

**INAUGURAL ADDRESS**

**OF**

**GEORGE W. CLARKE**

**GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF IOWA**

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**GOVERNOR GEORGE W. CLARKE**

Delivered to the Thirty-fifth Session of the General Assembly,  
January, 1913.

*Members of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly and Fellow-Citizens:*

I acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the people of Iowa. The obligation at this moment profoundly impresses me. It is not with any sense of triumph that I enter upon the duties of the office into which I am this day inducted, but with a deep sense of its duties, the wide possibilities of its influence and my inability to approach the ideal of fitness and performance. If I can but be the servant of all, if I can with the help of others contribute something to the common good, if I can assist in making Iowa more distinguished still among the States for the desirableness and wisdom of her laws and the cleanness of her political life, that will be something. Responsibilities sober a man. A consciousness of confidence reposed in one quickens his sense of fidelity. No betrayal can come without disappointing, even wounding the finest sensibilities of life. No man can give the highest measure of service until he has lost himself. "He that loseth his life shall find it." I think this is just as true in politics as in religion. The rugged, rocky, thorny ways of life, if traveled for human betterment, are the paths upon which falls the sunshine of everlasting peace.

I am not unmindful of the circumstances of my election. It is unseemly to boast, but if it were not I should have nothing of which to boast. I want to extend to the gentlemen who contested the election with me my congratulations upon the fact that they were such men as could command the greater preference of so many, many thousands of our fellow-citizens. Notwithstanding this fact, I now venture to invoke the good will and support of all of the people of the State. Perfection of discernment and infallibility of judgment are not the endowments of any man, and, therefore, in dealing with conflicting interests and opinions I shall in-

evitably make mistakes. I expect to be held to a high order of accountability and that I do not shun, only let judgments be just and proceed from unselfish view-points. I shall regard myself as the servant of all of the people, without regard to factionalism or political or religious convictions. The Governor's office will be open to every one—the rich man and the poor man, the white man and the black man, the man from the mahogany desk and the man from the depths of the coal mine, the woman in rich apparel and the poor widow thinly and cheaply clad. There shall be no distinction in Iowa citizenship, except that which lies between a decent life, honest purposes, courageous effort and a disregard of all that goes to make a meritorious life. In other words, neither money nor position can confer distinction apart from character.

The thought which seems to underlie practically all present-day political discussion is the thought of the good of all. It is the thought, as it seems to me, that government is not alone for governing, but for the betterment of the conditions of the governed. It was Locke, the English philosopher, who said "government is for the good of mankind," and Herbert Spencer said that is the best definition of government I know of. It is the same thought which in this day exalts human rights above property rights, or, as it is expressed in another way, puts the man above the dollar. It is a part of the age-long fight to bring men to an equality of rights and equality of opportunity—to the point where what a man is to do or he will be determined by his own initiative, his own energy, his faith in himself and his desire to do and be unhampered by what other men are doing or by the way they do it. In still other words, to the point where men shall not take hold of life or the business affairs of the world in such a way as to despoil another of his opportunity or take more from him as a reward for their superior foresight and organizing skill than is just and fair. Of course, there is always to be considered the difference in ability. "One star differeth from another star in glory," and ability, energy, masterfulness, genius must have their reward or the world will lose irretrievably. Nobody thinks of supplying brains or a remedy for natural worthlessness or viciousness. But very many think that superiority must not exploit inferiority—that advantage of position must not be used to despoil the man on the outside. As, for instance, there must be no issuance of watered stocks, men must pay fairly and justly on actual investment, that so far as may be human life must have healthful, safe places in which to

work at a fair wage and reasonable hours, that in the interest of the future manhood and womanhood of the State child life must be protected. Or that where property rights, the dollar, and human rights or justice conflict, right and justice must take precedence. That is, government, as it has been defined, must stand for the good of mankind. Not for the good of a few, not for some special interest, not for granting a particular privilege, but denying these, stand for the common good and betterment.

It would be interesting, if time permitted, to enter upon a study of the events that have brought so prominently and forcibly to the front the political, or rather, the public economic thought referred to. Perhaps I may suggest, briefly, that it seems to me to be the supplanting of Individualism by Collectivism. I say nothing here as to the desirability of such result. Individualism in its extreme phase certainly existed in the United States up to a few decades ago. Politically, the American was nothing if not an Individualist. All of his political training, his surroundings, his life, contributed to that result. He went forth to conquer a continent of unbounded resources, the depository of untold wealth. Its riches—the soil, the forests, the mines—he took them and wasted them as civilization swept across the continent. They enabled him to be sufficient unto himself. He could stand alone. Politics went in much the same way. Political standards often were not lifted very high. While the individual was moving ever further west taking what he could, the railroads were spanning the continent and reaching every part of the country. Great corporations were organizing everywhere and were laying their hands upon the resources and business of the country. Competition, unrestrained and ruinous, was crippling the railroads and depriving the country through which they ran of much of their advantage. Industrial corporations were likewise fighting the competitive battle to the detriment, as I think, both of themselves and the consumer. Then began the combinations, for no other purpose than to eliminate competition, constantly becoming greater and greater and the trust in all its tremendous strength, both in the industrial world and in government, arrived—for business had projected itself into government and laid hold of it with an ever-tightening grasp—for it was property and not human rights that had first place in the public mind at that time. New, improved and wonderful machinery was everywhere making its advent into industrialism. Humanity was astounded at the progress in this respect, within seventy-five years

