



# By Theodore Roosevelt

## Governor Hughes, the Legislature, and Primary Reform

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**BELIEVE** that Governor Hughes has been supported by the bulk of the wisest and most disinterested public opinion as regards most of his measures and positions, and I think that this has been markedly the case as regards direct primary nominations. I know that many honest and sincere men are on principle opposed to Governor Hughes on this point, and I know also that the proposed reform will very possibly accomplish less than its extreme advocates expect; while I am well aware, as of course all thinking men must be, that the worth of any such measure in the last resort depends upon the character of the voters, and that no patent device will ever secure good government unless the people themselves devote sufficient energy, time, and judgment to make the device work. Finally, I freely admit that here and there, where the principle of direct nominations has been applied in too crude shape or wrongheadedly, it has, while abolishing certain evils, produced or accentuated others—in certain cases, for instance, putting a premium upon the lavish expenditure of money.

But while I freely admit all this, I nevertheless feel, in the first place, that on the fundamental issue of direct primary nominations the Governor is right, and, in the second place, that, as the measure finally came up for action in the state legislature, it was well-nigh free from all objections save those of the men who object to it because they are fundamentally opposed to any change whatever in the desired direction. The bill provided only for direct popular action in the primaries in relatively small geographical and political communities, thereby making the experiment first where there was least liability to serious objection, and avoiding or deferring the task of dealing with those big communities where the difficulties and dangers to be overcome would be greatest. Moreover, while guaranteeing full liberty of individual action, it also provided for the easy maintenance of party organization, and thereby avoided some very real dangers—among them that of encouraging the use of masses of the minority party in any given district to dictate the actions of the majority party. In other words, the proposed bill, while it marked a very real step in advance, was tentatively and cautiously framed, and provided all possible safeguards against abuses. If in practice it had failed to work in any particular, there would have been no possible difficulty in making whatever amendments or changes were necessary.

The Republican party was in the

majority in both houses of the legislature which refused to carry out the Republican governor's recommendations; and although it was only a minority of the Republican members which brought about this refusal, the party cannot escape a measure of responsibility for the failure; but it is only just to remember that a clear majority of the Republican members of each house supported the bill, whereas three-fourths or over of the Democrats opposed it. This is one of the cases where it is easier to apportion individual than party responsibility.

Those who believe that by their action they have definitely checked the movement for direct primary primaries are, in my judgment, mistaken. In its essence, this is a movement to make the government more democratic, more responsive to the wishes and needs of the people as a whole. With our political machinery it is essential to have an efficient party, but the machinery ought to be suited to democratic and not oligarchic customs and habits. The question whether in a self-governing republic we shall have self-governing parties is larger than the particular bill. We hold that the right of popular self-government is incomplete unless it includes the right of the voters not merely to choose between candidates when they have been nominated, but also the right to determine who these candidates shall be. Under our system of party government, therefore, the voters should be guaranteed the right to determine within the ranks of their respective organizations who the candidates of the parties will be, no less than the right to choose between the candidates when the candidates are presented. There is no desire to break down the responsibility of party organization under duly constituted party leadership, but there is a desire to make this responsibility real and to give the members of the party the right to say whom they desire to execute this leadership. In New York state no small part of the strength of the movement has come from the popular conviction that many of the men most prominent in party leadership tend at times to forget that in a democracy the function of a political leader must normally be to lead, not to drive. We, the men who compose the great bulk of the community, wish to govern ourselves. We welcome leadership, but we wish our leaders to understand that they derive their strength from us, and that, although we look to them for guidance, we expect this guidance to be in accordance with our interests and our ideals.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

### IDEAS ABOUT THE RAINBOW

Queer Notions Held by People of Different Countries Regarding the Bow.

In many countries the rainbow is spoken of as being a great bent pump or siphon tube, drawing water from the earth by mechanical means. In parts of Russia, in the Don country, and also in Moscow and vicinity, it is known by a name which is equivalent to "the bent water-pipe." In nearly all Slavonic dialects it is known by terms signifying "the cloud siphon," and in Hungary it is "the pump," "Noah's pump" and "God's pump." The Malay natives call it by the same name that they do their manded water cobra, only that they add "boba" (meaning double-headed), the equivalent in our language being "the double-headed water-snake."

They tell you that the bow is a real thing of life, that it drinks with its two mouths, and that the water is transferred to the clouds through an opening in the upper side of the centre of the great arch. In the province of Charkov, Russia, the rainbow is said to drain the wells, and to prevent this many are provided with heavy, tight-fitting stone platforms.

In the province of Saratov the bow

#### Not Then.

Bacon—I see a patent has been granted for an attachment to rocking chairs to operate a fan to cool the occupants.

