the detection of one case of cholera in a thousand persons arriving from suspected ports—but cholera was kept out of the United States. Perhaps an expensive method, but far less expensive than the cost of a widespread epidemic, and again I say, this is true economy. A severe epidemic of typhoid fever at Ithaca a number of years ago, caused by an infected water supply, is said to have cost the citizens

of Ithaca, at a conservative estimate, over a million dollars in money in active expenses and loss of trade, and a filtration plant costs less than \$50,000 to build for a city of that size and only several thousand a year to operate. More recently an epidemic of smallpox at Niagara Falls cost that city \$40,000 for quarantine officers and other assistance in controlling the epidemic and a loss to its citizens of hundreds of thousands of dollars in trade; while vaccination costs so little for the saving it confers.

I have spoken of economic value and of the economy in a wise expenditure of the public funds for the preservation of the health and lives of its citizens. Do not for a moment think that I do not place the value of human life far above any money consideration, the pain of sickness, the suffering of the afflicted, the anxiety and torture of the bereaved ones, which cannot lightly be counted. But I repeat that the prevention of suffering and sickness may to a larger degree be obtained by larger appropriations, always realizing that such appropriations must be wisely spent and spent where needed.

In order to obtain the full benefits of the Public Health Law the standards of medical work must not only be maintained but ever put upon a higher plane of efficiency. We need not only a splendid corps of health officers such as you are, but we also need a steadily increasing state of efficiency amongst the rank and file of the medical profession who are on the firing line in the battle against disease.

Not without some feelings of alarm have I viewed recent attempts to break down the present standard of medical education, and during the last regular session of the Législature very strong pressure was brought to bear by those who are attempting to make the quali-

fications for practicing medicine so easy that almost any one who desires to be a physician need only state that he is a healer without drugs. Such attempts at lowering our medical standard are in my opinion entirely subversive of our modern ideas of medical science — I refer specifically to two bills which passed the Legislature last year. One of them would allow osteopaths to issue death certificates everywhere in spite of local ordinances to the contrary. I vetoed this bill because those desiring to practice osteopathy were so few in number that it was evident that the high standard now set for those practising osteopathy was deterring many from entering that cult. In November, 1907, osteopaths were allowed by law to practice, and all who applied for a license to practice before November 13 of that year were allowed to waive an examination. Four hundred and thirteen osteopaths were admitted under this provision, but since that time only twenty-seven osteopaths have been granted a license to practice in this State. That is an average of about four a year.

I also vetoed the bill known as the “ Mental Healing Bill,” which would allow any person to practice medicine who administers to or treats the sick or suffering by mental or spiritual means without the use of any drug or material remedy. Although introduced by the members of the Christian Science Church and urged by them with great force, I fully realized at the time that this would allow any one to set himself up as a mental healer whether or not he was subject to any regularly constituted authority.

The standards must be elevated and not lowered or broken down, and I urge you to assist in maintaining and elevating the educational standards required for the practice of medicine.

In conclusion I would say that administrative action alone can achieve only limited results. Babies must be saved by the mothers who care for them; tuberculosis must be prevented by the man who works in the factory and pays rent in the tenement. If you can enlist the whole people under the banner of health the victory will be won. With such leaders as we have, and with such a band of officers as are gathered here today the task can be accomplished, and the burden of needless disease and death lifted from tens of thousands of our citizens. The State has given you its commission to do this work, and as its Governor I bid you Godspeed in your splendid task.

I speak thus feelingly for this reason: One of my warmest friends, the man who was closest to me, was the great Albany surgeon, Dr. Willis G. MacDonald. He was a big man physically and a big man mentally, the big man of the Albany Medical College. MacDonald and I lived together for ten years. We traveled this country over and went through Europe. And I learned to see the human side of a physician's life; I learned to see how much good a physician does among his fellow men. I remember one day when MacDonald lay sick on his bed and I was with him as the telephone rang. It was a call from a prominent physician in Springfield. He said, "We have a patient here, and Richardson of Boston has advised that you be called in. There is a fee of \$2,500, Doctor, if you will come to Springfield tomorrow and operate." MacDonald spoke a few minutes, asking questions about the physical condition of the patient. And his reply was: "I think an operation not immediately necessary; I am too sick to come." And the physician in Springfield repeated, "There is a fee of \$2,500 if you come and operate." And MacDonald said, "I am too sick to come." And then our telephone

rang again, and I answered the telephone for MacDonald. It was a call from Amsterdam, New York. It was from a young physician there, who said: "We have a poor woman here, a widow who supports herself and six children by taking in washing. Yesterday afternoon, while taking the clothes down the steps of her house, she slipped and fractured her skull. She is in bad condition and none of the physicians here can do anything for her. Can you come?" MacDonald suggested that they call in some other Albany physician. But all the other noted Albany surgeons were out of town. And the young physician said, "Unless you come by tomorrow noon the woman will die." And MacDonald, on his sick bed, said: "If I am well enough tomorrow morning I will take the six o'clock train to Amsterdam." And at five o'clock, sick as he was, MacDonald summoned Draper, his assistant, took the train to Amsterdam, operated on the woman, and saved her life. And he didn't get a single cent, not one single cent, and in fact paid his own expenses, after refusing to go to Springfield and operate for \$2,500.

That is the sort of action which has caused me to love and respect the medical profession. I have the greatest respect in the world for ministers and I respect the teacher — but I believe that man who carries highest, the man who carries best, the banner of humanity, the man who best writes himself down as one who loves his fellow men, is the physician more than the minister or the teacher or any other man.

This is the reason I believe in the preservation of high standards of medical education. If the Legislature of this State has one great responsibility it is to preserve the medical standard of the State, and my efforts will always be directed to that same end. But let me give you a little advice as a practical — I was

You have something to do yourselves. I do not want to scold or to chide you, but when I think how many physicians there are in this State, more than 15,000 of them, with all their influence and knowing the value of maintaining the medical standards of this State, and remember that you were sleeping and dormant while cults were forcing those bills through the Legislature, I feel that you almost deserve that such measures should have become laws. Those laws should not have been allowed to get to the Executive Chamber. It wasn't fair to the Governor to allow them to come and it wasn't fair to yourselves to allow them to come. I suppose you have a legislative committee. Well, if you have — make it bigger, busier and better, and protect yourselves.

Now, let me close with one word that does not concern medicine, but is an echo of what you stand for, you and every one who wishes to help his fellow man. It is an echo from Schiller, the great German poet:

“ There are three words that I would write,
Three words, with a golden pen,
In tracings of eternal light,
Upon the hearts of men.

“ Have Hope though clouds environ around,
And gladness hides her face in scorn,
Put thou the shadow from thy brow —
No night but hath its morn.

“ Have Faith, where'er thy bark is driven,
The clam's disport, the tempest's mirth —
Know this — God rules the hosts of heaven,
The inhabitants of earth.

“ Have Love. Not love alone for one,
But man as man, thy brother call,
And scatter, like the circling sun,
Thy charities on all.”

THACHER PARK

This park will serve as a monument to the memory of John Boyd Thacher. Here in future years will come people in search of recreation; students in quest of historical inspiration and geologists to study one of the oldest geological formations of the world. History, happiness and science all meet on this spot and pay tribute to the memory of the man in whose honor this park was presented to the State, and gratitude to the generosity of the lady who made this valued spot a State possession. The gift is appreciated all the more from the fact that John Boyd Thacher needed no memorial to perpetuate his name. He had written that large in the pages of our literature by his historical writings; he had carved that deep in the political annals of his time by the office he held and the honors he won from his fellowmen; he had written that in letters of love upon the hearts of all who labored with him in the vineyard of life. The sod, the trees, the shrubbery of this place were not needed to keep his memory green. Generous in life, the generous spirit of him in death still pervades his household. He loved to do for others and those who lived with him caught up this love and gave expression to it by the presentation of this park to the State. Again, on behalf of the people of the State, I thank Mrs. Thacher for this noble contribution to the riches of the State. This park stands as an inspiration to all who would do something worth while for the State and an inspiration for all who would be enrolled among those whom the State loves to honor and respect.

To the people of this county the name of John Boyd Thacher is a familiar one. They know of his good works. They remember his service in their behalf as State Senator from this district and as twice mayor of the city of Albany, the county seat. His contributions to historical literature stamped him as a man of great literary attainment and with a mind trained to historical research.

He was a Democrat, but not a politician, and could always be depended upon to do the right thing at the right time. As State Senator he served his constituents with great credit to himself and to them. No progressive piece of legislation was suggested without at once engaging his attention and support, and on the statute books of our State may be found many laws put there largely through his influence and energetic action. One of the proudest of his achievements was the introduction of a concurrent resolution calling upon Congress to pension General Grant, who was then dying from the ravages of cancer. The tenement-house dwellers in the city of New York have reason to be proud of him because of the reforms he secured in their behalf.

As mayor of the city of Albany he exhibited those traits of character which make the ideal executive. His administration was economical, energetic and progressive. During his first term the bicentennial of the city occurred, and it was due greatly to his energy and enthusiasm that it was a great success. One of the greatest achievements of his second term, perhaps, was the erection of the present Union station, which, it is claimed, was due largely to his personal solicitation and energetic action.

But to the world at large it is as the scholar, historian and litterateur that he is best known. His works

on history, literature and statesmanship are known throughout the literary world. Had he lived, one of the crowning events of his career would have been his history of the French Revolution, on which he was engaged when death stayed his hand. His friends hope that this great work will be completed by those who have access to the notes left behind him.

Personally he was a man of many lovable traits, charitable to a remarkable degree, sympathetic and honest, a liberal patron of the arts and a friend to the struggling members of that fraternity, and a citizen who was always patriotic, progressive and dependable. To the people of this community, in which Mr. Thacher spent his summers, no eulogy is needed from me. To know him was to love him, and you people knew him well. This beautiful gift to the State will always be a monument to his generosity and thoughtfulness, but deep down in your hearts the memory of his kindly countenance, the warm clasp of his hand, the many, many evidences of his personal generosity will serve as a memorial closer to the heart.

After this tribute to the donor of this park, let us say a word about its site. The Helderberg Mountains were the "Mountains of Light" to the early Dutch settlers. Living down on the lowlands near the river they could see the silhouette of the Helderberg terraces as they were lighted up by the setting sun.

The mountains have played no special figure in the history of settlement or civilization in New York, save for a few tragic happenings during the anti-rent wars, when the lease-holders were struggling against the patroon for the acquisition of a simple fee to their properties.

But the Helderbergs are a monument in the history of the earth and their rocks record a chapter in the building of the earth that is of surpassing interest.

More than that, standing as they do, the foothills of the Catskills, encircling the higher peaks with their broad platforms raised some hundreds of feet above the valley beneath, they command a panorama of scenery that is itself a monument of the works of nature.

Behind them rise the Catskills, rich in song and story and tradition, and far beneath them stretches out the great theatre of the broad Hudson and Mohawk valleys, the gateway which opened its portals to the discoverer and through which has ever since been the pathway of progress in American civilization from the east into the west. As far as the eye can reach they catch the vision of busy industry, broad and fertile plains, and all the evidences of human progress which has circled about the feet of these cliffs.

All this panorama which the eye catches from the summit of the cliffs in Thacher Park is a basin which not long ago, as time goes in geology, was filled by the fresh waters of a great lake. The Hudson River had been born before this, and so had the Mohawk, but their waters became dammed toward the south and here, for an age which no man has been able to estimate, these impounded waters backed up into this great lake, known as Lake Albany.

On a fine day—let the air be free of the summer haze—and from the picturesque cliffs, off at the north, one may catch the outlines of the nearer Adirondack peaks, and at the east the curving summits of the Taconic and the Green Mountains, and, still further toward the rising sun, the low, picturesque hills of the Berkshires. All of these are witnesses of immense mountain ranges, and of them it is true that they are but remnants of more majestic ranges now worn down to their very roots.

One cannot fail to wonder, standing on the top of these vertical cliffs of limestone, where the rest of these rocks have gone, what has become of the great masses of the mountains which must have been torn away by the forces of nature to leave these high, jagged and bare limestone strata projecting. Look as far as one may in the direction in which the horizontal rock-beds seem to go, the observer finds nothing like them, no counterpart of them, no relict of their other half, and the question naturally rises to the inquiring mind, Where has all the rest of this great deposit of rocks gone, and what powers have torn this mantle away from the little that remains?

The forces that have despoiled the Helderberg formations of their former extent have been those which produced the valleys now lying at their feet—the slow, persistent, never interrupted action of the rains and the streams working without cessation through the ages; but the remnant, the other half of these rocks, is to be found far, far away to the north, beyond the northern boundaries of the State, within the confines of the Dominion, and on still further away skirting even the regions of the North Pole.

All these rocks, lying not, as it would seem to the casual observer, horizontal, are the hardened deposits of the ancient seas. The imagination must go back to a time when the salt waters covering this region spread far away into Arctic latitudes, and in these waters, as in the seas of today, life of various sorts and kinds played out its little existence and, dying, left its remains behind in the muds of the sea-bottom. In the ocean of today the whole range of life is represented, from the lowest, almost, even to the highest, but in these ancient seas out of which were built the foundation of Thacher Park, there flourished only the simpler expressions of life.

Life had progressed but a little way toward its goal, and yet the ledges and rock layers in this picturesque place, the walls of the Indian Ladder, the profiles of the Helderberg slopes, are like the pages of a book — pages on which are written the story of past creations and the vital history of the aspiring earth.

One by one these various forms of life have been worked from their rock-beds, until today the whole array of the life of that time is known. Over the surface of the fields in Thacher Park a child may scoop up in his hands a hundred of these ancient medals of creation. Anywhere where the rock has been exposed to the long action of the weather, these ancient creatures come out as though only too glad to come back again and tell us their part in the story of the misty days at the dawn of the earth.

The State of New York has regarded it as one of its proper functions and has made it its business to exploit and expound all this array of buried life, and takes pride in the fact of having expended the money necessary to enable it to read aright this venerable chapter in its own history.

And so the Helderberg Mountains have become a classic ground in the science of geology. Not here alone and to the people of this locality are they known, but in every country, wherever the broad science of geology in any of its phases is pursued, the Helderberg formation and the fossil life that lies buried in it are known.

The Thacher Park, therefore, commemorates not only the victorious, age-long struggle of the earth, the growing continent, against the sea, but it also bears testimony of the wide repute, the fundamental value of the work that has been done by the State in solving the problems of its own geological history.

And beneath our feet, within the very substance of these rocks, lies a net of devious, entangling, mysterious caves and underground passages. About them are gathered weird stories of buried treasure, strange romantic tales of the gruesome deeds of pirate or smuggler. They are the underground waterways of this limestone plateau, a network down into which the waters themselves have dissolved their way.

The geologists of this State have worked their way amongst these passages from the Schoharie valley into the very heart of the Helderbergs and have shown that the whole plateau is undermined by this buried system of underground drainage—the slow work of the waters in dissolving a way within the rocks themselves where they could not find a way for themselves on the surface.

So much for the geological glory of the Helderbergs: Now a phase or two of their historical annals and I am through.