urpassing all the combined centuries of human history before. It was the era of rebates and discriminations between places, business and individuals on the part of the railroads. The public domain was gone, the forests had largely disappeared, the soil had been depleted as "westward the star of empire took its way." Organization was everywhere—organization to meet organization. Where could individualism find a footing as against all this? Of what consequence was the individual workman with the great trust with its thousands of employes and whose owners and managers he did not know, never saw and never could see. The individual employee of the great railway system was as nothing. The individual farmer was absolutely helpless. Finally the whole country stood abashed. We call it an awakening—a restlessness, a dissatisfaction pervading all civilized lands; for in the great countries of Europe machinery was pushing out the hand workers by thousands and combining and trust-making was going on there as here and for the same reasons. It was the departure of Individualism. The doctrine of *laissez faire* lost its place in political economy. Political economists who adhered to that doctrine are no longer regarded as authority. If that doctrine is to be adhered to, then the individual is to be submerged or become the victim of Collectivism. But the truth is that the general government and the State as well must add their strength to the weakness of the individual or classes of individuals, especially if unorganized, so that they may become equal to the combination with which they must deal. Otherwise, it seems to me, we lose that of which we have boasted so long, "Equality before the law." This lack of power of the individual or the local community to deal on equal terms with the combined power, and this being deemed a fundamental right, has led to the aphorisms, "Human rights above property rights." "The man above the dollar," "Social and industrial justice."

While I believe present conditions have had their genesis and growth in the way stated, I also believe any thoughtful man will say that, on the whole, conditions of human existence in this country are better than were ever seen in any country at any other time in human history. No man would change this for any other day he has ever seen or read of. We need but realize that we have come upon a new period in the unfolding of the years. Human life is under, or is rapidly passing under, new conditions. It may be said "The former things are passed away, behold I make all things new." There are men yet living who have seen all

things made new. We are in a transition period. In the long flight of the years the new day has come upon us suddenly while we were eating and drinking and making merry. We are struggling to adjust ourselves to the new conditions. The overwhelming power of the "big" men, "big" in their relations to the wealth and business of the country, has called our attention to the common, the average man, to the common good. The let-alone political philosophy has become obsolete. There must be regulation and control in the interest of the public welfare. We are beginning to feel that the interest of each man is the interest of every other man. That the destiny of our country is inseparably bound up with the relations of our citizenship to each other. All must go up together or we shall all go down together. A broader, deeper and more humanitarian spirit is taking hold of the world. We are beginning to feel that we are our brother's keeper. "Every fellow for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is a spurned sentiment of a day that has gone. The sentiment of the brotherhood of mankind is beginning to pervade the world, hastened, provisionally perhaps, by the events I have referred to. We have reached the point, I think, brought about by present day conditions when we realize that there never can be a contented people where there is inequality of rights or opportunity or where the work or occupation of a man or set of men is beset with hazards that they must bear alone that a common good may be enjoyed. A brief study of events and conditions enables us to understand the philosophy of current political or, rather, economic thought. The necessity for strong collective action becomes apparent. I use the word Collectivism in an entirely different sense from Socialism. The proud independence of the individual is gone. His old relation to Industrialism is gone because he faces a new Industrialism, and his relation must be a new one. The law fitting old conditions is inadequate to the new. All these things naturally suggest, for instance,

#### A WORKMAN'S COMPENSATION ACT,

which I sincerely hope will be passed at this session. The commission authorized by the last general assembly, after a thorough investigation and study of the subject, has reported a bill for consideration at this session. So far as I have been able to discover wherever the subject has had thorough and dispassionate study the same conclusion has been reached by both employer and employee, and that is that the industrial world today presents such entirely



different conditions from that of, say, seventy-five years ago, that the principles of law then and since for the most part applied in Iowa with reference to industrial accidents are entirely inadequate, inapplicable, unjust and wasteful to both parties. In order that we may enjoy the conveniences, comforts, even luxuries, brought to human conditions by the wonderfully rapid development of modern Industrialism there is the annual inevitable sacrifice of human life and the great army of the maimed. And this sacrifice falls upon those least able to bear it from a pecuniary standpoint. The lives of these people are along dangerous, hazardous lines and they are taking the risks for us all, bearing the burdens that a common good may be enjoyed by those who assume no risks. Justice dictates, the commonest feelings of humanity demand and the sentiment of our universal brotherhood cries out, "Bear ye one another's burdens." And so they ought to be laid upon us all as a part of the cost of production. The maimed man and his family now bears it. Often he is poor. He cannot fight his damage suit on its long, long way through the courts. All he can do is to stake a large share of a possible recovery for a lawyer and start on the journey. Whatever the result, it is a great waste both to the plaintiff and defendant, this game of chance, and to the people in the maintenance of courts. And it is all with reference to a matter about which there ought to be no litigation at all. It is simply a business matter that ought to be promptly and as fairly adjusted as the nature of the matter would permit. And that is the result proposed by a workman's compensation act. It must be said that many great manufacturing industries and some public service corporations, recognizing these facts, have evolved plans for avoiding them which often seem just alike to employer and employee. While it is true, I think, that it is almost, if not quite, the settled conviction of the business world and of political economists that there should be an adjustment of industrial accident cases through such an act as proposed, yet it is on all hands admitted to be a problem most difficult indeed of solution—difficult to reach a result just and fair to all concerned. It should not be approached in any spirit of vindictiveness. Prejudice should be dismissed. There should be no striving after advantage on either side. The only question is, what is fair, just and right with reference to this great problem. Our manufacturing industries are growing wonderfully and it must be remembered that they must compete with conditions in other States. If we could have condi-