Egbert—And when a man goes into the dark room and stubs his toe against the rocker, we do not think the new attachment will cool him off any.—Yonkers Statesman.

#### The Common Notion.

"What's your idea of success?" "Getting \$50 for a nickel's worth of work."

is said to be under the control of three angels, one of whom pumps the water, the second "feeds" the clouds, and the third sends the rain. Many improbable and impossible things would happen if you could only get in reach of "the bow."

The little Turk is told that if he would have a silver head, with gold teeth and ruby eyes, he has but to touch the orange stripe. In Greece they say that the person so unfortunate as to stumble over the end of the bow will have his or her sex immediately changed.

#### Only Classified.

"I confess to being rather particular about my pajamas," said the fastidious man, "and I had an experience last week that nearly gave me nervous prostration, until I saw the humor of the situation. I was staying in a little country town down in Maryland, and it was necessary to send some soiled clothing to the laundry, the one laundry of which the village boasted."

"Judge of my surprise when my stuff was returned to me to find that my pajamas had been heavily starched, with decided creases ironed down in front. I was not only enraged, but mystified as well, until, in looking over the bill, I came to this item: 'One tennis suit.....35 cents.'"

#### Had a Native Gift for It.

Artist—Ah, Giles, good morning. I want you to come and give me a few sittings some time. I suppose you can sit?

Giles—Can I set? Lor', yes—like an old hen!

#### A Plunge Into the Prosaic.

"See the beautiful sunset colors on the water," said the poetic young woman.

"I'm glad to know what they are," replied the near-sighted man. "I thought the bathing suits had faded."



### HOPE FOR NARCOTIC VICTIMS

Actual Thirst or Craving for Alcohol Is Not Inherited—Curious Selective Action.

The causes and effects of alcoholism form a vast subject about which much truth and many falsehoods have been written. The falsehoods have done more than passing harm. For they have caused in the minds of the ignorant a disbelief in the truth, and the strict truth displays a terrible picture, writes Alexander Lambert, M. D., in Success Magazine. The use of alcohol is the most common and widespread of all the narcotics, and unlike morphine and cocaine it may be indulged in modestly without ever being taken to excess; but, also, unlike morphine and cocaine, when used even in moderation, it may cause pathologic changes in the body, and when taken in excess invariably produces degenerative changes in the various viscera.

Alcohol has a curious selective action, and as individuals reach differently to equal doses, so, too, do individuals show different pathologic changes from equal indulgence. The brain and central nervous system, or the heart and arteries, or the liver and kidneys, may each separately bear the brunt of the alcoholic poison. Thus the brain and nervous system may entirely escape the poison, and the individual die of cardiac or other visceral degenerations; or the brain and nervous system may become early degenerated and the viscera escape, and the chronic alcoholic live long years, a nuisance and a curse to his community. Unfortunately, when alcoholic excesses are committed in the youthful, formative period of life, the brain and nervous system are the more prone to be affected. The man who indulges in alcoholic excesses is like a man who recklessly signs drafts which he never expects to be cashed in, but when overtaken with acute disease or accident these drafts are cashed in with pitiless insistence. The effects of alcohol do not always remain confined to the generation which commits the over-indulgence, since idiocy, epilepsy, moral degeneracy and weakness, unstable mentality are more often found in the children of alcoholic parents than in those of non-alcoholic parentage. The actual thirst or craving is not inherited, but the weaker moral character which is bequeathed easily gives way to any temptation and quickly forms habits of excessive indulgence.

### NATION'S LARGE DRINK BILL

Decrease in Amount of Alcohol Consumed in United States Shown by Estimate.

That the people of America are beginning to grow more sober in their habits again is the apparent lesson of the American Grocer's estimate of the nation's drink bill for 1909.

In spite of ten years of prohibition agitation 1907 was the banner year for the liquor trade. Consumption reached then its maximum. In two years the population increased by 2,749,966, but the money spent upon alcoholic drinks fell off \$110,185,600. This was not an economic after effect of the panic; that would have been more apparent in 1908; besides, tea, coffee and cocoa established in 1909 a record.

The per capita use of spirits in 1909 was the smallest since 1900; of beer since 1905. Of both there was a decline in 1908 and again in 1909. The consumption of wine alone increased, but by a trifle.

The treasury in 1909 derived from spirits \$109,868,817; from fermented liquors, \$75,550,754; from imported alcohols, \$15,650,113, and from tobacco, \$59,355,084. The average tax per capita from all these sources was \$2.93.

Taking the estimated retail price of alcohols and adding coffee, tea and cocoa, the 1909 drink bill of the nation was:

Malt liquors .....\$ 904,212,837

Spirituous liquors ..... 539,469,744

Wines ..... 131,881,657

Coffee, tea, etc. .... 216,440,988

Total .....\$1,792,005,226

This is \$9.15 for each family of five persons—enough in all conscience! But the alcoholic part of the expenditure shows now for two successive years a decided tendency to slacken.