The funniest war in the history of America is named after these hills. Around them and about them were fought its bloodless battles. It is known as the War of the Helderbergs or Anti-Renters War—a war in which early farmer settlers disguised themselves as Indians to protect their crops and homes from the strong arm of the sheriff. Once in a while just to show they were not particularly weak, the settlers would kill a sheriff or two.

The Helderbergians, it seems, looked upon the payment of rent as an unnecessary evil. Every time the landlord thought that his property ought to bring him in a little revenue and proceeded to collect arrears in rent, he had to call out the veterans of the War of 1812.

Every time the militia departed from the Helderbergs the landlord's revenues automatically ceased.

When the ancient Helderbergian wanted new wall paper he was able to plaster his cabin with unpaid bills from his landlord.

Every time the first of the month arrived, the landlord went off in a corner and threw dice with himself to decide whether it was cheaper to call out the militia or lose his rent.

The hardy landlord who dared to present his bill in person was chased down Jacob's Ladder by the hardier Helderbergians, who in turn were chased back up the Ladder by the National Guard.

Finally, the matter drifted into politics, and one Governor had the temerity to throw half a hundred of these terrible tenants into jail. Whereupon his political opponent organized the Helderbergians on the glorious proposition that landlords ought to own property simply for their health, and was elected to the governorship.

When this Governor took office he promptly pardoned all the Helderbergians that his predecessor had jailed; probably on the theory that it was better to have individual landlords pay the rent of these tenants in the Helderbergs than have the State pay their rent in jail.

Washington Irving at his best and Mark Twain at his merriest would be needed to do justice to the features of the Helderberg War. Every time I read of the landlords conquering to-day and being conquered to-morrow, of the rioting farmers cowing the landlords one day and being cowed by the State militia the next, every time I read of the soldiers from Albany and Troy and Montgomery county climbing these steep hills only to find peace reigning, and then marching down them again and back to Albany only to learn of war renewed, I am reminded of the old jingle,

The King of France had forty thousand men
He marched them up the hill and marched them down again,
And when you're up you're up, and when you're down you're down,
And when you're only half way up, you're neither up nor down.

This war lasted on and off for seven years. No great contests were fought, but a lot of noise was made and considerable trouble caused, with an occasional fatality. This war of much noise and few bullets, of many skirmishes and few fatalities played a part in the political fortunes of Governor Seward; it probably defeated Silas Wright for re-election and made John Young his successor.

To-day Mrs. Thacher gives the State an unquestioned title to this piece of Helderberg land. Years ago this war was waged hereon because the tillers of the soil thought they had a legal title to the land when they did not, and the owners found they might as well not have had a legal title when they did. When the lands weren't worth anything the owners forgot they owned them and allowed the settlers to occupy them in peace and without rent. When the tillers made the land worth something, the owners remembered they owned them and the settlers realized it too. When the Rensselaer and Livingston Manors were divided into small farms the purchaser got a deed to his property, but instead of paying a fixed sum for the land he pledged a yearly rent to be paid in produce. Thus it happened that in time the rent became of little consequence on account of the non-productivity of the soil, and the landlord did not think it worth while to collect. When Stephen Van Rensselaer died in 1839, his heirs discovered that there were many years of back rent due. They began to take steps to collect it. So did the proprietor of Livingston Manor. Then trouble began — for the settlers refused to pay.

The landlords appealed to civil process. The tenants resisted. A band of Anti-Renters in disguise killed a man named Smith in Grafton, Rensselaer county. Investigation never disclosed the men guilty of the crime. In Albany county the resistance was general and persistent. In 1839 Governor Seward issued a proclamation against tumultuous assemblages and warlike acts, and the sheriff organized an army of five or six hundred people to enforce the Governor's proclamation. At Reedsville he was met by an armed body of fifteen hundred Anti-Renters. They stopped the sheriff and defied him to do his worst. The sheriff did nothing. Governor Seward then called together the military companies of Albany. These soldiers did not scare the Anti-Renters any more than the sheriff. Three companies of reinforcements were then ordered from Troy. Still the Anti-Renters presented a bold front. In my mind's eye I can now see some of their boisterous leaders rallying them with the exhortation,

Stand! The ground's you're own, my braves!
Will you give it up to slaves?

Then five hundred more soldiers were ordered from Montgomery county to help collect the rents in the Helderberg hills. This vast and glittering array of musketry temporarily cooled the resistive ardor of the Anti-Renters; the sheriff proceeded to serve processes and levy on property, and four days later the militia marched home in triumph and peace.

In 1840 Governor Seward sent a message to the Legislature urging a commission to adjust the grievances; the Legislature adopted his suggestions. The tenants accepted them, but the landlords refused them. The soldiers were no longer among the hills and trouble came again. The farmers disguised themselves once

more as Indians on the war path and the sheriff got a very warm reception wherever and whenever he put in an appearance. In Columbia county, Dr. Boughton disguised as Big Thunder, an Indian chief, shot and wounded a deputy sheriff and was sent to prison for doing it. In another county a deputy sheriff was murdered in broad daylight.

So raged the conflict until Silas Wright became Governor. He tried to settle the trouble by a message to the Legislature in 1845. He scored the natives for their Indian tactics and for their assault upon the lives and property of undefended citizens. He sympathized with the claims of the settlers, but insisted upon the preservation of order. He recommended the enactment of severe laws to punish agrarian outrages and his recommendations were enacted into law. But law could not settle the trouble. The farmers would pay only at the end of a bayonet. In despair Governor Wright ordered out the militia again and for three months the soldiers were up around the mountains. Over fifty persons were arrested, convicted and jailed; and two of them sentenced to death, but Governor Wright commuted their punishment to imprisonment for life.

Just about this time the farmers made up their minds to take their troubles into politics and they organized the party of the Anti-Renters. They numbered about five thousand and each political party was badly in need of about five thousand votes at this time. Governor Wright tried to meet this political movement by a counter political movement. He had suit brought before the courts to determine whether or not the proprietors of Livingston Manor had a right to collect rents. The courts decided that they did. It looked as if the farmers were beaten, but they were

not. Although worsted in the lawsuit the farmers were really victorious for public sentiment was with them and public sentiment compelled the proprietors to sell the land to the settlers on easy terms. Still the Helderbergians were not satisfied. They determined to make their troubles a campaign issue and Governor Wright and his friends again attempted to meet them by another counter political movement. The Legislature passed laws galore.

To cure the disturbance the Constitutional Convention of 1846 set limits to leases and abolished all feudal tenures. But all the cajoling of Silas Wright, all his diplomacy and persuasiveness, and all the legal enactments and Constitutional provisions of his political friends could not win over the Anti-Renters. They threw their support to John Young in the next gubernatorial election and Wright was defeated. Upon his accession to office, Governor Young issued a proclamation pronouncing the offenses political in their nature. He contended that since the excitement had passed away and the controversy itself had been closed, public policy would best be served by mercy. Thereupon he pardoned the fifty-four Anti-Renters in jail, including the two who had originally been sentenced to death, but afterwards commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Wright. For this Young was criticised from one end of the State to the other, and his act was branded as an election bargain with the Anti-Renters in return for their votes.

Insurrection soon broke out again. Even Governor Young with his profuseness of pardons could not appease the people of the Helderbergs who objected to paying rent. Finally he recommended that suits should be prosecuted by the State to test the validity of the title of the landowners. The suits waged long and

hard before the courts. In October, 1852, the Court of Appeals decided that no agreement could make good restraints on alienation of title held in fee and, therefore, that all reservations of quarter sales were illegal and void. This decision largely sustained the position of the farmers and for years ended the Anti-Rent movement as a martial organization to resist the laws. In the summer of 1866, however, fourteen years later, a battalion of soldiers had to be sent into Knox, Albany county, to suppress an Anti-Rent insurrection. Seventy or eighty rioters were scattered without violence and nine men were incarcerated. The next month an agent of the landowners was fired upon in the town of Berne. The agent escaped but his horse was killed. Four persons were arrested and tried for the assault and with this trial ended the famous Helderberg war, which for seven years disturbed the peace of these sleepy hills, turned its homes into armed camps, its barn lofts into sentry towers and caused each tiller of its soil to keep an outlook with one eye for a sheriff, while with the other eye he turned the plow and planted his seed.

From this day on, this spot with its geological glories and its historical annals is, thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Thacher, to be a park dedicated to the use and enjoyment of the people of the State for all time. May it forever be a shrine of peace, of plenty and of happiness! May it never again feel the tread of a soldier's foot or reverberate to the echoes of the barking dogs of war.

THE IDEAL CITIZEN

Speech at Chautauqua, September, 1914

I intend to talk about what does not exist: "The Ideal Citizen." I might as well talk about the sinless

man. Everyone is an ideal citizen in some respects, no one is an ideal citizen in all respects. "Man never is, but always to be blessed." So with ideal citizenship and ideal everything else. The ideal is progressive. Today's goal is tomorrow's starting point, else the world would soon stand still. Plato dreamed of Utopia, where men and conditions would be ideal, but Utopia is still a dream. Sir Thomas Moore believed in Utopia, wrote of Utopia, and died for Utopia; but Utopia is as far away now as it was then. Dean Swift wrote "Gulliver's Travels" to satirize the foibles of Human Nature, and human nature now is just about what it was when Dean Swift wrote. We have yet to reach the status of China, which has no policemen.

The ideal citizen, my friends, would be a saint. Now saints are nice to read of but hard to live with. They come few and far between in the history of the world, and maybe it is as well that they do. Too many saints around would make the majority of mortals take to the woods—too many really ideal citizens would make earth a paradise for angels, but a place designated by a less pleasant name for human beings. We are all part saint and part sinner, and I rather suspect we are all part ideal citizens and part something else.

It is good advice to hitch your wagon to a star; but citizenship belongs to the earth, not the heavens, and on earth the way to score a bull's eye is to aim at the center of the target. The center of the target of public duty is to be a "Good Citizen"—and let the "Saints" who come along in the course of time corner the crown and monopolize the glory of being "Ideal Citizens."

Good citizens we all can be, we all should be. He who is less is a cumbrance on the earth and a disgrace to the Human Family. The good citizen who is

great in his goodness becomes an ideal for us to pattern after. As such models Judea gave the world David, Egypt gave Menes, Greece gave Aristides, Rome gave Agricola, Carthage gave Hannibal, and America gave Washington. These men had great work at their hand and they did it.

Perhaps similar conditions would produce similar men in every age. But similar conditions are epochal. Ordinary conditions make up the annals of Humanity and the man who performs the ordinary duties of ordinary times in accordance with the laws of God and the traditions of men is a citizen both desirable and good.

A few years ago Theodore Roosevelt made the phrase "Undesirable Citizen" a household word. He also made some other phrases classic and some clubs famous with a notorious Biblical name, but with these we are not dealing tonight.

The avoidance of undesirable traits is the negative way, the performance of laudable deeds the positive way to be a good citizen.

Samuel Johnson once said "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." But then Dr. Sam, as Oliver Goldsmith called him, was troubled with dyspepsia and probably voiced this sentiment after one of his famous dinners with Garrick, Burke and Boswell.

Patriotism is not what Johnson satirizes. Patriotism is the perennial characteristic of every red-blooded man. Such a man thinks his own home, his own family, his own country, the best on earth. No roses grow as red as those in his garden, no fire-place burns as brightly as his, no shade trees cast such shadows as fall from the boughs around his home, no birds sing as sweet as the birds in the bushes on his land—these, my friends, are the sentiments of the

patriot. You may call this prejudice, but prejudice of the right kind is a virtue, not a cardinal sin. Prejudice of a high and desirable shape is back of friendship, back of love, back of family ties and human affections. Amidst snow and ice, volcano and desolation, the Iclander thinks his frost-bound country most lovable and beautiful. He is a good citizen — of Iceland. To their small, rough and stony island the Maltese have given the name "Flower of the World." Loyal to their mountains, the Norwegians have carved on their loftiest crags "Spirit, Loyalty, Valor, and whatever is honorable let the world learn among the rocks of Norway;" and the Ethiopian sings, "God made the sand and deserts of Africa — Angels made the rest of the world." This, my friends, is the spirit of good citizenship. It is the soul that inspires in the breast of every man in every land an echo of the refrain "My country 'tis of Thee." In the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" Walter Scott says that the man who has lost his national feeling has lost part of his being and made a funeral out of his soul. This feeling of citizenship, this prejudice of citizenship is an expression of gratitude for life, for sustenance, for brotherhood and material advancement.

Ralph Waldo Emerson gives the philosophical reason for it in his essay on Nature, when he writes: "The private poor man hath cities, ships, canals, bridges built for him. He goes to the post-office and the human race runs on his errands; to the book shop and the human race read and write of all that happens for him; to the courthouse and nations repair his wrongs. He sets his house upon the road and the human race go forth every morning and shovel out the snow and cut a path for him." In this language there is a mixture of the functions of protection and

direct service, yet in it resides a wonderful plea for patriotism.

Of this sentiment the Japanese have made more in a short time than any other nation on the earth. They have made their country a part of their religion—a religion that includes a reverence for the past and a devotion to the memory of the dead who have wrought well for the nation's life. Maybe the Japanese carry this too far. But are not we in danger of swinging to the opposite extreme by looking on our country as an unquestionable political authority, devoid of the instincts of paternity or the benevolences of fraternity? Patriotism is the essence of citizenship; patriotism is an elemental virtue. That's why the world salutes it wherever it sees it, whether in friend or in foe.

Caucasians honor Confucius, the Mongolian patriot. The Gentiles praise Judas Maccabeus, the Jewish patriot, white nations pay tribute to Toussaint L'Ouverture, the black patriot of San Domingo. Tenets of faith and color of skin may vary among men, but the blood of patriotism is always red and life answers life the world around.

Personally I hold it is the duty of every man with patriotic instincts to take an interest in public affairs. The man who knows what is right and does not do it is like the hearer of the word and not the doer of the deed in the Bible. "He is like unto a man beholding his natural face in the glass; for he beholdeth himself and goeth his way and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he is."

Some men are proud of saying, "I am not a politician." In its true sense that sentence is a phrase of condemnation rather than a bestowal of praise. The dictionary defines a politician as "One who concerns himself with the regulation of government of a nation

or state for the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity." It is the duty of every man to mind his own business, and the business of the government is every man's business. It is the duty of a man to protect and defend our heritage of self-government so that our political treasures are safe in the citadel of patriotism where neither "moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."

Three months before his first inauguration as President, George Washington wrote to Lafayette that "Harmony, Honesty and Frugality were the essential pillars of public felicity in these United States and the only things needed to make us a great and happy people." The battlefield is not the only place where good citizenship finds its expression. The home, the market place, the school and factory can also give patriotism tones of thunder and tongues of flame. Election day is not the beginning or the end of Good Citizenship. It begins yesterday, today, tomorrow, and every other day and it never ends. I believe it every man's duty to take a hand in making current history. I would advise abjuration of public office, but I do urge an interest in politics. I have no patience with those educated and refined gentlemen who hold aloof from the political field because it smells of "villainous saltpetre." They are like the lord in the play, "Perfumed like a milliner," who used a bottle of smelling salts to protect his nose from the carnage smell of battle and who would be a soldier if it were not for the guns. This powdered milliner of a warrior is no more grotesque than the lettered dilettanti who hold themselves above their country's affairs.