tions that would invite manufacturing capital it would be of great advantage. But material development must not be at the expense of human rights and justice. Iowa, in line with the most enlightened thought, should make the best solution possible at this time of this question.

The great growth of Collectivism naturally suggests also a

#### PUBLIC UTILITIES BILL.

The doctrine of *laissez faire* can have application only in the long run at the expense of the public welfare. The state has the power to control all public service corporations, but, it seems to me, that its intervention should only be to supervise and regulate in the interest of the common good. The local municipality should govern and control so far as it can. But there come times when it is not equal to the situation. It is weaker than the corporation. The smaller cities especially often cannot cope with the syndicate. It has not and cannot obtain the experts and legal ability and has no organized power. The State should add her strength to the weakness of the weak and bring about equality. No conditions should ever be allowed to exist that place an individual or group of men at a disadvantage in dealing with a combination of men and money and especially with corporate organization authorized by the State to render a public service. I believe it is the duty of the State to do that which it is impracticable for the local authorities to do and to bring to their aid efficient help in the matter of valuation of plants, reviewing of rates, examination of books, cost of maintenance and such like to the end that the public have good service at fair rates in the matter of public necessities, water, light, heat and transportation. The State ought to exist for the good of its citizenship. I think this legislature can render a great public service by passing a well-considered public utilities bill, and that it ought to do it.

#### THE GOOD ROADS PROBLEM.

For thirty years the discussion of the good roads problem has been going on in the State. Many of the Governors of the State within that time have called attention to the question and some of them have urged constructive legislation. Some progress has been made both in the way of better laws and in the improvement of the highways, but the most that has been accomplished is an aroused public sentiment in favor of better roads—perhaps in favor of permanent roads. Iowa will have permanent roads when-

ever she wants them. She will have better rural schools whenever she wants them. She will not have either before. Legislation awaits public sentiment—generally aroused, organized public demand. The next great era in the development of western civilization is going to be called by the historian The Era of Permanent Road Building. We are now at the very threshold of that era. We are face to face with the problem. No State can longer allow herself to be handicapped by mud. The economic waste is enormous. Not in the future can there be such a thing as a really great up-to-date State without good permanent roads. The great cheapening of the cost of transportation to the markets of the country waits on permanent roads. The instant great increase in the value of lands awaits the coming of the permanent road. There can be no complete solution of the country life problem in advance of the permanent road. The consolidated rural school will go halting and crippled until the permanent road passes the door. This is an ideal that will be realized in the future. How far distant it is depends upon the people of the State. This General Assembly ought, it seems to me, to take hold of the problem with the end in view to ultimately realize this ideal. Nothing could contribute more to the greatness of the State and the welfare of all of the people. All that is done hereafter in the improvement of our roads ought to be with the view of permanency. Permanent culverts and bridges. Permanent systems of drainage. Permanent establishment of grades—all with the view of eventually receiving the permanent road. With this purpose in view the law should provide for the appointment of a county engineer. He should be thoroughly competent and not necessarily a resident of the county where appointed. There should also be created a permanent highway commission, composed of expert road men and engineers with such powers and duties in the way of the preparation of plans and specifications, estimates of costs, advertising for bids and general supervision and control as may, after careful consideration, be deemed wise. I can see no reason why provision should not be made for a referendum to the people of the question as to whether bonds of the state should be issued for the purpose of raising money for permanent road building. It would not incur a great expense to determine whether or not the people are ready to enter upon this work which would add more than anything else to the greatness of the State, and it would at least be of great value in causing universal discussion of the subject which must always

precede any movement involving the change of long established methods and habits of thought. In the meantime our road laws, which now exist in a disconnected and patchwork form, should be revised, re-written and strengthened for the purpose of securing the best possible temporary roads and for devising methods of administration looking to the coming of the permanent road. Selfish interests clinging to old methods and advantages, may be found in covert opposition. Permit me to suggest that you look carefully to this, as I know you will, to the end that private interests may not prevail as against the common good.