#### Cardinal Gibbons' Views.

Cardinal Gibbons recently expressed the view that under present conditions it might be difficult to enforce prohibitory laws in some neighborhoods now, but that the movement in favor of temperance reform so strong now will grow still stronger, until in every neighborhood the great vice of drunkenness will be brought under control.

#### Tax Aids Temperance.

The reimposition of an increased whisky tax has aroused much resentment in Ireland, but all who are interested in temperance cannot but approve of the tax, which worked a reduction in drunkenness of from 30 to 70 per cent. The Irish people are now drinking stout, which is not half so injurious as bad whisky.

### MEAN LOWER RATES

EFFECT OF WATERWAY COMPETITION ON THE RAILWAYS OF THE COUNTRY.

### DIRECT AND INDIRECT SAVING

Conservative Estimate Is That in a Single Year it Would Be More Than Enough to Discharge the Entire National Debt.

It was stated in a previous article that waterways produce both direct and indirect savings in the cost of transportation and also exert what may be called a creative effect. As an instance of the direct saving it was shown that the 100,000,000 tons of freight handled on the great lakes in 1907 were carried for \$550,000,000 less than it would have cost by rail. If the opinion of the United States army engineers is correct—and this opinion is based upon results actually achieved on the rivers of Europe—we have a number of rivers on which, when properly improved, freight can be carried for less than on the lakes and many rivers on which it can be carried for much less than by rail. If, therefore, the plan advocated by the National Rivers and Harbors congress should be carried out—which includes the improvement of all our rivers to such extent as shall be found advisable after expert examination—the direct saving in cost of transportation would be vastly increased. It would probably be increased tenfold, but if it were only doubled the direct saving in a single year would be more than enough to pay off the national debt.

But this is not the end of the benefits which the general improvement of our waterways would bring, it is only the beginning. Beside the direct saving there is an indirect saving which results from the effect of waterways on railway freight rates, for rates are always lower on railroads which meet water competition than on those which do not. The amount of this saving is not everywhere the same, owing to difference in conditions, but we can get a good general idea of it from a study of some simple instances.

#### Freight Rates Affected.

Freight rates from New York to Salt Lake or Spokane are much higher than to San Francisco or Seattle, although the distance is much less, because goods can be carried to the Pacific coast by water, around Cape Horn, while there is no waterway of any kind to the inland cities named. It is not the ocean alone that affects railroad rates. Compare the rates on first class merchandise to river towns and inland towns situated about 250 miles from St. Louis. Towns on the upper Mississippi get a rate of 33 cents a hundred, inland towns pay 63 cents; towns on the Ohio pay 41 cents, inland towns in the same region pay 87.

A still more striking instance, and one showing the direct result of waterway improvement, is to be found on the Columbia river. Before the locks at the cascades were built freight rates on nails, and that class of goods, from Portland to The Dalles were \$6.40 per ton. As soon as the locks were finished and the steamboats could get through, the railroad rate dropped to two dollars per ton—less than one-third what it was before.

That the difference was due to the river improvement is shown by the fact that rates were not reduced beyond the point to which the steamboats could run. For instance, the rate on salt in car load lots was \$1.50 per ton to The Dalles, and \$10.20 per ton to Umatilla—\$1.50 per ton for the 88 miles with water competition and \$8.70 per ton for the next 100 miles without. These rates have since been reduced as the improvement has proceeded, and when the work is finished and boats can run far up the Columbia river and to Lewiston and other point in Idaho on its principal tributary, the Snake river, the people in all that region will benefit not only by the direct saving on goods carried by water, but also by the indirect saving through the reduced rate on goods carried by rail. Exactly similar results would follow the radical improvement of rivers all over the United States.

#### Indirect Saving Large.

There is, however, no possible way of finding out just how much this indirect saving would be. Rates on some freight would be reduced greatly, on some freight slightly, on some, perhaps, not at all. But we can get some idea of the amount of freight which might be influenced. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, the total amount of freight handled by the railroads of the United States was 1,796,336,659 tons. Some of this was hauled a short distance, some a long distance, and some was handled by more than one road, but it was equal to 236,601,390,103 tons hauled one mile. If the comprehensive improvement of our waterways should make an average reduction of one mill per ton-mile—the difference in the rates on salt given above is 70 times as much, or seven cents per ton mile—it would make a saving of over \$236,600,000 on the value of business handled in the fiscal year.

At first glance, it looks as if that would mean disaster to the railways, but that is the exact opposite of the truth. Strange as it may seem, the surest and speediest way to enlarge the business and increase the profits of the railways of the United States is to improve the waterways of the United States.

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