One of our great dangers today is to mistake license for liberty. Liberty is the greatest thing in the world,

but it should not be desecrated by twinship with license. Protection of rights should not mean forgetfulness of duty; insistence upon our own prerogatives should not assassinate the privileges of others.

In 1776 we conquered our fathers, in the Civil War we conquered our brothers, today we must conquer ourselves. Today we must remember that one man's liberty ends where another man's begins. The only absolutely free man the world has ever seen was Adam in the Garden of Eden before Eve came. It was lucky for Adam that Eve came, but the lady's arrival curtailed Adam's absolute liberty. Without the Eves' influence in the world the Adams would be full-fledged brothers of the monkey instead of long removed descendants as Darwin dreamed one day when he had nothing else to do. Wherever there are two people their license ends and liberty begins. Civilization involves the partial surrender of liberty. Cowper connects liberty with truth, Addison with virtue, Lowell with service. When freedom leaps these fences it becomes license. Liberty with Law is fire on the hearth, Liberty without Law is fire on the floor. Political liberty must keep within the bounds of civil law; personal liberty within the bounds of moral law. Recognition of these eternal verities by militant suffragettes, hair-brained agitators, dunder-headed iconoclasts, members of the "Industrial Workers of the World," grasping potentates of finance, greedy captains of industry, and everybody else of every other class would do a great deal toward simplifying the present complexity of our national life.

Every lettered foreigner who comes over here and spends fifteen minutes in this country goes home and writes a book about us. Invariably he calls us a commercialized people. Such writers had better learn in

the dictionary the difference between the adjective "Commercialized" and the noun "Commerce." This land of the west may have more commerce but is less commercialized than our eastern sisters. Mark Twain draws attention to this in his "Tramp Abroad," and does it as only Mark could. Foreigners may characterize Americans as "money-chasers" but the United States of America has never yet had a commercial hero. Can some of the great nations of Europe say as much? In this country we honor the philanthropist and we salute the humanitarian, but we erect shafts of marble and tablets of brass only to the men who thrill the soul and stir the heart.

Foreigners may prate all they please—and some Americans, too—about graft in this country, but their statements will not stand the searchlight of comparative analysis. Per capita, more money is used illegally in elections in Canada and England than in the United States. The building of our railroads may be smirched with scandal but the tinge is ineffable compared to the stealing in the building of the Russian Railway in Siberia. Now and then someone recalls Tilden's smashing of the Erie Canal Ring in this State, but what were its peculations compared to the thefts of French politicians in digging the Panama Canal? The odor of the canned beef fed our soldiers in the Spanish War is still repugnant to the nation's nostrils, but it hurts us no more than the jobbery among some of England's big men in buying horses for the Boer War hurts the sensitive feelings of John Bull.

I cite these facts in no defense of dishonesty, but to show that human nature is no worse with us than elsewhere.

There always have been and there always will be men who will sell their souls for silver or for gold.

Even Christ had a Judas among his disciples. What wonder therefore that now and then Judases appear in the lower walks of life? The only pity is that they do not follow the example of their original prototype and go out and hang themselves with a halter.

There are some chapters in the history of our country that might well be left blank, like the place for Benedict Arnold's name on the monument at Saratoga, but on the whole, the story of our nation, like the annals of the poor, is a document of glory and humanity. We have proved that the people can be trusted, we have proved that the people aren't ever guilty of any mistake that the representative few have not been equally guilty of some time or other in history. We have upset traditions by proving that a republic can be successful and that the presidents of the people's selection are the peers or superiors of hereditary kings. At the most inconvenient moment we have a habit of asking the powers that be whether they are the powers that ought to be. Under similar conditions, the people of a monarchy cut off the head of their king. We prefer decapitation by the ballot to decapitation by the sword. We prefer a rule by selection to a rule by the accident of birth, and we believe that history since 1776 proves our preference to be correct.

Recently fifty thousand men gathered at Gettysburg to fight anew that decisive battle of the world. Waving the Star Spangled Banner, reviving the endless march of John Brown's Body and resurrecting tents on the old camp grounds are all fine in their way but they are not all. There are heroes of peace as well as heroes of war. With Charles Sumner, I hold that peace is the true grandeur of nations. Historians of literature name Demosthenes, Turgenieff, Dante, Milton, Daniel O'Connell, and James Russell Lowell as the poets and prophets of citizenship. I would rather be one of

these poets and prophets of patriotism than a Cæsar of warfare or a Napoleon of the battlefield.

I prefer visions and work to the roar of cannon, the martial tread of soldiers, or the shrill cry of the war-fife. War may save and protect at times, but the vision and work of peace sustain and support all the time. Vision and Work span the earth with railroads and cleave the sea with ships; they give wings to man to fly the air and fins to sweep the deep; they create the harmonies of music and the whirr of factory wheels; they give tongues of flame to oratory and melody to songs; they take man toward the angels and bring heaven nearer the earth. Work conquers earth and vision reaches heaven. The man of vision dreams of things that are not and from the forge of his dreams the man of work hammers into existence the things that are to be.

I hold that our school histories should devote more space to triumphs of peace and the uplift of humanity than to the Attilas of war and the slaughter of mankind. Just the opposite is the rule of today. Every school boy knows by heart Thomas Buchanan's poem, "Sheridan Twenty Miles Away;" but how many people know "The Brave at Home," another classic poem by the same author?

All honor to the heroes of the battlefield, but a little honor, also, I pray, to the brave at home—widows, sonless mothers, and brotherless sisters. Honor to the people who support life that others may slay for the country and the flag.

Let's have a holiday for heroes of peace as well as heroes of war! In this we shall echo the sentiments of St. Paul. Now, St. Paul was not a boastful man, as men go, but he often boasted of being a Roman citizen. If such boastfulness be a sin we have good

excuse for the sin and in imitating St. Paul. He was a Roman citizen. We are citizens of the new capital of the world—the United States of America. Of this new capital let us boast as St. Paul boasted of the old; and good citizens as we are, ideal citizens as we hope to be, let us all, whatever our ancestry, whatever our creed, sing with the poet as we look upon the Stars and Stripes:

“Your flag and my flag!
And how it floats to day
O'er your land and my land,
And half the world away!
Rose red and blood red,
Its stripes forever gleam;
Soul white and snow-white,
The good Fore-fathers' dream,
Sky blue and true blue,
It's stars that shine aright
A glorious guidon of the day,
A shelter through the night.

“Your flag and my flag!
And oh, how much it holds,
Of your heart and my heart,
Secure within its folds.
Your heart and my heart,
Beat quicker at its sight,
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed,
The Red, and Blue and White!
The One Flag, the Great Flag,
The flag for me and you,
Glorified all else beside,
The Red and White, and Blue.”

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Address Delivered at Albany, February 21, 1914

For a century and more George Washington has been the best beloved son of America. The love we

bear him is a mingling of reverence and gratitude, of admiration and respect. It is a head-love, as well as a heart-love. It is a love for what he typifies, as well as for what he was and what he did.

For a while historians clothed him in a mystic form that made him flesh not of our flesh, and bone not of our bone. Poetical rhapsodists lifted him from the plane of life and made a stained-glass saint out of a man of men. This was good enough for copy-books and primary histories, but not good enough for the heart of the world that loves a man because he is a man and not because he's not.

The cherry-tree fable may point a moral, but the damning of Charles Lee for treachery, until the leaves of the trees of Monmouth shook, adorns a better tale. General Scott says that on this occasion George Washington swore like an angel from heaven. General Scott touches the keynote of Washington's career—an angel from heaven, but a very human angel, and we love him for his human angelicity more than for his angelic humanity.

James Russell Lowell had it right when he called Washington "The Imperial Man." Shakespeare speaks of a man who was the last to wear the imperial diadem of Rome. Washington was the first to wear the imperial diadem of America. In furtherance of Lowell's thought we can apply to Washington the lines of Dryden:

"To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free
These are imperial acts and worthy thee."

Most men will risk time or money or life for a cause, but few will risk all three. The richest man in America, Washington bore the severest privations of the lowliest private in the ranks. Before Yorktown he slept

under a mulberry tree with the roots for a pillow. In the retreat from Brooklyn he spent forty-eight hours in the saddle. At Valley Forge he divided his food with a drummer boy, and on the battlefield — where he said the whistle of the bullets had a charm for him — he bid no man go where he would not lead. For liberty he risked a fortune, and for the risk Fortune smiled on him. When Judah was captive to Babylon, Jeremiah purchased a field in Anathoth to prove his faith that one day the land would be free. What Jeremiah did in Biblical times, George Washington did in the days of '76.

A son of the South he selected most of his generals from the North to solidify his army and insure the success of his cause.

In peace and in war, he surrounded himself with strong men and no weak man ever did this.

He followed a star, and no cabal, no conspiracy, no vilification, no misrepresentation ever hid that star from view.

He was the typical American and his Americanism embraced everything symbolized from Franklin's fur cap to Witherspoon's black silk gown, from Putnam's old felt hat and Morgan's leather stockings to the fluffy lace ruffles of fussy old John Adams.

Great in physical strength, great in intellectual strength, but greater still was he in moral strength. Character was the foundation of his success and character insures him immortality when brilliancy will be forgotten and mere cleverness despised.

As a soldier — why speak of an excellency which a world acknowledges? I am no solver of military problems, no analyst of military strategy, but if I were to name the quality that places Washington high among the military chieftains of the world I would say

“Patience.” When others would have fought and lost, Washington waited and won. Job triumphed through patience and Washington won the Revolution by the same virtue.

As a man — why add more to the tomes already written? Why try to say anything new when nothing new can be said?

Historians speak of his dignity, his austerity and his sense of justice. I like to think of his manliness and his kindliness. I like to think of him helping Martha Washington supervise the affairs of Mount Vernon. I like to think of him ordering from London in his own handwriting silver-buckled shoes, fancy stockings, silk dresses and similar feminine knick-knacks and gewgaws for the dainty little lady of his heart. I like to think of him enjoying a hand at cards and liking a game of billiards; as fond of the theatre and the circus, of fishing for sturgeons and hunting for ducks — as his diary shows he was. I like to think of him glowing in the white heat of anger over Freneau's lying attacks, over Bache's outrageous misrepresentations, and thundering at these vulturous editors in language as fiery as his anger. I like to think of him loving a fast horse, and saying he “would rather be on his farm than emperor of the world.” I like to think of him paying for the education of nine poor boys whom fortune had buffeted and the world treated none too well. I like to think of him as asserting that he never promoted a marriage in his life and never prevented one. Don't tell me that such a man was the personification of formal dignity or icy austerity, or justice untempered by mercy! I like to think of him as observing the advice of Polonius to his son:

“Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy
But not expressed in fancy; rich not gaudy;
For the apparel oft proclaims the man.”

I like to think of him spending seventy-five pounds to help elect a deserving man to office, and of entering into his ledger accounts as expenses of that campaign, "one pound to Mr. John Muir for his fiddler and seven pounds for cakes at the election." I like to think of him trying to make a speech to the Assembly of Virginia in acknowledgment of a resolution of thanks for the military services he had rendered the country — blushing, faltering, stammering until the speaker solved his embarrassment with the remark: "Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valor and that surpasses the power of any language I possess." I like to think of him as pictured by Tilghman, "the honestest man that ever adorned human nature," serving as a petit juror and a grand juror, even after he had retired from the presidency. I like to think of him as writing that he "never said anything of any man that he would not say to him," and of telling his adopted grandson never to send a poor person empty handed from his door. When obliged to wear eyeglasses for the first time in order to read an address to his officers, I like to think of him remarking, "Gentlemen, you will permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray, but almost blind in the service of my country."

And then I hate to think of the final scene. Over the deathbed bends dear old Tobias Lear, moving and raising the expiring Chieftain to help him get his breath. In acknowledgment of Lear's ministrations, Washington, with the Angel of Death at his elbow, but with the sentiments of kindness in his heart, whispers, "Lear, I fatigue you too much;" then, when no longer able to speak, he pays a tribute of gratitude with his eyes to Lear: Lear kisses the hand that won us freedom, folds it on the heroic breast, and Washington is dead.

The man dies, but his work lives.

Washington found a golden medium between the extreme champions of property rights and the rampant radicals of natural rights; a golden medium between the advocates of supremacy for the state and the pleaders for centralized power; a golden medium between the English aristocratic tendencies of Hamilton and the French democratic doctrines of Jefferson; a golden medium between the free trade propensities of Madison and the Chinese-wall demands of the high protectionists, headed then, as now, by the delegation from Pennsylvania. In peace, as in war, he surrounded himself with the ablest men of all parties and from each took the best he had to offer.

George Washington was no party man. He stood not for party, but for country. Today this sentiment finds resounding echo in public opinion. Lighter and lighter is party responsibility resting on men. Today a new political spirit is born. Political theorists may call it what they please, but they cannot ignore it. It is a revival of the spirit of Washington. It is the birth of a new political conscience. It stands for real democracy. It breathes the spirit, speaks the tongue and proclaims the principles of the fathers of our country. With Emerson it contends that every political question is a social question, every social question a moral question. That was the political belief of Washington. That is the coming political faith of this country. It demands a government that is simple, inexpensive and strong; a government that will give a fair field to all and special favors to none; a government that will protect all rights, including those of posterity, and leave all interests to protect themselves. It condemns a government of "personal supererogation" and clamors for one assuming no functions except those distinctly assigned to it by the Constitution.

With Matthew Arnold it holds that the purpose of civilization is the harmonizing and the humanizing of the whole body of society. This is the grand mission of a republic. This is the only excuse for the existence of a republic. This was the gospel of Washington's political creed. This should be the heart-spring of political action today. This will be the guiding star in the morrow of the Wise Men, not only of the East, but of the West, the North and the South.

This political conscience, this tendency of the times, this revival of the spirit of Washington upholds property rights and bows in reverence to natural rights, but points in warning to coöperation, compromise and reciprocity as the urgent needs of the hour.

No other statesman of our history stands for coöperation as does Washington. Out of chaos he brought cohesion; out of colonial rivalry he built national pride; out of thirteen groups of peoples he made a nation, and for this Jefferson says: "His fame will go on increasing until the highest constellation in yonder heavens is called Washington."

With burning desire to work for humanity the great heart of Washington caused him, like Tolstoi, to teach individuals the greatness of sacrifice; caused him, like Carlyle, to personify the wonderful exaltation of the possibilities of man, the triumphant assertion of manhood over social and economic shams; caused him, like Ruskin, to see that wealth is well living, that life is more than meat, that man should own property, not property own man; caused him, like Wendell Phillips, to emphasize duty as greater than rights and God above materialism.

These were the traits of character that prompted Franklin to call Washington the friend of humanity.

These were the traits of character which prompted Webster to say: "America has furnished the world

the character of Washington and if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to respect."

These are the traits which made his ascension like "the atoms of charcoal, which we little value, becoming by wise combination and gradual arrangement the resplendent diamond which every eye admires."

War makes men great whom peace makes small, but, as Milton said of Cromwell, so of Washington, while war made him great peace made him greater. In war he was a Nehemiah, in peace an Asa. In the words of the Bible both found him "not afraid, nor dismayed, nor confounded." With him duty was his, the result God's. To virtue he added faith and each he crowned with courage. "The wisdom of our ancestors" was the received formula with statesmen for ages until Washington, valiant for truth and courageous as a lion, taught the world that rulers shall be enthroned, not through the accident of birth, but by the selection of the people.