#### COUNTY MANAGEMENT.

One cannot discuss the road question without the whole question of county management being suggested. It, however, is not intended to do more than make a suggestion. I have not had opportunity to work out any definite plan, although I feel there is much room for improvement. The administration of the affairs of the county ought to be organized with just as much skill and with just as much purpose to secure the highest efficiency as a great business corporation organizes its business. The county and the State as well are entitled to have their business conducted along the lines of up-to-date methods and such as have been demonstrated in the business world as absolutely essential to success. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that thousands of dollars might annually be saved to every county in the State and much more efficiency in its affairs secured if the money and property were that of a corporation managed by its skilled and expert agents. No man having regard to his success in the management of a large enterprise would be content to give it widely separated scraps of his time, nor would he engage at the same time in other business taxing his energies and abilities to the utmost. An individual or a corporation having so much invested and such varied interests would manage them through a skilled expert giving his entire time. It is not always the fault of the Boards of Supervisors that better results are not obtained, because they have their private business and are paid to give only meager attention to the public business. Any other business conducted in the same way would be an utter failure. It seems to me that it would be well to consider the question of creating the office of business manager of the affairs of the county. After the analogy of the corporation the stockholders—the people—should elect the board of directors—the supervisors—and they should appoint a county business manager who for an



adequate salary should devote his whole time to the affairs of the county under the general supervision of the directorate who should be held to the highest responsibility for his competency as a business man and an expert in connection with all matters of county business. He might be clothed with some of the powers now conferred upon the board and the township trustees. He should be the supervisor of and the purchasing agent of all supplies for the county. He should understand the use of concrete and the building of bridges. He should act in an advisory capacity in all drainage district matters so far as the county may be concerned and he might at the same time be the county engineer referred to in the good roads discussion. He should be consulted in all matters of contract requiring expert knowledge. Wherever the interests of the county go his duties should take him. Such a man would save to the county many thousands of dollars annually. No man now studies the county business to master it. No man could master it in less than all of his time. The county business manager or whatever name you might give him, would have the opportunity and every incentive to attain the mastery. Until some such methods are introduced it can hardly be otherwise than that the business of the counties will be done in an uneconomic and unsatisfactory way. The methods of fifty years ago will no longer do.

#### TRAFFICKING IN OFFICES.

Within the last twelve years the State has made commendable progress in eliminating money and other corrupting influences from our elections. We are insisting all the time that our democracy should become more and more democratic. There is much talk about the opportunity and right of every voter to express his choice among candidates for nomination and election. This choice ought to be the free, unbiased, unpurchased, honest choice of the elector or democracy is making no progress. There are more ways of purchasing votes than with money and some of these are more corrupting. Nothing can be more degrading to public life, nothing can be more demoralizing to the public conscience, nothing can be more destructive of public virtue than the conception that public offices or positions are something to be traded and trafficked in—used as a political asset to enable one to gain political preferment. The people have the right to demand that a candidacy proceed upon merit whether it be much or little. They have the right to insist that they be not tricked out of a high order of competent, disinterested public service by deals or that if they must accept a low

order of incompetent service that they themselves be responsible for it after a fair fight in an open field. It is far more reprehensible to secure influence and preferment by promise of place than by the promise of money. When one uses money he uses that which belongs to him, but when he is trafficking in offices he is bartering with that which does not belong to him but to the people as their agencies in government and depriving them of their right, untrammelled, to select their own agents or to have them appointed for merit and not in redemption of promises to farm out the public service to whomsoever would enter into a deal or conspiracy for place. It is a part of the political creed of the country to insist upon publicity as the panacea for our troubles with "big business" and yet we go into a political contest sometimes with a number of "gentlemen's agreements" hidden away somewhere in the dark. There are compelling reasons for publicity in both cases, but no more in the one than the other. These practices are corrupt and ought to be forbidden. The law ought to make it a crime for any candidate for any county or state office prior to his nomination or election to promise, either directly or indirectly to support or use his influence in behalf of another for any position, place or office, or to promise either directly or indirectly to name or appoint another to any place, position or office, in consideration of such other supporting him or in any way using his influence to secure his nomination, election or appointment. The law requiring the report of campaign expenses ought to be amended by adding to it, in substance: And I further state that I did not at any time, either before my nomination or after, either directly or indirectly, in consideration of support, promise to support, or use my influence for, or to appoint any person to any place, position or office whatsoever. Such a statute would be as easily enforced as any other of our corrupt practices acts. The mere fact that such practices are condemned by the law would be of great value and this General Assembly ought to enact such a provision as an expression of its high political ideals.

#### THE SHORT BALLOT.

The results of our primary elections, and general elections as well, show that not many more than half of the voters of the state participate in the primary at all and that in both elections the numbers voting decrease as they pass down the ticket from the more to the less important offices. At the primary elections it has not,