Greater orators, greater warriors, greater statesmen than Washington the world has had, but no man more idealized than he.

Brilliancy appeals to mankind only as a curious combination of phenomena, but greatness appeals to us as an illustration in completely realized form of what each one of us is at our best.

Greatness flows not from chance, nor from a mere happy combination of events, but simply from the magic of unwavering determination, clear apprehension and ceaseless toil. These are the homely qualities which move the world. These are the characteristics which made Washington the cynosure of the eyes of humanity. In him are found all of our likeable inclinations, all the abilities, all the habits most useful

in our daily toil, all the simple, commonplace, everyday virtues productive of happiness.

And because of these we love Washington.

We love him because we can place his career before our boys as a life of noble manhood; because we can point out that the very circumstances under which Washington carved his claim to nobility surround every lad in the land; because we can indicate, as an example of the triumph of virtue and of decent living and of honest endeavor, the conduct of Washington rising over the temptations which beset us all and following life victoriously and beautifully forward.

We love him because in him we find the goodness of the Biblical heroes, the courage of the Iliad heroes and the qualities of manhood taught at mother's knee.

We love him because his life is not a mythic Pilgrim's Progress, but a real path trodden by a real man.

We love him because his example urges us as strongly toward the praiseworthy as all the laws man ever wrote, all the punishment rulers ever threatened, all the essays moralists ever penned.

We love him because for the crown, the sceptre and the throne he substituted the voice of the common man, the rights of the common man and the will of the common man as the symbols of government and the insignia of power.

THE PRESS

Speech Delivered Before Gathering of Democratic Editors at the Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, November, 1914

In rising to respond to the toast "The Press," I am keenly appreciative of the fact that my task is to

talk on a subject that has been well toasted and well roasted, also well soaked over the walnuts and the wine and, incidentally, well ripped by the rapier of countless wits. Tonight we will not roast it and, I hope, not soak it, though we will toast it. Of course I am well aware that I would bring to you keen disappointment were I not to say that the press is the greatest thing on earth and newspapermen the best of fellows. I am always considerate of other people's feelings and so I have determined to bring you no disappointment tonight and, in compliance with what you expect from me, to assert stoutly that there is nothing on earth that can compare with the press, and that newspapermen are not only the best, but also the smartest, the handsomest and the most amiable animals belonging to that specific class of creatures defined by a philosopher of old as "two-legged roosters with their feathers pulled out."

Whenever I read this sage's definition of man, I am inclined to think that the old philosopher was not fortunate enough to count any knights of the pen and scissors and paste pot among his intimate friends. If he did I feel sure that he would have modified that definition so that the tail remained, because, if you are familiar with roosters, you know that a gamecock is prouder of his posterior feathers than of any other part of his corporal gifts, and that when in a fight these feathers are always up the highest. Now, the newspaperman must have his quills, and as he is always in a fight, he always has necessity for those feathers of the tail — both for the quill and his fights — as a sort of rudder to steer him in his course, and this is why I hold that the Grecian scholar did not know any newspapermen when he described man as a two-legged rooster with his feathers pulled out. Did he, I feel sure that he would have left the tail.

Why, my friends, we fellows of the press are the greatest roosters in the barnyard of earth. We have to know something about everything and everything about anything. At a moment's notice we toss off articles on currency and international affairs just as easily as a cook bakes pancakes or an Epicure pulls a cork. Without turning a hair we tackle everything from a problem in natural philosophy to a question in political economy or a mystery in theology.

We tell the ministers what they should preach; the doctors what medicine to prescribe; the ladies what they should wear, how they should arrange their hair, and what kind of a man to marry — always, of course, advising heiresses and nature's beauties to marry newspapermen because they are so good-natured and because they know so much. If you think newspapermen are not loving, just ask the pretty young miss of a poet who brings us her poetry to print. Though its rhythm is as disjointed as a broken nose, and its rhyme as musical as Scotch bagpipes, our critical judgment always dies before the darting glances of the young ox-eyed gazelle as she blushes, smiles upon us, and kindly asks if we can't please print her poem — just for her sake. Well, just for her sake, we print the poem, and, just for her sake, are pronounced by a critical public to be as literary as a turnip and as happy in our choice of viands as a goat. As to charitableness, newspapermen are beyond compare. They would give you the last cent that they had — cent mind you — but never go beyond two dollars, because, though they may always have a dollar in their pocket, they seldom have two. Any member of the craft breaking this rule is subject to robbery at the hands of his brothers, with impunity, but should the combination of circumstances be so extraordinary that the knight of the pen cannot contribute any hard cash to a mooted enterprise, why,

don't mind that, because he will write the enterprise up; he will give it his brains in print; he will pour upon it a drop of ink that will make thousands, perhaps millions, think.

In the years gone by rhetoricians used to say it was a good old custom to begin your dissertation by a definition of your topic, so that your auditors might have no misunderstanding of what you were talking about in case you talked so "windy" that they were unable to understand you, and in order to guard against any such calamity it might be well for me to lay down certain definite lines of my thesis before going any further.

For instance, while reading the Bible last night I found in Genesis, 40th chapter, 11th verse, these words, "I take the grapes, and press them into Pharaoh's cup." However much our State legislators may rail against the liberty of other kinds of press, I am sure they will raise no objection to the liberty of the grape press, save, perhaps, to insist that their own cups be substituted for that of Pharaoh's. Pharaoh has a closer connection with the press than you may imagine, for it was Pharaoh's daughter who pulled Moses out of the bulrushes, and it is in the footsteps of Moses that all members of the newspaper craft follow in writing only such news and editorials as will make all the people live up to the golden rule. As a matter of justice, however, we newspapermen want it understood that we preach the doctrine of Moses principally for the benefit of everybody except the members of the press. We rather feel that Moses gave us newspapermen certain special prerogatives denied to those of other professions, and if it has ever been the unfortunate lot of any of you to worry through the troubles of newspaper labor for any length of time you will

readily understand why we entertain this happy conviction.

In fact the members of the press have an idiosyncratic plank in their religious platform, but for the sake of the moral standing of the profession this plank is generally kept a secret. After extended communications with my brother editors I have been given permission to proclaim this plank to the world in explication of the occasional mysterious things which newspapers and newspapermen sometimes do, and, though the announcement may grate somewhat harshly on the nerves of my religious friends, I feel their warm sympathy come out to us when I say that the belief of the members of the press is that there is probably no hell for newspapermen in the next world. If you wonder at this belief I reply that it is because they suffer so much from critics, from politicians, from actors, and everybody else generally, on earth. Truly the plight of the average newspaperman is a perennial picnic—between the devil and the deep, deep sea, and no matter what he does, or what he doesn't, he is equally damned in either case.

But there is a serious side to this question of the press, and its seriousness has long been recognized by men who think. That great founder of democracy, Thomas Jefferson, once said, "I would rather live in a country with newspapers and without government, than in a country with government but without newspapers." Edmund Burke called the press the "bulwark" of liberty, and Napoleon Bonaparte said, "A newspaper is more powerful than a hundred thousand bayonets." In the history of modern times no great movement has been accomplished without the aid of the press; no great project consummated; no world-felt achievement made, save it has

been backed and seconded by the silent voice of the press, that today, with the assistance of the electric spark, belts the world in less than forty minutes. We may go even further and say that in the days of antiquity all the achievements worthy of historical note were helped by what then formed a perfect counterpart of what the press is today. Then the wandering poet, singing his songs from place to place, linked with the orator in the forum, exhorted the people to stand up for their rights and to demand from rulers treatment in conformity with the dictates of justice and right. He wrote a truth as lasting as the Rock of Gibraltar who said that "the pen is mightier than the sword." It was the newspaper spirit that called the Romans together to protect the Eternal City when the barbarians were riding down upon it a hundred thousand strong, and the newspaper spirit that saved for later ages the classics, the arts and the sciences.

It was the newspaper spirit that caused the people of England to rise up in the days of autocratic old King John and compel him to sign the Magna Charta which from that day has stood as the foundation of all the liberties of the English-speaking people. It was the newspaper spirit that led Robert Emmet to make his pronouncements which called all lovers of Irish liberty to gather around his standard. It was the newspaper spirit that caused O'Connell and his famous predecessors, unable to gain a hearing in the English press, to preach their doctrine and beliefs from every desirable stump and in every obtainable hall throughout the land they loved so well. In our own country it was the newspaper spirit that caused Jefferson, backed by the Continental Congress, to draw up the Declaration of Independence and send it across the sea, there to make King George totter and tremble

on his throne until the United States of America was a free and independent nation. It was the newspaper spirit that gave power to the pen of Samuel Adams in those colonial days and fire to the tongue of Patrick Henry. And nearer our own day and generation, it was the newspaper spirit that moved Lincoln to draft the Emancipation Act which will live as long as men speak and write.

I say it is the newspaper spirit that prompted these men to lofty deeds because the newspaper spirit is an ineffable motive seeking to proclaim the truth where it can be found, to battle for the weak, do justice to the wrong and dole out punishment to infringers on the sacred obligations between man and man.

Day after day the press is fighting the battle of the people. Charges may be made that the interests of the press have become the interests of trusts and monopolies, but there are honest men still left in the profession who can be bought or purchased no more easily than those in other professions. The press has become the greatest handmaid of education in existence. For millions it is pulpit, library and school. There are more newspaper readers today than there are readers of all other classes of literature combined. In a single issue of today's press is found more political economy, more sound reasoning upon the ordinary philosophy of life and more lucid explanations of the science of government than in by-gone years could be found in a dozen books or heard in a score of lectures. Truly has Edwin Burke said the press is the "Bulwark of Liberty and custodian of the people's rights." To bridle the press, to check this liberty, is to make serfs of the people and autocrats of political leaders.

I speak in no hyperbolical manner when I say the analogy between the true newspaper spirit and the

spirit which prompts the deeds that live, though their doers are dead, is so closely akin as to baffle the differences of philosophical distinction. The first enunciation against the principle of taxation without representation was not made by Patrick Henry or Thomas Jefferson or by Samuel Adams or John Hancock or George Washington, but by a little newspaper known as *Holts Magazine* in the old Dutch hamlet of New York.

As if gifted with foresight, this little newspaper raised a cry taken up by one colony and then another until it swelled into the grand chorus of the Declaration of Independence. So, my friends, it was the stand taken by the press of this country that led to the glorious victories of Perry on Lake Erie, of Jackson at New Orleans, and to the notice to England that she must no longer presume to search vessels bearing the American flag; so, too, it was the sentiment created by newspapers, assisted by such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that led to the abolition of slavery.

Liberty of the press in America was won in the State of New York. John Peter Zenger, editor of the *Journal*, was arrested and tried in New York City in 1734 for libelling Royal Governor Cosby. Zenger's bail was fixed at eight hundred pounds, though he swore he was not worth forty pounds in the world. After a remarkable trial Zenger was pronounced not guilty and liberty of the press was won. Before any of the other colonies, stronger and clearer than anywhere else in the world, New York proclaimed the right to print the truth. Enraged over this decision, Governor Cosby began a fight on the Liberty of the Bench and lost in this as he lost in the other. His ambition was to make permanent the suppression of free speech, to hold the courts in leash, to rule by royal prerogatives

and executive assertions. His aims were frustrated by the result of Zenger's trial. The Zenger decision became the law of the land. It sowed the seed which germinated into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It changed the theory and practice of government before the majority of the colonial people knew what newspapers really were and before John Wilkes had defied England's parliament and England's king in behalf of the right to deal in type with public questions. It created a new engine for popular rights, it sheared rulers of oppressive prerogatives and threw light on dark places. Criticism of public acts and public officials, formerly whisperings and mutterings, now became trumpet tongued. The press became the voice in the wilderness crying for liberty with a thousand tongues and a million echoes. If Zenger had been convicted, I doubt if the Declaration of Independence would ever have been written; I doubt if the founders of this country would have been able to find a torch to fire popular imagination to the heat required for staking life, liberty, property and all on the result of the Revolutionary War.

If we are to have liberty, free and untrammelled, in this country, there can be no bridling of the press. There is no way to judge the future except by the past, and the past history of Europe, of all its kingdoms, its monarchies and republics, shows that the bridling of the press can lead to nothing but despotism and malevolence. But they tell us this freedom is carried too far, that under it the most flagrant abuses flourish, and that they must stop. Abuses do exist under the liberty of the press, this we admit; but in the same breath we assert that a curtailment of the liberty of the press would lead to abuses more baneful and more unjust.

The argument against the liberty of the press is fallacious because no sound argument against a thing can be based upon its abuse. Public weal demands liberty of the press, and with this liberty should go a corresponding responsibility for the publication of each article. The publisher should be made definitely liable for what his paper asserts, but the press must never be bridled. The press cannot be bridled any more than ducks can be stopped from quacking or roosters from crowing. And in acknowledgment of this, we newspapermen fire quacking cartoons at men and measures deserving such treatment and crow good and loud when we bury nefarious legislation beyond the hopes of resurrection.

The press is one of our greatest blessings. Just imagine how dull this old world would be if you were suddenly deprived of newspapers. Think of the joy the little country weekly brings you with its burden of news, how it tells of those at home in the little village where you enjoyed life's young dream, of the good fortune of a friend, of the marriage of the girl you imagined you loved when you were seven, of how the bully who once thrashed you has had his nose broken by a brickmaker, and how the old town wags. Think how at the breakfast table and the supper table the press places you in touch with all the rest of the world, takes you through countries and to scenes you never will see. Think how the press booms your business, pays a tribute of respect to a dear departed friend, says a kind word of a deserving man, raps the scoundrel, praises the deserving, pleads for charity and tries to help the poor. Think of all this, I pray you, and I feel sure you will drink with me to the press — fill your glasses good and deep, gentlemen, for

the subject deserves it—fill your glasses good and deep, and with me drink to the press this toast:

“ Mightiest of the mighty, means
On which the arm of PROGRESS leans,
Man’s noble mission to advance,
His woes assuage, his weal enhance,
His rights enforce, his wrongs redress,
Mightiest of the mighty is the press.”

THE SHERIDAN MONUMENT

**Speech at Banquet of Philip H. Sheridan Camp No. 200
of Albany, February 11, 1914**

I came here tonight to start a movement too long delayed.

This old town is the birth-place of the greatest, or if not the greatest, the second greatest cavalry leader in the history of the world.

“ Little Phil Sheridan ” was born here on March 6, 1830. He was small in stature—so small that before he took his West Point physical examination he was stretched all night so as to be tall enough to pass muster in the morning. But so was Napoleon small—and Napoleon’s big brother-in-law, Murat, is the only cavalry leader who can share the laurel wreath of excellence with “ Little Phil Sheridan.”

For a long time Ohio claimed Sheridan as one of her native sons, but Ohio has produced so many Presidents that she has the habit of claiming everything great. New York State, too, claimed Sheridan as her own. “ Little Phil ” settled the controversy in his autobiography. He stated he was born in Albany. He had it from his mother, and his mother ought to know. Ohio has erected a statue to her famous

adopted son; New York should erect a statue to the native son who has thrown a glamour around her military annals.

It has been against our State legislative policy to appropriate money for statues to the noted sons of different localities in this State. I suppose the reason has been that New York has produced so many famous sons that there would not be money enough to go around. So, tonight I suggest a new policy. I suggest that New York contribute two dollars to every one dollar a locality raises to erect a statue to a really great son. Thirty thousand dollars, they tell me, will erect an appropriate statue to Phil Sheridan. If the people of Albany will contribute \$10,000—and I will help raise this through my newspaper and otherwise—I promise to exert all the influence I can from the Governor's chair to induce the Legislature to appropriate the other \$20,000.

State pride and local pride demand that this be done. It is a shame that a statue of Sheridan, New York's most illustrious soldier, was not erected years ago here in Albany on the Capitol lawn. Too long has this wrong continued; it cannot be righted too soon. Too long has New York State failed to honor the memory of a son whom all the rest of the world has honored in story and in song. Every school child knows by heart Reid's stirring poem on Sheridan's ride to Cedar Creek from twenty miles away. It was the poem with which I broke into the world of oratory thirty years ago in a country schoolhouse in the town of Kinderhook. I got little Phil started from Winchester all right and landed him within fifteen miles of the battlefield with oratorical thunder. Then I landed him within ten miles of the battlefield, but the oratory commenced to have an uncertain echo and the echo

grew more wavering as I landed Phil within five miles of the battlefield, when I broke down, became confused, forgot my lines, and despite the best that I could do little Phil and his fiery charger are still five miles away from Cedar Creek.

Every man and every woman knows the gallant part played by this little son of Albany in the closing scenes of the awful tragedy of the Civil War. Had there been no Sheridan to help Grant the war would have lasted longer than it did. Let us not leave it for the lips of children in recitative school hours to sing the glories of this hero! Let us not leave it for book-worms to contemplate in darkened libraries the valor of this man! Let's write his glory and his valor in a gallant figure of bronze before our Capitol on the hill, so that all the world may see him as his soldiers saw him, and all the world know him as his soldiers knew him — mounted on the fieriest steed he could find, with his cap in his hand and an invitation on his lips to follow him to glory and to fame.

No need is there, here or anywhere, for me or any one else to narrate the deeds of Sheridan as a soldier.

The lark sings because he must, and Sheridan fought for the same reason. His father and his mother came from county Caven, Ireland; and that is explanation enough. Another Irishman named Gainor was responsible for them coming to Albany. When Little Phil was a mere tot the family moved to Somerset, Ohio, and here the boy was father of the man. He was pepperish, black haired, rosy cheeked, sturdy, pugnacious and passionately fond of horses. His mother was a woman of good sense, big heart and much practical knowledge. His father built his own house, chopped down the trees of the forest with his own hands and plastered his cabin with mud from the fields

to keep out the wintry blasts. There were four boys and one girl in the family, but Little Phil had so much ginger and go in his make-up that there was little left for the others.

When seven years of age some fellow youngsters in Somerset dared him mount a stray horse with only a halter upon his neck. No sooner dared than Little Phil was upon the horse; gave him a dig with his heels and clung on by the mane as the horse thundered down the street, terrifying the villagers and knocking down an old apple-man in his flight. Never has there been such a ride since John Gilpin indulged in his famous flight. Mile after mile passed as the half wild steed fled into the open country endeavoring to unseat Little Phil at every bound, but Little Phil could not be unseated. Wearied of his efforts the horse bolted into the yard of a wayside inn and the by-standers lifted the youngster to the ground. There, before the admiring crowd stood Little Phil with a grin on his face.

"Who on earth taught you to ride," asked one of the crowd.

"Nobody," answered Little Phil, "I just knowed how. For Willie Seymour said that the way to ride was to hold on with your knees—and I did." This remark was greeted with laughter and one appreciative old fellow cried out, "I tell you men that kid will be heard from some day. He's as sandy a youngster as I ever knowed." Yes, the boy was father of the man. No horse ever could throw Phil Sheridan. Others surpassed him in studies at West Point, but he led them all in horsemanship, and later on he was called the best horseman in the Civil War. Yes, the boy was father of the man; he was sandy as a youngster and a dare-devil as a man.

Phil Sheridan never ran from an enemy but once in his life. He was about eight or nine years of age.

He whipped a school-mate named Home, and gave him a bloody nose. Home was a special pet of the crusty old schoolmaster McManly, who started out to whip Little Phil for having whipped young Home. Phil climbed the fence of the school yard. When McManly appeared, rod in hand, and on vengeance bent, Phil dropped from the fence and ran as fast as his little legs could carry him. McManly gave chase. Phil took refuge in a tinsmith shop and hid under a big tin boiler. Years afterward he said: "Being under fire at Winchester and Cedar Creek was not half as bad as hiding from McManly's switch under that old tin boiler."

Phil Sheridan always was a fighter. At West Point he was suspended for a year for whipping a fellow student. I don't know whether Phil was right or wrong, and just because he won is no proof that he was right, for in a fight Phil always won. It was a habit he had.

He hated laziness and lazy men. While fighting the Yakima Indians in Washington territory he became disgusted with the laziness of his men and one day determined to shame them. So, in the morning at roll-call, he tried to do so.

"I have a nice easy job," he said, "for the laziest man in the company. Will the laziest man step to the front?"

Instantly fifty-nine men stepped forward.

"Why don't you step to the front too," he asked of the sixtieth?

"I'm too lazy," replied the soldier, and from that day forward Little Phil never tried to cure that company of laziness.

He did not know what fear meant. He was so reckless in his bravery that it is a wonder he ever came out of the Civil War alive. An old darky who often

saw him in action said, "Dat Phil Sheridan's got luck of the debbil wid him, an dat only comes when you carry er rabbit's foot in yer left han' pocket. He's de mos' keerless pusson in de middle of bullets I ever seen." He was a natural soldier and lucky enough to fall into the niche for which nature had fitted him. He once said, "A man's life is in the open. There is too much civilization for the average individual; it makes him love comfort more than a house cat." He was too wise to risk a glorious military career on the troublous sea of politics. Once, when asked, to become a candidate for the Presidency, he replied, "No man could present me with that office. The place-hunters and the office-seekers would kill me in thirty days." He thought quickly and acted as quickly as he thought. He despised councils of war and held them almost useless. He loved his men and his men loved him. He sleeps at Arlington, on a hillside at whose base ripples the Potomac and on whose crest stands the old home of Robert E. Lee, whom he helped more to conquer than any man save Grant. Not far away stretch the valleys of Virginia, through which he rode in triumph.

In the beautiful spring days of the years I represented this district in Congress, I often visited the grave of Sheridan. I went there one Memorial Day to place a wreath upon his tomb. I found it mantled with flowers — with red roses and white lilies, and blue violets — the red, the white and the blue he loved so well.

Some of the old boys who followed him in the Shanandoah Valley were there ahead of me. They still lingered around his grave — old boys in new blue suits and new gilt cords around old slouch hats — and from their reverential mood and far-away gaze I

thought they saw old scenes anew and heard again the shouts of clashing armies, the clarion call of the bugle, the roll of the drum and the shock of bursting shells. But all that I could hear was the twitter of a bird perched in the mouth of a near-by cannon; all that I could see were shimmering shafts of sunshine shooting between the leaves o'er head and weaving a crown of glory above the grave, while a beautiful butterfly — Egyptian symbol of immortality — fluttered in and out among the golden rays of light.

Nature crowned him and history honored him. Desaix's timely arrival turned defeat into victory for Napoleon at Marengo; Grant's forced march saved the day for Sherman at Shiloh; the Irish brigade arrived just in time to save Fontenoy from becoming a rout for the French; Wellington at Waterloo prayed for Blucher or for darkness and Blucher came not a moment too soon; but Sheridan, single handed and alone turned a routed army into a victorious host as no other man has ever done it. Cedar Creek is the most picturesque, the most poetic and the most individualistic victory in warfare. Its thrill will never die and its story never grow old.

It took Lincoln, the son of an illiterate back woodsman; Grant, the son of a tanner; Sherman, the poor orphan boy; and Sheridan, the son of an Irish immigrant laborer, to lead the hosts of the people to victory and the abolition of slavery.

Lincoln is honored everywhere throughout the land.

Grant has a mausoleum in New York.

Sherman has a statue at the entrance to Central Park.

Let's erect a statue to Sheridan here in the city of his birth!

THE ELK AS A CITIZEN

Speech Delivered at Elks' Club House, Albany

I come to you tonight with no prepared thought in my mind and with no prepared words on my lips. When any of you, or all of you, become Governor of New York State, you will find that in the closing hours of a legislative session, when the Senate is Democratic and the Assembly Republican, that you will be altogether too busy attending to your work to prepare any speeches, even for a great occasion like this.

This afternoon, while Governor Tener was at the Capitol a photographer from one of the newspapers insisted upon taking our photographs together. He lined us up in the big room at the Capitol, then I looked up at Tener, and I said to the photographer: "Mr. Photographer, if it is just the same to you, I wish you would take the photograph with us two men sitting down. He said, why? And, I said, well, New York is a good deal bigger than Pennsylvania and I don't want this picture to be handed down to the generations to come with a title under it, "The Mountain and the Mouse."

Sir Tener was Grand Exalted Ruler of the Order of Elks and was demoted to a Governorship. When I cease to be Governor, I hope to be promoted to the position of Grand Exalted Ruler of this Order.

Here in this Hall tonight I feel at home. In almost every chair there is a man that I can walk out to and take his hand and say "My Friend."

I can call all, nearly all of you, by your first name. Many of you have rendered me favors. All of you have been with me more times than I have ever been with you.

So, I say, tonight I feel at home in this edifice, and at this gathering no man takes a greater pride than I in the dedication of this temple to fraternity; this temple to brotherly love; this temple to justice and this edifice to charity.

I became an Elk away back in 1898. Before that no one asked me to become an Elk; I was elected to Congress and then I was compelled to become an Elk.

The night that I was initiated into Elkdom I will never forget. We went downstairs to have a little social session. Bill Drislane and George Addington — I forget the others — were there, and they said to me, “Glynn, it must be a speech, an off hand one,” and Addington took from the lapel of his coat an old rose and threw it on the plate, Drislane took a burnt match and threw it on the plate, and another man took a burnt cigar and threw it on the plate, and they said, “Glynn, make a speech on the rose, the match and the cigar.”

I made the speech on the rose, the match and the cigar; that speech was on things that had been burned up; that speech was on things of the past. Tonight, years and years after, we are gathering to make speeches on the future; we are gathering as satisfied men to reap the harvest of the work of the unsatisfied that you have somehow inverted, Mr. Exalted Ruler.

This edifice of iron, of stone and steel will last far into the future when we will be only names of the past; but this edifice of stone and steel and mortar is nothing as compared with the sentiment that animates it. Stone crumbles, iron rusts, mortar decays. The only thing that lives the wide world over is thought and sentiment; and the thing that will live in this edifice is the thought and the sentiment of the Fraternal Order of the Brotherhood of Elks.

And what is that thought? The thought is this: That the Elks is an Order for men whose blood is red, whose skin is white and whose veins are blue. In Elkdom red blood, white skin and blue veins stand for the same among men that the red, white and blue of this old banner stand for in the nation.

Your Exalted Ruler calls my attention to the fact that the dedication of this building is marked by the presentation to this Lodge of this portrait of George Washington. Washington typifies the spirit of the Elks. Washington, when the hours were darkest delved down into his own pocket and loaned the Colonies a hundred thousand dollars to fight the revolutionary war and pledged his credit for all he had. You of this Lodge have delved down into your pockets and pledged your credit to erect this noble edifice to charity and all the sentiments that your order stands for.

When the revolutionary cause needed assistance and needed members in the army, Washington sent forth a clarion call inviting all to enroll beneath the banners of the nation. When this order needed augmentation and more members to support this magnificent edifice, the building committee and the membership committee and the old loyal phalanx that used to meet down in Beaver street — in the building I now own — sent forth a clarion call to you; and you, new members, to the number of almost six, seven, eight hundred, responded by enrolling beneath the banners of Elkdom in this magnificent building.

When we needed friends, Washington stretched out the hand of friendship across the Atlantic Ocean and France came in; so you stretched your hands throughout all this territory and invited every man who believed in brotherly love, in fidelity and in charity to join this order and help erect this building.

There is something in keeping with the fact that Washington's portrait is hung on this wall tonight; but, to my way of thinking, there is another Great American who typifies the Order of Elks and the Spirit of Elks more than any man who ever lived.

I have said that the Elks is an Order for men whose blood is red, whose skin is white and whose veins are blue, and to that thought I add this thought, that the great typification of the spirit of your Order as an American Order is found in the most beloved American in history, Abraham Lincoln.

And I will tell you why. When Abraham Lincoln was seven years of age and his mother was dying, his mother said to little Abe and to his little sister Sarah, "Be good to each other," and from the moment of his mother's death until the moment that he drew his last breath, Abraham Lincoln was good to every brother and every sister of his in the whole human race, and that is the spirit of Elkdom.

When Abraham Lincoln's mother was dying, there was no nurse; there was no doctor. Abraham Lincoln and his little sister Sarah were nurse and doctor. They soothed their mother's spirit, they smoothed her pillow and they closed her eyes in death. That is the spirit of Elkdom, and that appeals to you to help your brothers in sickness.

When Ann Rutledge, the sweetheart of his youth, died, the first few months that she slept in her grave, every rain storm that came up, Abraham Lincoln left his office, went to Ann Rutledge's grave and over her grave spread his coat to keep the trickling water from soiling her coffin or staining the white satin of her shroud. That is the spirit of Elkdom.

Abraham Lincoln gloried not in what he saved, but in what he gave to humanity, and that is the spirit of Elkdom.

Yes, the Elks are the great fraternal order, the great American Order, and I am proud that I am an Elk.

If every Elk were literally true to the precepts of his Order, every Elk would be an ideal citizen of the United States and every Elk would be an ideal man for every other man to pattern after.

A TOAST TO MINE HOST

Speech to American Hotelmen's Association, at Ten Eyck Hotel

MR. TOASTMASTER AND GENTLEMEN :

In rising to speak on an occasion like this with orators to the right of me, humorists to the left of me and wits in front of me, I feel like Finnegan of the railroad section gang when Murphy, the foreman, in an argumentative mood, said, " Finnegan, I'll have nothing out of you but silence, and mighty little of that." In comparison with the luminaries that will scintillate, sparkle, twinkle and phosphoresce before you to-night, I have little to offer. I am like the old darkey when the judge asked him if he could give a bond, and what he had to offer, replied, " Jedge, sence you ax me I'll tell you, I aint got nothin' in the worl' 'cept the Spring chills, six acres o' no 'count lands, a big family, a hope of a hereafter, an' th' ol' war rheumatism."

Among the many hotel men here I feel somewhat lost, but in recompense for this I feel right at home in the sprinkling of politicians, or, better still, statesmen. Among these I note men of many views, men of independent views, and noting this I wish to say that, in my opinion, the man of independent views is more than a man — he is a party. Some of these statesmen have served their country well, and for even higher

service will gladly plead guilty, I know, to the soft impeachment that "Barkis is willin'." The mood of others, I am sure, finds a picture in the incident of a kindly clergyman who, in blessing a number of old maids, as "these dear girls just budding into sweet womanhood" caused one of the maidens to reply, "Alas, Lord, budded, bloomed, faded, and still unpicked."