been unusual to have a difference between the total vote for governor and for lieutenant governor and secretary of state, ranging from ten to nearly twenty-five thousand with the difference growing wider with the offices further down. The same result is seen in general elections. When the comparison is made with the vote for presidential electors the discrepancies are much greater. This would seem to indicate that the public interest centers around the contest for the most important offices, that the candidates for these come to be known, that these offices are representative offices and stand for or may inaugurate certain definite policies in which the people are interested. The other candidates do not become so well known, they are not seen to so great an extent in the campaign. Their offices are administrative. No public policy is involved in the administration of them. There are so many of them, State and county, that amidst the pressing duties of life it is not possible for many voters to inform themselves as to the merits of the candidates and hence thousands do not vote at all and many more thousands simply vote at a guess and let it go at that. Hence the argument for the short ballot and more appointive offices as conducive to better and much more efficient government. Students of good government are everywhere advocating the principles of the short ballot. To such an extent have they gone as to tersely express the principle in this way: "When you want representation, elect. When you want administration, appoint." Progressive thought for, by far the greater part, advocates this principle. The appointing power being made responsible for results, responsibility is located and concentrated. By electing, responsibility is dissipated, incapable of definite location. By appointment administration by experts and a high order of efficient public service may be secured. I invite your careful consideration of this subject to the end that this reform may take deeper root in this State. We already recognize the principle in that the Board of Control, Board of Education, Board of Parole, Dairy and Food Commissioner, Commissioner of Labor, Commerce Counsel and others are appointive positions. Would anybody think of making them elective or the football of politics? Does not the same or a greater reason obtain for making the office of Railroad Commissioner appointive? Is there any reason why the Supreme Court should not appoint its own clerk and reporter? Should not the Superintendent of Public Instruction be appointed? The list might be extended further as the principal grows and becomes well understood.

#### SCHOOLS.

When one comes to the consideration of the question of rural schools he finds he is face to face with a problem almost impossible of solution. And yet that affords no reason why we should not grapple with it. We read everywhere of the decline of the rural school and we constantly hear it deplored in public speech. From the district school of forty years ago with its attendance of forty pupils ranging in age from five to twenty-one years, the rural school has declined to the school of ten children and very frequently to less. Formerly there was the enthusiasm of numbers at least. The young men and women were there. They are no longer there. It is said that ninety-five per cent of the boys and girls never reach the high school. They never will under present conditions. This must be said especially of the country boy and girl. There are no high schools in the country and the necessities of farm life almost preclude the farm boy from the town high school. He cannot start in with the opening of the schools in the towns the first of September and if he could he could not continue after the first of March. The scarcity of farm labor and the absolute necessity of the farms in gathering crops and in preparing for them and planting and cultivating absolutely forbid. Thus deprived of several months of school at both the opening and close of the school year he cannot keep up with the classes, becomes discouraged, if he has commenced at all, and quits. If he cannot come to the high school in town then the high school must go to the country. This suggests almost necessarily the consolidation of the country schools. I see no escape from this as the ultimate result. It seems to me also that it is a "consummation most devoutly to be wished." But it cannot be brought about in a day. Such reforms require a long period of agitation and the patient efforts of men and women of large vision and devoted to the common good. The consolidated school with its work in all the grades it seems to me could be maintained at a less expense than the nine schools of the townships as now organized. In place of the little cheerless school houses, poorly equipped, no modern conveniences, have one three-to-five-room building centrally located, with an up-to-date system of heating, lighting, ventilating and water supply. Here there could be some inspiration for both teacher and pupil. Here would be the stimulus, excitement and interest that come from numbers. Here would come relief from the monotony and loneliness of the teacher with her half dozen little children by the daily association

with other teachers. Here could daily come the refining influence of music and song. Here would come the daily supervision, management and inspection by the principal of the school. The grounds should include three or four acres for reasons that your mind will readily suggest. The school building could easily become the social and intellectual center of the community. Here could be public gatherings, lectures and entertainments of all kinds. No one would be far from it in this day of the automobile and in the era of good roads upon which we fervently hope we are entering. Away from the diversions of the town it would be an ideal place to lay the foundations of sturdy character, intellectual and physical strength and useful citizenship in the young men and women of Iowa. In this direction the consensus of opinion of the competent men and women who have given the subject earnest and sympathetic study, lies the solution to a considerable degree of both the country school and rural life problem. This cannot be brought about by compulsion. I fully realize that. I wish, however, that a plan could be devised by which any township could voluntarily consolidate her schools and that such plan could be enacted into law at this session. If the township as a unit, be thought to be too large, then a smaller territory might be taken as a basis, but it seems to me the township is not too large. Of course regard should be had for the course of rivers and streams through townships.

The course of study in the rural school should be related to the life of the country. It should be in terms of the things right next to the boy and girl. Everything should have interesting practical relation to what the boy and girl see done every day in the life about them and to what they see, hear and do themselves. Not abstractions but concrete applications and illustrations constantly. The training should have intimate relation to what men and women have to do in the world—this as well as cultural. There should be vocational instruction. The township school might have small side buildings for this purpose. The school should be an interesting place. To illustrate: Geography should relate to the country round about, grammar to what the boys and girls are saying, arithmetic to loads of corn, cords of wood, acres of land, tons of hay, bushels of potatoes and loans of money. I should not follow the readers; I should have Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus stories, Ernest Thompson-Seton's animal stories, Cooper's The Deerslayer, The Spy, The Pioneer, The Pathfinder, Roosevelt's Winning of the

West. Prescott's Conquest of Mexico and of Peru and Biography in profusion as I approached the upper grades. For such schools once planted over this State good, competent teachers could be found but the rural school as it is now never will be any better. Young men and young women simply will not give themselves to teaching under present conditions for more than a few terms as a temporary makeshift. There is little use in training teachers unless we have conditions under which trained men and women will teach. It is my conclusion that the consolidation of rural schools to some extent at least with a course of study applicable to and interesting to the child and boy and girl mind and absolutely inseparable from the life we live is the only hope and must lie at the very foundation of any improvement in our rural schools. I earnestly hope, therefore, that this session will not close without the law being so written as to make such results voluntarily possible. I know that sixteen sections of land may now consolidate, but the law can be greatly improved.