On the principle that every knock is a boost, I make bold to assert that each time I put up at a hotel at \$7 per for a room and a bath, with meals on the side, I am inclined to compare every hotel man to an old character in my native town whom the boys had dubbed "Old Ten Per Cent." When this thrifty old fellow passed over the bar the neighbors said of him, "We knew him as Old Ten Per Cent — the more he had the less he spent — the more he got the less he lent — he's dead — we don't know where he went — but if his soul to Heaven be sent, he'll own the harps and charge 'em rent." Now, I am quite convinced if the souls of you hotel men to Heaven be sent, like Old Ten Per Cent, you, too, will own the harps and charge 'em rent.

As everybody admits, when it comes to taking a long breath the giraffe has the rest of the menagerie beaten to a standstill, so no one denies that you hotel men are the princes of good-fellows, and, as such, you have every one outdistanced in making the way to the unknown as bright and as warm and as glad as possible. Indeed, the hotel business must be a delightful pursuit if only from the richness of the experiences it affords its followers. One of these experiences now going the rounds of the press runneth as follows:

"They were newly married and on a honeymoon trip; they put up at a skyscraper hotel; the bridegroom felt indisposed, and the bride said she

would slip out and do a little shopping. In due time she returned, and tripped blithely up to her room a little awed by the number of doors that looked alike, but she was sure of her own and tapped gently on the panel.

"I'm back, Honey, let me in," she whispered. No answer.

"Honey, Honey, let me in," she called again, rapping louder. Still no answer.

"Honey, Honey, it's Alice; let me in," she whispered. There was silence and still no answer.

"After several seconds then a man's voice, cold and full of dignity, came from the other side of the door, 'Madam, this is not a bee-hive, it's a bathroom.' "

Some poet has said that most men die unhonored and unsung because they live a century too late or an age too soon. Most people are inclined to think that this is the golden age for hotel keepers, but if I opine aright history proveth the contrary. And to substantiate this opinion allow me to turn back the hands on the clock of time for centuries more or less numerous. A short time ago it was quite the fashion to ask, "How would you like to be the ice man?" Tonight I ask you to cast your eyes backward down the vista of ages while I inquire of you how you would like to be the hotel man, not of today, but of the time when the Caesars wrote kingly messages and Cleopatra ruled the hearts of men. Then Roman millionaires were as plenty as flies around a molasses barrel in June, and their favorite way of spending money was at the festive board. During his checkered career Marc Antony squandered no less than seven hundred and thirty-five million dollars on banquets — "How would you like to have been the hotel man then?" Caligula spent

eighteen million dollars in a single year on feasts — “How would you like to have been the hotel man then?” Horace tells us that Pegellus, the singer, spent forty thousand dollars in feasting his friends five days. Lucullus dined at the rate of eight thousand dollars a meal for several weeks. Lentulus spent sixteen million dollars in Rome’s hotels in a few years and Apicus went him a little better by squandering five million dollars in a few weeks, in the Waldorf-Astorias, the Belmonts and the Manhattans of Rome. “How would you like to have been the hotel man then?” What do your banquets of today and your forty-six thousand dollars a year rooms of the New Plaza amount to compared to these historical banquets?

And speaking of history, you hotel men have played your part therein. Stephen A. Douglas contemptuously remarked that the first time he laid eyes on Abraham Lincoln, Abraham was behind a country hotel bar dealing out drink. Lincoln admitted the truth of the charge, but asserted in counter charge that at the same moment Stephen A. Douglas was on the other side of the same bar drinking the same liquor served out by this same Abraham Lincoln.

And in literature what a mighty part you have played. Brave, lovable, fiery old Patrick Henry laid the foundation of his great oratorical career while working as a youngster as a handy man of all work around a little Virginia Inn. There is hardly a classic in prose or poetry in which the inn has not its little niche. Hotel halls are peopled with history and romance, with tales of sorrow and hours of joy, with the births of great deeds and the deaths of grand hopes, for in its last analysis every house and every home is, in a sense, a hotel in which humanity eats a little, sleeps a little, hopes a lot, grieves some, suffers

some as it journeys through that strange land known as life, and this fact has been embalmed forever in the eternal amber of rhyme by Henry W. Longfellow in his *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.

My friends, the success of this country depends upon the confidence, the patriotism, the energy of all its people — not upon the few who style themselves the financial kings of the world; hence, it is, I claim, that in the membership of this Association are contained the elements which will aid in the promotion of national happiness — a self-appointed band whose watchword is good cheer — a glad-handed crew who can coax a smile from a misanthrope, and incidentally, his coin, and make a miser feel like a prince.

Here is long life to you, Members of the American Hotelmen's Association, and may your tribe increase.

ADDRESS TO FORDHAM UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

Speech at the Commencement of the Law and Medical Schools of Fordham University, June 9, 1914

It is not inappropriate that the university from which you are being graduated should thus bring together the students of its law school and its medical school, to unite them in the bonds of a common purpose as they go forth from its doors.

No phase of intellectual activity is widely separated from any other. Man cannot increase his knowledge in any one direction without widening his whole mental horizon. And between the profession of medicine and the profession of law there is a particular relationship, an especial sympathy.

Both concern themselves with the welfare of the individual. One seeks to discover and interpret the

salutary laws of nature that man may be secure in the enjoyment of life and health. The other endeavors to expound and enforce the proper social laws, that man may enjoy the blessings of justice and safety in his relations with his fellow man. Not infrequently the two professions join hands to attain a common purpose, and preventive medicine, social hygiene and public sanitation are the result.

Because of the intellectual kinship and community of purpose between law and medicine, I feel encouraged to address myself to you as members of one professional family, knowing that nothing in the far-flung field of medicine can be indifferent to the young lawyer and that nothing in the realm of law is entirely alien to the followers of Hippocrates.

There is one striking difference between the science of law and the science of medicine. Law cannot rise higher than the environment and social condition of those subject to it. There must be one law for the African savage and another for the civilized American, one code for the barbarian of the first century and another for the enlightened citizen of the twentieth.

Yet underneath the tribal rules of the savage and the statutes of modern states there is a certain inflexible recognition that law consists in obedience to constituted government and regard for the established rights of others. As society has changed, concepts of government and the rights of others have changed, and law has developed to meet these changed conditions. But the lawgivers of two thousand years ago possessed a knowledge of the essentials of law which would have enabled them to lay down the statutes of a modern state had they known the conditions under which that modern state would be conducted.

Little has been added to law through the centuries which has not been added because of changes outside

of the law itself. The ten commandments comprise all but the non-essentials of modern jurisprudence. The evolution of law has been an evolution caused by the progress of the world, and is not due to any new discoveries or new developments in the science of law itself.

The reverse is true of medicine. While the governments and social conditions under which man has lived have undergone, and are undergoing, constant change, the physical construction of the human frame is the same as it was three thousand years ago.

Man sees the aeroplane with the same eyes with which he saw the mammoth. He hears the roar of modern cities with the same ears that listened to the building of the pyramids. The blood courses through his veins just as it did in the days when the wisest thought that the heart beat because of an internal fire.

The ills that flesh is heir to are an inheritance which Adam left to Cain. A broken bone is no more pleasant today than it was in the Ice Age. Mummied Egyptians show that gout stalked along the Nile of Rameses. Man has always been man and the problems of life and death which the physicians of Hammurabi struggled to solve are essentially the same as those which confront the modern doctor.

In law the principles of justice have remained stationary while man progressed. In medicine man has stood still while the science of medicine has gone forward.

The lawyer enters upon his profession with the knowledge that everything necessary for the intelligent and honorable practice of the law is set forth somewhere in black and white. He knows that he cannot create new laws to meet particular cases, but that he must rely upon the just and equitable enforce-

ment of laws already in existence. He knows that the whole authority of government will assist him to protect the weak in any invasion of their rights, and that his duty consists in discovering these rights and enforcing them through the proper tribunal. This formula of the lawyer's duties is simple enough, but in practice it is a thing as complex and involved as the social conditions around him.

The lawyer who would stand at the head of his profession must not only understand the government, national, State and municipal, under which he lives, but he must have a knowledge of the governments from which his own has borrowed many of its institutions.

He must not only know the law of America, he must know the common law of England, the Napoleonic code of France, and the code which gives Justinian his place among the lawmakers of all time. He must not only know the law of his own State, he must understand the laws of sister States. Where he can find no precedent to meet the facts of the case that comes before him in New York reports, he must be able to go to the reports of Massachusetts, of Illinois, or of California to search for guidance. And when he has mastered the essentials of his own profession his task has just begun.

Because the law embraces the relations of every man in the State with every other man, because it concerns itself with the adjustment of the rights and duties of men in every occupation and in every walk of life, the great lawyer must have an encyclopedic knowledge of the social and business life about him. He must be able to understand the intricacies of insurance; he must have a thorough knowledge of ordinary business procedure. He must know the customs

of bankers and farmers, of soldiers and sailors, of all, in short, who may come to him for advice.

The motto of the Roman philosopher, "*Nil humanum alienum est*," might properly be taken as the lawyer's watchword. And it should be the earnest desire of every man who enters the legal profession to enrich his mind with wide information, to strengthen his powers with scholarly knowledge in order that no man who seeks his aid in the sacred name of justice may fail of his rights through any short-coming of his advocate.

There is a particular duty which rests upon the lawyer because of his training and his position in the body politic. Because he understands law he can intelligently shape it, because he has studied his government he is competent to guard it. And because he understands the social conditions about him he is in a position to lead the way to better things.

In every age and in every country the lawyer has exercised a profound influence on government and law, and as the American government depends almost entirely upon the intelligent devotion of its people, the American lawyer owes an especial duty to his fellow citizens to keep watch and guard over the political destiny of his country.

In the critical periods of our history the nation has received patriotic service from the legal profession. One of the reasons assigned by Edmund Burke for the proud spirit of independence in the thirteen colonies was the fact that many of their citizens were lawyers. The man who wrote the Declaration of Independence and most of the men who signed it had received a legal training. The American Constitution was naturally the product of legal minds, and Abraham Lincoln had defended the rights of individual clients in the courts

of justice before he pleaded a nation's cause before the bar of all the world.

Those of you, therefore, who are about to enter upon the practice of the law must bear in mind that the traditions of your profession, no less than the counsel of your heart, call upon you to be good citizens if you would be good lawyers.

There is no room in the temple of justice for the trickster or the knave. There is no room in America for the lawyer who would discredit the majesty and the justice of the republic's laws. But for the lawyer who strives for justice, who reveres right and hates wrong, who believes in his country and is willing to dedicate his energies to a better realization of the freedom and opportunity for which his country stands, America offers a career crowned with honor and success and bright with the rewards that merit brings to toil.

Where the lawyer can go back a hundred years to find a precedent to unravel a knotty case, the doctor can place no such dependence upon the past. His profession is essentially one of the present and has advanced to its existing state by patient steps worn in the rocky side of the centuries.

The lawyer can find instruction in the writings of Justinian, but the doctor can find little to help him in the miraculous cures of Galen. The lawyer can declare his work completed by the decision of the highest court; the doctor can never rest while there are diseases not yet understood and suffering not yet assuaged by his ministrations.

The history of medicine is the history of a constant striving toward a goal not yet distinctly seen. But the gap between the witch doctor of ancient barbarism and the trained physician of today is a measure

of human progress which is comforting in its assurance of progress still to come.

When I say that the doctor can get little instruction from the past, I do not mean that the past has not contributed to his present knowledge. Each age has made its own contribution to the science of medicine, at times pitifully meager, at others wonderfully great. Little has been left untouched by the physician in his search for knowledge. He has tested fire and water, earth and air, rock and grass for the means to fight disease and conquer death. He has been ready to accept instruction from any quarter and has received it in unexpected ways.

As Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes once remarked:

“Medicine learned from a monk how to use antimony, from a Jesuit how to cure ague, from a friar how to cut for stone, from a soldier how to treat gout, from a sailor how to keep off scurvy.”

Seeking, inquiring, observing, laboring, the doctors of two thousand years have waged the battle for human life. Defeat has not discouraged them, opposition has not dampened their ardor, and the medical knowledge of the twentieth century is built upon the labors of Hippocrates, just as our present knowledge will supply the foundation upon which the medical science of the future must stand.

Every science has depended for its progress upon the labors of a few great leaders, but in no science is the debt to the individual as great as it is in medicine. Hippocrates, who gave to Greek medicine its scientific spirit and to the medical profession its ethical ideas; Andreas Vesalius, who, in the sixteenth century, made anatomy the living, working science that it is today; William Harvey, who demonstrated the circulation of

the blood, and Louis Pasteur, the founder of bacteriology, formed stepping stones without which the present heights could never have been achieved. And the young man who today dedicates his life to medicine can claim from this and every other age the tribute of universal gratitude which the world acknowledges to these four, if in his turn he can carry the torch of his profession to fields not yet explored.

I have always believed that the highest field for scientific endeavor is that of the physician. Men in other walks of life contribute much to the happiness and welfare of their fellows. The lawyer, the engineer, the writer, the statesman, these in their separate fields do much to make life more livable and progress more rapid. But not one of them can do for others what the inspired genius of an Ehrlich, a Carrel, or a Mayo has done and can do for mankind.

Every discovery in medicine or surgery, every forward step, made after years of study and effort, means that millions of human beings of this and every other generation will be benefited by the labor of the discoverer.

To ease pain, to soften anguish, to bring the flush of health back to the pallid cheek, to restore the sparkle to eyes that have lost their lustre, to save for friends and loved ones those who are sinking in the Valley of the Shadow—what a glorious task, what an inspiring duty!

Yet this is the task, this is the duty of every doctor who is worthy of his profession, and to that task he should bring the full resources of heart and mind. He should not count the cost or grudge a single hour which brings him nearer to the conquest of disease.

The doctor of today stands on the shore of an uncharted country. Somewhere in the distance there are mountains where the weak may be made strong.

Somewhere, over the horizon, are valleys where pain and suffering will disappear. And you who are going out tonight to become part of the healing army must not falter until the distant goal is won. The pioneers of your profession have given their lives to arm you with the weapons of truth and knowledge. Press forward, therefore, with determined hearts and open minds, for all mankind is watching the progress of your banner with eager and expectant eyes.

Everything that I have said may be summed up in a few words. Whether your profession be law or medicine, whether you minister to the sick or to the well, to those bent with disease or to those who suffer from injustice, be worthy of your training and your opportunities, be true to a great past and a greater future.

And I can express no fairer wish for each one of you than that you may experience in your own lives the blessings which your professions represent—justice, good faith, health, long life and happiness.

COLUMBIA COUNTY

I am here tonight to recount some of the glories of Columbia County, and as a Columbia County man I want to do it in a manner historical rather than rhetorical. I believe that Columbia County has furnished more distinguished men than any other county of equal size and population in the State or the Union.

This county has produced one President, Van Buren, and another man, Tilden, who, in my opinion, was elected President, though deprived of his seat in the maneuverings of a fierce political contest. It has produced one Vice-president, three Governors of New

York State, one Governor of another State and a Governor, by appointment, of one of our Territories, three Foreign Ministers, one Secretary of State of the United States, one Secretary of War, one United States Attorney-General, one Judge of the United States District Court, several Supreme Court Justices, one or more Circuit Judges, three State Attorneys-General, two State Comptrollers and two United States Senators, besides many distinguished members of Congress and other Federal and State officers. Martin Van Buren, it is true, filled a number of these offices, but the county was honorably and brilliantly represented in each instance.

These are only the high spots, as it were, in the county's history, but they are sufficient to show the place the county has filled in the activities of the country. If there is another county of the size in the State with such a record I am unfamiliar with it.

The names of Martin Van Buren, Samuel J. Tilden, Elisha Williams, the Van Ness'—William W., John P., and Cornelius P.—Peter Van Schaack, Thomas P. Grosvenor, Robert R. Livingston, Daniel Cady, Lieut. William Howard Allen, Gen. William J. Worth, Ambrose Spencer, John C. Spencer, Benjamin F. Butler, Amos Eaton, John W. Edmonds, Ambrose L. Jordan, Jacob Rutzen Van Rensselaer, Nathaniel Potter Tallmadge, Daniel Bryant Tallmadge, John C. Hogeboom, James Vanderpoel, Peter Van Allen, Peter Sylvester, John Van Buren, Abraham Van Buren, are the bright stars in the firmament of Columbia's history—men who impressed their personality upon the State, the nation and the world.

Besides these there are thousands since their time who have profited by their example to give of their best to their native county, State and country. The record

is replete with examples of duty well done, of conscientious public effort, of brilliant attainment and conspicuous accomplishments.

The history of Columbia County is closely interwoven with the history of the Hudson River, "The Great River of the Mountains," as Hudson called it, that vies in beauty with the castled Rhine. The city of Hudson was named after Henry Hudson, the discoverer of the great river, and the famous navigator tells of his visit to the site in his journal, both on ascending and descending the river.

On his first visit he remained a whole day, and on his return, after exploring the river as far as Waterford, was detained four days by contrary winds, while his ship "Half Moon" swung at anchor off the shore.

The early Indians of Columbia County were extremely hospitable. At a point which the given latitude of the navigator would indicate to be near Stockport, the "Half Moon" lay-to and Henry Hudson's diary reads as follows:

"I sailed to the shore in one of their canoes with an old man who was chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women."

Then follows a description of a large, round house of oak bark with an arched roof, filled with corn and beans, and enough corn and beans near by drying "to fill three ships."

Then the diary reads:

"On our coming into the house two mats were immediately spread to sit upon, and some food was served in well-made red wooden bowls. Two men were also despatched with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog and skinned it in great haste with shells which they had got out of the

water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night; but I returned after a short time on board the ship * * *. These natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain with them they supposed that I was afraid of their bows; and taking their arrows they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire."

Hudson was still suspicious of the sincerity of the natives, and to test this, at Albany, he brought some of their principal men aboard ship, and then happened one of the most unique incidents in the early history of this country.

Hudson's men took the Indians down into the cabin and gave them so much wine and aqua vitæ that they were all merry. In the end one of them was drunk, and they could not tell how to take it.

But their tongues all had been loosened, and Henry Hudson, who had applied this test "to see whether they had any treachery in them," could find no whisper or sign of perfidy.

When the other Indians began to see the manner of their too venturesome friend change and his step grow unsteady until at last he lay prostrate on the deck they set up the death song, for they believed he was dead. Hudson and his company assured them as well as they could by signs that he was not dead and would be all right after a little while and they went ashore leaving the old chief "stiff" on board.

When they came back in the morning the recovered one assured them that never in all his life had he had such a good time as in arriving at and sleeping through that trance. He asked for some more of the strong water, and a little was given him and his friends, and they went ashore believing that their hosts surely belonged to a superior order of beings. They soon re-

turned again with gifts of tobacco and beads and "made an oration and showed the captain all the country round about." When this was not productive of a further exchange of courtesies they sent ashore for a great dish of venison, dressed by themselves, of which they insisted that the captain partake. Then "they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man."

After the old man had finally been persuaded to go ashore the ship got under way again, as small boats had been up to the rapids above Troy and shattered Hudson's hope of finding a northwest passage. It took the Half Moon twenty-four hours to get from Albany to the "middle ground" off Hudson, where she went ashore in the ooze. This and an adverse wind kept the Half Moon at Hudson for two days, which the captain used to store the ship with wood and to explore the neighboring country. This involved an exchange of ceremonious visits with the Indian village where he had first landed before going up to Albany. And when two canoe loads of Indians came off for the visit to the ship, what was Hudson's surprise to find as a principal personage among them the same old man who had "slept it off" on board at Albany. He had evidently hiked down the river trail and counted, with his neighbors in, on just one more ceremony in which he suspected the strong water might play a part.

The chief of this village also brought with his boarding party two old women and "two young maidens of the age of sixteen or seventeen years with them, who behaved themselves very modestly." The Indians gave presents of wampum and were again treated to schaaps in the Half Moon's cabin, but as a northerly breeze was springing up, and the captain did not want to kidnap any of his gentle visitors the glass was a mod-

erate one, for all went ashore expressing the earnest hope that the ship would come again. Among the gifts which Hudson gave these Indians were some hatchets of steel, and when a ship commanded by Hudson's mate and manned by some of his crew came back here the next year they found that the hatchets were hung suspended as ornaments around the necks of the chiefs. The mate showed them how to use them and they were delighted.

These Indians were the Mohicans, once dominant in the upper Hudson Valley but later conquered by the Mohawks backed by the Iroquois five nations. Their power was on the wane when Hudson came to them. They had the most coherent of all the numerous Indian traditions tending to trace a genesis some place on the Pacific and a hegira to the east. They claimed to the first white men that they had been the chief of all the Algonquin nations with a "long house" reaching from Albany to the Susquehanna. They called the Hudson river the "Shatemuc"; the Iroquois called it "Cahohatatea"; and the Delawares and southern tribes called it "Mohicanittuck", or "River of the Mohicans".

Thus ends the record of the first entrance of the white man upon the site of the city of Hudson. It would have been interesting to look in upon that first function of one of our very "first families," doubtless conversation was limited to the very smallest of small talk. But they had eloquent gestures, and that of breaking their arrows, spoke louder than words.

The fact that this banquet was held on the site on the present city of Hudson was substantiated by finding the unmistakable remains of an Indian village on this spot, when excavating for building purposes at the foot of Warren Street.

The origin of the American Indian is lost in the dim mysteries of the past, their tradition differing in many particulars and all equally untrustworthy. Those inhabiting the region of Columbia County, with whom the discoverer exchanged such cordial hospitalities, where the Mohicans, the last of whose tribe is endeared to later generations by the genius of Fenimore Cooper. They were originally a powerful tribe of mighty warriors, having their council seat at Schodack called in their language "Esquitak," "the fire-place of the nation," and were in possession of a wide domain.

On the 15th of June in the year 1662, Jan Franz Van Hoesan, a native of Holland, purchased a tract of land from the Mohicans. This tract included the ground on which the city of Hudson is built, and a portion of Greenport. It extended along the river from Stockport creek on the north, to the mouth of Kishna's Kill, or creek, on the south which empties into the South Bay near Mt. Merino, and on the east to Claverack creek. These lands were confirmed to him by patent from Governor Nicoll, at Albany, on May 14, 1667. After him came other Dutch settlers, they built churches and school houses, Claverack having been one of the first out-stations of the Reformed church.

Washington Irving has preserved a Columbia County Dutch Schoolmaster — Ichabod Crane — in the amber of his drollery, but like his other Knickerbockers, the caricature is so greatly exaggerated as to destroy the resemblance to the original.

Columbia County was formed from Albany on the 4th of April, 1788, by an act of the Legislature, which provided "that it should be Columbia, and that a court house and gaol should be erected in Claverack district."

Claverack remained the county seat until the year 1805 when it was changed to Hudson.

Some of the foremost men of the day displayed their budding talents in that old court house at Claverack during the 18 years of its occupancy by the courts; among them being Ambrose Spencer, Martin Van Buren, Elisha Williams and Alexander Hamilton.

When in 1774 the patriots of Albany organized a regiment the "First Claverack Battalion" was formed and was soon drilling on the clover reaches near the village.

During the Revolution the war never really touched Columbia County. In fact the county can boast that an armed enemy never set foot within its borders. But there was much violence there with the bands of Tories from the county's own folk. Among these, who were promptly made outlaw, a regiment was formed with Jeremiah Hogeboom as Colonel, and nine companies, all commanded by men whose names are still prominent in Columbia—Esseltyn, Van Alstyn, Van Hoesen, etc. Eight of them apparently saw only home guard service. But the ninth, under the command of Capt. John McKinstry of Livingston, campaigned as far into the enemy's country as the St. Lawrence river.

There, at the battle of the Cedars, May 19, 1776, McKinstry was the central figure of one of the most thrilling and romantic incidents of the Revolution with Thayendanege, the great Mohawk chieftain, and Captain Brant, hero of so many gallant escapades. McKinstry was captured by Thayendanege's Indians and they were preparing to murder him by torture. Brant stood imperturbably by. McKinstry at last got clear enough of his bonds to make, as Brant's eye rested on him, the Masonic hailing signal of distress. Immediately the great chief, himself an accepted mason, strode among his yelling minions and cut Mc-

Kinstry free. His men snarled at him at being cheated of their greatest delight, the sight of a captive being brave under torture, but his authority was so great that they feared to do more than snarl, and Brant and McKinstry were fast friends for life.

Whenever the great Brant came to Albany he went on to Livingston to see Colonel McKinstry, and the Masonic records of Hudson show that in 1805 McKinstry took him to a lodge meeting in Hudson where he was received with the greatest honor, and some curiosity.

Robert W. Chambers, in his last book, "The Hidden Children" makes use of this Brant incident and further accounts of the cruelty of Walter Butler's and other Tory and Indian forces towards Continental prisoners of war, though Chambers takes Brant away from the scene after once setting a prisoner free and brings Walter Butler along to order him burned by the Indians, which is done. This may be fine fiction, but it is not history; Brant saved McKinstry and they both narrated the details of the incident years later between steins and pipes at festive gatherings in Hudson and in Albany.

Another incident of McKinstry's life would indicate that his character held more of Irish impetuosity and impatience of restraint than his Scotch name would indicate. His company was in the regiment of Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer of Claverack during the Mohawk Valley campaign and the expedition for the relief of Fort Brown. Slow progress was being made through the wilderness on this trip and McKinstry remonstrated with his Colonel that they would arrive only too late. This irritated the Colonel, and no sooner had McKinstry spoken than Van Rensselaer ordered a halt for dinner. Thereupon McKinstry, in

a passion, broke his sword before his Colonel's eyes, declaring that with such a commander he would have no need for a weapon. The record does not tell what happened to him for this.

The history of journalism in Columbia county shows that the first paper published there was "The Columbian Balance," started in 1801 by Ezra Sampson, George Chittenden and Harry Croswell. In 1803 Mr. Croswell published in "The Balance" a violent attack on President Jefferson for which he was indicted by the grand jury of Columbia county. The case came to trial in February, 1804, in the court house at Claverack, before Chief Justice Lewis. Attorney-General Ambrose Spencer conducted the case for the people, and William W. Van Ness and Alexander Hamilton appeared for the defendant. The trial attracted widespread attention, both from the nature of the question at issue and from the eminence of the counsel engaged. The defendant was convicted but never punished. It is said to have been the last case in which Hamilton appeared. Five months afterward he fell by the pistol of Aaron Burr.

Chancellor Livingston gave to Fulton's steamboat its name. It was his money and encouragement of the young inventor and steamboat man which made possible the building of the famous steamship and "Clermont" was so named in honor of the country residence of the Chancellor. One of Fulton's descendants now resides at Claverack — so it will be seen that Columbia county has ever been interested in the progress of navigation.

Columbia county has received within its borders many distinguished men, one of whom was General Lafayette, who visited Hudson in 1824 and it is re-

corded "Lafayette met with a reception the most heartfelt and joyous ever bestowed upon man."

Reverting again to the schools of the county, the most famous perhaps was the Hudson Academy, chartered in 1807, and among its first teachers was Amasa J. Parker, afterward Justice of the Supreme Court, and father of Amasa J. Parker of Albany.

Foremost among the legal talent of Columbia county was Ambrose Spencer, who practiced law in Claverack and Hudson. Offices of trust were showered upon him and he became in quick succession, attorney-general of the State, a judge of the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice, from which he retired in 1823.

John C. Spencer, the oldest son of Judge Spencer, was a worthy son of a distinguished father. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1839, was made Secretary of War in 1841 and Secretary of the Treasury in President Tyler's cabinet in 1843. Mr. Spencer formed an intimate friendship with M. de Tocqueville during his visit to this country in 1838 and annotated his great work on "The American Democracy."

Martin Van Buren was the only President of the United States that Columbia county has produced, if we expect the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden. Every unprejudiced person, whatever his party affiliations may be, will now admit that Mr. Tilden was rightfully elected to the presidency. He was prevented from taking his seat by measures familiar to all, but it is certain that old Columbia was entitled to the honor of having a second son in that distinguished office.

Martin Van Buren, a son of Kinderhook, is too well known to you to need elaborated reference here. In 1812 he was elected a State senator; in 1815, Attorney-General of the State, and in 1823 upon the death of Governor De Witt Clinton, he succeeded him as Gov-

error. He resigned this office soon after to become Secretary of State under Jackson. In 1831 he was minister to England, but the senate having failed to confirm his appointment, he returned home only to be elected Vice-President on the ticket with Jackson. In 1836 he became President.

Washington Irving lived for a time at Lindenwald — the home of Van Buren — as the tutor to the children of Peter Van Ness, and while there wrote some of his well known sketches.

John Van Buren, a son of Martin Van Buren, was elected Attorney-General in 1845. While visiting England in 1838, on professional business, he danced with Princess Victoria and ever after received the sobriquet of “ Prince John.”

William W. Van Ness, a native of Claverack, was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court by Governor Lewis in 1807. Benjamin F. Butler was Attorney-General in Jackson's and Van Buren's cabinets. Among the famous lawyers of his time none was accorded a more prominent place, as an orator and publicist, than Elisha Williams. As the leader of the Federal party many offices were pressed upon him, but he declined them all, except that of Member of Assembly and of the Constitutional Convention of 1812.

John W. Edmonds, in 1845, was appointed a judge of the First Circuit Court, and, in September of the same year, presided at the second trial of the Anti-rent leader, Smith A. Boughton, known as “ Big Thunder.”

Columbia County has given to the other learned professions many men of note. Dr. Robert G. Frary was one of the first members of the New York State Medical Society and attained eminence in his profession. Dr. Frederick Belding Power ranks as one of the four

great chemists of the world. William A. Nash is one of the accredited authorities on finance. Charles Dickens, Bret Harte, Henry James, George William Curtis, Bayard Taylor and George Kennan, are among the great literary men who favored Columbia County with their presence at various times.

Lady Burdett-Coutts had relatives in Hudson and Ion Perdicaris, who was captured by the bandit chief, Raisuli, in Algiers, was a guest of the Hudson Social Reading Club at one time.

So you see this fine little county has been on the map since the beginning of American independence.