May I not suggest, also, that the best thought of the day seems to have reached the conclusion that provision ought to be made for District Agricultural and Manual Training Schools, including Domestic Science. The distance from the public school to the agricultural college is a long one, but if the school referred to were found on the way for a period of training it would be of inestimable value. I invite your serious consideration of this question.

#### OFFICE OF SCHOOL TREASURER ABOLISHED.

I am advised that we now pay school treasurers \$175,000.00 annually. This is a needless waste of the people's money. The office ought to be abolished and provision made authorizing the county treasurer to pay all warrants drawn on school funds.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH.

The preservation of the public health is a matter of the greatest importance. Thirty-two years have passed since the law was enacted creating a State Board of Health. There has been little legislation since and none that makes it possible for the board to be a really efficient instrument for the public good. In the beginning \$5,000.00 was appropriated annually and it has never been increased, but of this the secretary's salary, \$2,400.00, all the contingent expenses of his office, the expenses of the board and all costs of printing are paid. It is manifest that there can be nothing of consequence left to enable the board to meet the demands made



upon it by a great State. There have been epidemics of typhoid fever and other scourges in the state but the board when called upon could do nothing in the way of making investigations because it had no funds. I am advised that in one district there are thirteen towns now known to have impure water supply. In view of the progress made by medical science in the last ten years in the ability to detect the cause of disease, in view of the advance that has been made in sanitary engineering with reference to water supply and sewage and garbage disposal and to the end that prompt action may be taken to prevent the spread of communicable diseases and that there may be prevention of the pollution of water supplies and to the end that better sanitary conditions generally may be brought about especially in our towns, I suggest that there ought to be, after careful consideration and consultation with experts in sanitary science, a re-writing of the law relating to the whole subject and an appropriation made commensurate with the importance of it. While talking about the conservation of our soil, forests, mines and water power, we ought not to forget the necessity of conserving the lives and health of the people.

#### HOG CHOLERA.

Every few recurring years the state is ravaged by hog cholera. Millions of dollars have been lost by this scourge. It is estimated that fifteen millions of dollars have been lost to the farmers of the state during the last year. The hog industry is one of the greatest sources of wealth the state has. It is now claimed that this is a preventable disease. It is of great public interest that the loss of such vast sums be prevented. It is doubtless beyond the power of the individual to protect himself. The matter, therefore, becomes one of public concern. I therefore urge upon you to investigate the subject thoroughly and enact such provisions and make such an appropriation as in your judgment will afford relief.

#### PENITENTIARY REFORM.

The question of a reform in the management of our penal institutions is one which for some time has commanded the attention of our people. Personally, I am ready to say that the contract labor system ought to be abolished. It is a system of slavery. It is an exploitation of men on the part of the State for the benefit of a contractor. It is taking hope out of the lives of men and returning them to society embittered against it. It

neither cares for the health, improves the morals nor has any tendency to reform the men, but results quite otherwise. It is an economic absurdity. It is a fine thing, however, for the manufacturer to have the State furnish him a plant fully equipped with machinery, heat, light, power, clothe and feed the men, and turn them over to him for twenty-five to sixty-four cents per day. When, in addition, is taken into consideration the great cost to the State in the administration of the criminal law, the maintenance of the penal institutions, the hardships and suffering of the families of the imprisoned men the absurdity becomes more glaring. These men ought to work and so should the men committed to our jails for misdemeanors. A plan ought to be devised whereby they could be put to work. Men are saved through work and there absolutely is no other means of salvation for them. Besides, every man owes to society all that he can do whether he is in or out of prison. He ought to have the same wage in prison that he could earn if out at the same work. He ought to pay back to the state out of his wage the expense of his conviction. Then his family, if he has one, should receive a good portion, he receiving the balance. He ought to be rewarded according to his effort. Hope ought to be kept alive in him. He ought not be taught to hate the State. There ought to be classification and segregation of criminals. As many as possible ought to have outdoor work. I favor the penal farm and think this legislature ought to take steps toward the establishing of one. The experience of many States is to my mind conclusive in favor of it. Many of them are conducted at a fine profit to the State as is shown by the very admirable and exhaustive report of the committee not long ago appointed by Governor Carroll to investigate, among other things, the general management of the penitentiary at Ft. Madison. I presume it will be placed on your desks. I make it a part of what I have to say upon this subject and commend it to your thorough study. It seems to me its conclusions are sound and the evidence upon which they are based overwhelming. I commend also to your equal consideration the report and discussion of the subject by Judge Robinson of the Board of Control.

#### PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY.

If the people are competent, and they are, to select their candidates for Governor to be voted for at the general election they certainly are equally competent to express their preference as to presidential candidates and I think they ought to have the op-

portunity to do so. The people, through the representatives of each of the political parties of the State, assembled in convention, have declared in favor of a presidential preference primary law. There is, therefore, so far as this question is concerned, but one thing to do and that is to enact such a law. Platform pledges should not be simply high-sounding phrases for the purposes of a popular campaign and then to be ignored afterward. I am sure after careful consideration and debate a wise conclusion will be reached as to what form this law in obedience to the demand of the people shall take.