Among the others who distinguished themselves, not heretofore mentioned, was Cornelius F. Van Ness, who was elected Governor of Vermont for two terms and declined a third in 1826. Chancellor Livingston needs no mention, because his name is a household word in Columbia County. Nathaniel Potter Tallmadge was appointed Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin by President Tyler in 1844.

Is it any wonder that at the outset I asked if any other county could make so good a showing. You and I have reason to be proud of our home county.

Born and raised in Columbia County, I love every hill and every dale within its borders. There I dreamed youth's beautiful dream and chased childhood's golden butterflies. As a boy I fished and swam the streams of Columbia County and tramped its fields in nutting and in hunting time. I knew every field whereon we boys were allowed to play baseball; I knew the ponds that froze earliest and melted latest in skating time; I knew the boys whom to tackle and whom to avoid if one wanted to make a reputation in the world of fisticuffs; I knew where the sweetest apples grew and were easy to get; I knew where the best grapes

grew and were not well guarded. In youth I attended each county fair at Hudson and at Chatham, there to meet old friends and see some neighbor either win or lose the county trot with a horse upon which his neighbors had staked their sportive all. I have roamed the hills of Lebanon, the flats of Kinderhook, the streets of Claverack and the roads of Germantown. I know every hamlet in the county with its history and tradition, and I love them all. I am versed in the history of Columbia County and glory in it, but most of all I have pleasant memories of the friends of my boyhood still living in the old county, and I hope they sometimes think as pleasantly of me as I always think of them.

THE NURSE, HER DUTIES AND HER DIGNITY

**Address, before an Assemblage of Nurses, Albany,
1914**

I know little about medicine and less about nursing. That is why I address you tonight. On occasions like this an address is generally delivered by some one who knows nothing about the subject of the night. No program nowadays would be complete without such a speaker. That is why politicians are invited to speak before farmers, farmers before lawyers, doctors before bankers, and miners before aviators. I suppose the explanation of the anomaly is a search for the different angle of view. What, however, I lack in the knowledge of nursing and medicine is more than balanced by the doctors on the program. Anyway when a man talks about what he knows, he is hampered by facts. When he doesn't know what he talks about he can give his imagination wings. That is why I like

to talk about what I do not know about. That is why I am glad to address a few words to you tonight.

Young ladies, you belong to no mushroom aristocracy. You are of an old and honored craft. Even before the dawn of Christianity the nurse wore a crown of respect. When Pharaoh's daughter found the infant Moses in the bullrushes the Bible says she turned him over to a nurse who safely piloted him through the ills and troubles of infancy and youth. So it seemed that, after all, we owe the Ten Commandments not to Pharaoh's daughter, but to a nurse. Of course there always have been and ever will be people on this earth who won't thank the nurse for saving to the world the Ten Commandments. These people think we might better have lost Moses than found the Ten Commandments. These people by constitution, nature and proclivity are opposed to all "thou shalt nots" in general, and to the ten "thou shalt nots" of the Decalogue in particular. Moses was liberal, very liberal, with "thou shalt nots," but not half as liberal as nurses and doctors today. Every time I hear a doctor or a nurse say to some sick person, "thou shalt not do this" and "thou shalt not do that," I say to myself, that's a habit of the medical profession and all its satellites inherited from the nurse of Moses. She acquired the "thou shalt not" habit from association with Moses, then passed it along to all the other members of the healing craft.

The people of antiquity held the nurse in high esteem. This is shown by a verse in Genesis, the very first book of the Bible. When Jacob, who afterward became Israel, was making his great march, Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, died. She was buried beneath Bethel under an oak tree which, in tribute to their sorrow at the loss of Deborah, Jacob and his people

called the Weeping Oak. And from that day to this that oak has borne this poetic name of sorrow. The oak that weeps for Deborah causes the winds that sigh through its branches to murmur a hymn of praise to all who dedicate themselves to the healing art of nursing. In this weeping oak the heroes of antiquity christened an evergreen memorial of honor and of tribute to all the nursing craft.

All the nurses in the Bible are women. No man appears in that honor roll. It is the one sphere in the Bible where women take precedence over men. And so today, complaint is often made that women are encroaching on man's sphere in the world's work. But in the field of labor which you have chosen, you crowd no man to the wall, you force no man to alien toil, for in nursing man is as much out of his element as a fish on a sand bank. To you nature has given the graciousness, the soothing powers, the peerless patience, the indescribable endurance, the ineffable qualities found in no man and yet absolutely indispensable to the welfare of the sick-room. The nurse stands as an angel on the threshold of life and of death, and though the ancients painted the angels as all males, we today know the ancients were wrong and that all angels are females.

Historians and poets describe in language that thrills, the work of the nurses in India and Persia long before the Christian Era. They tell us of their valiant service in the early-hospitals founded by the Christian Church, like the great one founded by Basil and Caesarea in the year 375; in the hospital of God in Paris; in the two hospitals of Jerusalem during the Crusades and in the hospitals early connected with the Universities of Bologna and London. And this angelic effort has been duplicated by nurses in every

age and generation and is repeated today a thousand-fold with the greater efficiency, the greater success, the greater humanitarianism made possible by the brightened lamps of science and the increased brotherhood of man toward his fellowman.

Young ladies, your work wears a lovely face. When God gave us light he gave us woes. Mankind as a rule flees from suffering and from sorrow. You have chosen to live with them and to deprive them of their stings, and you have chosen well, for those who do noble deeds are twice born. Most people have a deedless creed. Your creed is deed. Your work is a living embodiment of the Golden Rule. We cannot do all things, but we all can do something. Most of us do ordinary things. You are going forth to do noble things. Most of us make money and leave our names in buildings of brick and mortar. You may gain little wealth, but you will leave your names on the red-leaved tablets of grateful human hearts. Our deeds determine us more than we determine our deeds. Your deeds will win you gratitude and blessings more priceless than gold or silver or diamonds. I take it you will work but little among millionaires; I take it you will work a lot among the poor. The poor are always with us and those who help the poor tread the paths of glory and win the halo of martyrs. The rich can help themselves. Heroes and heroism help the poor, and therein, Herbert Spencer says, lies the essence of altruism.

All the beautiful sentiments in the world weigh less than a single lovely act. In the words of Schiller, when "the moor has done his work, the moor may go," and when the final summons calls you to the great beyond, your noble deeds will crowd around you like the countless stars of the night and blind the recording

angel to faults and peccadilloes on the other side of the ledger. Your toil will be like the eucalyptus trees, which have been set out in the marshes of the Campagna from which a healthful tonic is diffused to countervail malaria; your toil will be like the trees of Paradise whose leaves are for the healing of nations. Self-preservation is no longer the first law of nature. The salvation of human beings — the physical as well as the spiritual — is the ruling law of the world.

Young ladies, you belong to an aristocracy, not of wealth, but an aristocracy of thought and action — the aristocracy that has pushed along the wheels of progress, the aristocracy that has never encumbered the earth, the aristocracy that has made deserts bloom and life worth living. And, after all, the true wealth of nations does not consist in dollars and cents, it consists in the health, the happiness and the lives of its people. These you are going forth to save. These you are to help preserve for your brothers and your sisters of the human family. You are going forth to save people. This is your Christ-like mission, and on this Christ-like mission let me quote you as an inspiration, "The Dream," by Ivan Turgenev:

"I saw myself, in dream, a youth, almost a boy, in a low pitched wooden church. The slim wax candles gleamed, spots of red before the old pictures of the saints.

"A ring of colored light encircled each tiny flame. Dark and dim it was in the church. But there stood before me many people. All fair-haired, peasant heads. From time to time, they began swaying, falling, rising again, like the ripe ears of wheat, when the winds of summer passes in slow undulation over them.

“All at once some man came up from behind me and stood beside me.

“I did not turn towards him; but at once I felt that this man was Christ!

“Emotion, curiosity, awe overmastered me suddenly. I made an effort and looked at my neighbor.

“A face like every one’s, a face like all men’s faces. The eyes looked a little upwards, quietly and intently. The lips closed but not compressed; the upper lip as it were resting on the lower; a small beard parted in two. The hands folded still. The clothes on him like every one’s.

“‘What sort of Christ is this?’ I thought. ‘Such an ordinary, ordinary man! It can’t be.’

“I turned away. But I had hardly turned my eyes away from this ordinary man than it was none other than Christ standing beside me.

“Again I made an effort over myself. And again, the same face like all men’s faces, the same everyday, though unknown, features. And suddenly my heart sank, and I came to myself. Only then I realized that just such a face — a face like all men’s faces — is the face of Christ.”

TRIBUTE TO CHIEF JUSTICE CULLEN AND JUSTICE GRAY

Address Delivered at the Farewell Dinner Tendered Justices Cullen and Gray of the Court of Appeals, at the Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y., December 18, 1913

For the first time in my official life I find myself at odds with the Constitution of the State. Heretofore I have accepted as wise and salutary the provisions

of the Constitution which make the Executive branch of the government co-ordinate with and not superior to the judicial. The sound reasons which inclined the framers of the basic laws of State and Nation to keep our judges free from all external influence, have always appealed to me with particular force.

But tonight I regret that the Executive Department cannot impose its mandates upon the judicial department. Tonight I find myself at odds with the Constitution I have sworn to uphold.

If there were only five minutes during which time the Governor of the State could be given power over the State's judges, I would devote them to but one purpose. I would turn to the distinguished gentlemen who are the guests of honor here.

I would remind them that they have sat upon the highest bench of the greatest State in the Union, with dignity and with ability. I would compel them to remember that they have not only lived up to the best traditions of bench and bar, but have created a new tradition.

I would stand them in a corner and inform them that the confidence which the people of New York place in their Court of Appeals is due in no small part to the splendid services of Judge Cullen and Judge Gray. Then, with the sternest demeanor I could muster, I would order these gentlemen to remain in the service of the State. And I'd order out the militia if necessary to enforce my mandate.

Unfortunately, my personal acquaintance with Judge Gray has not been as extended as my appreciation of his talents has led me to desire. But I have known him, and know him well, as his personality was expressed through his contributions to public thought. As one who finds "Nature to advantage dressed" a

thing of perennial joy, his closely written and beautifully phrased decisions have delighted my ear, as they have commanded my respect. As an unworthy neophyte who can judge more of the language of a decision than of its intricacies I may say that Judge Gray has almost made a literature of law.

Of Judge Cullen there is little that I can say that has not been said already. Easily the most commanding figure in our recent legal history, his best eulogy must come from a lawyer and not from a Governor who knows more about the mysteries of a newspaper than about the niceties of law.

But from the time, many years ago, when I first achieved the right to call Judge Cullen my friend, he has had a personal, a private eulogy written on the tablets of my heart.

I was an unpretentious youngster when I met him and he was already a jurist of note. But we found that we had a common bond which bridged the distance between us. I discovered that the judge, like myself, was a globe-trotter in the world of books. If there is an author that the judge and I have not discussed he must have written in Choctaw or Esperanto.

One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin, so one touch of Irish blood makes all full-blooded Irishmen and all fractional-blooded Irishmen more than brothers. Judge Cullen has a touch of Irish blood in him. I have all Irish blood in me. And so we have become more than brothers and we have found a community of brotherhood in the authors of Celtic blood.

We have swash buckled together through the romances of Lever, we have laughed with Lover at the Handy-Andyisms of Handy Andy; we have gone with Swift to the land of the Liliputians and the realm of English politics; we have thundered with Grattan and

epigrammed with George Bernard Shaw; we have floated along the placid literary stream of Goldsmith and we have enjoyed the melodious songs of Moore—even if we can't sing them—and together we have plucked pearls and diamonds and rubies from the glittering pages of Lalla Rookh and filled our hands full of the Spanish gold of Canon Hannay. We have analyzed with Lecky in his "History of European Morals" and synthesized with Edmund Burke in his efforts to win American freedom from an English Parliament. And then, by way of dessert, and as a medium of relaxation Judge Cullen has, to my amazement and admiration, repeated from memory paragraph after paragraph of the resounding periods and crashing short sentences of the master of them all—Thomas Babington Macaulay.

The world may not know the secret of Judge Cullen's fine literary style; I do. Judge Cullen knows Macaulay by heart and all men who do are masters of the literary art.

There was only one thing about which the judge and I ever firmly disagreed. Napoleon Bonaparte has always been one of my heroes. Napoleon's tremendous energy, his broad vision, his genius for discovering what was needed by his people and then supplying it, these qualities have more than counterbalanced in my mind his overvaulting ambition and martial ruthlessness.

Judge Cullen has always handed in a dissenting opinion on this matter. He regards Bonaparte as a destroyer of constitutional liberty, and as such refuses to admit his greatness.

And between you and me, if I were ever compelled to argue a case before Judge Cullen, I should take care

to see that Bonaparte was quoted as an authority for the other side.

We hear much these days of the recall of judges and there is one recall that I should like to apply right now. For if the State of New York had the power of recall it would call our guests of honor back to the Bench they have illuminated and adorned.

But even if this is impossible there is one recall already in operation which not even these great defenders of constitutional law can stop. For whenever the citizens of this State pause to reflect upon the sterling record of their highest court they must forever recall Judge Cullen and Judge Gray with affectionate esteem.

There is no indelicacy I hope in asking the members of this bar association whether they have ever heard that mellifluous greeting, "Good morning, judge." Your appearances in court can easily be explained on professional grounds. Tonight our greeting is only slightly changed from the proverbial salutation. Tonight we say "Good evening, judge."

The morning and the noontide are gone. The afternoon is passing. The judge is coming from his chambers with a portfolio under his arm. And in that portfolio are papers that deal with no dry and dusty tale of law. They are the credentials of a life spent in the service of a commonwealth. On one is written "honesty and integrity." On another is "dignity and kindness." On a third is "legal soundness," and on a fourth "intellectual superiority."

Each paper, and there are many of them, bears upon the case in hand. The case is the claim of one Edgar M. Cullen and one John Clinton Gray upon the gratitude, the respect and the affection of the State of New York. And every paper in the portfolio is a supporting affidavit.

"Good evening, judge." The shadows are beginning to fall but they are friendly shadows. The toil of the day is over but the sweet eventide remains. The eventide when friends and companions gather to talk of the day's triumphs, to plan for the triumphs still ahead. The stars begin to glisten and each star is a benediction for labors well performed and duty nobly done. The evening falls, but its peaceful advent is welcome. Its repose, its "*otium cum dignitate*" has been earned. The day has been filled with honor, the night must be rich with honored peace.

"Good evening, judge." We love you both.

THE CITY OF ALBANY

Speech at Banquet of Albany Chamber of Commerce at Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, February 6, 1914

If I were a poet I would sing the glories of this old town in verse that would live in the world of rhyme.

If I were a historian I would recount the rôles we played in peace, the parts we had in war.

If I had some magic mystic power I would reflect upon the retina of each of you Phil Sheridan and his black charger on that wild ride to Cedar Creek from twenty miles away, and that other Phil, Phil Schuyler, at Saratoga and a hundred other spots trying to make this starry banner of ours typify a nation. Upon the retina of your eye I would reflect these two Phils as symbols of Albany's contributions to the misery and majesty, the humanity and inhumanity of the woeful strife of war.

Then from the boom of guns I would turn you to the hum of peace.