What I have just said with reference to platform declarations applies with equal force to the question looking ultimately to

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

in this State. The last political conventions all declared, two directly, one indirectly, perhaps, in favor of referring to the people the question of so amending the constitution as to confer upon women the equal right with men to vote. The referendum ought to be made. If these conventions have voiced the sentiment of the people there should be no trifling with it. There may be some question as to whether women in general desire the ballot, but in view of these platform declarations that is not the question before this General Assembly. If platform makers have been insincere, (I do not believe at all they have been) but if they have let them be taught the great virtue of sincerity. Go to the voters on the question. Let them speak at the next general election.

#### REFORM OF COURT PROCEDURE.

The question of reform in the matter of both the civil and criminal procedure of our courts has become a matter of the greatest importance. It is engaging the attention of the best legal minds of the country. The procedure, as it is witnessed every day in our courts, as the trial drags along its weary way before a helpless judge is such as almost to create a feeling of disgust. As to civil procedure it suggests what a relief a conciliatory court, such as they have in Germany, would be. What a saving of time and money. On notice the parties might appear before a judge, or voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction, who without reference to technical procedure or technical rules of evidence, or even lawyers, might in an hour or two or a half day at most elicit the facts, tell the parties what the law applicable to the facts is, what they ought and what they ought not to have done and what the judg-

ment is and, if no settlement accordingly, enter up the judgment. Little expense, little time, no burden to the people. In this way could be done in a few hours what would take the machinery of our courts as the law is now administered, several days to do. Such a court might be established with a proper jurisdiction it seems to me to the great relief of our present courts and I am sure in other ways.

As to the examination of jurors for the trial of a cause: Every lawyer has seen days of time taken, has heard of months being consumed. And yet I doubt if a lawyer of experience could be found who would not say that in nine cases out of ten the jurors finally selected were no better than those first called into the box. The absurdity of examining minutely into the life of a man from childhood must be apparent. It should not be permitted. The court should be given control, and as but few questions are pertinent and necessary but few should be allowed. Indeed I incline to the opinion that perhaps it would not be unwise to place the whole matter of examining jurors as to their qualifications in the hands of the court.

The law ought to provide that all exceptions to instructions should be taken before they are read and no others considered or allowed.

I believe the law ought to provide for majority verdicts in civil cases.

It seems to me the time for taking appeals ought to be greatly shortened. I see no reason why the law should make the procedure of a cause through the courts interminable.

On appeal prejudice should not be presumed on slight error. The rule should be that there should be no reversal unless the court could say the jury was probably misled by the error of the trial court. Perfection in the statement of the law, clear, precise technical nicety of statement is sometimes difficult and doubtless never disturbs the mind of the juror. He views the case as a whole, observes the instructions in their general drift and renders his verdict. Close, critical study of instructions seldom, if ever, I presume, takes place. The law should provide that no judgment shall be set aside or reversed or new trial granted on account of error of the court or error in any matter of pleading or procedure unless it shall appear that the error complained of has injuriously affected the substantial rights of the parties.

I have for many years thought that there is no longer any justifiable reason for the existence of the grand jury. It should be abolished.

The law forbidding counsel to comment on the fact that the defendant in a criminal case declines to become a witness in his own behalf and give such explanation as he can of the facts produced tending to establish his guilt should be repealed. It is entirely just to him to suppose that if he could explain he would do so.

#### TAXATION.

In view of the thorough investigation and exhaustive report made by the commission provided for by the last General Assembly with reference to the subject of taxation which will be before the legislature for careful consideration little need be said. That there is need for a thorough revision and re-writing of our laws on the subject I think is conceded by every one who has given the matter consideration. With what the commission has recommended I am in thorough accord and sincerely hope that this session will not adjourn without accomplishing much along this line of much needed legislation. The deficiency, indeed the practical failure, of our laws on this subject has been the occasion of recommendations by Governors and discussions by state treasurers for very many years. It is time to act. Our system has broken down. There is no such thing as uniformity. There are glaring inequalities everywhere. Equality of sacrifice is the very first demand of a just system of taxation. But there is no equality between individuals, or taxing districts. No equality between counties in payment of State taxes. A farm of equal value to another in the same county will be assessed at two or three times the value of the other. Horses and cattle, after years of improvement, often are not assessed as much per head as were the "scrubs" of forty years ago and in some counties will be assessed at twice as much as in others. It follows that some are bearing double the burden of taxes borne by others on the same actual values. Property should be assessed at its fair actual value. It is not possible to reach the ideal but so far as possible there should be equality in the bearing of public burdens. That is not even approached in our State. Our method is a failure which might be demonstrated in many other ways. It is not that the burden of taxation shall be increased, but that as nearly as is practicable there shall be equality of sacrifice. If property were assessed at

actual value and methods were adopted for finding and assessing hundreds of thousands of dollars that now escape, the rate of taxation could be greatly diminished. Our rate of taxation because of our methods is very high. Capital may have been frightened away from our State on this account. Here is matter to be kept in mind in considering the matter of taxation. We must build up our State. It should be an inviting field for capital under just conditions. Conditions in Iowa should not be such as to place our industries and our capitalists at a disadvantage when compared with conditions in other States with which they must compete. If I could say anything that would add to the weight and influence of the report of the commission I would do so. I sincerely commend it for its thoroughness. I commend it for the new methods it proposes for the administration of our tax laws. I commend it because its conclusions have been proved to be wise and workable by the actual experience of other States.

#### "BLUE SKY LAW."

I said in the beginning that government is for the good of mankind. It would be for the good of thousands of our people if their savings were protected from the fake promoters, the confidence men, who sell to confiding people stocks in airy, worthless, far-distant schemes that have no semblance of real value. Every man knows from his own observation that hundreds of thousands of dollars are lost to the people annually in this way. I have seen estimates placing it at \$10,000,000.00. Kansas was wise ahead of her sister States, in providing in substance that when stocks and bonds are offered for sale the banking department must be satisfied that they are a reasonably good investment and a permit secured before they can be offered to the people. I commend this wise law as a basis for similar legislation here.

#### THE CAPITOL GROUNDS.

The subject of the extension of the capitol grounds is a matter that should have consideration. The day is now here when these grounds surrounding us should be more spacious and they should be made more beautiful. They do not meet the material demands of the present and for the future they will be entirely inadequate. The future should ever be in mind. We build for those who are to come after us. We should have a vision of what Iowa is to do and be. In the extension of the grounds regard should be had for a better setting of the capitol. The whole question of the en-



largement and location of buildings and monuments should at once be placed in the hands of the best landscape artist that could be found with instructions to prepare a plan commensurate with the needs and ideals of a great, progressive and cultured people. It cannot all be done at once but a beginning can be made. Every day of postponement only makes the realization more expensive and difficult. What is done should be in accordance with a plan to end in both utility and great artistic beauty.

#### AGRICULTURE AND DAIRY INTERESTS.

It is the land that must sustain all other interests. Iowa is unsurpassed in the fertility of her soil and there lies one of her greatest future possibilities. All that has been done in the past is but a beginning. Anything intended to promote our agricultural interests should command serious attention. Public lands are gone. The population of the country is increasing more than a million annually. The soil must meet the demands of the oncoming millions. Earnest, sincere, patriotic men are trying to devise ways and means. If legislation will assist—lend a hand. Here I want to say that I have been requested to call attention to the weed law, I gladly do so. It should be strengthened.

The encouragement given to our dairy interests heretofore by the legislature has wonderfully stimulated that industry. No other single industry has made such rapid progress. Its product in the last few years has doubled over and over to the enrichment of the people in money and productivity of soil. If further legislation is needed to protect it, spare it not. The benefit is to all the people.

#### MANUFACTURING.

Our manufacturing industries are growing rapidly. Already I am advised by the Secretary of the Manufacturers' Association we have \$225,000,000 invested in 6,000 factories, employing 72,000 wage earners and using \$220,000,000 worth of material annually with an annual output worth \$335,000,000. Located in the heart of the American continent between two of the greatest rivers in the world, with a soil not excelled by any other of equal extent on the globe, surrounded by the teeming millions of the not distant years, Iowa as an agricultural and manufacturing State, great also in her citizenship, appears in the vision of the future in inspiring and indescribable splendor. Down yonder at Keokuk where her civilization first began to take root is nearing completion

one of the greatest triumphs of engineering which human history has yet recorded. The great Father of Waters which for unmeasured ages has wasted his vast energy as he swept on to the sea has been harnessed and his power captured for the lighting and heating of cities, for giving power to manufacturing plants, for the whirling of unnumbered spindles, the grinding of the grains of the Great Valley and the rapid transportation of the people. Manufacturing in Iowa will receive a great impetus there.

The 35th General Assembly has before it the opportunity to make for itself a most distinguished place in Iowa history. I doubt if ever before a more inspiring program ever presented itself in this State. The subjects for consideration nearly all go to the matter of the betterment of human conditions. They touch the life of the people. They suggest the passing of the old day and the bright dawning of the new. They suggest the loosening of the grasp of human selfishness and the extension of the hand of sympathy and brotherhood. I think the State should concern itself about the betterment of human beings, about the protection of human welfare. I feel that the State ought to be humane. The state ought to be a great moral force in the world. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." The State must be a positive good. It must have a conscience. Our prosperity must be built upon the happiness, education and welfare of each man. Business and human betterment can increase together if these problems are rightly taken hold of. What an impetus can be given to the State this winter. Why not move Iowa to the head of the column? It can be done if every man will lose himself in his devotion to the common good. He that would be great must be the servant of all. "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted"—exalted in the strength and consciousness of right things done. It is up to the men of this legislature. The people have trusted you. They have believed in you. It is demanded of a servant that he be faithful. The people want these things done. Will the 35th General Assembly rise to its great opportunities? So far as the Executive can properly do so I want to lend a hand. And so dismissing factionalism, forgetting party, remembering only the common good, let us enter upon the work before us.